THE EDUCATION OF NOBLE GIRLS IN MEDIEVAL FRANCE: VINCENT OF BEAUVAIS AND *DE ERUDITIONE FILIORUM NOBILIUM*

A Dissertation

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Doctor of Philosophy

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by

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the dissertation entitled

THE EDUCATION OF NOBLE GIRLS IN MEDIEVAL FRANCE: VINCENT OF BEAUVAIS AND *DE ERUDITIONE FILIORUM NOBILIUM*

Presented by Rebecca J. Jacobs-Pollez

A candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

And hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

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Professor Anne Stanton

I would like to dedicate this work to my family and friends, especially my husband Alain, who changed careers so that I could pursue a long-held dream. I have been fortunate for his support through this entire process. And he is an excellent travel companion! My parents, George and Joan, have believed in me and supported me no matter what unusual path my life has taken. Friends in Houston, who I miss dearly, stayed with me in spirit when I deserted them for Missouri and a late-in-life career change. A despondent email to Bev, Dawn, Mikayla, Sherry, or Pete was always answered with love and encouragement. Sherry's daily poems remind me of all that I left behind. Leslie's summer visits were always a joyful reunion. Other friends too numerous to mention gave of themselves in small but meaningful ways. Returning to Missouri allowed me to reconnect with old high school friends – thank you Christy and Wayleen. My brothers, Bryan and Glenn, their wives, Ann and Crystal, and my nieces, Charity and Amanda, believed in my goals and the Missouri members of my family welcomed me into their homes as if I had never left. Without them all I could not have completed this work, and for that reason it is dedicated to all of them.

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Unlike Vincent, who claimed that his assistants were unreliable when they copied the texts he used,[1] I take responsibility for all of my errors and appreciate the helpful suggestions I received from Dr. Huneycutt and my committee members, and from my fellow students. If I am somewhat repetitive within the text of this work, it is simply in emulation of Vincent.

[1] "non omnia manu propria, sed pleraque per manus notariorum abbreviaui, ut potui" (I was not able to do everything with my own hand, but by the hands of notaries much has been abbreviated), *prologue* to the *Speculum historiale*, chapter iii.

ABSTRACT

The educational treatise by Vincent of Beauvais (1184/1194-1264), *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* (On the Education of Noble Girls), was the first medieval educational text to both systematically present a comprehensive method of instruction for lay children and to included a section devoted to girls. Vincent also included many details supporting his theories of education within his most famous work, the massive encyclopedia the *Speculum maius* (The Great Mirror). The first three books of the third volume, the *Speculum doctrinale* (The Mirror of Doctrine), deal directly with pedagogical issues. Subsequent books within this volume address subjects pertinent to discussions in *De eruditione*. Vincent planned for *De eruditione* to be part of a greater work, an *Opus universale de statu principis* (Universal Work on the Royal Condition), a guideline for the governance of the French realm that would provide instructions for the behaviors and duties of the prince, his family, and his court. Even before beginning his educational treatise Vincent had begun to determine the various roles that the king, his family, and his courtiers would play both at court and in governing the kingdom. Vincent planned to write three volumes of political manuals that would record his theories of governance. Together with *De eruditione*, they would form the four volume *Opus*; however, he only completed the first of the political manuals, *De morali principis institutione* (On the Foundations of Royal Morals), a guideline for the king to use as the head of the royal domain.

De morali reflects ideas about kingship current at the time that Vincent wrote. For several generations French kings had slowly been establishing a type of administrative kingship, a governmental structure that was less feudal, more centralized, with a stronger

monarchy supported by an incipient bureaucracy. Vincent's patron, King Louis IX of France (1214-1270), actively continued this process during his reign. A close reading of the *Speculum* shows that Vincent included material that reinforced the transition to administrative kingship. Although *De morali* concentrates on the king's responsibilities and the role he would play in the new government structure, within it are clues to the behaviors that Vincent expected from others at court. Specifically, he virtually eliminated the duties of the powerful Capetian queens. Since *De eruditione* was the last volume of the *Opus*, Vincent almost certainly wrote it in part to train royal children to fit their new roles. Applying the principles of *De eruditione* to the education of boys would create the ideal king defined in *De morali*. Vincent's proposals for girls' education went against traditional Capetian practice, especially the strong roles that queens and noble women played in government and in training their children. Instead, matching the reduced role for royal women in *De morali*, girls educated according to the instructions provided in *De eruditione* would no longer be fit to participate in the governmental functions they had previously so adequately filled, or provide the education their children needed. Thus, examining the details of Vincent's proposals for female education through placing *De eruditione* within the scope of his overall work shows that Vincent was not simply providing advice about women's edification and spiritual improvement, but that he wanted to form women fit to participate in his larger concept for the governance of the kingdom, a concept that matched Louis IX's own goals. Fully implementing Vincent's educational goals would have advanced administrative kingship, but at the expense of French queens and with the loss of the skills these women had often brought to support their husbands and sons in administering the French realm. However, by including women in the discussion of education, in even a limited way, he set

the stage for later pedagogues to advance women's educational opportunities and within a few centuries the number of learned women increased significantly.

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INTRODUCTION

When her children were young, Queen Marguerite of Provence (1221-1295), wife of King Louis IX of France (1214-1270), asked the prolific Dominican encyclopedist, Vincent of Beauvais (1184/1194-1264), to write a manual to educate her children according to a plan of studies suitable for noble youths.[1] Vincent's educational treatise, *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* (On the Education of Noble Girls), was the first medieval educational text to systematically present a comprehensive method of instruction for royal children and, most important for this study, Vincent included a section devoted to girls, something that previous pedagogical works lacked.[2] *De eruditione* includes only the guidelines for how children were to be educated, however. Vincent also provided detailed pedagogical information in some of his other works.

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[1] William Ellwood Craig, "Vincent of Beauvais, On the Education of Noble Children: Translated from edieval Latin with Notes and an Historical Introduction" (PhD dissertation, University of California at Los Angles, April 1949), 102; Vincent of Beauvais, *De Eruditione Filiorum Nobilium*, ed. Arpad Steiner (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1938; repr., New York: Kraus Reprint Company, 1970), 3.

[2] Joseph M. McCarthy, *Humanistic Emphases in the Educational Thought of Vincent of Beauvais* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), 8, quoting p. 41 of Richard Wilhelm Friedrich. (Friedrich, Richard Wilhelm, *Vincentius von Beauvais als Pädagog nach seiner Schrift De Eruditione Filiorum Regalium*. Leipzig, Oskar Peters, 1883.)

would provide instructions for the behaviors and duties of the prince, his family, and his court. In the prologue to *De eruditione*, Vincent explains that he had already started work on the *Opus*.[3] Thus, even before beginning his educational treatise he had already begun to determine the various roles that the king, his family, and his courtiers would play both at court and in governing the kingdom. Vincent planned to write three volumes of political manuals that would record his theories of governance. Together with *De eruditione*, they would form the four volume *Opus*. He only completed the first of the political manuals, *De morali principis institutione* (On the Foundations of Royal Morals), a guideline for the king to use as the head of the royal domain.[4] *De morali* reflects ideas on kingship current at the time that Vincent wrote. For several generations French kings had slowly been establishing a type of administrative kingship, a governmental structure that was less feudal, more centralized, with a stronger monarchy supported by an incipient bureaucracy. Louis IX actively continued this process during his reign.

A close reading of the *Speculum* shows that Vincent included material that reinforced the transition to administrative kingship. Although *De morali* concentrates on the king's responsibilities and the role he would play in the new government structure, within it are clues to the behaviors that Vincent expected from others at court. Specifically, Vincent virtually eliminated the duties of the queen. Since *De eruditione* was the last volume of the *Opus*, Vincent almost certainly wrote it in part to train royal children to fit their new roles. Applying the principles of *De eruditione* to the education of boys would create the ideal king defined in *De morali*. Vincent's proposals for girls'

[3] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, prologue.
[4] Vincent of Beauvais, *Vincentii Belvacensis: De morali principis institutione*, ed. Robert J. Schneider (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1995).

education went against traditional Capetian practice, especially the strong roles that queens and noble women played in government and in training their children. Instead, matching the reduced role for royal women in *De morali*, girls educated according to the instructions provided in *De eruditione* would no longer be fit to participate in the governmental functions they had previously so adequately filled, or provide the education their children needed. Thus, examining the details of Vincent's proposals for female education through placing *De eruditione* within the scope of his overall work, shows that Vincent was not simply providing advice about women's edification and spiritual improvement, but that he wanted to form women fit to participate in his larger concept for the governance of the kingdom.[5] Fully implementing Vincent's educational goals would have advanced administrative kingship, but at the expense of French queens and with the loss of the skills these women had often brought to support their husbands and sons in administering the French realm.

To date, few scholarly publications have addressed Vincent's proposals for girls' education, either in *De eruditione* or in his other works. Within the introduction to his English translation of *De eruditione*, William Ellwood Craig advanced several theories concerning Vincent's proposals for education; however, he was simply providing background for his work and did not develop any of the ideas.[6] In 1984 Rosemary Tobin published *Vincent of Beauvais'* "De eruditione filiorum nobilium*": The Education of Women*, which emphasizes Vincent's moral concerns but ignores the context of the

[5] Scholars have briefly compared the educational aspects of the three texts. For example, Astrik Gabriel discusses many of the educational aspects of *De eruditione*, *De morali*, the *Speculum doctrinale*, *historiale*, and *naturale* in Aatrik Gabriel, *The Educational Ideas of Vincent of Beauvais*, Notre Dame, IN: The Mediaeval Institute University of Notre Dame, 1956. Adam Fijalkowski also analyzes the same texts in "The Education of Women in Light of Works by Vincent of Beauvais, OP," *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 17 (2000).
[6] Craig, Introduction, 47-54.

period of religious revival in which Vincent wrote. She does not examine the intellectual environment within which Vincent lived or the status of women's education before or after the production of *De eruditione*.[7] Astrik Gabriel wrote a short monograph, *The Educational Ideas of Vincent of Beauvais* in 1956. He does address many of the issues Tobin ignored, but only five of his fifty-seven pages are dedicated to the discussion of women's education.[8] In 1965, John Ellis Bourne completed a dissertation discussing the educational thought of Vincent, but he did not include *De morali* in his study.[9] A 1965 dissertation by Richard Kress Weber analyzed Vincent's understanding and use of history, but also examined Vincent's writings on education in the *Speculum doctrinale*.[10] Joseph McCarthy examined the early humanist thought in Vincent's work in his 1976 publication, *Humanistic Emphases in the Educational Thought of Vincent of Beauvais*, but as with most of the other authors, his discussion of girls' education is very limited.[11] In 2000, Adam Fijalkowski wrote a short article summarizing the main themes for womens' education in Vincent's works.[12]

Several works have been devoted to the *Speculum*, but few discuss the chapters on education. In his enduring classic, *The Gothic Image*, first published in 1913, Emile Mâle discusses art through the lens of the *Speculum* and several other medieval texts.[13] Three

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[7] Rosemary Barton Tobin, *Vincent of Beauvais'* "De eruditione filiorum nobilium"*: The Education of Women* (New York: P. Lang, 1984).
[8] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 38-42 describe girls' education.
[9] John Ellis Bourne, "The Educational Thought of Vincent of Beauvais" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1960).
[10] Richard Kress Weber, "Vincent of Beauvais: A Study in Medieval Historiography" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1965).
[11] McCarthy, *Humanistic Emphases*.
[12] Fijalkowski, 513-26.
[13] Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Dora Nussey (E. P. Dutton & Company, 1913; repr. New York: Harper Torchbooks, Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1958).

volumes of essays published in 1979, 1990, and 1997 discuss various aspects of the *Speculum* with little mention of education.[14] A 1986 publication, *Vincent of Beauvais and Alexander the Great: Studies on the* Speculum maius *and Its Translations into Medieval Vernaculars*, discussed the transmission of one *Speculum* entry into vernacular languages and also included articles describing Vincent's sources and methodology.[15] The introductory article by E. R. Smiths argues that Vincent in part intended the *Speculum* to have an educational function as an aid for writing sermons or for study.[16] In an examination of border illuminations in northern France and the Flanders published in 2007, Elizabeth Moore Hunt argues that the illuminations in three codices of the *Speculum* show that the original monastic patrons who requested the manuscripts used the encyclopedias as teaching tools.[17]

The impact of *De eruditione* is probably most apparent in the copies made of it shortly after its completion. Its ideas were also echoed by moralists of the fourteenth century. William Perrault (d. c. 1275) borrowed portions for his *De eruditione principum* and Aegidius Romanus (Giles of Rome, or Egidio Colonna, d. 1316) included excerpts in

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[14] Serge Lusignan, *Cahiers d'Études Médiévales V Préface au* Speculum maius *de Vincent de Beauvais: Réfraction and Diffraction* (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1979); Monique Paulmier-Foucart, Serge Lusignan, and Alain Nadeau, *Vincent de Beauvais: Intentions et Réceptions d'une Oeuvre Encyclopédique au Moyen Âge: Actes du XIVe Colloque de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales, Irganisé Conjointement par l'Atelier Vincent de Beauvais, A.R.Te.M., Université de Nancy II et l'Institut d'Études Médiévales, Université de Montréal, 27-30 Avril 1988* (Saint-Laurent, Québec: Bellarmin, 1990); and Serge Lusignan, Monique Paulmier-Foucart, and Marie-Christine Duchenn, *Lector et Compilator: Vincent de Beauvais, Frère Prêcheur: Un intellectuel et Son Milieu au XIIIe Siècle* (Grâne, France: Editions Créaphis, 1997).

[15] W. J. Aerts, Edmé Renno Smits, and J. B. Voorbij, eds., *Vincent of Beauvais and Alexander the Great: Studies on the* Speculum maius *and Its Translations into Medieval Vernaculars* (Groningen: E. Forsten, 1986).

[16] E. R. Smits, "Vincent of Beauvais: A Note on the Background of the *Speculum*," in *Vincent of Beauvais and Alexander the Great*, 1.

[17] Elizabeth Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts* (Routledge, New York and London, 2007), chapter 6.

his *De regimine principum*.[18] In fact, William Perrault's text is similar enough to Vincent's own words that M. Daunou, one of the earliest scholars of Vincent, misattributed Perrault's work as being a volume of *De eruditione*.[19] Perrault's work was more popular than Vincent's since it was originally thought to have been written by Thomas Aquinas (155-1274) and published among his works as *Opusculum XXXVII.*[20] Christine de Pisan (1363-c. 1430) knew of Vincent's chapters on the moral training for women. Sections of her unpublished work, *Le livre du corps de policie* (The Book of the Body Politic), most likely were taken either directly from *De eruditione* or from one of the authors who borrowed from Vincent.[21] Literary writers, specifically Chaucer (c. 1343-1400), reflect knowledge of both *De eruditione* and Aegidius' work.[22]

Personages

Little is known about the man that Marguerite and Louis charged with the important task of shaping the minds of their children. What rare bits are known about Vincent come mostly from the prefaces to several of his works.[23] His name is derived from his own appellation "Belvacensis," which has been interpreted to mean that he was

[18] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xii. Also see Arpad Steiner, "Guillaume Perrault and Vincent of Beauvais," *Speculum* 8, no. 1 (Jan., 1933): 51-58, where he provides a detailed analysis of the similarities. See Samuel Paul Molenaer, *Liveres du Gouvernement des Rois: A XIIIth Century French Version of Egidio Colonna's Treatise De Regimine Principum* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899).
[19] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xvii-xviii; M. Daunou, "Vincent de Beauvais: Auteur du *Speculum Majus* Terminé en 125," in *Histoire Littéraire de la France* 18 (Paris: Librairie Universitaire, 1895), 467.
[20] Steiner, "Perrault and Vincent," 51.
[21] Gabriel, "The Educational Ideas of Christine De Pisan," 16. Gabriel cited page 26 of Madeleine Rosier, Christine de Pisan as a Moralist (Thesis, University of Toronto, 1945).
[22] Karl Young, "The Maidenly Virtues of Chaucer's Virginia," *Speculum* 16, no. 3. (Jul., 1941), 340; Martha S. Waller, "The Physician's Tale: Geoffrey Chaucer and Fray Juan García de Castrojeriz" *Speculum* 51, no. 2. (Apr., 1976): 293.
[23] For a list, see footnote 1 of *De morali*, xix.

born at Beauvais, probably between 1184 and 1194.[24] He likely died there in 1264.[25] He became a Dominican at Paris sometime before 1220, probably while at the Dominican *studium generale* of Saint-Jacque in Paris; however he moved when a monastery was founded around 1227 in Beauvais.[26] There is no evidence that Vincent earned a degree or taught at the University of Paris.[27] His name is not listed in the catalogues of Feret and Glorieux, who documented the names of the more celebrated men who received masters from the university.[28] As a Dominican, Vincent was a member of the order of Friars Preachers, who emphsized education and studies, especially of theology.[29] Sometime between 1240 and 1245 Ralph, the abbot of Royaumont, a Cistercian abbey Louis IX founded in 1228, wrote Vincent asking for a copy of the *Speculum* for the king, and transmitted money for the copying.[30] Vincent thanked the king for the funds and shortly afterward was summoned to Royaumont where Louis made him a lector.[31] There, Vincent was probably a professor of theology for the friars, "a court preacher, a research worker, and a sort of educational expert for the royal family."[32] One of the earliest modern scholars to study Vincent, J. B. Bourgeat, noted that Vincent was probably given

[24] B. L. Ullman, "A Project for a New Edition of Vincent of Beauvais." *Speculum* 8, no. 3. (Jul., 1933): 312; Daunou, 449.
[25] Daunou, 457; Ullman, "Project," 312.
[26] Daunou, 452-3; Bourne, 6, quoting the Analecta, 69.
[27] McCarthy, *Humanistic Emphases*, 4. In volume III, page 713, of his history of the University of Paris, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, French historian César-Egasse du Boulay (d. 1678) claimed that Vincent was the received a degree from the university and one of the first students at the university to join the Dominicans. César-Egasse du Boulay, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris: CVM Privilegio Regis 1666).
[28] Bourne, 7.
[29] Bataillon, 9, 10.
[30] Bourne, 8. According to Vincent's note in the Dijon manuscript of the *Speculum*, Vincent had not yet met the king when he was summoned to Royaumont.
[31] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 7-8; Daunou, 453; Ullman, "Project," 312. In the prologue to *De eruditione*, Vincent notes that he is sometimes the lector in his monastery of Royamont.
[32] Ullman, "Project," 312.

the funds to control the royal family's library.[33] In this capacity he also had some control over what reading material was available to the family, and, specifically, to the children. This was consistent with the Dominican habit of establishing libraries that the brothers could easily use.[34]

Vincent's major patron was Louis IX, king of France.[35] Louis' very strong mother, Blanche de Castile (1188-1252), the third daughter of King Alfonso VIII of Castile (1155-1214) and Eleanor of England (1162-1214), instilled in him many of the values that also appear in Vincent's work. Because Blanche was betrothed at a young age she received much of her education from her husband's family.[36] She had been brought from Spain to France by her maternal grandmother Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122/1124-1204) to marry the heir to the French throne, Louis VIII (1187-1226). From the start of her marriage Blanche showed both strength and determination to support the French throne. She displayed these qualities in 1216 when her husband claimed the English crown (based on her descent from Henry II (1133-1189) of England) during the First Baron's War. Louis invaded England, only to find that his supporters deserted him upon the death of King John (1166-1216). Louis' father Philip II Augustus (1165-1223) refused to help his son, but Blanche provided assistance, organizing two fleets and an army. Although the French challenge did not succeed, her efforts show an ardent support for her husband and the French kingdom. Upon her husband's death in 1226, Blanche

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[33] J. B. Bourgeat, *Études sur Vincent De Beauvais, Théologien, Philosophe, Encyclopédiste; Ou, Specimen Des Études Théologiques, Philosophiques, Et Scientifiques Au Moyen Age, xiiie Siècle, 1210-1270* (Paris: Durand, 1856), 18-19.
[34] Bataillon, 15.
[35] Given the current state of evidence concerning Vincent and the royal family, it is difficult to determine personal motivations for any actions. For this reason, I have avoided any discussion of such motivations.
[36] Regine Pernoud, *Blanche of Castile*, 1st American edition (New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1975), 15, 22.

was declared the regent for her then twelve-year-old son. Her regency was marked by the victorious struggle of the crown against a league of barons, and by several battles against Henry III (1207-1272) of England and the Count of La Marche (1230).[37] While regent she negotiated treaties and arranged the marriages of her children. In 1248, when Louis went on his first crusade, he again made Blanche regent and once more left the country in the capable hands of his mother.[38] An especially devout woman, known for her Christian virtues, she told her son "that she would rather he were dead than guilty of committing a mortal sin."[39]

Blanche was a patron of many cultural works. She established two abbeys for female Cistercians, contributed to the reconstruction of Notre-Dame de Chartres cathedral, and probably sponsored one work that is strongly tied to education.[40] A well-preserved psalter, long stored in Sainte-Chapelle du Palais, Paris, and now designated Manuscript no. 1186 in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, contains the notation "*Cest le Psautier monseigneur Saint Loys, lequel fu a sa mere*" ("This is the psalter of Lord Louis which was from his mother") on folio 191.[41] In her 2002 dissertation, Elizabeth Scarborough Hudson summarized its history and situated the pictoral program within the

[37] Miriam Shadis, "Blanch of Castile and Facinger's "Medieval Queenship": Reassessing the Argurment," in *Captian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 140; Jean Joinville and Geoffroi de Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. Margaret R. B Shaw (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963), 182; Joinville, 188-9. Some of the major sources of information concerning Louis IX and his mother Blanche of Castile are the writings of Jean de Joinville, Louis' seneschal, and the canonization records for Louis. It must be noted that these records were documentation collected to validate Louis' sanctity and therefore are biased in favor or presenting Louis as a virtuous moral leader.
[38] Shadis, "Blanche of Castile," 140-41.
[39] Joinville, 182; Pernoud, 97-8.
[40] Miriam Shadis, "Piety, Politics, and Power: The Patronage of Leonore of England and Her Daughters Berenguela of León and Blanche of Castile," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1996), 211-13.
[41] H. Martin, *Joyaux de L 'Arsenal: Psautier de St. Louis et de Blanche de Castille* (Paris: Berthaud Freres, 1909); Hudson, Elizabeth Scarborough, "The Psalter of Blanche of Castile: Picturing Queenly Power in Thirteenth-Century France," Dissertation UNC-Chapel Hill, 2002, 172.

context of patronage by Capetians and Blanche de Castile. It was created for Blanche, probably in the first twenty years of the thirteenth century, after her marriage, but before she became queen.[42] Louis may have been taught the psalms, religious values, as well as the ability to read from this psalter. A second psalter also contains internal evidence that Blanche used it to instruct the young Louis IX. Manuscript Lat. BPL 76A in the Library of the University of Leiden contains the notation at the bottom of folio 185r, "*Cist Psaultiers fuit mon seigneur saint Looys qui fu Roys de France, ouquel il aprist en s'enfance*." (This psalter was the one that my Lord St. Louis, who was king of France, learned from in his infancy.)[43] This manuscript was made in England, around 1200, probably for Geoffrey Plantagenet, Archbishop of York (1152-1212).[44] Shortly after Geoffrey's death it seems to have fallen into the hands of Louis VIII when the prince went to England to fight the First Barons' War. The prince seems to have then offered it to his wife. One indication that it was hers is the calendar entry for the death of her father on October 6, "*Obiit Aldefonsus, rex Castelle et Toleti*" (Death of Alfonse, king of Castile and Toledo).[45]

Blanche's son Louis IX was crowned and anointed king in 1226 upon the death of his father. On May 27, 1234, Louis married Marguerite of Provence, the daughter of Raimond Bérenger V, Count of Provence, and Beatrice of Savoy, and the woman selected for him by his mother.[46] The couple had eleven children. *De eruditione* was probably

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[42] Ibid., 11.
[43] Henri Auguste Omont, *Miniatures du Psautier de S. Louis, Manuscrit Lat. 76a de la Bibliothèque de L'Université de Leyde* (Leyde: A. W. Sijthoff, 1902), vi. Omont warns readers not to assume that any of the writing in the margins was made by Louis IX.
[44] Catalogue entry for Leiden, UB : ms. BPL 76 A in the University of Leiden on-line library catalogue. The catalogue is located at: http://www.mmdc.nl/static/site/search; Omont, iii-iv.
[45] Omont, vi.
[46] Pernoud, 163.

written for the first three, Philip (1245-1285), his older sister Isabelle (1241-1271), and older brother Louis (1244-60). The king went on two crusades, the seventh in 1248, and the eighth in 1270. Marguerite accompanied him on the first crusade. Louis died in 1270 and was canonized in 1297, the only French king to receive that honor. He was considered equitable, even with the Saracens, who called him "the most steadfast Christian that could be found."[47] His earned the designation through acts such as the establishment of an ordinance requiring those in office, such as bailiffs, sheriffs, and mayors, to apply justice fairly to people of all ranks, including the elimination of bribes.[48] He disapproved of the appropriation of other people's property.[49] In an effort to mediate between parties, he administered his personal justice.[50] Louis' fairness did not extend to those of the Jewish faith, however. Biographer Jean de Joinville (1224-1317) recounted stories of the king's disparaging remarks concerning Jews.[51] Louis was known for keeping peace between his subjects, sending negotiators when necessary to prevent conflict. His mediation of quarrels among people outside of his realm brought criticism from his own advisors who suggested that Louis' peacemaking left his enemies stronger. The king's counselors suggested that had France's enemies been allowed to fight each other, they would have had fewer resources to bring against the French kingdom. The king answered that his Lord preferred peacemakers.[52]

Louis, like his mother, was a patron of the arts, with perhaps his most prominant patronage given to build the magnificent Sainte-Chapelle, his private place of worship. It

[47] Ibid., 255.
[48] Ibid., 337-41.
[49] Ibid., 168-70.
[50] Ibid., 176-9, 331-3.
[51] Joinville, 174-5.
[52] Ibid., 335.

was built specifically to house a large number of relics, including the crown of thorns, a part of the True Cross, the sponge that Christ's drank vinegar from while on the cross, and the iron from the lance that pierced his flesh, all purchased from the emperor of Constantinople.[53] Louis' patronage reflects his strongest interests: religion and moral concerns. In fact, the description of Louis' character that initiates Joinville's biography emphasizes the king's concern with ethical values, his desire to live a proper Christian life, and his efforts to help those in his care to live a similar life. Practicing moderation, the king never ordered special meals for himself, and he mixed water with his wine to avoid drunkenness. His garments were plain and not excessively expensive, and he expected the same from the men who served him. For the same reason, he warned his son-in-law against spending too much on a house. Instead, he suggested the money could be used to help the poor.[54] He told Joinville to avoid actions that he would be ashamed to acknowledge if they became known, and especially to hold his counsel if it would lead to harsh words since anger often led to quarrelling, violence, and death. Louis enjoyed debates concerning moral issues and the application of Christian principles to the problems of life. He engaged Joinville and others in competitions to apply Christian standards to issues such as whether "a wise and upright layman" was better than a monk.[55] When asked by the king whether he would prefer to be a leper or to live having committed a mortal sin, Joinville replied that being a leper would be far worse. Louis, who placed the soul above the body, reminded his seneschal that upon death a leper's

[53] Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, trans. Gareth Evan Gollrad (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009; Originally published as *Saint Louis* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1996)), 99, 465.
[54] Joinville, 168-70.
[55] Ibid., 170.

body is cured but the soul may never recover from the commission of a mortal sin.[56] Generous to the needy, Louis offered alms to poorly endowed churches, to leper-houses and alms-houses, to hospitals, to poor widows and women in labor, and to homes for "fallen women." He provided funds to establish a number of abbeys, particularly for Franciscans, and demanded dedication from those to whom he gave benefices.[57] Each day the poor were invited to his house where he might personally serve a meal of bread, wine, and meat or fish.[58]

Some indication of Louis' ideas on moral values, behavior, and education can be found in letters he wrote to his adult children: his heir Philip, and his daughters Isabelle, and either Blanche (1253-1323) or Marguerite (1254-1271). According to Jacques Le Goff, Louis enjoyed teaching and considered education essential for a future king; thus writing for his son was "a incomparable pleasure."[59] These writings do indicate that Louis wanted his children to possess a particular set of moral values. Much like the ninth-century noblewoman Dhuoda (c. 803-843) who wrote instructions to her absent sons, it seems that Louis left his children guidelines that were personally important to him, not simply a list of instructions that any king would leave to his offspring.[60] Louis wrote his missives after his children were adults, likely composing the letters between 1267 and June 1270.[61] In keeping with Joinville's depiction, Louis' first admonition to all his

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[56] Ibid., 167-70.
[57] Ibid., 337, 342-43.
[58] Ibid., 342.
[59] Le Goff, 331.
[60] Ibid., 330. LeGoff also argues that the letters were Louis' personal advice for his children.
[61] Louis IX and Isabelle, *Instructions of Saint Louis: A Critical Text*, ed. David O'Connell (Chapsel Hill: U.N.C. Dept. of Romance Languages (distributed by University of North Carolina Press), 1979), 15, 59; Louis IX, *The Teachings of Saint Louis: A Critical Edition*, ed. David O'Connell (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 47.

children is to love God.[62] To his son he said, "Therefore, dear son, the first thing I advise is that you fix your whole heart upon God, and love Him with all your strength, for without this no one can be saved or be of any worth."[63]

The directions to his son are longer than those to his daughters. Among other instructions, he advises his heir to avoid mortal sins, suffer willingly any ills sent by God, accept gratefully any prosperity, obey his confessor and keep friends of good quality. Reminding Phillip of the earlier governance lessons, Louis advises his heir to avoid anger and heed the council of his advisors.[64] The king also tells his son that were he to become king, he must rule with virtue, take care of the poor, maintain his land and the church, but avoid unnecessary wars. Louis makes one mention of his wife, saying that he hopes that Philip loves his mother Marguerite, accepts her good teaching, and trusts her counsel.[65] Joinville noted that Louis was both fair and generous to the poor, and the king demanded both of his son. Louis also advised his son to keep the company of good men, whether clerics or laymen, and to avoid associates of bad character.[66]

The much shorter letter Louis wrote to his daughter Isabelle is almost solely concerned with her spiritual well being. The king begins the letter, as he did the letter to his heir, by admonishing his daughter to love God. A few of the directions Louis gives to Isabelle include choosing a saintly, well-educated confessor, avoiding pride and the lure

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[62] Louis IX, *Teachings*, 55 and Louis IX and Isabelle, *Instructions*, 78. While Joinville included instructions that Louis purportedly wrote to his son Phillip, these are likely not based on the actual letter that Louis wrote. Two versions of the letter exist and Joinville may not have had access to the actual letter. David O'Connell, *Teachings*, 20-27, examined all the existing documents and concluded that the version closest to the original was the *Noster*. See O'Connell in *Teachings*, 20-7, 39.
[63] Louis IX and Isabelle, *Instructions*, 78; Louis IX, *Teachings*, 55; English translation from the Medieval Sourcebook, http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/stlouis1.html, Fordham University.
[64] Louis IX, *Teachings*, 57.
[65] Ibid., 55-60. Statement 21 concerns Philip's mother.
[66] Louis IX, *Teachings*, 56.

of fine clothes and jewelry, shuning friends with bad reputations, and giving to charity. Louis advises her to obey her husband, King Theobald II of Navarre (1238-1270), her father, and her mother, in that order, unless it goes against God.[67] He also reminds her to eschew reading vain words (*vaines paroles*) while in church.[68] In a separate letter to one of his other daughters, either Blanche or Marguerite, also written after she was married, he told her to search for and know God, to talk little and wisely, to enjoy church, to think of death, to guard her heart from impure contact, to be truthful, to love and honor Christ, and to pray.[69]

Outline of Dissertation Chapters

In Vincent of Beauvais, Louis IX found a man who shared his values. The following five chapters examine the works that Vincent wrote for the royal family, particularly the educational material that he produced for Louis and his wife Marguerite, and Vincent's influence on women's education in general. Specific issues explored in various chapters include the role of both religion and classical educational treatises on Vincent's thoughts as well as how his theories are related to then current views on education. Another theme is the effect of the relationship of shared values between Louis IX and Vincent. These discussions begin in the first chapter, which describes the thirteen known works by Vincent, presents the educational aspects of the multi-volumed *Speculum maius*, and provides the general content of the *Opus*, *De morali principis*

[67] Louis IX and Isabelle, *Instructions*, 15, 78-81; Louis IX, *Teachings*, 55-60. Joinville and others excluded the Louis' instructions to Isabelle. See O'Connell in *Instructions*, 31.
[68] Louis IX, as quoted in Alice Adèle Hentsch, *De la Littérature Didactique du Moyen Âge s'Adressant Spécialement aux Femmes* (Cahors edition, 1903, repr. Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1975), 81.
[69] Hentsch, 82-3; the letter does not indicate which daughter was the recipient.

institutione, and *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*. Vincent's process for writing each forms an important part of this chapter since it supports the proposal that Vincent wrote *De eruditione* to educate children to play the roles he defined in *De morale*.

The second chapter provides a high-level overview of medieval theories of education at the point at which Vincent wrote. The chapter begins with a short history of the development of education to the thirteenth century, from its Greek roots to the new universities. It then presents several new concepts proposed in pedagogical treatises that preceded Vincent. Some of the key concepts are the liberal arts and theories of memory. Since schooling was directly primarily at boys, and even more specifically, clerics, understanding their education provides a context within which to view the differences in girls' education. Finally, the last section of the chapter describes the limited educational options available to girls and the role that mothers played in training their children. This framework provides the background for exploring Vincent's ideas in the later chapters and determining exactly what changes he proposed for the education of girls.

The third chapter provides a brief outline of the section on boys' education in *De eruditione*. It then discusses Vincent's general theories, his sources, and the practical methods he advocated for education in *De eruditione*, *Speculum doctrinal*, and *De morali*. Vincent's proposals for literate and moral education, behavior, and political concerns are interspersed among the three treatises. His concept of education emphasized moral behavior, and literacy, and since he was writing for a royal family, he also addressed political issues. This chapter details the arguments that Vincent wrote to support administrative kingship and proposes that the plan of education in *De eruditione*

would train royal children to fulfill roles assigned to them in *De morali*. The congruence between Vincent's proposals and Louis' actions support the argument.

The fourth chapter discusses the specifics of Vincent's proposals for the education of girls. This aspect of Vincent's work has been the most neglected by modern scholars. The chapter begins with a description of the section on girls' education in *De eruditione*. Vincent did not provide a significant role for women in the operation of politics. Within *De eruditione*, his goals were to discipline girls, to train a woman who would be taciturn and likely to obey her father and husband.[70] This is consistent with the discussion of functions in *De morali*. Royal women educated by Vincent's standards would not act like earlier Capetian queens, whose functions in the administration of the realm were often significant, but would stand back, act as a moral role model for her children, provide support as a wife, but play little role in the governance of the realm. They would also play virtually no role in educating their children. Again, an argument is made that Louis was in agreement with Vincent.

Vincent's ideas were applied to the education of Louis IX and Marguerite's children and a limited number of subsequent members of the French royal family. The fifth and final chapter examines how Vincent's proposals were borrowed by subsequent authors of pedagogical treatises and through them had a long-term impact on the education of girls. Thus, the textual transmission, rather than simple manuscript transmission, is key to understanding Vincent's influence. Several modern scholars briefly mention Vincent's lasting influence on education, although the details are usually

[70] The Oxford English Dictionary defines taciturn as "characterized by silence or disinclination to conversation; reserved in speech; saying little; uncommunicative." A girl educated according to Vincent's standards would have been trained to be reserved, avoid conversation, and walk with her eyes cast downward. I have chosen to use the word taciturn to describe the demeanor that Vincent desired.

ignored and almost no one discusses the impact of Vincent's work on women. By including women in the discussion of education, in even a limited way, he set the stage for later pedagogues to advance women's educational opportunities, and within a few centuries the number of learned women increased significantly. Using both the analysis of scholars and an examination of some of the educational or behavioral treatises that followed Vincent, the final chapter examines the influence Vincent had on later medieval education, first by the impact of his work on the French royal family and finally in the writings of subsequent educators.

Any attempt to fully understand the influence of Vincent's theories of education requires an evaluation of his intentions and the receptions of his works. Examining his works in the same ways medieval readers did is crucial in determining Vincent's influence upon subsequent scholars and educators. Unfortunately, not all of his writings have survived. Neither did most medieval readers possess a complete set of his treatises. Since they were read individually, each text must be examined separately to ascertain what the reader might have inferred from them. In particular, what might a reader of the most commonly available work, the *Speculum* find that pertains to women's education, as opposed to someone who owned a copy of the lesser distributed *De eruditione*? How much did the proposals in *De morali* matter to the monasteries that owned copies of it? Conversely, some of Vincent's treatises were collected together and could have been examined as a unit. Would a non-royal reader be concerned about the relationship between *De eruditione* and *De morali*? Many of Vincent's ideas, including those pertaining to women's education, were disseminated through the writings of later authors. How were readers influenced by these secondary transmissions? This study only begins

to touch on the textual transmission of his proposals, suggesting the need for continued examination of Vincent's treatise's and the works that followed him.

CHAPTER ONE: SURVEY OF VINCENT'S WORKS

Robert J. Schneider described Vincent of Beauvais as someone who "devoted his ministry to creating works of divine and human knowledge for the edification human beings need to assist the work of grace."[1] This educational aspect is strongly emphasized in the three treatises examined in this study: *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, *De morali principis institutione*, and the *Speculum maius*. Examining these texts together provides clues to the pedagogical goals that Vincent proposed for his audiences. This chapter introduces all of Vincent's known texts, provides details concerning *De eruditione, De morali*, and the *Speculum*, and presents some of the modern scholarly work concerning them. The overall theme of education binds this analysis. Vincent's sources, his working methods, and a few of the innovations he developed in the *Speculum* all show that in many ways he expected his encyclopedia to be used as a teaching tool, particularly as a source for prelates writing sermons, and even for self-instruction. *De eruditione* was Vincent's primary educational text, and *De morali* was his most significant political text. One of the major arguments of this paper is that Vincent provided guidelines in *De eruditione* that would educate children to fit the roles they would eventually play as outlined in *De morali*. One hint that this is the case is Vincent's plan for both texts to be volumes of a projected *Opus universale de statu principis*.

Vincent's Works

Vincent wrote thirteen known works, all in Latin. (Tables two through four, in Appendix A, summarize the extant copies of each of his works.) While numerous copies

[1] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xlvi.

of *De eruditione, De morali*, and the various volumes of *Speculum* can be found in libraries in Europe and the United States, this is not the case for many of Vincent's other works. Some of his texts are known only from his own references to them. For example, in chapter twenty two of *De morali principis institutione*, he mentions one of his earlier works *Tractatus de vitio detractionis* (Treastise on the Sin of Omission), of which no copy currently exists.[2] Neither did any copy of *Expositio in orationem dominicam* (Exposition on the Lord's Prayer), *Tractatus in salutatione beatae Virginis Mariae ab angelo facta* (Treastie on the Salutation to the Blessed Virgin Mary Made by the Angel), or his *Sermones* survive. Only one extant manuscript copy and no printed copies exist for *Liber de sancta Trinitate* (The Book of the Holy Trinity) and *Tractatus de poenitentia* (Treatise on Penance).[3] In 1481, Johannes von Amerbach of Basel produced a print edition of several of Vincent's works including *Liber de laudibus beatae Virginis* (The Book Praising the Blessed Virgin), *Liber de laudibus Johannis Evangelistae* (The Book Praising John the Evangelist), and *Liber gratiae* (The Book of Grace).[4] Those works now exist only in the Amerbach edition. Upon the death of the French crown prince, Louis of France, in 1260, Vincent wrote a memorial to console the prince's father King Louis IX, the *Liber consolatorius ad Ludovicum regem de morte filii* (Book to Console King Louis after the Death of His Son). (A number of extant codices containing this work can be found in several major European libraries.) It was also published in print form in

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[2] Hans Voorbij, *Vincent of Beauvais Bibliography, Subject:* Tractatus de vitio detractionis, http://www.cs.uu.nl/groups/IK/archives/vincent/bibl/subj/detract.htm, last updated January 7, 2008, search date July 22, 2010.

[3] *Liber de sancta Trinitate* is mentioned in Book II, chapter I of the second edition of the *Speculum naturale* per Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xx. *Liber de sancta Trinitate* and *Tractatus de poenitentia* are in Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, B. IX. 5, 2/2 XIII.

[4] *Liber gratiae* is mentioned in Book II, chapter I of the second edition of the *Speculum naturale* per Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xx.

Rostock, Germany, in an edition edited by Father Domus Horti Viridis in 1477 and was also included in the Amerbach edition. Recently both a modern edition and a Spanish translation of *Liber consolatorius* have been produced. Several manuscript copies and a modern study of some extracts from *Memoriale temporum* (Chroncile of the Times) are available. Several codices, early print editions, and modern editions exist for both *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* and *De morali principis institutione*. *De eruditione* has been translated into medieval French, and modern German and English. In preparing the critical edition of *De morali*, Robert J. Schneider identified a number of lost manuscripts of *De morali* and *De eruditione.*[5] A substantial number of codices and print copies exist for the *Speculum maius*, although, except for short excerpts, it has never been translated nor has a complete critical edition been attempted.[6]

Speculum maius

According to Astrik Gabriel, Vincent wrote the *Speculum* out of a love of learning, to save the knowledge of the past.[7] Mâle, in *The Gothic Image*, accorded

[5] Schneider's edition received favorable reviews in Norman Tanner, "*Vincentii Belvacensis: De morali principis institutione*," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 47.1 (1996): 347 and J. H. Burns, "*Vincentii Belvacensis De morali principis institutione*," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47.4 (1996): 728. The French translation was produced by Jean Daudin around 1373. In 1819 Friedrich Christoph Schlosser produced a German translation. William Ellwod Craig's dissertation, the English translation, has never been published. In 2011 Patricia Throop released translations of both *De eruditione* and *De morali*. Vincent of Beauvais, *The Education of Noble Children: An English Translation of* De eruditione filiorum nobilium, trans. Priscilla Throop (Charlotte, Vermont: MedievalMS, 2011). Vincent of Beauvais, *The Moral Instruction of a Prince and Psudo-Cyprian The Twelve Abuses of the World: An English Translation of* De morali principis institutione *and* De duodecim abusivis saeculi, trans. Priscilla Throop (Charlotte, Vermont: MedievalMS, 2011).

[6] The version of the *Speculum historiale* given to Louis IX in late 1245 or early 1246 included the *Epistola actoris ad regem*. See Gregory Guzman, "Vincent of Beauvias' *Epistola actoris ad regem Ludovicum*: A Critical Analysis and a Critical Edition," in *Intentions et Réceptions*, 57.

[7] Edward J. Power, *A Legacy of Learning: A History of Western Education* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991), 141; Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 1, chs. 15 and 18. Unless otherwise noted, all references to the *Speculum* are to the *Speculum quadruplex; sive, Speculum maius: naturale, doctrinale,*

Vincent a high status when he claimed that "if Aquinas was the most powerful thinker of the Middle Ages, Vincent of Beauvais was certainly the most comprehensive. He might well be called an epitome of the knowledge of his day. A prodigious worker, he passed his life like the elder Pliny (23-79 CE) in reading and making extracts. He was called '*librorum helluo*," the 'devourer of books."[8] He certainly needed to devour a great deal to create the *Speculum*, commonly considered the greatest of the medieval encyclopedias and his most famous work. Dedicated to Louis IX, who encouraged the friar's work on the encyclopedia, it is "a veritable mirror of the learning of the later Middle Ages."[9] As the compiler and sometimes writer, Vincent invoked the trope expected of a medieval author and claimed to be modest about his work, apologized for mistakes, minimized his own role, and claimed that he was no more than a mere excerptor, especially in compiling the sections on sciences and the arts.[10] Nor was he an expert in the many subjects about which he writes. This lack of originality is actually a benefit to modern historians because it "makes him precious, for it enables us to pierce the haze of seven hundred years and see exactly what the intellectual background of Vincent's age was."[11]

Even though Vincent was mainly only a compiler, he had high expectations for his work. The *Speculum* was a work of scholarship, but "scholarship with an eye to the spiritual instruction of everyday people."[12] In the prologue to the *Speculum historiale* he states that he was certain his work would benefit those who seriously studied and that he

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morale, historiale, a facsimile reprint of Douai edition of 1624 ed., 4 vols. (Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlaganstalt, 1964).
[8] Mâle, 23-24.
[9] Ullman, "Project," 313.
[10] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 12.
[11] Ullman, "Project," 313.
[12] Grace, 213.

has presented the material in such a way that it could be conveniently studied and used.[13] He explained that the material in *Speculum* was old, but he had developed a new type of presentation.[14] His contribution was a creative organization that provided relationships "harmonizing the diverse elements in a beautiful concordance."[15] As he explained in the Preface to the *Speculum historiale*, Vincent wanted to give his medieval readers an anthology of past literature, of past authorities, and to provide reference tools for those who both practiced and taught the art of rhetoric. Gabriel analyzed Vincent's intentions:

> Vincent is convinced of the usefulness of his book because it offers both spiritual profit and material advantage. The book, first of all, helps us to lift our hearts to God and, secondly, it is an excellent manual for preaching, lecturing, and disputing. In a word, he recommends it as a practical manual for a parish priest and an important reference book for academic people, students and masters.[16]

Vincent recognized one way to simplify the study of a large reference book was to divide it into more manageable sections.[17] He originally designed four volumes, or mirrors, as the basic division of the *Speculum maius*: *Speculum naturale*, *Speculum doctrinale*, *Speculum morale*, and *Speculum historiale*. In "The *Speculum historiale*: Some Aspects of its Genesis and Manuscript Tradition," J. B. Voorbij describes the efforts that scholars have taken to determine the order in which Vincent wrote the *Speculum maius*. In the years before 1244, Vincent began planning the encyclopedia. Initially he designed only two volumes, the *Speculum naturale* and *historiale* and completed the *historiale* in 1244. After Radulfus, abbot of Royaumont, informed king

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[13] Vincent, *naturale*, prologue, ch. 3.
[14] "quoniam hoc ipsum *opus* nouum quidem est simul et antiquum, breue quoque pariter et prolixum. Antiquum certe auctoritate et materia. Nouum vero partium compilatione, et earum aggregatione." Vincent, *naturale*, prologue, ch. 4. See also Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 10.
[15] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 10, 13.
[16] Ibid., 13.
[17] Vincent explained that by dividing the work into books and chapters the information would shine forth (*elucescant*) to the reader. Vincent, *naturale*, prologue, ch. 3.

Louis IX of Vincent's efforts, Louis provided funds to assist in copying the work. Vincent had the original draft of the *Speculum historiale* copied for the king. He then completed the first draft of the *Speculum naturale*, although only books one to eight of the original thirty have survived. It was about this same time that Vincent moved from Beauvais to Royaumont and received research assistance from the brothers at the abbey. After some rework, Vincent completed the *Speculum maius* between 1256 and 1259.[18] Because of the revisions, more than one version of the mirrors exists and the number of volumes, the content and text within each example can also vary.

In the end, Vincent divided the *Speculum* into three volumes describing science, history, and the relationships between man and the universe. He planned to first complete the *Speculum naturale*, a compendium of natural history in thirty-two books and 3,718 chapters, which "reflected all natural phenomena in the order in which they were created by God." The second planned mirror, the *Speculum doctrinale*, seventeen books and 2,374 chapters, contained all knowledge of theology and sciences, and "opens with the story of the Fall, of the drama which explains the riddle of the universe."[19] The rest of this volume organizes human knowledge according to scholarly, practical, and moral criteria, making it especially useful to preachers and teachers.[20] The last planned mirror, the *Speculum historiale*, was actually the first he completed and it became the most popular. It contains the history of the world up to the time of the crusades (approximately

[18] Voorbij, "Aspects of Genesis," 11-14; Monique Paulmier-Foucart, *Vincent de Beauvais et le Grand Miroir du Monde* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2004), 16.
[19] Mâle, 24. Christel Meier also discusses this organization of the *Speculum* in "Organization of Knowledge and Encyclopaedic *ordo*: Functions and Purposes of a Universal Literary Genre," in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts: Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1-4 July 1996*, ed. Peter Binkley (New York: Brill, 1997), 108-9.
[20] Hunt, 161.

the year 1100) in thirty-two books that reflect all historical knowledge.[21] According to Mâle the order Vincent "adopted was the most imposing which the Middle Age could conceive–the very plan of God as it appears in the Scriptures."[22] The *Speculum morale* is a special case. Although several manuscripts exist, Vincent is not the author. In 1719, after finding events that occurred after Vincent's death within the *morale*, F. J. Echard determined that was an "unscrupulous fraud" created in the fourteenth century.[23] Scholars after Echard determined that part of the *Speculum morale* was actually completed in the thirteenth century.[24] Later medieval readers, however, assumed that Vincent had written the entire volume.

Few libraries had or have complete copies of the *Speculum* or even entire mirrors since their size usually meant that the individual volumes were divided into more than one codex. For example, the copies of the *Speculum doctrinale* in both the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the Openbare Biblitheek in Brugge Belgium are divided into two manuscript codices.[25] The first codex contains books one to nine and the second contains books ten to eighteen. The copies of the *Speculum historiale* in the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique in Brussels are divided into individual codices containing chapters one to eight, chapters nine to sixteen, and chapters seventeen to twenty three.[26] A tripartite

[21] Voorbij, "Aspects of Genesis," 11; the number of books within each volume depends on the version of the manuscript examined.
[22] Mâle, 24.
[23] Gregory G. Guzman, "The Encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais and His Mongol Extracts from John of Plano Carpini and Simon of Saint-Quentin," *Speculum* 49, no. 2 (Apr., 1974): 287, n. 1; Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 10.
[24] Voorbij, "Aspects of Genesis," 13.
[25] Bibliothèque nationale de France manuscripts 1015 and 1016; Openbare Biblitheek manuscripts 251 and 252.
[26] J. Van den Gehyn, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Tome Troisième, Théologie* (Bruxelles: Polleunis et Ceuterick, Imprimeurs,1903). See descriptions of entries 2104 to 2114, pages 293-96.

division for the *historiale* is most common, but others were used, even a quinquepartite division.[27] At three times the length of the Bible, a multi-volume set would have put an extreme financial burden on a single owner. The *Speculum naturale* and *Speculum doctrinale* contain over thirty books of thirty to fifty folios each for a total of over nine hundred folios.[28]

Obviously, Vincent was aware that the value that of such a massive amount of information depended on accuracy. He attempted to provide his readers with the best possible text. He included citations listing an author's name and often a book number, generally located near the start of the text in manuscripts. The Douai printing contains additional marginal comments often identifying the sources. Understanding citations is critical to evaluating Vincent's entries. In cases where he does not list sources, some can be determined either because the text closely matches the original or has a similar style. For example, the section on monasticism within the entry for Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 329-389/390) appears to be taken directly from one of Gregory's texts, since some of it is written in first person. Vincent indicates that his source was the Latin translation by Rufinus Aquileiensis (d. 410). Since there is no indication that Vincent spoke Greek, it is understandable that he used translations in his own research.[29]

Vincent made efforts to reproduce his sources literally, although he occasionally modified or deleted text, usually signaling the change with a set of words or phrases such as *porro*, *vero*, and *quidem*.[30] Within the prologue he explains that he tried to correct

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[27] J. B. Voorbij, "The *Speculum historiale*: Some Aspects of its Genesis and Manuscript Tradition," in *Vincent of Beauvais and Alexander the Great*, 11, describes the many divisions of the *Speculum*.
[28] Hunt, 147.
[29] I have not been able to discover any scholar who claims that Vincent knew Greek.
[30] Guzman, "Mongol Extracts," 294, note 32.

errors in texts and clarify misunderstanding common at the time. For example he clarifies a comment in Bede concerning the differences between Dionysius, Bishop of Athens, and Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth.[31] At other times he identifies information missing from sources.[32] Yet there are, as could be expected, errors that he introduced. Some are simple, such as an occasional misspelling. The word "oberrans" on line nineteen, of book fourteen, chapter ninety five of the *Speculum historale*, is probably a misspelling for "aberrans."[33] The passage discusses the need for monks to remain solemn and orderly in prayer. Asking them to keep their eyes from wandering, "aberrans," would make sense. Others errors are more significant. Vincent conflated Pliny the Younger (61-112 CE) and Pliny the Elder and sometimes refers to only one Pliny. He confused Priscian the grammarian (fl. 500 CE) with Priscian the philosopher (fl. sixth century).[34] B. L. Ullman discovered several errors in the original *florilegum* that was one of Vincent's major sources (Paris 17903, *n*). At times it seems that although Vincent corrected errors within the *florilegum*, at other points he copied them, however the corrections are not completely consistent between manuscripts. Ullman theorizes that Vincent himself might have written certain corrections in the *florelegium*. Ullman also determined that Vincent used at least one other, currently unidentified *florilegium*.[35]

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[31] Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 10, ch. 42. The entry for Dionysius follows a short entry for both Pope Clement and Ignatius of Antioch. Abelard noted that the Dionysius that Bede describes as a visitor to France was Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth. Paul Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius: A Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction to Their Influence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 16.
[32] Weber, 96.
[33] Vincent, *historiale*, bk. 14, ch. 95, line 19.
[34] Weber, 205.
[35] B. L. Ullman, "Tibullus in the Mediaeval *Florilegia*," *Classical Philology* 23, no. 2 (Apr., 1928), 155; B. L. Ullman, "Classical Authors in Certain Mediaeval *Florilegia*," *Classical Philology* 27, no. 1 (Jan., 1932), 1, 4, 9, 10; B. L. Ullman, "The Text of Petronius in the Sixteenth Century," *Classical Philology* 25, no. 2 (Apr., 1930): 128-54; B. L. Ullman, "Valerius Flaccus in the Mediaeval Florilegia" *Classical Philology* 26, no. 1 (Jan., 1931): 21-30; B. L. Ullman, "The Text Tradition and Authorship of the Laus Pisonis." *Classical Philology* 24, no. 2 (Apr., 1929): 109-32.

As could also be expected, names and dates within the *Speculum* do not always match modern conventions. Some examples show the types of issues the reader might confront. Vincent spelled the name of the Greek saint Gregory of Nazianzus as Nazianzeno. He noted that "Dionysius the Areopagite became famous under Emperor Marcus Antonius the second in the year 71 after the incarnation of the Lord."[36] There was no Roman emperor named Marcus Antonius II, but in 103 CE, seventy-one years after Christ's death assuming the age of thirty-two, Trajan (r. 98-117), whose formal name is Caesar Marcus Ulpius Nerva Trajanus Augustus, ruled as the second Antonine emperor.

Although Vincent listed his sources in his text and described works written by the person whose story he related, his use of both complete manuscripts and *florilegia*, anthologies of quotations taken from various texts, makes it difficult to know how much he had actually read of the work of any particular writer whose quotations he included. In a series of articles, Ullman examined Vincent's use of *florilegia* and his working methods and determined that Vincent's first step was to excerpt passages from the *florilegia* available to him. In the process he often added marginal notes with other citations, including complete manuscripts.[37] In certain cases he used an entire manuscript as his source.[38] No matter which type of source he used, he listed the author and often the name of the work in the body of his text, rather than in the margins. He was concerned that confining the *apparatus fontium* to the margins alone could cause problems since scribes

[36] Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 10, ch. 42. My translation.
[37] Guzman, "Mongol Extracts," 292, notes 24 and 25; The three articles that mention Vincent are: Ullman, "Tibullus"; Ullman, "Laus Pisonis,"; Ullman, "Classical Authors."
[38] The implication is that Vincent had he entire text, but that assumes no part of the text was missing in the manuscript available to Vincent.

were known to omit the marginal comments during copying.[39] By listing these works, he permitted his readers to search out and examine the originals, and he even attempted to ensure that his sources would not be lost in copying errors.[40]

With his access to a large supply of material, however, it is not possible to determine every source that Vincent examined. According to Mâle, Vincent had access to Louis IX's library, which contained virtually any book that could be obtained in the thirteenth century.[41] Weber argues, however, that Louis' library would not have been useful in conducting research for the *Speculum* since Louis did not collect his books until his return from crusade in 1254, too late for Vincent's use.[42] In the *Tractatus consolatorius* Vincent thanked King Louis for providing funds for copying manuscripts, not for use of a library.[43] Even without Louis' manuscripts, Vincent would most certainly have had access to an extensive number of works, including those in the library at St. Denis where Abbot Suger (abbot 1122-1151) had compiled a library that allowed the abbey to become France's historical center.[44] In addition, Vincent visited other monasteries. The chronicle of St. Martin's Benedictine Abbey at Tournai notes that he visited and used its extensive holdings.[45] Vincent himself states that he had actually seen

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[39] Richard H. Rouse and Mary A Rouse, *Preachers,* Florilegia *and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979), 31. Vincent notes that he was following the example of the *Decretum* and not Peter Lombard's Sentences, which used marginal comments. Vincent, *naturale*, prologue, ch. 3. Vincent had reason to be concerned about how his text would be transmitted. Manuscript 1015 in the Bibliothèque nationale de France is missing a large section of text between the middle of book two until the fourth chapter of book four. It is not clear how or when the folios were lost. The cover appears to have been put on the book before it was given to the Bibliothèque nationale de France. If that is the case this information has been missing for several centuries.
[40] Guzman, "Mongol Extracts," 294, note 32.
[41] Mâle, 24.
[42] Weber, 10.
[43] Daunou, 312; Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 8 note 3.
[44] Le Goff, 267.
[45] Stones, 302.

most of the works he cites and that he had made abridged versions of many in preparation for writing the *Speculum*.[46]

Vincent was unable to single handedly collect the massive amount of information that he needed to compile before he could write the *Speculum*. The Cistercian monks at Royaumont and probably Dominicans at Saint-Jacques helped Vincent gather information for the encyclopedia, both in finding and in copying texts from the 450 authors that Vincent used as his source material.[47] Such scholarly collaboration became common during the thirteenth century.[48] Vincent acknowledges his assistants in the prologue, but claims that those who helped him were the cause of errors in the text.[49]

Vincent's goal of providing a useful source for teaching fit within the changing educational milieu, which saw the growth of new educational institutions such as the Cistercian college, and it matched the aims of other authors of his time. Latin as well as vernacular encyclopedias provided authoritative texts for monastic and university instruction. In the twelfth century, scholars directed their efforts to "the organization of inherited material in systematic form."[50] Collected works became common, including Gratian's *Decretum* (c. 1140), a collection of ecclesiastical legal knowledge, Peter Abelard's *Sic et Non* (c. 1121-1132) in which he addresses contradictory quotations from church fathers, Peter Lombard's *Sentences* (c. 1150) a compilation of theology in the form of *sententiae*, or authoritative statements on biblical passages, and glosses to the

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[46] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xxxiii.
[47] Robert J. Schneider, "Vincent of Beauvais' *Opus universale de statu principis*: a Reconstruction of Its History and Contents," in *Intentions et Réceptions*, 292; Ullman, "Tibullus," 154.
[48] Schneider, "*Opus* Reconstruction," 292.
[49] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 11; Vincent, *naturale*, prologue, ch. 3.
[50] Richard H. Rouse, "Cistercian Aids to Study in the Thirteenth Century," in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History II*, ed. John R. Sommerfeldt (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1976), 124.

Bible. Each of these ordered information and provided readers with some ability to search for specific details, in a manner similar to the *Speculum*. The works show an effort to assimilate and organize inherited written authority.[51] Early in the twelfth century Lambert (1061-1125), canon of Saint-Omar compiled the *Liber floridus* (Flower Book), the first medieval encyclopedia since Isidore of Seville's (c. 540-636) and about a half a century later, Hugh of Fouilloy (c. 1096-c. 1172) wrote the *Aviarium* (The Aviary). Copies of these texts were also distributed widely during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Thomas of Cantimpré (1201-1272) compiled *De natura rerum* (The Nature of Things) sometime before 1244 and Gautier of Metz (fl. thirteenth century) produced the *Mappemunde* (Map of the World) in 1246. The *Speculum maius* provided the basis for the first vernacular encyclopedia, *Le Trésor* (The Treasure) by Brunetto Latini (c. 1220-1294), translated from Latin to medieval French in the 1270s, followed by Jacob of Maerlant's (c 1230-c. 1300) *Spiegel Historiale* (Mirror of History) written in Dutch in 1284. The *Speculum maius* was especially popular in the region of northeast France and Flanders and many copies were produced in those areas soon after they were completed.[52]

Thus, the *Speculum* was only one of the tools developed and used because of the growth in university teaching and the need for preachers' aids in the high medieval period. Vincent understood that his encyclopedia had to have new functionality if it were to be an effective teaching tool. Early in the text of encyclopedia he explains that that "since the multitude of books, the shortness of time and the slipperiness of memory do not allow all things which are written to be equally retained in the mind, I decided to reduce in one volume in a compendium and in summary order some flowers selected

[51] Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 4-5.
[52] Hunt, 111-12, 145. *De natura rerum* is before 1244 and *Mappemunde* is 1246.

according to my talents from all the authors I was able to read."[53] Thus, in Vincent's view, the extremely large number of books, increasing the amount of knowledge, combined with the deficiencies of memory, did not permit a man was to comprehend everything that had been written.[54] Instead, using a term that E. R. Smits defined, Vincent implies that a period of "searchability" had begun: given the right tools, scholars could search for information rather than having to memorize every fact.[55] Perhaps no one understood the need for this better than Vincent. Considering the number of texts he either examined or read, he undoubtedly comprehended the volume of information available to scholars of his age and the need to have organized material. He of all people knew that so much information had to be made accessible in a logical manner.[56]

Once the material was organized, Vincent provided more finding devices that made the *Speculum* searchable.[57] He built upon Cistercian practices that he probably observed during his stay at Royaumont. Vincent might have benefited from the Cistercians increasing involvement in education. Stephen Lexington, abbot of Stanley from 1224, was concerned about the order's lack of piety and learning. He associated an increase in piety with an increase in learning. When Stephen was elected abbot of Clairvaux in 1243 he began work to establish a *studium* in Paris next to the abbey of Saint Victor. The new college received substantial endowments during its first decade and proved to be popular with university authorities. By the end of the century it

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[53] Vincent, *naturale*, prologue, ch. 1. Translation by Ann Blair, "Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload ca. 1550-1700," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 1 (Jan., 2003): 11-28. See also Lusignan, *Préface*.
[54] Vincent, *naturale*, prologue, ch. 1.
[55] Smits uses the phrase "searchabilty" to describe the Vincent's efforts to create mechanical searching devices within the text. Smits, 2.
[56] Weber, 31.
[57] Smits, 1-2.

consisted of several buildings housing thirty-five monks.[58] Cistercians were perhaps the earliest creators and users of indices, with several indexed *florilegia* in use at Clairvaux and its daughter house Villers-en-Brabant before 1246.[59] From the Cisterican *studium* in Paris the use of these tools spread to the remaining schools in Paris and to Oxford.[60] Cistercian efforts were aimed at making information more available and were "the product of a common desire to get at material, embodying a concept of utility, of sheer practical usefulness." Making information more accessible made writing sermons easier, which was perhaps the underlying goal of the monks.[61] Texts that were easier to search helped instruct the clergy and allow them to better preach and minister to their flocks.[62] Vincent incorporated Cistercian tools such as a table of contents and running titles to help readers find information.[63] He also added a glossary to the *Speculum doctrinale* to assist the reader who wanted to look up unfamiliar terms.[64] In his effort to improve upon these tools, Vincent contributed to what Richard H. Rouse called the "technology of thought."[65] The tools Vincent provided gave a reader of the *Speculum* the ability to seek information on virtually any topic. These finding devices could be used to either replace or augment information within the memory, a change in the medieval manner of thinking about and perceiving information.[66]

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[58] Louis J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1977), 79-83.
[59] Rouse, "Cistercian Aids to Study," 126-29; Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 15.
[60] Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 17.
[61] Rouse, "Cistercian Aids to Study," 131-32.
[62] Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 7.
[63] Smits, 2-3; Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 10.
[64] Since the glossary was supposed to be at the end of chapter two, it was also missing from Manuscript 1015 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. This almost certainly caused problems for readers.
[65] Rouse, "Cistercian Aids to Study," 123.
[66] Chapter two contains a discussion of medieval views of memory.

Vincent organized entries in both the *Speculum historiale* and *doctrinale* in chronological order. By discussing subjects in the order in which they were created according to Genesis, the *Speculum naturale* was also organized in a more chronological manner than previous natural history encyclopedias. As he explained in the prologue, when describing natural things and historical events Vincent thought this organization seemed more suited to and less confusing than alphabetical entries and entries by topic.[67] A table of contents also provided a list of the contents by chapters within each book.[68] Thus, Vincent planned for readers to have two methods of searching through the mirrors, chronologically, or by examining the table of contents. Anyone pursuing self-study, as Vincent advocated in the prologue, or any prelate who was seeking information for inclusion in a sermon, would more easily be able to find the material he needed.

Another method Vincent provided to assist the researcher was the division of the work topically, into volumes or mirrors, as already described. Each mirror was divided into books. Each book was then divided into chapters. The manuscript table of contents is organized in the same way as the main body of text, listing the book title, along with a short description of the book, followed by the chapter titles. To help orient the reader color was often used. For example, each book description begins with a large blue or red "L" for "*Liber*." The chapter titles follow in sequence, each starting on a new line with a capital letter colored blue or red (usually a "D" for "*De*," the first word of most chapters). The chapter number, in red, is placed after the chapter title. There are no page or folio numbers in the table of contents or the manuscript. Within the main body of text, each

[67] Vincent, *naturale*, prologue, ch. 3.
[68] See 1965 facsimile version of *Speculum doctrianle* for an example. While the 1965 facsimile edition closely matches the indices in Ms 1015 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France and Mss 251 and 252 of the Openbibliotheek Brugge, Belgium, there are some textual differences between all three documents.

book begins with an oversized initial in either red or blue, often decorated with the opposite color. Each chapter begins with a slightly smaller initial in either red or blue. Thus it is easy for a reader to find specific information. Using color and letter size, the table of contents allows the reader to find the desired topic and chapter number. The reader can then turn pages and again look for color and letter size to find the start of the book or chapter that they want.[69] The more expensive copies contain historiated initials, such as those in the *Speculum historiale* in the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique in Brussels, the Vellereille *Speculum naturale*, and the Brugge *Speculum doctrinale*. The Brugge and Vellereille versions are unusual because illuminations are generally found only in the *Speculum historiale*.[70] More than simply mechanical placement on the page, the system allows a reader to easily scan for particular topics.[71]

Elizabeth Moore Hunt argues that the illustrations in Vincent's encyclopedias show that they were used for the educational purposes that Vincent intended. Soon after Vincent completed the *Speculum*, three centers of manuscript production, Saint Omer, Arras, and Douai, illuminated copies for regional monastic patrons. These volumes were embellished with historiated initials and with marginal imagery within the borders. According to Hunt, the illuminations assisted readers in learning the *exempla* and metaphors, and often either helped them understand the text or illustrated specific passages. Within the historiated initials at the beginning of each book are often *magistri*, teachers wearing traditional birettas, and tonsured monks who write or instruct and advise

[69] Smits, 2; Voorbij, "Aspects of Genesis," 11. Manuscript 1015 and 1016 from the BnF, and manuscripts 251 and 252 in the Openbibliotheek, Brugge, Belgium are organized in the manner described and are typical of how the manuscripts are organized.
[70] Alison Stones, "Prolegomena to a Corpus of Vincent of Beauvais Illustrations," in *Intentions et Réceptions*, 304, discusses the relative frequency of decorated versions of the mirrors.
[71] Smits, 2.

students. The remaining divisions are illustrations of biblical or historical subjects. The marginalia in the Vellereille *Speculum naturale* depict figures of authority, either a monk, a teacher, or God as creator. The opening initial of the Apologia in the Boulogne *Speculum historiale* depicts a tonsured Vincent, wearing his Dominican habit, as he sits at a desk copying a book. In the Vellereille *Speculum naturale*, and the Bruges *Speculum doctrinale*, the initials that begin the text each show a *magister* reading from an exemplum on a lectern. The first sentence of the Vellereille text emphasizes recollection (*memoria*), speaking (*labilitas*), and writing (*scripta*). Marginal images such as birds and fish reminded readers to hunt or fish for words.[72] These images suggest the educational purpose of the encyclopedia and "underlined the function of the *Speculum* as a source for the consultation of authorities in and on history, whose examples could be gathered in and recalled from memory."[73]

Vincent's innovations took him beyond earlier encyclopedias, such as Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (c. 77-79 CE), the first encyclopedia, which did not provide the reader such conveniences. Pliny divided *Natural History* into books and simply listed the major topics of each book at the start of the text. Although his organization relied upon building classifications, dividing his subjects into categories, either contrasting or similar, reading the work can be confusing since one idea might lead to another that is completely different and all are collected into a single topic.[74] Pliny and Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636), who wrote the first medieval encyclopedia, *Etymologiae*, both attempted to assemble all human knowledge in one collection. Isidore relied on Latin authors,

[72] Hunt, 145, 148, 151, 156.
[73] Ibid., 152-53.
[74] Trevor Murphy, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History: The Empire in the Encyclopedia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 11, 2, 21, 29, 30.

including Pliny, and like Pliny, he organized his work by topic, often making groupings of similar subjects. The name *Etymologiae* is based on Isidore's inclusion of the origins of the words and names for the subjects he discussed.[75] Slightly before the time that Vincent wrote, the Cistercian monk Helinand of Froidmot (1160-1229) applied some of the same searching tools as Vincent to his *Chronicon*, although the text has characteristics of a combined history and biblical commentary. The structure of the *Chronicon* is not as consistent as the *Speculum*. In particular long digressions are interjected within and interrupt specific topics.[76] At approximately the same time that Vincent was writing, the Franciscan Bartholomaeus Anglicus (c. 1203-1272) compiled *De proprietatibus rerum* (The Nature of Things), a scientific encyclopedia on the nature of the universe, also structured hierarchically by topic, and then alphabetically within topics. It became a popular textbook.[77] Compared to previous encyclopedias the *Speculum*'s inclusiveness and organization made Vincent's text the first universal encyclopedia on a grand scale.[78]

One example shows the usefulness of the *Speculum* for both preaching and self-education. Out of approximately 3,800 chapters in the *historiale*, chronologically and placed in the text in a position that reflected the time when Vincent thought the saint

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[75] William R. Cook and Ronald B. Herzman, *The Medieval World View: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 122.
[76] Smits, 3-4.
[77] Päivi Pahta, "'*So Seip Idem Comentator*': Code-Switching and Organization of Knowledge in John Trevisa's Translation on *De proprietatibus rerum*," in *Voices on the Past: Studies in Old and Middle English Language and Literature*, Alicia Rodriguez Álvarez and Francisco Alonso Almeida, eds. (Coruña: Netbiblo, 2004), 36; D. C. Greetham, "The Concept of Nature in Bartholomaeus Anglicus (FL. 1230)," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 41, no. 4 (Oct.-Dec., 1980): 665.
[78] Weber, 30-31.

lived.[79] Vincent's chronological entries document the development and evolution of the various categories of people who were sanctified by the church. By listing all saints, Vincent creates a nearly complete collection in a single source, and at the same time, provides a history of the church through its sanctified members. His descriptions are necessarily abbreviated to facilitate inclusion in an encyclopedia of all knowledge and he does not usually discuss the cults of any of the saints. As he does with other entries, he often lists his source, or describes any texts produced by the person whose story is being related.[80] By citing his sources Vincent offered anyone who studied the entries not only a validation of his facts, but also an overview of church history, and an inspiration for further research, all of which increase the pedagogical value of his work. Providing the means to navigate through the entire body of medieval knowledge encouraged readers to acquire new knowledge. By studying the *Speculum*, the reader would "become more informed, enlightened, and hopefully, better human beings."[81]

Of all the volumes, the *Speculum historiale* has been the most popular, the most often copied in manuscript format and the most frequently printed.[82] Over two hundred extant copies of the *Speculum historiale* prove that the encyclopedia was a success, with certain volumes more popular than others. The overwhelming size, and consequent cost,

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[79] Sherry L. Reames, *The* Legenda Aurea*: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History* (Madison Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 74.
[80] Smits, 7, argues that as a Dominican, Vincent intended for his work to be used as a source for preachers. For examples see the *Speculum historiale* entry for Gregory of Nazianzus, bk. 14, chs. 88-95; the *Speculum doctrinale* entry for Gregory the Great, bk. 17, ch. 57; the *Speculum doctrinale* entry for Dionysius, bk. 10, ch. 42; and the *Speculum historiale* entry for Augustine, bk. 17, chs. 46-51.
[81] Tom McArthur, *Worlds of Reference: Lexicography, Learning, and Language from the Clay Tablet to the Computer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 68.
[82] Smits, 11.

of the *Speculum* may have prevented a wider dissemination.[83] Early printing added to the number of versions of the *Speculum historiale*.[84] In Germany, in particular, over half the known copies are incunabula.[85] Selections from the *Speculum historiale* were copied into German chronicles as late as the fifteenth century.[86] Both M. Danau and Ullman argue that "through his numerous quotations Vincent was more responsible than any other mediaeval writer for inspiring others to seek out and study both the Greek and the Latin classics."[87] The encyclopedia's legacy is even more extensive since it was used as a source by subsequent authors. It continued to be used in universities until at least the sixteenth century when Juan Vives (1492-1540) noted that it was still used as a reference source, influencing a large number of scholars.[88] A reprint in 1624 in Douai attests to a continued popularity.[89] The last revised printing was released in 1879.[90] No critical edition exists for the *Speculum*, but a facsimile printing of the 1624 Douai edition was released in 1965, making it more available than any other edition. For that reason, it is the version most commonly used by scholars.[91] There are known problems with this edition, however. According to Gregory Guzman, the 1624 edition is one of the most unreliable

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[83] Gregory G. Guzman, "A Growing Tabulation of Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* Manuscripts," *Scriptorium* 29:1 (1975): 124. Guzman names two previous scholars who had identified a number of extant copies of the *Speculum*, and then notes that his tabulation is the most complete, but is still in work. Brun, Laurent. Les *Archives de littérature du Moyen Âge* (ARLIMA). University of Ottowa. Last modified March 17, 2012. http://www.arlima.net/uz/vincent_de_beauvais.html, lists seventy seven copies. Walter Cahn, "Medieval Landscape and the Encyclopedic Tradition," *Yale French Studies Special Issue: Contexts: Style and Values in Medieval Art and Literature* (1991): 19.
[84] Guzman, "Mongol Extracts," 288.
[85] Weigand, Rudolf, "Elements of the *Speculum historiale* in German Universal Chronicles of the Late Midle Ages," in *Intentions et Réceptions*, 391.
[86] Weigand, 407.
[87] Ullman, "Project," 325. Danau and Ullman assume that having read portions of the texts in the Speculm, scholars and others would be inspired to read the entire text.
[88] Juan Luis Vives, *On Education, translated with an introduction by Foster Watson* (Totowa, NJ: Torman and Littlefield, 1971), liv-lv, 281.
[89] Guzman, "Growing Tabulation," 122.
[90] McArthur, 67.
[91] Guzman, "Growing Tabulation," 122.

of the printed editions in part because the seventeenth-century editors substituted Vincent's quotations with corrected readings from the sources he used.[92]

Opus universale de statu principis

Within the prologue of *De eruditione,* Vincent notes that he had interrupted work on an *Opus universale de statu principis* to write *De eruditione* at the request of Queen Marguerite. The *Opus*, perhaps written with Louis' encouragement, was intended to provide guidelines for anyone associated with the court, from the education of royal children to the behavior and responsibilities of bailiffs and courtiers.[93] Scholars have taken varying attitudes about exactly what Vincent intended to include in *Opus* beginning with J. B. Bourgeat, whose 1856 book was one of the earliest biographies of Vincent. He questioned whether Vincent placed parts of the *Opus* in the *Speculum doctrinale*, or whether the two documents were the same. In 1877, A. Millauer decided that that *Opus* and *De morali* were the same. These proposals were questioned by both R Friedrich in 1883 and Arpad Steiner in his critical edition of *De eruditione.* Friedrich maintained that Vincent could not have been working on two such large works at the same time.[94] Steiner concluded that the ten mentions of the *Opus* from within *De eruditione* did not refer to *De moraili* but rather that *De eruditione* was the fourth book of a larger treatise and the references to the *Opus* in the *doctrinale* were either allusions to an earlier version of that same book or references to a mirror for princes that Vincent never completed, save for

[92] Guzman, "Mongol Extracts," 288; Guzman, "Growing Tabulation," 122.
[93] Vincent of Beauvais in *Vincent of Beauvais, De eruditione* filiorum nobilium, ed. Arpad Steiner (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1938; repr. NY: Kraus Reprint Co., 1970), 3, prologue: 12-15; Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xxi. Vincent explains that he was writing the *Opus* out of love and respect for the king.
[94] Schneider, "*Opus* Reconstruction," 287-88.

the first book.[95] Craig noted that Vincent's many references to another work (presumably the *Opus*) within *De eruditione* show that the other work was very much on Vincent's mind.[96] In his 1960 dissertation, J. E. Bourne pointed out the flaw in Steiner's logic: no earlier version of the *doctrinale* has ever been suggested. He then proposed that *De morali* was the first book in the incomplete mirror for princes. In 1938, the same year that Steiner published the critical edition of *De eruditione,* Wilhem Berges wrote a study of mirrors for princes in which he proposed that *De morali* and *De eruditione,* respectively, formed the first and last volumes of the *Opus*.[97] Berges determined that the material for the *Opus* had been collected and organized at the time Vincent wrote *De eruditione,* and "that a ten-year hiatus stood between the composition of the two treaties, and that the work remained uncompleted at Vincent's death."[98]

Relying on the prefaces and contents of *De eruditione* and De *morale* Robert J. Schneider, who produced the critical edition of *De morali* in 1995, reconstructed Vincent's steps in creating the *Opus*. According to Schneider, shortly after arriving in Royaumont, probably in late 1247 or early 1248, Vincent began work on the text and as he did with the *Speculum* he probably enlisted the help of both Cistercian brothers and fellow Dominicans to search for pertinent materials, especially other treatises on mores of princes. Vincent noted that such treatises were rare and that there were few that were "close at hand."[99] For example he seems to have known only Helinand of Froidmosnt's (c. 1160-c. 1229) *De constituendo rege* (About the Institution of a King), a lengthy tract

[95] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xvi-xvii.
[96] Craig, 466, n. 9.
[97] Schneider, "*Opus* Reconstruction," 288; Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xvi-xvii.
[98] Schneider, "*Opus* Reconstruction," 289.
[99] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xxi-xxiii.

based primarily on John of Salisbury's (1115-1176) *Policraticus*. With so few sources on secular rulers, he decided to borrow from several works on governance that, although written for prelates, had applications to rulers. Specifically he pulled information and ideas from the *Regula pastoralis* (The Book of the Pastoral Rule) of Gregory the Great (540-604) and Bernard of Clairvaux's (1090-1153) *De consideratione ad Eugenium papam* (Advice to Pope Eugene). He also included material from chapters on rulers from the Pseudo-Cyprian *De duodecim abusiuis saeculi* (On the Twelve Abuses of the World), a late seventh-century work by an anonymous Irish writer.[100]

With sources identified, he began organizing the *Opus*, determining the "general subject matter and the specific topics of the work, and organizing them into books and chapters."[101] Vincent intended to address political issues, the origin of political power and the attitude a prince should take concerning it. Within the completed volumes, Vincent warns the prince against the effects of both flattery and slander. As Louis demanded of his son Philip, Vincent demands that the prince "excel others in power, wisdom and goodness, and advises him to govern wisely in leading his people both morally and politically, choosing advisers, and conducting legislative, judicial, financial, and military affairs."[102] Having completed the preliminary work, he was able to respond to Queen Marguerite's request and to write the fourth book of the *Opus* (*De eruditione*) first and within it include references to the earlier books in the set. When he completed *De eruditione,* Vincent returned to work on the encyclopedia to prepare a revised edition. He separated out the material for the *doctrinale* from the original *naturale*, and completed

[100] Ibid, xxii, note 12, and chapter 3, note 30-31; Helinand of Froidmont's work is in book XI, chapter 38 of his *Chronicon*.
[101] Schneider, "*Opus* Reconstruction," 292.
[102] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xxiii.

two redactions of the *historiale*.[103] That work was interrupted by the sad task of writing *Liber consolatorius* to comfort King Louis IX upon the death of his son and heir to the throne, the fifteen-year-old Prince Louis.[104] He finally completed *De morali* at the urging of Thibaut V, count of Champagne, king of Navarre, and husband of Louis and Marguerites's eldest daughter Isabelle.[105] He sent a copy to both Louis and Thibaut upon its completion, sometime before his death in 1264.[106]

De eruditione provides hints to the overall focus of the *Opus*. From those clues Schneider proposed the following contents for the four books of the *Opus*. The first volume establishes the "the origin and purpose of political power" and how the prince should treat his power. The second two books, mentioned only in *De eruditione,* direct the prince to order his life and act in ways that reflect his position and responsibilities. The final book establishes a program of education that inculcates a love of learning and provides instructions for a moral education to establish filial obedience, good habits of behavior and comportment. It also provides for the education of girls, emphasizing the characters desirable in princesses, and prepares them for marital life.[107] The two unfinished books were intended to provide guidance so the prince could develop "good character and discipline; decency of expression, dress and comportment; proper guidance of the senses; reverence toward God, the family, and others; and other appropriate virtues and patterns of behavior."[108] Of the two completed volumes, *De eruditione* is almost solely concerned with the education of children, while in *De morali* Vincent addresses

[103] Schneider, "*Opus* Reconstruction," 292-93.
[104] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xxiii.
[105] Schneider, "*Opus* Reconstruction," 294.
[106] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xiii.
[107] Schneider, "*Opus* Reconstruction," 298-99; Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xxiii.
[108] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xxiii.

issues of the court including moral behavior, education, and politics, for both members of the royal family, as well as those who served them, "whether residing in the court or administering in the king's territories."[109]

De morali principis institutione

De morali principis institutione, the first volume of the *Opus* discusses politics, the justification of kingship, the behavior of the prince, and how a ruler governs wisely and with goodness. As with his other works, Vincent uses hundreds of sources to bolster his arguments. While he lamented the lack of treatises on the mores of princes, he found major passages to borrow in Helinand of Froidmont's *De consituendo rege* (*Chronicon*, XI, 38) (1211-1223), which was itself based on John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*. The passages that Vincent chose all originally appeared in *Policraticus*. Also included in *De morali* are seven hundred *autoritates* and *exempla* from biblical, classical, patristic, and medieval works. The majority of Vincent's extracts were from the Vulgate. The Old Testament was the source of two hundred and thirteen *autoritates* with the majority coming from Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, and Ecclesiaticus. Seventy-seven quotations came from the New Testament. For nearly all of the one hundred and ninety-five *exempla* from classical poets and philosophers, as well as several early Christian writers, Vincent mined an easily available source, the final version of the *Speculum maius*. In doing so, he also proved the worth of his work as a source for other scholars. Often the quotations were used to provide examples of the virtues and vices and moral quality of kings. Many of the same authors quoted in *De eruditione* appear again in *De*

[109] Ibid., xxi-xxiii, at page xxi.

morali. Ovid (43 BCE–AD 17/18), Cicero (106-43 BCE), Seneca (4 BC-CE 65), Quintillian (35-100 CE), Juvenal (late 1st and early 2nd century CE), Sallust (86-35 BCE), Suetonius (69-122 CE), Terence (195/185-159 BC) and Vergil (70-19 BCE) all provided *exempla* for Vincent's use. Early Christian fathers whose works Vincent used included Augustine (354-430), Ambrose (330-397), Boethius (480-524/525), Benedict of Nursia (480-543), Gregory the Great, Cassiodorus (c. 484-c. 585), Jerome (c. 347-420), Prudentius (c. 348-405/413), Sidonius (c. 430-480/489), Tertullian (c. 150-c. 225 CE), and Bernard of Clairvaux. The poets Geoffrey of Vinsauf (fl. 1200), Matthew of Vendôme (fl. twelfth c.), and Walter of Châtillon (fl. twelfth c.), along with Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae*), Gregory IX (c. 1145-1241) (*Decretales*) and Hugh of St. Victor (1078-1141) were a few of the medieval writers whose material Vincent mined in his search for sources.[110] The *Summa de uitiis* (Compendium of Sins), written by William Peraldus (ca. 1200-c. 1271) in 1236, provided Vincent with extensive material for his discussion of flattery and ambition. Biblical authorities were used throughout; patristic and Christian authorities provided the support for political theology, and classical and Christian sources, used in nearly equal numbers, bolstered Vincent's practical advice and moral arguments.[111] Schneider provides detailed lists of sources in the appendices at the end of his critical edition.[112] Schneider also provides a complete list of the extant copies of the manuscripts, their stemmas, and their circulation during the medieval period.[113]

[110] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xxx-xxxiv.
[111] Ibid., xliv-xlv. See Guilelmus Peraldus, *De eruditione principum lib. I-VII [microform] [Guillelmi de Conchis Liber moralium dogma philosophorum]*, 1303.
[112] Ibid., 145-81.
[113] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xlvi-lxxxvii.

Within *De morali* Vincent described secular communities under the rule of "kings as the head, the counselors the heart, governors, magistrates and judges the eyes, ears, and tongue, soldiers and officials the sides, and peasants the feet."[114] According to Schneider, the central theme of *De morali* is the moral excellence of the prince, which gives him the ability to control power for the purpose of virtue. Using a trope of the twelfth century, Vincent introduced the work by comparing the king to the trinity. The prince has three attributes: power, wisdom, and goodness, which are respectively, also the attributes of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Vincent then divided the presentation of the remainder of the document according to these three attributes. Chapters two through nine deal with the nature of power while the following seven chapters discuss the wisdom a prince must exercise in administering his realm, and the last thirteen chapters extol the prince to act with goodness. By the time he completed his study of the treatise a prince would understand how to use wisdom and goodness to direct and control power.[115]

Vincent traced the origin of kingship to Nimrod's usurpation of power from the people who were all, even Nimrod himself, originally created equal. From that point until the coming of Christianity mankind suffered under the yoke of an overlord. Christians originally had no kings but they accepted imperial governance when pagan rulers such as Constantine and Clovis were baptized. God then used the Christian prince to aid his worshipers by providing laws and permitting kings to rule only to enforce those laws for the benefit of those they governed. Thus, kingship was limited and, the position of the ruler was sanctified by God, who allowed the prince power, the first attribute, as a means

[114] Ibid., xxiv.
[115] Ibid.

to correct the wrongdoing and reward the good during this fallen age.[116] As a necessary evil, kingship was both "permitted and sanctioned by God,"[117] making all rulers, good and evil, the recipients of power granted by the will of God. While the power of all rulers was just, since it was granted by God, their individual wills or deeds could be evil, if the merits of the people deserved such a king. An evil king was God's scourge and would eventually receive his own reward after death. Because it was accompanied by such an awesome responsibility, kingship was not an honor to be sought, but a burden, superficial and transitory. As long as princes ruled in good faith, with both popular and ecclesiastical consent, and were supported by a long custom of rule, they were legitimate. Vincent argued that the kings of France met all the requirements, and for that reason only they had held power for such a long tenure.[118]

The king's remaining two attributes, wisdom and goodness, are necessary for leadership, for according to Vincent the temptations and perils that a prince will face as a ruler requires him to excel above all others in both attributes. Without them the king would become only a cunning despot. A prince who governs rightly establishes order and inspires righteous terror, yet by exercising mercy gains the love of his people. Vincent lists the ways that a ruler must be wise in both public and private life. The king must control his own behavior, know sacred literature, and choose loyal, prudent friends, advisors, and officials. Once chosen, the prince should let his officers perform their duties. A king must also show wisdom in his public actions, establishing just laws and passing judgment based on those laws, and managing the finances of his household and

[116] Ibid., xxxv.
[117] Ibid., xxv-xxvi.
[118] Ibid.

the kingdom. He ought to pay his officials a decent salary to discourage their desire to steal or accept bribes. At the same time, the prince must exercise good financial management to avoid indebtedness and neither borrow nor lend money. The king must wage war wisely. Vincent acknowledges that although it would be impossible for a prince to know how to accomplish all of this through experience, he could learn a great deal from texts. From his reading, the prince would discover many historical models to imitate. For this reason Vincent encourages kings to become familiar with both the sacred and secular literature that could provide them with a wide array of acquired wisdom and give them an ability to make "statutes and decrees in harmony with canon law and divine law as enshrined in Scripture."[119]

Vincent stresses the need for a king to surpass all others in goodness both because the king answers only to God for his decisions, and because all the virtues that a ruler requires depend upon goodness. More is demanded of the king, so he must have the will to withstand evil. Since he has the power to conceal his sins, and since he can corrupt others if he commits a mortal sin, he must have the nobility of soul that allows him to turn away from evil. The entire welfare of the realm is dependent upon the king's goodness, since he makes decisions about justice and peace. Goodness is also the main weapon that a king has to withstand the onslaught of flatterers who attempt to manipulate and pervert the power of the ruler to their own ends, and those who would slander him and by that act slander his people as well. Vincent continues by explaining why some attempt to attack a ruler in these ways. Envy, a particularly heinous emotion, "gnawing and consuming, distilling the soul it devours into jealousy and spite, . . . pure evil with no

[119] Ibid., xxvii

real or apparent good joined to it," drives some to speak ill of or desire harm to the king. Flattery is caused by the excessive ambition of some courtiers and can be subtle. A good ruler avoids credulity and is not distracted by either slander or flattery.[120] Often those who attempt to influence the prince do from "an inordinate appetite for earthly honor or rank or prestige of office or person, . . . , the especial vice of courtiers." Insatiable ambition deludes some into believing they seek office not for themselves, but for the good of kingdom. Flattery also has its source in ambition, in the desire to please a ruler and achieve position, status, and honor. Prelates or princes who succumb to a flatterer are encouraging the very vices they need to be correcting. A king's innate goodness helps him recognize and overcome the assault of men who attempt to lure them with flattery. At the same time, the king grows through these experiences. He does not display credulity. Instead he critically evaluates and investigates reports, "particularly if the reputation of the teller is in doubt."[121] In Vincent's description, communication and the ability to judge information appear central to the operation of the government.[122]

Vincent gave women virtually no role in *De morali*. Within *De eruditione,* his goals were to discipline girls, to train a woman who was taciturn and likely to obey her father and husband. This is consistent with the guidelines established in *De morali*. Royal women educated by Vincent's standards would not act like earlier Capetian queens, whose functions in the administration of the realm were often significant, but rather, would stand back, act as a moral role model for her children, provide support as a wife,

[120] Ibid., xxviii-xxix, at page xxviii.
[121] Ibid., xxx.
[122] Ibid., xxxvii.

and play little role in the governance of the realm. From Louis' letters to his daughters, the king may have agreed with these sentiments.

According to Schneider, the importance of *De morali* is not the contents, which are much the same as other mirrors for princes, but in the "composition and form." The three separate parts are both divided and unified by the Trinitarian theme.[123] *De morali* makes arguments: unlike the *Speculum*, in *De morali* Vincent's own voice can be heard. The teacher and preacher, whose sermons were heard by the king, clearly expresses his own ideas. Not a compilation, as the *Speculum* was, *De morali* was a *tractatus*, a new homiletic form, the "scholastic sermon," a work with arguments that reflects the "intellectual and evangelizing interests of the author's mendicant community" and "reflects in its form, structure and style and in its use of authorities the intellectual milieu in which its author was educated and to which he made significant contributions."[124] Vincent might have used the style of a sermon because other handbooks were appearing, written according to the same guidelines. [125] According to Richard and Mary Rouse the new type of sermon appears as a distinct form in the second half of the twelfth century.[126] Vincent might have thought that Louis would appreciate the format since, as Vincent notes in *De morali*, Louis seemed to enjoy his sermons.[127] But also, in using the format of a sermon, Vincent was again providing instruction and education.

Rosemary Tobin proposed the idea that *De eruditione* was a sermon, an idea that Schneider claims also applied to *De morali*. Although none of Vincent's sermons are

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[123] Ibid., xxxvii.
[124] Ibid., xli-xlvi.
[125] Ibid., xliv.
[126] Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 66.
[127] Rosemary Barton Tobin, "Vincent of Beauvais on the Education of Women," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 35, no. 3 (Jul.-Sep., 1974): 485-86; Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xliv.

known to have survived, examples of other Dominican sermons indicate that Vincent followed the same form and style in writing chapters of *De morali*. In both books of the *Opus*, he employs techniques that were commonly used in sermons by the middle of the thirteenth century. A scholasatic, or school, sermon is one that was

> constructed around a *thema*, a sentence from Scripture, developed into the subject matter through the technique of *dilatatio*. Theme was divided into three or more parts, sometimes presented as *rationes*, *distinctions*, or *comparationes*, which were often divided in turn. Each point of the division or subdivision was confirmed and supported by one or more *auctoritates* linked by many devices, most frequently similarities in language or thought, by contraries, and by hermeneutical explication confirmed by other *auctoritates*. Similitudines and exempla also were significant features of development, interpretation and confirmation.[128]

Richard and Mary Rouse explain that this new sermon form has a "deliberately obvious structure" designed to aid the congregation so that they could more easily follow the sermon and the preacher's conclusions. By providing a strict structure the sermon became a more useful teaching tool. Vincent also almost certainly used his sermons to instruct his audience. The form of the sermon changed, becoming more complex and formal during the approximately two hundred years that it was used.[129]

According to Schneider, with few exceptions, each of Vincent's chapters within *De moraili* follows this structure, beginning, not with a *thema*, but with a topic, written in Vincent's own words, sometimes supported by a scriptural quotation. Each topic is then divided into three or more sections either labeled with an ordinal number or an argument (*rationes*). Each division has a point expressed in a sentence or phrase supported by a quotation from an authority. Groups of exempla or *auctoritates* are linked by similarity of

[128] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xli-xlii. Schneider based his description on Humbert of Romans in *De eruditione praedicatorum* (1263) (On the Education of Preachers), and several other preaching guides.
[129] Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 67-68.

phrase, word, or idea. Sub-divisions are structured in a similar manner. Vincent uses *exempla* to illustrate a point, as was often done in sermons. He also uses similitudes or allegories to explain his points. In a deviation from standard sermon technique, Vincent includes pagan authorities if they provide him the best examples. He applies pagan *auctoriates* when discussing practical advice and moral arguments.[130]

De eruditione filiorum nobilium

The most important of Vincent's educational works was *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*. While not proposing a new philosophy of education, it does provide a methodology that could successfully be used to educate noble children, Vincent probably worked on *De eruditione* throughout 1249 and finished it sometime before the end of 1250.[131] Within the prologue he announces that the work has been written to assist in the education of the precocious Philip. The royal couple had two older children, Isabelle and Louis. Since the later sections mention the children, who must have included Philip's older sister Isabelle, Vincent envisioned his work being used to teach all the royal children. Education for all periods of a child's life is included in *De eruditione,* beginning with the discipline that needs to be instilled in the young child and continued with the behavior that an older royal child must learn. He ended with discussions about early adulthood and the responsibilities that the young person must take. The later chapters of *De eruditione* in both the sections for boys and girls discuss issues of older youths, the process of becoming an adult, and marriage.[132] Within the chapters on boys' education

[130] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xlii-xxlv.
[131] Ibid., xxiii.
[132] Tobin, *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, 38.

Vincent describes the qualities of a good tutor, the steps that a child must take to learn to read and write, and the type of literature that is suitable for a Christian child. He ignored physical education, although he discussed it in the *Speculum doctrinale*. While theology was the highest branch of learning, royal children were also expected to learn grammar, dialectic, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, ethics, economics, and especially politics.[133]

According to Vincent, the best way to teach children these good habits was "with expressions familiar and customary to them, with which it is worthwhile to join clear examples," and he followed this advice himself.[134] He supplied explanations for why certain skills or behaviors were needed as well as instructions for how to teach a child. He included many examples and illustrations, strengthening his proposals in the same way that any trustworthy medieval author did, by including copious quotations from authoritative sources that concurred with his ideas. For Vincent, that supply of sources was extensive. As the author of the *Speculum maius*, the largest and probably most commonly used encyclopedia of the Middle Ages, he collected information on virtually every known topic, making him well aware of most previous writers who had discussed education. His breadth of knowledge is also clearly seen in the authorities he included in *De eruditione.* He cites over 650 scriptural sources and almost nine hundred non-scriptural Christian sources, with quotations or examples from almost any author of pedagogical works, though his use of both complete texts and *florilegia*, collections of quotations taken from various texts, makes it difficult to know how much he had actually

[133] Steiner, Introduction to *De eruditione*, xxvi; Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 17-20. Vincent mentions physical education in *doctrinale*, bk. 12, ch. 16.
[134] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 119.

read of the work of any particular writer whose quotations he includes.[135] Complicating any understanding of Vincent's use of sources in *De eruditione* or *De morali* is his use of material from the first edition of the *naturale* as the source for much of his material, specifically his classical authorities. Schneider identified "100 of 335 citations from classical and late Latin writers and twenty-eight of 371 patristic *auctoritates*" that were taken from the first edition of the *naturale* and used in thirty-five of the fifty-one chapters of *De eruditione.*[136]

While he incorporated extensive quotations in *De eruditione,* Vincent was not simply a compiler, as he was in writing the *Speculum*. In producing the encyclopedia he collected his *florilegia* and organized them in a logical manner that made the information available to those who did not have access to the originals. In writing *De eruditione,* Vincent chose and organized material but also provided original ideas and methodology for achieving the best education. The document was his own creation full of his individual perception of how children learned, how to help them learn, as well as ideas for how noble children should behave. The libraries and texts that Vincent had available to him meant that he could have supported his concepts with illustrations from almost any of the large number of church fathers who wrote to or about women.[137] It seems then, that he selected his sources carefully to enhance and support his proposals for the best education. Gregory Guzman examined the care that Vincent took in choosing and copying sources for several long sections of the *Speculum historiale* that include the history of Mongols. Guzman analyzed Vincent's sources, John of Plano Carpini and

[135] Steiner, Introduction to *De eruditione*, xi, xviii; Craig, 70, 565-83. In a series of articles on *florilegia*, B. L. Ullman showed that Vincent used *florilegia*. See, for example, Ullman, "Classical Authors."
[136] Schneider, "*Opus* Reconstruction," 293.
[137] Ullman, "Project," 312; Daunou, 453.

Simon of Saint-Quentin (fl. 1247), and determined that the friar selected and combined extracts from both texts to create entries that were logically organized by topic and time.[138] Weber notes the same care in the way that Vincent pulled selections from several sources to produce a coherent entry.[139] Although these analyses were performed on the *Speculum*, Vincent most certainly applied the same working methodology and careful choice of examples in writing *De eruditione.*

Vincent advocated education as a necessity for the ruler and *De eruditione* discusses the education a prince needed.[140] Much of what Vincent discusses in *De eruditione* is simple practical advice for teachers who must have "an acute mind, a virtuous life, unpretentious learning, simple expression, and teaching skill."[141] The organization of Vincent's educational treatise is methodical, hierarchical, and structured by topic. He expected students to learn a number of subjects. While he emphasized theology as the highest branch of learning, royal children were also to be instructed in grammar, dialectic, music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, ethics, economics, and politics.[142] The work is divided into two parts: forty-one chapters describing the instruction of boys followed by ten chapters on the instruction of girls. The section on boys begins by informing parents of the appropriate qualifications for a tutor, followed by the methods to be used for teaching boys, and the type of problems that they might encounter in trying to learn. Vincent begins the chapters on the education of girls by

[138] Guzman, "Mongol Extracts."
[139] Weber, 265-66.
[140] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xxvii.
[141] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 112.
[142] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxvi; Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 17-18.

saying that good ethics and habits apply as much to girls as they do to boys.[143] The remaining chapters contain advice for the behavior of girls.

For a ruler to have the qualities that Vincent emphasizes in *De morali*, he must be molded from childhood. Thus, Vincent saw the most important aspect of education as establishing ethics and discipline that would form a good Christian adult.[144] He advocated early training for children to calm the turbulence of youth.[145] For example, he strongly advised students to avoid "contentiousness in discussion," actions that were "reprehensible and hateful to mature men and to temperance."[146] The longest chapters in the section devoted to boys concern morals, discipline, and obedience, especially filial obedience. He included a section on caution and moderation, that would instruct students to behave in much the same manner as Louis IX.[147] Vincent also advised both boys and girls to restrict their companions to good people and to comfort and assist those in need.[148]

Girls were required to remain confined to the privacy of the home, where they could be kept busy, and Vincent considered taciturnity to be the chief virtue of womanhood.[149] While he noted that girls must have the same good morals and habits as boys, it is not clear how much of what he proposed about boys' literary training applies to girls. Since much of what he discussed is simple practical advice for teachers and since he noted that instruction should be to each according to his capacity, the teacher might be

[143] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 43: 53-55.
[144] Ibid., ch. 1: 55-66.
[145] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxvi; Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 17-18.
[146] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 207.
[147] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, chs. 27 and 28.
[148] Ibid., ch. 32: 1-7.
[149] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxvii.

expected to apply the methods for teaching reading to girls.[150] According to Vincent, girls needed to study "because often they will carefully shun harmful thoughts to follow this honorable occupation, and avoid carnal lusts and vanities."[151] In fact, a girl should spend her days with activities such as praying, reading, working, and learning good manners.[152] The responsibility for the girl's education fell to the father. Vincent made virtually no mention of the mother's place in the education of her daughters.[153] The purpose for a lay girl's education was to prepare her for family life. A compatible husband should be chosen with the girl's consent.[154] She should respect her parents-in-law, love her husband, run her household, and maintain a good reputation.[155] Vincent reminds women that a widow may remarry, and that rather than succumb to fornication, a young widow would be better married. Otherwise, the widow should remain celibate and act as modestly as she had before.[156]

Since the text of *De eruditione s*ays Marguerite and Louis IX's children are "*tenera infancia*," of a tender age, Vincent probably completed the work shortly before Louis and Marguerite left for a crusade to the Holy Land (1249-1254), when three royal children were young. Philip, the couple's second son, who is mentioned in the dedication, was born 1245. The date of the work has been estimated to be as early as 1246 or 1247.[157] Vincent said that he was handing the document over to Philip's tutor, Simon, "*clerici*,"

[150] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 43: 53-55, ch. 3: 28-29.
[151] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 373-74,
[152] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 43.
[153] Fijalkowski, 515.
[154] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 47: 11-12.
[155] Ibid., ch. 48.
[156] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 50: 15-18.
[157] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xv; Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, prologue: 19.

whose identity is unknown.[158] Philip's sister Isabelle and brother Louis were also presumably students of Simon.[159] The ideas presented in that treatise overlap Vincent's other works. Spread throughout Books II, V, VI, and VIII of the *Speculum doctrinale* are many of Vincent's own words found in *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*. Some of the same quotations from classical authors that are in the educational treatise, also appear in *Speculum historiale*.[160] Given the large size of those works, apparently educators found the concept of a single document to be useful. Vincent claims that while he was writing, Simon was quite interested in the book that presumably he used when instructing the children.[161]

Vincent applied the ideas from earlier authors who had developed proposals for both the proper material for study and the appropriate ways to teach children. He appears to have undertaken the development of his educational treatise in the same manner that he approached his other writing. The organization of *De eruditione* is methodical, hierarchical, and structured by topic. As an encyclopedist, he was keenly aware of the need to properly cite his work. Within *De eruditione* his citations are mostly correctly reproduced, although at times he labels a passage as being from "*philosophus*" even when they were not taken from Aristotle (384-322 BCE) or any scholastic author. Apparently he made an effort to be more accurate in *De eruditione* than in the encyclopedia, sometimes identifying a source that is labeled simply "*auctor*" in the *Speculum*.[162] *Auctor*

[158] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 1: 18-21.
[159] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xvi.
[160] Ibid., xv.
[161] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 1: 19-24; Craig 103.
[162] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxv.

or *actor* were the words he used when identifying his own contribution.[163] Between his own words are extensive *flores* from authoritative sources, a necessary part of a trustworthy medieval document. Vincent also knew that "it was particularly incumbent upon him as a Dominican and preacher to be as illustrative as possible."[164]

While Vincent applied his normal technique of copious examples within *De eruditione,* it was not a simple compilation as the *Speculum* was. As with *De morali*, Vincent made arguments. In writing *De eruditione,* Vincent chose and organized material, but also provided original ideas and methodology for achieving the best education. It many ways, it too has characteristics of a *tractatus*, a scholastic sermon, much as *De morali* has.[165] It follows a format, contains similitudes or allegories, and uses pagan *auctoriates* when discussing practical advice and moral arguments.

As in *De morali*, Vincent does not start each chapter in *De eruditione* with a *thema*, a sentence from Scripture, but instead introduces a topic in his own words. In *De eruditione* forty-one out of fifty-two chapters contain a theme that is followed by a series of points.[166] Vincent was not as consistent in maintaining the form in *De eruditione* as he was in *De morali*. For example, in *De eruditione* the chapters on boys' education follow the model more closely than the chapters on instructing girls (thirty six out of forty two chapters for boys (85%) and five out of ten chapters for girls (50%) follow the format). Another difference from *De morali* is the number of parts identified for each argument. Schneider identified at least three points for each topic in *De morali*, yet Vincent used

[163] Lynn Thorndike, "Vincent of Beauvais," in *The History of Magic and Experimental Science* 4, ed. Lynn Thorndike (New York: Macmillan, 1923-58), 462.
[164] Tobin, *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, 45.
[165] This analysis is based on a comparison of *De eruditione* to the standards described by Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, and Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*. Further analysis will require additional examination of sermon literature.
[166] This includes the chapters that are themselves the continuation of points made in a previous chapter.

only two points in several chapters in *De eruditione.* In another variation on the format, in chapter sixteen when discussing why a Christian may read all kinds of books Vincent provided no topic but uses the title for this purpose and within the chapter clearly identified the three reasons why a Christian may read a variety of texts. Ten chapters contain sub parts, a set of numbered points that expand upon one of the chapter's main points. In a few cases, discussion of points also overlaps between chapters. Chapter eight identifies three parts, but discusses only the first. The second two parts are presented in chapters nine and ten, and each of those chapters contains three additional points that are contained entirely within the chapter. In another example, Vincent discusses writing in chapter eighteen, and says that it is tied with previous discussions, reading in chapter fourteen and study or medication in chapter seventeen. He later adds a fourth, "discussion or inquiry" in chapter twenty. These differences in format could be explained by the differences in the dates of the documents. Since *De morali* was written later than *De eruditione,* perhaps Vincent had refined his techniques in the intervening period.

Examining his sources actually leads to an almost complete list of writers who had produced either treatises on education, or written about education in other works. Plutarch (c. 46-120 CE), Quintilian (c. 35-100 CE), Musonius (first century CE), and other writers had provided guidelines for an appropriate education for Roman children. Quintilian's *Institutio oratia*, a text on rhetoric also discusses early education and the development of an orator.[167] Of the ancient authors, he quotes Ovid sixty times, closely followed by Seneca, Cicero (106-43 BCE), Cato's fourth-century *Disticha*, and

[167] For Plutarch, see *Moralia*; for Quintilian, see *Institutio Oratoria*, for Musonius Rufus, see J. T. Dillon, *Musonius Rufus and Education in the Good Life: A Model of Teaching and Living Virtue* (Dallas, Lanhan, Boulder, New York, Oxford: University Press of America, Inc., 2004).

Quintilian, with seventeen quotations. Alfarabi (c. 870-950) is another non-Christian source. *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* includes nine hundred non-scriptural Christian citations including passages from Gratian's *Decretum*, Bede (672/673-735), Jerome (quoted 148 times from nineteen works and thirty-two letters), twenty-two works of Ambrose, and forty-five works of Augustine, mostly *Confessiones* (Confessions), *De Civitate Dei* (City of God), *De doctrina christiana* (On Christian Doctrine), and *De Trinitate* (On the Trinity). He also buttressed his idea with quotations from pseudo Boethieus' *Disciplina Scholarium* (On Scholarly Discipline).[168] His other Christian sources include Hugh of St. Victor's *Didascalicon*, instructions for clerics, from which he took entire chapters on techniques of learning, Gerard Ithier's (1188-1198) *De institutione novitiorum* (On the Formation of Novices) for "sections dealing with manners," Augustine and Bernard of Clairvaux for chapters on moral training, and Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173), and Isidore of Seville. Citations in chapters for girls are almost entirely from St. Jerome's letters to Laeta, Eustochium, Demetrias, and Salvinia, "interspersed with long passages from Cyprian's (d. 258) *De habitu virginum*."[169] Except for Seneca and few anecdotes from Valerius Maxiumus, the longest quotations are from Jerome, Augustine, Origen (184/185-253/254), Cyprian, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Hugh of St. Victor.[170] Although John of Salisbury wrote *Metalogicon*, four books defending the study of grammar, logic, and rhetoric, Vincent borrowed from his *Policraticus*, John's ethical and political treatise.[171] According to Schneider, who wrote the critical edition of

[168] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xviii-xxiii.
[169] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xiv, xviii, Edward J. Power, *Main Currents in the History of Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), 252.
[170] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxi.
[171] Power, *Main Currents*, 253; Steiner, Introduction to *De eruditione*, 231.

De morali, Vincent's actual source was Helinand of Froidmont's "De constituendo rege," a long tract based on *Policraticu*s.[172] It is possible that Vincent did not have access to *Metalogicon*. Vincent lacks citations from contemporary authorities, who are used extensively in the *Speculum naturale*.[173] Because of this, he ignores, for example, Thomas Aquinas and his efforts to incorporate the ideas of Aristotle into the scholastic method.[174] Perhaps, given the patron of the book, Vincent intentionally chose to emphasize Christian ideals that would please Louis IX.[175] If parents followed the precepts within *De eruditione*, they would raise well-behaved, moral, and literate children, both male and female, with boys ready to take on the responsibilities of leadership.

Opinions vary on the value of the treatise. *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* has been called both "a remarkable and intelligent book"[176] and a "mere jumble of citations."[177] Gabriel concluded that much of the work is a collection of pious homilies, devoid of practical use.[178] Adam Fijalkowski argues that Vincent's "ideas have more in common with the early Christian Fathers than with the scholasticism and Aristotelianism of the thirteenth century."[179] Vincent does, however, refer to current theories quoting many of the scholars that preceded him including Hugh of St. Victor's *Didascalicon*, Richard of St. Victor's *Liber exceptionum*, and John Salisbury's *Policraticus*.[180] *De eruditione* reflects the religious revival of the thirteenth century and the increasing

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[172] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, note 12
[173] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxv.
[174] Gerald L. Gutek, *Historical and Philosophical Foundations of Education: A Biographical Introduction*, 3rd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill Prentice Hall, 2001), 62-64; Power, *Legacy*, 141.
[175] Per Schneider, *De morali*, prologue, 10-12 and *Liber consolatorius* prologue.
[176] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xi.
[177] Ibid, xii.
[178] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 12.
[179] Fijalkowski, 514.
[180] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 12.

interest in education. Vincent was only one of many scholars composing works on education. At about the same time that Vincent was writing, William of Tournai (fl. 1275) was also composing a much shorter work, *De instructione puerorum* addressing issues for children of all classes. William also employs copious quotations to make his points, and he stresses moral education and discipline.[181] Between 1238 and 1246, Albertanus (c. 1195-c. 1251), a judge in Brescia, northern Italy, wrote three Latin prose works for the edification and moral instruction of his sons. Those works were widely copied.[182] Vincent was not a classicist, but he included classical authors because, as he says in chapter sixteen, a Christian may read all sorts of books and take only what is useful from them.[183]

De eruditione has been printed under or referred to by five different names in either manuscripts or contemporary references.[184] In his modern critical edition, Steiner identified six extant manuscripts located in five libraries. One copy is at the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France, manuscript Latin, 16390 (*P*) and is probably the oldest of the surviving manuscripts. It is titled *De eruditione puerorum nobilium*, and dates to the thirteenth century. According to Steiner, this is the most correct version. The chapter initials are missing and several corrections were made by a later hand. Not all of the corrections can be found in the other codices.[185] A second manuscript, also in Paris at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Latin, 16606, XV (*R*), is a fifteenth-century manuscript, also titled *De eruditione puerorum nobilium*. It contains a large number of

[181] Guillaume de Tournai. *The De instructione puerorum of William of Tournai, O.P.*, ed. James A. Corbett (Notre Dame, IN: The Medieval Institute University of Notre Dame, 1956), 6-10; Power, *Main Currents*, 252.
[182] Mustanoja, 32-33.
[183] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 16.
[184] Craig, 25.
[185] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxviii; Craig, 25.

errors. In some cases, entire paragraphs have been omitted. Steiner asserts that this is a copy of 16390 (*P*) before the corrections were made.[186] Ullman agreed with this evaluation, although he notes that at certain points, this copy is more correct than *P*.[187] In an 1870 inventory, this codex was listed as belonging to the Sorbonne, but kept at the Bibliothèque Impériale in the Louvre.[188] A third manuscript is at the München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 469 (*M*) and is a copy of 16390 (*P*), but missing some of the corrections incorporated into *P*. [189] At one time this copy was owned by Brother Jacobi, a Dominican at the monastery of Holaek, Denmark, founded in 1270. The coat-of-arms of the Ducal Library of Bavaria is stamped inside the front cover, and a document dated 1 September 1443 is placed inside the back cover.[190] One manuscript is at Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, in the Parker Library, Manuscript 325, 1 and was formerly owned by Norwich Cathedral and was used in the free school at Norwich Cathedral to teach boys until at least 1535.[191] The copy at Cambridge, Trinity College Library, Manuscript 374, 8 was written about 1430 by Cornelius Oesterwik in the Dominican Convent at Oxford and includes some additional text plus the explanation that it had belonged to John Courteys of Exeter College, Oxford.[192] The last copy identified by Steiner is at Oxford, in the Merton College Library, Manuscript 110 (*CX*).[193]

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[186] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxix.
[187] Ullman, "Review of Steiner," 124.
[188] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxviii (referring to *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, xxxi (1870), 141); Craig, 25.
[189] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxix.
[190] Ibid., xxviii.
[191] Joan Greatrex. "The Almonry School of Norwich Cathedral Priory in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *The Church and Childhood*, ed. Diana Wood (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 169, 181.
[192] From Trinity College electronic catalogue, http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/index.php?pageid=348.
[193] Thomspson, R. M., *Descriptive Catalogue of Medieval Manuscripts of Merton College, Oxford* (Oxford: D. S. Brewer, 2009), 93 and Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxix.

Table three in Appendix A shows that twenty additional copies of *De eruditione* have been identified since Steiner published his critical edition.[194] Folios 77r to 155r of the Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, A.VII.36, are a copy of *De eruditione* written in Basel in the fifteenth century for Johannes von Venningen, Bishop of Basel.[195] Folios 45v to 128v of the Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, II 943 (2119), were written in the fourteenth century and contain the notation "*De Camberone*." Since the first pages indicated that this was once a chained book, it could likely have belonged to a monastic library.[196] At least six codices contain both *De eruditione* and *De morali*: the fourteenth-century copies of Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham, 947 (olim 878); Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España, 10254 (olim Plut. II. Lt. N, no. 7); and Uppsala, Carolinabiblioteket, C 616, and the fifteenth-century copies of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, 325, Cambridge, Trinity College Library, B.15.11, Oxford, Merton College Library, 110, and Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 72.J.53.[197] A number of copies have been lost. Their existence is only known from descriptions of them. One example was the copy found by John Leland, Keeper of the Libraries for Henry VIII. Between 1535 and 1543, Leland was sent by the king to examine the libraries of monasteries and colleges to search for books being lost by the dissolution of the monasteries. He described a copy of *De eruditione* owned by the White

[194] Thomas Kaeppeli identified eleven additional copies, and the ARLIMA website lists the twelfth, Thomas Kaeppeli, Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi, T-Z (Romae: Instituto Storico, 1980), 454 and ARLIMA website: http://www.arlima.net/uz/vincent_de_beauvais.html.
[195] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xlix.
[196] Van den Gehyn, 297-98.
[197] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, lxv-lxviii; R. M. Thompson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscrits of Merton College*, Oxford (Oxford: D. S. Brewer, 2009), 93; entry from the on-line version of *The Western manuscripts in the library of Trinity College*, Cambridge by M.R. James, Cambridge University Press, 1900, 3 vols. (http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/show.php?index=210), search date, 16 July 2010.

Friars of Lincoln. Although he sent many of the codices back to Henry for the royal library, Henry did not indicate a desire to keep the copy of *De eruditione*, and that copy no longer exists.[198]

A number of printed and translated editions were made of *De eruditione.* The earliest printed editions were the Rostock edition published in 1477, edited by Fratres Domus Horti Viridis, and the Amerbach edition of 1481, edited by J. Amerbach. The Rostock edtion contains *De morali principis institutione* (1a-34a), *De eruditione filiorum nobilium (*34a-104b), and *Epistola consolatoria de morte amici* (104b-147b). The Amerbach edition contains several of Vincent's works: *Libri de gratia; Libri laudum Virginis gloriose; Liber de sancto Johanne evangelista; Liber De eruditione puerorum regalium;and Liber consolatorius de morte amici*.[199] *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, titled *De eruditione filiorum regalium*[200] was given the designation *I* by Steiner in his critical edition published in 1938.[201] According to Steiner, this edition has "about two hundred confusing misprints and errors." It agrees with the Paris 16390 (*P*) but contains some of the errors in Munich (*M*).[202] Steiner's edition was based on Paris 16390 (*P*); however, corrections based on Paris 16606 (*R*), and Munich 469 (*M*) were sometimes made. When *R* and *M* agreed, the text from those documents was used, but the text from

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[198] Joannis Leland, Thomae Hearnii, ed. and Indexer, *Antiquarii de Rebvs Britannicsa Collectanea, Editio Altera, Vol. IV* (London: Benj. White in Fleet Street, 1774), 62; John Leland, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith, *Leland's Itinerary in England and Wales*, 5 vols. Vol. 1, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535-1543*, Parts I to III (London: George Bell and Sons, 1907), vii-xiii, xxxvii; Robert H. Schneider and Richard H. Rouse, "The Medieval Circulation of the *De morali principis institutione* of Vincent of Beauvais," *Viator* 22 (1991): 227; J. R. Liddell, "'Leland's' Lists of Manuscripts in Lincolnshire Monasteries," *The English Historical Review* 54, no. 213 (Jan., 1939): 90.

[199] http://www.cs.uu.nl/groups/IK/archives/vincent/bibl/subj/princip.htm; Hans Voorbij, Vincent of Beauvais Bibliography, http://www.cs.uu.nl/groups/IK/archives/vincent/bibl/subj/princip.htm. Last updated September 5, 2007, search date July 2010.

[200] Daunou, 466.

[201] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxix; Craig, 16.

[202] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxix.

P is included in the apparatus. Short omissions in Vincent's citations are also included in the apparatus. Steiner maintained the "spelling, capitalization, etc., of *P*, including, so far as possible, inconsistencies in the use of *u* and *v* and *t* and *c*, but the punctuation has been brought into conformity with modern usage." An appendix listing all authors Vincent cited is located at the end of the book.[203] The apparatus includes variations from the text in the other manuscripts; however, claimimg the fourteenth and fifteenth-century copies in English libraries would not have contributed to his study, Steiner did not include them.[204] In his review of Steiner's edition, Ullman argued that ignoring the codices in the British libraries was a flaw in Steiner's work.[205] William Craig, who translated the work for his 1949 dissertation, reiterated Ullman's criticism. Craig faulted Steiner for omitting an index of scriptural locations and for often erroneously identifying passages of scripture.[206] Craig also cited Steiner for several errors in noting when scriptural passages were interwoven, for misreading the manuscript, and for perpetuating previous errors.[207] Ullman, however, had praised Steiner for his "success in locating nearly all the quotations, a task requiring infinite patience, much knowledge, and no little ingenuity."[208]

The first French translation of *De eruditione* was completed about 1373 by Jean Daudin, canon of Sainte-canon at the Sainte-Chapelle.[209] A translation by the Carmelite Jean Golein (1320-1403) was listed in the first edition of G. Gröber's *Grundriss der*

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[203] Ibid., xxxi.
[204] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxviii; Craig, 15.
[205] Ullman, "Review of Steiner," 124.
[206] Javier Vergara Ciordia, "El *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*: un tratado de pedagogía sistemática para la educación de príncipes en la Edad Media," *Estudios sobre Educación* 19 (2010), 89-94 presented a tabulation of all the types of sources Vincent used.
[207] Craig, 15, 17-20.
[208] Ullman, "Review of Steiner," 125.
[209] Listed on http://www.arlima.net/uz/vincent_de_beauvais.html; mentioned in Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxx; Described by Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la Librairie de Charles V, Roi de France, 1337-1380*, Volumes I and II (Paris, 1907; repr. Amsterdam: Gérard Th. Van Huesden, 1967), 92-94.

romanischen Philologie, Neue Folge in 1933.[210] Craig notes that the single remaining manuscript in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, français, 9863 might be either of the above.[211] In 1819 Friedrich Christoph Schlosser produced a German translation. Steiner noted a number of errors in this translation, including a number of missing citations. As a result, the reader is unable to tell what is original and what is borrowed material in Victor's work.[212] Both Steiner and Craig strongly disparage this translation.[213] A second German translation, made in 1887 by August Millauer, might not have been complete at Millauer's death. Both Steiner and Craig noted a number of errors in this translation, including missing citations.[214] The only English translation is a dissertation for the University of California at Los Angeles, completed by William Elwood Craig in 1949. Craig explains that he attempted to complement Steiner, but deviates when a difference was noted between Steiner and the manuscripts, although he does not always identify the specific manuscript. He also added a table of scriptural citations. Since Steiner included a table of non-scriptural citations, Craig did not repeat this information.[215]

The long-term impact of *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* is probably most apparent in the copies made of it shortly after its completion. The ideas were echoed by many similar moralists of the fourteenth century. It was borrowed almost entirely by

[210] Ibid., xxx; G. Gröber lists the translation on page 144f. A translation of *De eruditione* by Carmelite Jean Golein (1320-1403) was listed in the first edition of G. Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, Neue Folge. Berlin-Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1933, 144f, but no copy is extant.
[211] Craig, 21.
[212] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxx.
[213] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxx; Craig, 21.
[214] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxxi; Craig, 22.
[215] Craig, 22-3; I could not find a review of Craig's work, perhaps because it has not been published.

William Perrault and then Aegidius Romanus in *De regimine principum*.[216] In fact, William Perrault's *De eruditione principum* is similar enough to Vincent's treatise that M. Daunou, one of the earliest scholars of Vincent, misattributed Perrault's work and listed his as being a volume of *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*.[217] Literature, specifically Chaucer, reflects knowledge of *De eruditione* as well as Aegidius' work. The virtues displayed by Virginia in the *Physician's Tale*, were probably taken from the treatise.[218] Chapter five presents some aspects of the long-term impact of Vincent's educational ideas.

To fully understand Vincent's proposals, his work must be placed within the context of educational theory current at the time that he wrote. Chapter two provides a description of the general ideas of twelfth- and thirteenth-century education and compares the differences between the instructional methods and pedagogical goals for girls and boys. Establishing the type of education women received before *De eruditione* is required to both understand the environment in which Vincent worked and to evaluate his proposals.

[216] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xii.
[217] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xvii-xviii; Daunou, 467.
[218] Young, 293.

CHAPTER TWO: STATE OF EDUCATION IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD BEFORE VINCENT'S WORK

By the time that Vincent wrote his many texts medieval education occurred within an established pattern of practice, supported by long custom, that was based on an understanding of the purpose for an education, what subjects were appropriate for study, and how students learned. Vincent's pedagogical writings reflect some of the ideas from both the educational milieu of the mid-thirteenth century and the traditions of Christian education. This chapter provides the context and framework in which Vincent's work fits. It sets the stage for interpreting Vincent's work by placing it within the framework of medieval education, both for monastics and lay people, and especially for girls. It first examines the changes in medieval schools, followed by a survey of the predominant theories upon which medieval educational theories were based and shows that medieval education was intended mainly for men. Finally, it examines the type of education that women received and how that education differed from men's.

Evolution of Medieval Schools

Medieval education, which was based on the liberal arts, can only be understood against the background of classical scholarship.[1] The medieval world inherited an educational system that originated with the ancient Greeks: the language-oriented *artes liberales*, the *trivium* and *quadrivium*.[2] The term *artes liberales* designates those arts as

[1] David L. Wagner, "The Seven Liberal Arts and Classical Scholarship," in *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages*, ed. David L. Wagner (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 1.
[2] Wagner, 3,6; Nicholas Ostler, *Ad Infinitum: A Biography of Latin* (New York: Walker and Company, 2007), 204.

they were codified by the Latin encyclopedists of the fifth and sixth centuries, whose definitions provided the basic content and form of intellectual life for several centuries.[3] Classical scholarship was the ultimate source for Latin encyclopedists. The *trivium*, the "three ways," provided a student with the basics, the triad of *grammatica*, a study of grammar and literature, *dialectica*, the study of logic, and *rhetorica*, composition and literary criticism. After completing studies in the *trivium*, the student was sufficiently prepared to tackle the four parts of the *quadrivium*, the "four ways:" *arithmetica*, *geometria*, *harmonia*, and *astronomia*.[4] The classical tradition established the formal features of the arts and their content. Later, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the rediscovery of classical learning led to changes in almost all the arts. Thus, the liberal arts are an aspect of the history of education as well as a part of intellectual history.[5]

Training in the arts began with the Greeks as a way to prepare citizens for public life. The final subject in the *trivium*, rhetoric, was important for the judicial, political, and panegyric oratory performed by men in civic activities.[6] Rhetoric can be divided into two parts, expression and exposition. Expression requires the ability to clearly convey ideas, while exposition is used to reveal the meaning in written texts, to analyze the author's style of expression including use of allegory, and figures of speech.[7] Following the Greeks, the Romans retained this emphasis on rhetoric as the focus of education. The earliest Christians continued to accept the role of rhetoric in education, in part because they had not developed their own theories, and in part because the existing tradition was a

[3] Wagner, 1.
[4] Ostler, 198-99.
[5] Wagner, 1.
[6] Peter Dronke, "Mediaeval Rhetoric," in *The Medieval World*, ed. David Daiches and Anthony Thorlby (London: Aldus Books, 1973), 315.
[7] Power, *Legacy*, 136-37.

functioning option necessary for teaching, preaching, and interpreting texts. For the Christian, the seven liberal arts served as the means to understand the divine, but were not in and of themselves important. Even when Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire, there was no significant educational reform. Classical Roman literature such as the works of Cicero continued to be the standard for literary training.[8] St. Augustine's fourth book on Christian teaching, completed in 426, accepted much of Cicero's finest principles of rhetoric and within that context defined what would become the standard for excellent Christian writing and eloquence. He does not define rhetoric as simply a set of rules, but rather a means for Christians to be expressive to engage those "who propagate evil and falsehood" by a combination of wisdom and eloquence. After the disruption of the strong centralized Roman Empire, education became less consistent. Curriculums depended on the location and type of school with the most basic consisting of the study of grammar, by imitating older authors, and the study of rhetoric, prose and verse composition. The goal of rhetoric was to provide samples to the students from which they could learn a wide range of examples for the procedures of discourse. The third part of the *trivium*, dialectic, was of less importance until the institution of the university system.[9]

The monastic movement required educated adherents. Prayer, a daily part of the monk's lives, included devotional reading, and the monks needed some literary skills for

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[8] The acceptance of the Roman educational system was not without controversy in the early church. Certain men, the Christian "Ciceronians," treasured their classical heritage, while others, including Tertullian, denounced the attempts to combine classical philosophy with Christianity. In *de Praescriptione Haereticorum7*, Tertullian excalaimed, "Away with all attempts at a mottled Christianity, that mixture of Stoic, Platonic and dialectic rubbish!" See Albert C. Outler, "Augustine and the Transvaluation of the Classical Tradition," *The Classical Journal* 54, no. 5 (Feb., 1959): 213-20 for an extended discussion of the controversies.

[9] Dronke, 315-19, 323, at page 31.

their personal reading of the scriptures and the rule of the monastery. Their need was supported by Christian texts that encouraged the formation of schools. *De doctrina christiana*, by St. Augustine (354-430), encouraged training for religious scholarship. St. Benedict's Rule (c. 525) called for monastic schools to prepare boys for their eremitic life. The early monastic schools taught the regimen of religious life, and some rudiments of literacy.[10] But they also propagated the *artes*. In *Institutiones divinarum et humanarum lectionum* (An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings), a guide for monasteries, Cassiodorus emphasized the study of Christian subjects while defending the liberal arts as aids to the study of Christian doctrine. Cassiodorus encouraged monasteries to collect books and manuscripts of all sorts. Since monks were encouraged to work, including in the scriptorium, monasteries were the source of most early book copies, and in the process became the home for Christian culture.[11] Isidore (560-636), Bishop of Seville, described the liberal arts as "secular and subordinate" but because "it was better to be a grammarian than a heretic," Christians could use the *artes* as tools for the more important study of scripture. The section on the liberal arts in Isidore's *Etymologies* was sometimes used as a textbook for allowing a student to develop those tools.[12]

Along with monastic schools, episcopal schools concentrated on training priests, and were usually closed to other students. In these scholastic communities, young men received a general education and studied sacred literature. In some cases, the priests taught children who had no vocation. In all cases the quality of the teaching obviously

[10] In the medieval world the concept of literacy was not clearly defined. Literacy normally meant an ability to at least read Latin. It did not necessarily imply the ability to write.
[11] Power, *Legacy*, 106-8, 114.
[12] Ibid., 115.

varied.[13] Anyone who learned to read, either at a monastic or episcopal school, was considered *literatus*. Sometimes the term indicated a person who could not only read, but also had some other education. Between the sixth and twelfth centuries, the ability to read was almost entirely confined to scholars and professional men, usually monks. Nuns were often also well educated. Few laypersons received an education, usually only members of important families.[14] The Merovingian court school emphasized notarial and judicial expertise needed by the administrators, the aristocrats in the king's service.[15]

A flowering of education is one of the key components of the Carolingian Renaissance. Charlemagne (768-814) established his palace school, and unlike earlier versions that concentrated on military instruction and the skills needed by those who rule, the emperor's school also emphasized the liberal arts. Literacy increased in the members of the court where monks and bishops played key political and administrative roles in secular government.[16] At cathedrals, monasteries, or rural churches, the church provided the institutional framework for education. Monasteries continued to be the most important though, as the places where biblical scholars were trained, and where manuscripts were both produced and preserved.[17] Under the direction of Alcuin of York (c. 730s-804), Latin was taught rigorously, along with *grammatica*, *rhetorica*, and the other arts. Alcuin's success was copied by other schools.[18]

The end of the eighth century saw some effort to extend education beyond clerics. Charlemagne took an active interest in education, issuing edicts and letters encouraging

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[13] Ibid., 108-9.
[14] Parkes, 555; Mary Carpenter Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 33.
[15] M. M. Hildebrandt, *The External School in Carolingian Society*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 59.
[16] Hildebrandt, 54; Power, *Legacy*, 122-23; Parkes, 555.
[17] Hildebrandt, 1.
[18] Power, *Legacy*, 123-24.

the spread of education. *Epistola de litteris colendis* (Epistle on the Cultivation of Letters), written in the last quarter of the eighth century shows his personal concern. He called on bishoprics and monasteries "to be zealous in teaching those who by the gift of God are able to learn, according to the capacity of each individual."[19] Addressed to Baugulf, abbot of Fulda, the missive ended with the instruction that copies be distributed to major monasteries in the realm.[20] In 789 Charlemagne issued the *Admonitio generalis* (General Reminder), allowing children of free laymen and the servant class entry into monasteries or bishopric schools for instruction in Latin, and ordering the establishment of reading classes for boys. In her study of external monastic schools, M. M. Hildebrandt found no evidence that public lay education was conducted in monasteries before Charlemagne.[21] While such schools had existed earlier, Charlemagne's instruction expanded their responsibilities, essentially demanding that anyone who wanted to obtain an education, rich or poor, was to be instructed whether parents could pay or not.[22]

The status of the boys accepted into monastic and episcopal schools after the issuance of the *Admonitio generalis* is unclear. Although children of free laymen were allowed, the phrase *pueros vestros*, "your boys," addressed to the religious establishments, suggests that these were students destined for a career in the church. Charlemagne's idea was to increase religious education for all. Increasing the training of priests and monks would allow them to then provide a religious education to everyone under Charlemagne's rule. Education for the masses was limited simply to the

[19] Charlemagne, "Letter to Baugaulf of Fulda, c.780-800," *Medieval Sourcebook*, Fordham University, last modified Nov. 4, 2011. http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/carol-baugulf.asp.
[20] Hildebrandt, 55-57.
[21] Ibid., 55-57.
[22] Power, *Main Currents*, 277-78.

fundamental beliefs, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creeds of Faith. Thus, the type of schooling provided by priests was "informal, non-institutionalized, and based on the rote learning of two prayers and the preaching of sermons on such topics as the Trinity, baptism, and upright conduct." It did not include letters, except perhaps in the case of a few students who were themselves training to be priests, and there is no direct evidence that classes in Latin literacy were given to laymen.[23] At the School of the Blessed St. Riquier, at the Monastery of St. Riquier, Abbot Angilbert (abbot 790-814) described lay boys who were taught by the students of the monastery, and girls who were taught by women of the *gynaeceum*, the weaver's workshop. In both cases the children learned the creed, certain psalms, prayers and chants, and how to play the lyre. The children were not taught to read or write. Their education simply prepared them to perform the liturgy and to function in the Christian congregation.[24] There was no sustained program for formal education of lay children in monasteries.[25] Court schools also changed under Charlemagne, shifting from teaching practical skills to emphasizing scholarship. Utilitarian training was still supplied, but an intellectual circle from the school pursued both religious and political careers, and former students maintained close connections with the throne. Other centers of education, such as St. Denis and Fulda, also produced men who rose to political power. In the last years of the eighth century, lay and clerical

[23] Power, *Main Currents*, 57-58. In the medieval world, saying that someone knew "letters" usually implied not only learning the alphabet but also the ability to read, usually in Latin. It did not necessarily imply the ability to write. Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1990), 166–67.
[24] Power, *Main Currents*, 83-84.
[25] Ibid., 139.

education shifted away from monasteries and into the hands of bishops. Missionary teaching along the frontier also forced a shift from monasteries to bishoprics.[26]

That schooling had an effect is clear from the "enormous increase in both the quality and quantity of legal and administrative documentation in the Carolingian period."[27] Rosamond McKitterick argues that the implications from capitulary evidence show that "levels of at least pragmatic literacy were high enough for there to be some relation between the ideal of the capitularies and the realities of Frankish society as far as communications were concerned." Sufficient material survives to show that the Carolingians relied on written records for their administration and that in general written decrees would be put into effect.[28] Records exist for assembly deliberations or decisions, appeals from metropolitans concerning ecclesiastical concerns, and coordination of military events.[29] Evidence also suggests that it was during the Carolingian period that attitudes toward books changed. The little evidence from the Merovingian period indicates that books were valued most when they contained the word of God: gospel books and psalters. In contrast, Carolingian scholars seemed to see all books as highly valuable. The content of a book and its spiritual value surpassed the material value. Even books written by classical authors were carefully preserved at places such as Tours, Lorsch and St. Denis in Paris.[30] While possession of books was also an indication of wealth, status, and intellectual attainment, most private book owners in the Carolingian

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[26] Ibid., 60-62. After 800 no monastery on the frontier became a royal monastery. With the acceptance of St. Benedict's rule, which did not include provisions for missionary activity, the responsibility for evangelization shifted from monasteries to bishoprics.
[27] Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 23.
[28] Ibid., 33.
[29] Ibid., 30.
[30] Ibid., 152-53.

period were clerics.[31] Abbeys or churches collected books that eventually became libraries with inventories and catalogues.[32]

While the Carolingian era witnessed the consolidation of the intellectual and cultural heritage from classical antiquity and the early church, and the foundations for later developments in scholarship and education in Europe, Charlemagne's efforts to educate the laity were short lived. [33] The Council of Mainz in 813 reiterated the necessity of properly training the clergy. The Aachen synod of 817 prohibited the teaching of non-oblates at monasteries, perhaps because monasteries were teaching too many outside students, but also because the Benedictine purity of enclosure became a stronger requirement for monastic residents. During the reign of Louis the Pious, a number of changes were instituted. Legislation in 816 limited educational opportunities for non-clergy. That legislation plus an emphasis on enforcing the Benedictine rule gradually excluded non-oblates from education at a monastery. Even cathedrals limited training to potential canons only. Because of the concern about the education of clerics, legislation under Louis the Pious concentrated on episcopal schools. Several documents from an 829 council in Paris show that neither Louis nor church leaders were willing to shoulder responsibility for establishing and maintaining schools for clerics.[34] In the later ninth century, with increasing emphasis on the Benedictine rule and enclosure for monks, the education of the clergy, and the occasional lay student, shifted to rural churches where priests or monks taught. Often these rural churches belonged to an abbey.[35]

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[31] Ibid., 157-58.
[32] Ibid., 163.
[33] McKitterick, 165; Hildebrandt, 70.
[34] Hildebrandt, 62-68.
[35] Ibid., 134-38.

Within monasteries, instruction also underwent a transition. The example of classroom teaching in St. Gall between the Carolingian period and the eleventh century shows a strong interest in dialectic and an effort to integrate dialectic into the remaining arts of the *trivium*: *grammatica* and *rhetorica*. The Carolingian emphasis on correct and readable texts allowed later scholars to reveal the meaning of the texts themselves. Although Latin was considered preeminent during this period, the vernacular was slowly recognized as a valid language for scholars. At St. Gall, Latin and German were both studied in the classroom.[36]

By the end of the tenth century Europe was experiencing a period of peace with the end of Scandinavian, Magyar, and Arab incursions. In addition to religious men who were trained for the purpose of reading scripture and patristic literature, some men sought the practical skills needed to conduct the church's business. The same skills allowed educated men to also begin providing administrative support to secular authorities. At the same time, an increasingly complex and sophisticated society required lawyers, doctors, philosophers, and theologians, and training for these positions required specialized knowledge and education.[37] The Roman intellectual tradition had placed *rhetorica* above logic–being persuasive was often more important than being right. Eleventh-century theologians emphasized *dialectica*, logic, for its potential to lead to "unassailable, although conflicting, conclusions on matters of faith."[38] By the eleventh century, the increasingly better-educated priests and monks began to tackle theological issues. Their goals were a deeper understanding of the Bible, reconciliation of the writings of church

[36] Anna A. Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 3-4.
[37] Power, *Legacy*, 125-27.
[38] Ibid., 130.

fathers, and the organization of canon law. They expected to confirm, not threaten, the mystery of faith and knowledge of the seven liberal arts gave students the skills needed to accomplish their goals. *Grammatica*, the study of language and literature, provided the skills needed for detailed textual analysis. More than a mere study of letters, words, and sentences, the advanced levels of *grammatica* included the interpretation, analysis, criticism, and production of texts. *Grammatica* and *rhetorica* taught fundamentals of composition such as style, eloquence, and figurative language, but *dialectica*, logic, was the essential factor in deduction, induction, demonstration, and argument that allowed scholars to attempt to resolve theological issues. *Grammatica* and *dialectica* together provided the tools necessary to delve into philosophy.[39]

A more peaceful period allowed for increased wealth and leisure and some men found enjoyment in reading for pleasure or erudition, but a reputation for literary accomplishment could lead to political and financial benefits as it also often provided access to important positions at court or in the church.[40] The study of the liberal arts burgeoned in cathedral schools, becoming disciplines worth studying in their own rights. Students were more rigorously trained in Latin composition, and vernacular literature gained some acceptance. The increasingly prosperous and relatively peaceful society, with members who had time and money for study, meant that students could travel great distances to attend a particular school or study with a specific master.[41] Because classical literature no longer threatened faith, restrictions against reading ancient works faded. The classics were read increasingly, including Cicero whose style was considered the best

[39] Power, *Legacy*, 131-32; Grotans, 4, 23-24.
[40] Power, *Legacy*, 126-134, at page 134.
[41] Marcia L. Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition, 400-1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 175.

source to imitate. While some moralists at the end of the century insisted that the classics were unwholesome and could lead to temptation and sin, it was too late to eradicate them.[42]

By the twelfth century, the abundance of new information available from the classics, including large numbers of Greek and Arab works in translation, inspired scholars to organize the material. They began to systematically arrange "the entire corpus of knowledge in their possession into the mosaic of Christian value and life that they understood, cherished, and were determined to preserve."[43] The twelfth century also provides indications of increasing lay literacy in the nobility, such as a larger number of books and texts written in the vernacular.[44] Sons and daughters of noblemen received education in manners and courtesy plus some practical advise for managing property at court schools.[45] Court schools also probably trained clerks and civil servants.[46] The growth of documents associated with the administration of estates and the legal profession in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries seems to indicate a rise in "pragmatic literacy" as business transactions increasingly relied on documents.[47] While some children's families paid for private schools where students were provided an elementary education, to meet the need for a more educated populace, the number of types of schools multiplied.[48] An increased need for educated men in towns forced the enrollment up in

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[42] Power, *Legacy*, 133.
[43] Power, *Legacy*, 126-134, at page 134. Richard C. Dales, *The Intellectual Life of Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 156.
[44] Parkes, 556-57.
[45] Power, *Legacy*, 148.
[46] Power, *Main Currents*, 239-53.
[47] Parkes, 557-63.
[48] The types and quality of schools varied. Material taught at elementary and secondary schools depended on the instructor and the needs of the students. Elementary schools generally taught basics: Latin letters (the alphabet and basic reading), grammar, and sometimes arithmetic. Town schools might teach only

cathedral and collegiate schools. The instructors were priests, canons, and masters with licenses to teach who offered courses under the control of the chancellor of the diocese in cathedral schools, or the *scholasticus* (the headmaster elected by his confreres), in collegiate schools.[49]

Both elementary and secondary municipal schools flourished in large towns and great cities. Often these were simple schools that provided elementary instruction in the vernacular. A very few towns provided elementary schools for girls and some taught not only reading in vernacular, but in Latin as well. Most of the municipal schools followed the same educational principles as church schools. Students, generally sons of merchants who were expected to be literate, received elementary education and in some cases additional study in the *trivium*. In a few cases, girls were admitted. The curriculum and admission policies of municipal schools were established by the Church, which occasionally caused friction between the town and ecclesiastical authorities. A few municipal schools managed to attract famous masters, and coupled with cathedral and collegiate schools spurred the growth of universities. Within some village or parish schools, teachers appointed by the parish priest usually taught in the vernacular. Guild schools, usually taught by guild chaplains, provided elementary education to children of apprentices and masters. Chantry schools, popular in England, trained boys to sing at high mass for the repose of the souls of the deceased. Often the priest in charge of the training also provided basic instructions in reading and writing. The families of the

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vernacular letters. Secondary schools taught more advanced grammar, literature, and might prepare a student for university training.

[49] Power, *Legacy*, 145-48; Power, *Main Currents*, 239-53.

deceased provided the funding to support the schools.[50] In all cases the quality of the instructors determined the quality of the school. In addition to basic skills medieval education was also intended to develop intellectual ability and to encourage a person to accept the social order, to know his or her place in society, and to fulfill the requirements of that place.[51] For those who could not attend school, religious education usually came from the liturgy.[52]

In the period just before the twelfth century, a center where masters and students collected for the purposes of education became known as a *studium generale*, recognized by the civil and religious authorities of their regions. As an increasing number of scholars became attached to these male-only schools and formal guilds, *universitas*, formed to provide legal protections and administrative organization.[53] These schools flourished in part as a result of the increasing abundance of lower level schools. The seeds of the university were individual scholars, specialists in topics not taught in more elementary establishments, who banded together in an effort to offer organized instruction. Their superior teaching gained attention and more students came to hear them, eventually creating the first universities.[54] These teachers promulgated intriguing new theories and ideas, teaching their students scholasticism as a means of employing reason in the search for truth.[55] Students may have been eager to learn, but that some students came unprepared is clear from complaints by masters including John of Salisbury, who tried to

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[50] Power, *Legacy*, 145-48; Power, *Main Currents*, 239-53.
[51] Shahar, *Childhood*, 166-67.
[52] Evelyn Birge Vitz, "Liturgy as Education in the Middle Ages," in *Medieval Education*, ed. Ronald B. Begley and Joseph W. Koterski (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005), 20-34.
[53] McArthur, 59.
[54] Power, *Legacy*, 148, 151.
[55] Power, *Main Currents*, 245-56.

redress the problem in his *Metalogicon*. Over time, the influence of the universities themselves helped ensure that students came more prepared.[56]

European universities were legal institutions, resembling craft guilds, usually with charters granting the students and masters specific rights such as determining membership, the standard of competence required for student advancement, as well as policing and enforcing their rules.[57] A university began when the pope, or a king, issued a charter. Universities established by royal charter were recognized within that kingdom, but when recognized by the pope, the school's degrees were valid throughout Christendom. Because higher learning had the potential for threatening religious faith and discipline, a bishop could interdict a school. University teachers were professionals with strong scholastic backgrounds. Masters were usually required to be in clerical orders and remain celibate, and few laymen were university instructors.[58] Members of the university corporation, whether clerics or not, or even if they had no plans of becoming clerics, were placed under canon law, with its more lenient code than civil law. This separation was necessary since without legal independence universities also could not have ensured that the promotion of masters was based on academic expertise. Determining curricula and standards was also only possible with legal freedom.[59]

Although universities were based on the guild structure, two different types of organization existed concurrently in the Middle Ages. Southern universities, such as Bologna, were usually student run, while northern schools, such as Paris, were professor run. Bologna began as a law school, as a primarily postgraduate institution with an older

[56] Power, *Legacy*, 151.
[57] Colish, 267.
[58] Power, *Legacy*, 149-50.
[59] Colish, 267.

student body interested in pursuing the vocation of law. The students banded together against the masters in an effort to ensure an adequate "delivery of pedagogical services." Professors were required to maintain certain standards. They were not permitted to leave the town without a security deposit to ensure their return, were required to teach for the entire period, were not permitted to omit difficult items from the course or leave those items to the last days of class.[60]

In contrast with Bologna, the University of Paris was formed and controlled by professors who fought to maintain their corporate independence.[61] In the late eleventh century, the educational structure of Parisian schools was similar in most respects to the great cathedral schools of Reims, Laon, Chartres, Poitiers, and Tournai. Paris held an episcopal school directed by a chancellor who was assisted by a chanter, monastic schools including those at Sainte Geneviève, Saint Victor, Saint Germain de Prés, Saint Magloire, and private schools, which could be opened by any master who had a license and permission from the chancellor. By the twelfth century, the most celebrated schools in Paris were found near the *cloître*, a group of houses inhabited by church canons, and the square in front of Notre Dame.[62] Businesses, such as stationers who copied texts for students and schools, clustered around not only the new Paris schools, but around all new campuses.[63]

[60] Ibid., 269.
[61] Ibid., 268.
[62] Astrik L. Gabriel, *Garlandia: Studies in the History of the Mediaeval University* (Notre Dame, IN: Mediaeval Institute, 1969), 40-44.
[63] McArthur, 61.

At the Parisian schools, unlike at Bologna, the authority of the masters was superior to the student associations, eventually making Paris a university of masters.[64] Students entered the University of Paris as young as thirteen or fourteen and most of the regulations established by the professors were designed to ensure that students received a quality education and to control student behavior. The single most important requirement for acceptance into a university was fluency in Latin. Eventually students were tested before entry to assure that they possessed the appropriate skill. Much like a guild, achievement at a university was based on competence and a display of academic skills. The word "faculty," rather than "curriculum," describes the topics studied. As in a guild, the student entered at a level similar to an apprentice, a bachelor, studying for a master's degree. Initially universities conferred masters as the title for a student who had passed the academic program and was prepared to practice or teach. Eventually the term became *doctor*. Unlike modern universities, student promotion was not based on completing a set of courses. Students studied particular texts and those studying for the same degree took the same courses. All masters taught the same courses so a student could choose to take a class from a particular professor. The exception was friars who were required to become the students of masters in their own order. Masters taught ordinary (classroom) lectures, for which the students paid. The notes the students took from these lectures often formed the basis of their own lectures when they began to teach. Extraordinary (outside of the classroom) lectures allowed a teacher to expand upon ordinary lectures and to display his intellectual discernment and academic dexterity. In addition to lectures in which they discussed their own opinions and interpretations, masters presented a number of other

[64] Gabriel, *Garlandia*, 57.

arguments concerning texts. Students were expected to understand not only the text, but also the different interpretations and analyses, both current and past, of the text. Students were also expected to discuss the texts and make arguments about the specific points or the entire text. As philosophy gained importance the study of *dialectica* overshadowed the study of *grammatica* in Paris schools.[65] Eventually, the emphasis on complex examination and argument in university education elevated the discipline of logic to the ultimate position in the liberal arts.[66]

A true university taught one of the superior faculties–law, medicine, or theology–as well as the inferior faculties of the arts. After displaying fluency in the arts, students desiring further education enrolled in one of these faculties to pursue a doctorate.[67] Theology was the longest and most rigorous of the three degrees. The initial step in the more advanced program was similar to the level of a journeyman. A student created a masterwork, a doctoral thesis. The last task a student faced before graduating was an examination in the seven *artes liberales* to prove his expertise before being granted the title of doctor. Each new doctor, or master, was granted full status and voting rights in the faculty. After an inaugural lecture, he was expected to teach for a short while, even if his final goal was to enter a practice or a position in administration. If his institution held a papal charter, his degree gave him the right to teach anywhere in Europe, and many masters taught at several schools during their careers.[68] Vincent himself never attended a university, nor, logically, did he suggest such rigors for noble sons.

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[65] Power, *Legacy*, 152-53; Colish, 268-72.
[66] Power, *Legacy*, 152-53; Colish, 268-72.
[67] Power, *Legacy*, 152.
[68] Colish, 268.

Theoretical Development in Medieval Education

Several important innovations developed in the century before Vincent produced *De eruditione.* A new method of analyzing knowledge, scholasticism, was introduced into universities. The large number of new texts required analysis, and a renewed emphasis on the *trivium* and *quadrivium* helped promote textual analysis, and learning in general. Much of this relied upon the ability of a trained memory and understanding medieval views of memory is necessary for understanding medieval pedagogy.

By the time Vincent began his work, the most important aspect of university education was scholasticism, a method of examining reality through logic, discipline, and organization. One goal of scholasticism was to organize, sort and classify all known material to make it available for learning and teaching.[69] The scholastic method took a standard form: the statement, followed by supporting and dissenting arguments, then a conclusion or synthesis. It provides a means to bring together all opinions on a given subject. Listing all the possible options allows an inquiry to reach its full potential and opens the mind to work at its highest level. The method can also be used when an argument is based on partial truth. Done well, arguments flow one to another.[70] Scholasticism was carried outside the university into sermons given for the university, but open to laypersons. Using the same method of dissecting an argument, a preacher organized a sermon with a division of parts, each beginning with a statement or theme.[71]

[69] McArthur, 52.
[70] Cook and Herzman, 222-24.
[71] Phyllis B. Roberts, "Sermons and Preaching in/and the Medieval University," in *Medieval Education*, 92; Adam J. Davis, "The Formation of a Thirteenth-Century Ecclesiastical Reformer at the Franciscan *Studium* in Paris: The Case of Eudes Rigaud," in *Medieval Education*, 106-7.

Medieval pedagogues understood that learning entailed the use of abilities such as memory, and Vincent discusses memorization in *De eruditione.* Mary Carruthers has made several arguments about medieval memory and the following discussion is based almost entirely on her work. Carruthers contends that medieval culture was fundamentally memorial.[72] In the medieval period geniuses were people who had "richly retentive memories, which they expressed in intricate reasoning and original discovery."[73] In a world of few books, usually held in communal libraries, a person might not have continual access to specific material, so what was learned had to be retained in the memory.[74] The trained memory, *memoria*, referred to the "interactive process of familiarizing–or textualizing–that occurs between oneself and other's words in memory."[75] In the medieval view the most important aspect of memory was recollection, the ability to search through the mind and retrieve information. Rote repetition was not considered recollection or true memory (*memoria*). True memory could only be achieved through study in grammar, logic, and rhetoric, and application of techniques that allowed a student to apply a text into a rigid system of ordering. For medieval writers this education provided the ability to retain what was taught and then recall and use it in a variety of situations.[76]

Reading was a process that involved memory. A text was not considered truly read until it had been fully internalized and become a part of the reader. With their levels of meanings that require digestion and contemplation for understanding, texts teach virtue

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[72] Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 9.
[73] Ibid., 4.
[74] Ibid., 9.
[75] Ibid., 14-15.
[76] Ibid., 1, 8-9, 23.

and prudence not only by the content, but because the effort expended to understand them forces them into the memory. It was no accident that saints were praised for their prodigious memories. To the medieval mind, then, memory was associated with moral character and the ability to make prudent judgments. As part of their schooling, medieval scholars and students studied and memorized texts. Books were viewed as devices to assist the memory and the memory was like a page upon which something was written.[77] Thomas Aquinas observed that "things are written down in material books to help the memory."[78] Models used to explain memory were based on sight, and recollection was the process of looking at the contents of memory. Even perceptions received through senses other than the eyes could be more easily retained if they were associated with an image since it was considered much more difficult to remember what was heard. Thus, like the image on the page of a book, memory was possible because of a mental image. In a practical application of this principle, Hugh of St. Victor advised young students to memorize a text from a single written source, applying one process for memorization that used the mnemonic qualities of the manuscript page layout and decoration. Remembering the color, shape, and location of letters as a visual image in memory assisted a student in recalling the associated text. If a student studied from more than one book, he might confuse the images and thus lose the memory of the text.[79]

Medieval scholars did not separate memory from learning. To them, memory "made knowledge into useful experience," and memory "combined these pieces of information-become-experience into what we call 'ideas,' what they were likely to call

[77] Ibid., 9, 14, 18, 196.
[78] Ibid., 10. Quotation from Thomas Aquinas: ST, I, Q. 24, a. I.
[79] Carruthers, 10, 19, 24, 26-27, 31; Hugh of St. Victor said to find the original source for memorizaion, Hugh of St. Victor, bk. 3, ch. 11.

'judgments.'"[80] One metaphor to describe the process of making and storing a memory in the ancient and medieval period was a waxed tablet where images were written, just as images were written in the memory. Another metaphor for educated memory was the*saurus*, a storage room, treasury, or strongbox that holds the internal organization of memory.[81] In the metaphor the contents of the mind, like the contents of a treasury, are full of riches "that are present because of their usefulness, not their 'accuracy' or their certification of 'what really happened.'"[82] The trained memory gathers what a person has learned and places it in an appropriate location. The important aspect is the sorting and storage because it allows one to build a thought from memory. Without such a logical structure, the brain would not be able to recall events in a logical manner and thus would not be able to construct ideas. Other metaphors were created, but they were also based on the idea of a "designed memory as the inventory of all experiential knowledge, and especially of those truths of ethics, polity, and law, which are copious and rich in their very nature."[83]

Writing also depends on and helps memory by capturing the mental representation. Students learned writing in combination with recitation and with constant repetition, in both writing and reading, the child memorized the texts that contained sound moral advice as their practice assignments.[84] Writing onto the memory was the most valuable for "education, literary style, reasoning ability, moral judgment, and (later) salvation, for in memorizing one writes upon a surface one has always with one. And the

[80] Carruthers, 4.
[81] Ibid., 24, 37.
[82] Ibid., 38.
[83] Ibid., 39-40.
[84] Ibid., 36, 141.

corollary assumption is that what one writes on the memory can be at least as orderly and accessible to thought as what is written upon a surface such as wax or parchment."[85]

The process of writing was intertwined with memorized reading. Before an author was ready to write he had to read and learn the texts. Only then would he have sufficient resources to fuse together and produce his own writing. Among advanced authors the writing process began with *invention*, a mental process that Carruthers describes as a meditational activity. *Invention* begins with a search of the memory followed by the creation of a detailed draft that includes the information retrieved from memory. Several iterations could be required before the mental draft was finalized. Next, one or more *dictamina*, formal elaborations of the mental draft, might be written out on wax tablets. Experienced authors could continue the process mentally. In the last stage the *dictamen* was given final form by applying any corrections and polishing the style to make the work persuasive and memorable. Once the work was satisfactory, a scribe, often not the author, created a permanent copy by writing the *dictamen* on parchment.[86]

The writing process was possible because memorizing an entire text ensured that the text would be available when needed. William of Ockham, in *Dialogus*, "speaks of his relief at having stocked his memory with so much material, including all the Decretals, when he found himself exiled in Munich."[87] Carruthers observes that it is a significant point that medieval citations are normally given before a text, reminding a reader of what they already knew. This habit suggests that the readers would see the citation and remember the text if they had already memorized it. Indexing systems

[85] Ibid., 35.
[86] Ibid., 237-42.
[87] Ibid., 127.

developed in monasteries and later, universities, served a dual function, acting both as a tool for finding texts and as a mnemonic for "fixing" texts in memory.[88] Carruthers notes the number of study aids, such as indexing, coding, and filing systems, that propagated during the thirteenth century, primarily though the efforts of Dominicans, spread at the same time as techniques for training the memory. The study tools did not replace the need for memorization but could themselves be used as both memory systems and manuscript aids. These memory schemes were disseminated into the general culture of France and Italy through vernacular translations of memory training techniques.[89]

The prologue to *The Chronicle of Baldwin of Avesnes*, written about 1280, provides an example of the importance of memory as the way to gain knowledge and to develop moral virtue. Within the Chronicle is a description of the process of memory and its benefits:

> He who desires to enclose wealth of knowledge within the repository of memory and to engrave the teachings of wise men on the tablets of his heart, must over all else eschew the burden of confusion, for it engenders ignorance, the mother of forgetfulness. But discretion enlightens the mind and strengthens memory, because the proper ordering of things shows them as they truly are and allows them to be retained and easily remembered. From one and the same bag the money-changer takes out in orderly manner coins of different kinds, in no way embarrassed by the various compartments whose nooks and corners his hand recognizes. Only with the help of memory can knowledge be profitable. Just as hearing without comprehending is of no value, just so understanding without remembering is time thrown away. Thus hearing is to be gauged by the amount of one's understanding, and understanding by the amount of one's remembering.[90]

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[88] Ibid., 128.
[89] Ibid., 129.
[90] F. J. M., Jr. and Alfred Foulet, "The Chronicle of Baldwin of Avesnes," *Record of the Museum of Historic Art, Princeton University* 5, no. 1 (Spring, 1946), 5.

The methods to control memory played an important role in education, as did the innovations of scholasticism. In the few centuries before Vincent a number of writers made other significant strides in pedagogical theory. Three examples will serve to show the types of issues that faced educators in the period just before Vincent wrote. The details of their theories, and the work of others, will be discussed in the later chapters when examining Vincent's proposals and the sources for his ideas.

Thierry of Chartres (Theodericus Brito) (d. 1150/1155), a teacher of grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric at both the University of Paris and the school of Chartres wrote the *Heptateuchon* or *Library of the Seven Liberal Arts*, in which he dealt with each aspect of the seven liberal arts, including how each was to be taught, although it was apparently not intended for actual classroom use.[91] Thierry was especially interested in Neoplatonism and Aristotle, and his extant writings include commentaries on Cicero's *De inventione* and the Pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (attributed to Cicero during Thierry's time).[92] In the *Heptateuchon* Thierry attempts to "demonstrate how all the liberal arts work together in the service of philosophy, by the simple expedient of putting them together in a single *volumen*, so that they can be read, as they should be read, in the proper order and as a whole." This had not been attempted before.[93] While his commentaries do not differ significantly from other classical authorities, his collecting the works of previous authors and organizing the material according to the seven arts

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[91] Margareta Fredborg, introduction to Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries by Thierry of Chartres*, ed. Karin Margareta Fredborg (Toronto, Ontario, Canada: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988), 1; Power, *Main Currents*, 252-53; Colish,177-78; Gillian R. Evans, "The Uncompleted *Heptateuch* of Thierry of Chartres," *History of Universities* 3 (1983), 1.

[92] Fredborg, 14. On page 189 of *Book of Memory*, Mary Carruther's disputes Fredborg's claims saying that Thierry had much influence on other scholars. In particular, she notes that Albertus Magnus virtually ignored Thierry's clear explanations of the more difficult aspects of *Ad Herennium*.

[93] Evans, 2.

makes his work unique.[94] His careful definitions of rhetorical concepts also distinguish his work from others. In the work, he established a standard coherent technical terminology for the *artes liberales* that influenced later rhetoricians.[95] Through his students he influenced several generations of scholars. Thierry used several common twelfth-century devices in his teaching rhetoric. Before the running commentary he provides an *accessus*, an introduction dealing with the key notions of the arts. The running commentary consists of textual divisions (*sensus*), discussions of particular points of doctrine (*sententia*), followed by an assortment of glosses on details of the text.[96] Less common in the twelfth century, but found in Therry's work was the inclusion of most of Aristotle's *Organon* and a translation of al-Khwarizmi's tables, essentially an abridgement of *Elements* by Euclid (fl. 300 BCE), both new to the classroom.[97]

Some of the most influential educational theory was produced at the Augustinian abbey of St. Victor, established in 1108 on the outskirts of Paris by a former master at the cathedral school of Notre Dame. It had a strong academic program until the last quarter of the twelfth century.[98] It was the last monastic school to play a significant role in European educational thought.[99] The canons of St. Victor took as their pastoral charge the ministry to the throngs of students who attended the schools of Paris. In doing so, St. Victor itself became a leading school in "liberal arts, systematic theology, liturgical

[94] Ibid., 1.
[95] Fredborg, 14. On page 189 of *Book of Memory*, Mary Carruther's disputes Fredborg's claims saying that Thierry had much influence on other scholars. In particular, she notes that Albertus Magnus virtually ignored Thierry's clear explanations of the more difficult aspects of *Ad Herennium*.
[96] Fredborg, 3, 13-20, 28-30.
[97] Evans, 1.
[98] Colish, 177.
[99] Dales,167.

poetry, biblical exegesis, and philosophy."[100] Hugh of St. Victor, a canon of St. Victor, wrote *Didascalicon de studio legendi* (Pursuit of Learning) in which he called for curriculum change. He also began addressing questions that would lead to an actual theory of education, rather than simple identification of topics appropriate for study, such as Conrad of Hirschau (c. 1070-1150) had done. Conrad, an instructor at the Cluniac Benedictine abbey school in Hirschau, Germany produced *Dialogus super auctores sive didascalon*, or Dialogue on Authors, a list of the authors to be read and studied in the monastic grammatical and rhetorical studies.

Hugh assumed that education in the seven liberal arts provided the skills needed to interpret the Bible.[101] He adopted Thierry's assumption about knowledge's unity and produced a "philosophical analysis that fairly bristled with scholastic distinction and organization."[102] Hugh also advocated mysticism as a source of suprarational knowledge. Contemplation of nature using scientific or philosophical knowledge combined with discursive theological knowledge allows man to begin to understand God as the first cause, the creator. In effect he united the two types of learning and knowledge: the secular and the divine. For Hugh contemplation was different from thinking and meditation and true understanding required contemplation.[103] In his *De archa Noe* (Noah's Ark), Hugh describes how learning occurs as a result of meditation or memorization, by internalizing what one has read, by training the memory, by storing what one reads, and by recalling it as needed.[104] For Hugh, once a text was read and

[100] Colish, 229-30.
[101] Power, *Main Currents*, 252-3; Colish, 177-78.
[102] Power, *Legacy*, 141.
[103] Colish, 230.
[104] Carruthers, 203.

understood, it became a part of the reader.[105] Thus, the correct curriculum for a Christian student would provide an education that taught not only the skills to read scripture, but would also allow the student to interpret texts, and gain a rational understanding of the physical world.

Hugh also systematized knowledge and provided an order and hierarchy for learning. He suggested that the classics had an allegorical interpretation. To find the allegorical meaning a reader needed to apply logic to the text. Hugh also discussed the style and story, the exposition aspect of rhetoric that a few earlier medieval writers had discussed.[106] To ensure that his students could apply these principles, his pupils did not read *florilegia*, but instead read in close detail entire poems by Vergil or Cicero, studying the meter and style, and in the process learning to appreciate poetry as literature and art. His audience was still the clergy.[107] Richard of St. Victor built upon Hugh's theories. He defined the way to true understanding through observing the visible: "understanding the visible world as reflection of eternal truths," to eventually "direct contemplation of spiritual truths and mysteries of Christian doctrine that are revealed in the Bible and acquired by faith." As with Hugh, grace and reason must act together for one to gain understanding.[108]

By the time of John of Salisbury, a student of Thierry of Chartres, the liberal arts had transitioned to specialized academic disciplines taught by professionals who often focused exclusively on their own discipline. In the four books of the *Metalogicon* (1159), John applied Thierry's work and advocated for an integrated model of education, a style

[105] Ibid., 211.
[106] Power, *Legacy*, 138.
[107] Power, *Main Currents*, 252-53; Colish, 177-87.
[108] Colish, 231-32.

of teaching that was closer to the way that classical literature had been taught in antiquity, and the application of liberal studies to theology. John's most important source was Aristotle's *Organon*, along with Plato (424/423-238/347 BCE) and several other Greek and Latin philosophers. It is the first known work to encourage a widespread study of Aristotle. Emphasizing textual analysis, exercises and memorization by the students, and a specific content for courses, John's method made him perhaps the most effective of the twelfth-century educational theorists, though, again, he did not address the education of the laity.[109] The ideas presented in the *Metalogican* impacted education for several centuries.[110] In addition to his educational material, John also wrote a treatise on political theory, *Policraticus* (1159), from which Vincent borrowed for both *De eruditone* and *De morali*.

Education of Medieval Girls

Like men, female monastics were probably the most prolific of female readers, and some were writers. A scriptorium of women probably existed at Laon around the eighth century. The first Bible of Charles the Bald (823-877) contains a depiction of St. Jerome dictating to women with scrolls on his right and men with books on his left.[111] Under the guidance of abbess Herrad (1175-1191), the nuns of Hohenbourg produced an entire manuscript, the *Hortus deliciarum* (Garden of Earthly Delights) for the use of the

[109] Power, *Main Currents*, 252-53;Colish, 177-78; John of Salisbury, *The Metalogicon, A Twelfth-Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium*, trans. Daniel D. McGarry (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), Introduction, xxii-xxvi.
[110] McGarry, Introduction, John of Salisbury, xxv.
[111] Wemple, 180-81.

nuns only.[112] One image shows a woman holding a stylus and *tabula*, "one of the few medieval pictorial indications of female scribal activity"[113] Other images in the *Hortus* portray women teaching women.[114]

While lay women were expected to have some education, and numerous examples of erudite women exist, the education of girls differed from that of boys. Views on the educability of women were not consistent, and certain authorities argued that women were less responsive to training. Aristotle maintained that the education of women must be different from the education of men since biology made them made them inferior and education must affirm the biological distinctions.[115] Albertus Magnus (1193/1206-1280) argued that women were teachable, but their cold nature made them unreceptive to intelligent argument.[116] Countering these assertions are a number of examples that extol the intelligent woman. In the fifth century, St. Augustine praised his mother Monica (331-387), from whom he ingested moral and spiritual qualities, and who was the agent of his conversion.[117] The royal women of the early Christianized Germanic peoples were often better educated than the men. While Theodoric's (454-526) daughter, Amalaswintha (c. 495-534/535) was praised by Cassiodorus for her scholarly abilities, her son remained uneducated because the East Gothic people believed this would

[112] Fiona Griffiths, "Herrad of Hohenbourg: A Synthesis of Learning in The Garden of Delights" in *Listen, Daughter: The* Speculum Virginum *and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Constant Mews (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 221, 232-34.
[113] Ibid., 234.
[114] Ibid., 236.
[115] Clarissa W. Atkinson, *The Oldest Vocation: Christian Motherhood in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 31, referencing Aristotle, The Politics 1.2, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), 21, 63.
[116] Ibid., 36, referencing Albertus Magnus, "*Quaestiones*" 15.11, p. 266.
[117] Ibid., 75-76.

increase his manliness.[118] Two centuries later Bede (672/733-735) discussed the pedagogical efforts of the seventh-century abbess Hild of Whitby (614-680), who "compelled those under her direction to devote so much time to the study of Holy Scriptures."[119] The biographer of eight-century nuns Herlinda and Renilda of Eyck listed intellectual study as the first pursuit of women, and then noted that they also were instructed in traditional female occupations.[120] St. Leoba (710-782) was not only an avid reader, but she was chosen by St. Boniface (d. 754) to minister to pagans, and teach Christianity in Frisia.[121] St. Margaret of Scotland (c. 1045-1093) was known for discussing "the most subtle questions with the learned men of her circle," and although her husband Malcolm III (d. 1093) could not read, he treasured her books because they were precious to her.[122]

Other examples show intelligent women providing moral guidance to their children. Aleth (fl. eleventh century), mother of Bernard of Clairvaux, nursed her children, and in doing so was said to have instilled virtue along with her milk.[123] In this case, her virtue seems to be an innate part of her being. Laywomen, like Aleth, received their education in a number of ways. Mothers almost always provided the first instruction to children of both sexes.[124] Susan Groag Bell, and others, argue that through much of the

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[118] Joan M. Ferrante, "The Education of Women in the Middle Ages in Theory, Fact, and Fantasy," in *Beyond Their Sex: Leaned Women of the European Past*, ed. Patricia H. Labalme (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 10.
[119] Ibid., 4.23.
[120] Suzanne Fonay Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500-900* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), 176-78.
[121] Talbot, 211, 221-22.
[122] Ferrante, "The Education of Women in the Middle Ages," 11.
[123] Atkinson, 120.
[124] Pierre Riché, "L'éducation religieuse par les femmes dans le haut moyen âge: Le "manuel" de Dhuoda," in *La Religion de ma mère: Les femes et la tranmission de la foi*, ed. Jean Delumeau (Paris: Les éditions du cerf, 1992), 37.

Middle Ages mothers were often the parents responsible for the initial education of children, especially their religious education.[125] Mothers took the children to church, showed them sacred images and statues, and taught them gestures for prayers. Children also learned by imitating their mother's behavior. Guibert of Nogent praised his chaste, modest mother for the example she set him.[126] The idea of the mother as a religious instructor went back to Monica's conversion of St. Augustine, a form of teaching. Like Monica, mothers provided a moral education that would produce a Christian who could follow the ritual or worship, fulfill the moral injunctions of the scriptures, refrain from sin, nurture good qualities such as giving to the church or to the poor, offering hospitality to wayfarers, and burying the poor.[127] Thus, one of the most important reasons to educate a girl was to give her the ability to instruct the next generation. The female role in educating children was maintained even if a child had no mother. In that case female servants might be given charge of raising young children.[128] Noble women, often wives or widows of courtiers, and particularly those known for learning, were brought into homes to teach noble girls, staying with them from infancy to early adulthood.[129]

Medieval mothers played a particularly important role in the education of daughters, transmitting know-how in domestic matters to prepare daughters for their future roles as wives.[130] The Good Wife in the poem "How the Good Wife Taught her

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[125] Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture" *Signs* 7, no. 4 (Summer, 1982), 756-57.
[126] Guibert of Nogent, *Self and Society in Medieval France: The Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent*, ed. with an introduction by John F. Benton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970; repr. 2008), 38.
[127] Shahar, *Childhood*, 166-67.
[128] Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy, 1066-1530* (London: Methuen, 1984), 17.
[129] Ibid., 26.
[130] Danièle Alexandre-Bidon and Didier Lett, *Children in the Middle Ages: Fifth-fifteenth Centuries* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 61.

Daughter," tells her daughter that she has been taught by her mother as her mother was taught by her grandmother.[131] In most cases, noble mothers taught daughters how to act and talk within a courtly situation.[132] The literature of manners, written instructions for guiding the upper classes in proper behavior, was directed primarily to boys while girls usually received instruction from their mothers.[133]

Medieval mothers also instructed sons, and even an absent son deserved his mother's advice. The ninth-century noblewoman Dhuoda wrote a manual for her oldest son William, who had been sent to the Court of Charles the Bald (823-877) as hostage, to provide him the instruction she could not give personally.[134] Dhuoda urges her son to collect books, to learn about God from the books.[135] Even though Dhuoda implies that she is a frail woman, "living unworthily among women who are worthy," she proves her knowledge by citing several biblical cases of sons who met death because they ignored or disobeyed their fathers, or conversely sons who prospered because they followed their father's commands.[136] She provides an example of a well-educated Frankish woman who either provided tutors for her son or taught him herself. McKittrick theorizes that the number of women who commissioned books, owned them, borrowed them, or had books dedicated to them during the Carolingian period suggests that educated noble women

[131] Ibid., 77. The document is written in Middle English and found in several fourteenth and fifteenth-century manuscripts.
[132] Ibid., 76.
[133] Orme, 140-1.
[134] McKitterick, 223-26; Atkinson 96-98.
[135] Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis (Handbook for Her Warrior Son)*, ed. and trans. Marcelle Thiebaux (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 69, 115,197.
[136] Dhuoda, 47, 85-93.

were not uncommon.[137] Even if a women could simply read her psalter and sign her name, that was more than the average layman could do.[138]

Upper class women often used their own psalters to teach both their sons and daughters religious and intellectual topics.[139] Reading, particularly Latin, and moral guidance, were topics that could be taught and learned from a psalter.[140] Upper-class mothers so often taught their children to read that a poem listing female occupations in about 1300 includes the line "women teacheth child on book."[141] Using psalters, mothers could teach their children letters, prayers, moral values, and to both know their place in society and to fulfill the requirements of that place.[142] Even when mothers did not provide direct instruction, they often provided the encouragement to continue when study became arduous. Guibert of Nogent's (c. 1064-1124) mother provided him with just such support. Based on the recommendation of a family member she hired a tutor. Unfortunately the man she hired to teach her son proved to be fond of corporal punishment, but with his mother's encouragement and expectations Guibert persevered and overcame the hardships placed on him.[143]

Pamela Sheingorn has argued that women's role in educating their daughters increased in the century after Vincent. Images of St. Anne teaching the Virgin Mary to read began to be commonplace. Sheingorn theorizes that these depictions reflect the

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[137] McKitterick, 225-26; Atkinson, 75-76.
[138] Ferrante, "The Education of Women in the Middle Ages," 10.
[139] Alexandre-Bidon and Lett, 40.
[140] Kimberly A. LoPrete, "Adela of Blois," in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 15; Theodore Evergates, "Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne," in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, 77, 79; Karen S. Nicholas, "Countesses as Rulers in Flanders," in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, 133.
[141] Orme, 16.
[142] Shahar, *Childhood*, 166-67.
[143] Guibert of Nogent, 45-50.

concept that a mother's responsibility for educating her daughters included literacy training.[144] The respectful concentrated attitude of the Virgin indicates not only her diligence in study, but by extension, the interest and dedication of young girls.[145] Sheingorn finds that depictions of women holding books can be taken "as evidence of a literate woman, an owner of books, and possibly even a patroness."[146] She has emphasized not only the image of St. Anne teaching, but also the image of Mary as a model for upper class women and an indication of the actual literacy training that the upper class desired and received.[147]

In many cases, the education of an upper class woman was necessary, since she might need to manage the family estates, especially during a husband's absence.[148] Noble girls were often taught to read, and sometimes to write, usually at home, either from their mother, or perhaps with a male or female tutor. A girl might be sent to a court to be educated with the daughters of a higher nobleman.[149] Some women were sent to convents.[150] Carolingian noblewomen educated in nunneries learned the liberal arts and household skills such as embroidery.[151] The spiritual advisors of educated laywomen often encouraged a talent for reading religious texts. The twelfth-century abbot, Adam of

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[144] Ibid., 69. This article contains a number of images showing St. Anne instructing the Virgin to read. The Alphonso psalter in the British Library, Additional MS 24686, f.2v, also includes a similar image, http://www.collectbritain.co.uk/personalisation/object.cfm?uid=011ADD000024686U00002V00.
[145] Ibid., 69; Hours of Henry VIII, J. P. Morgan Library and Museums http://www.themorgan.org/collections/swf/exhibOnline.asp?id=348 shows Anne teaching Mary with three other girls.
[146] Pamela Sheingorn, ""The Wise Mother": The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary," *Gesta* 32, no. 1 (1993): 75.
[147] Ibid., 78.
[148] Tobin, *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, 38.
[149] Ferrante, "The Education of Women in the Middle Ages," 10.
[150] Rebecca Krug, *Reading Families: Women's Literate Practice in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 9-12, 65; LoPrete, 15; Evergates, 77, 79; Nicholas, 133; Shulamith Shahar, *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages* Revised ed. (London: Routledge, 2003), 157.
[151] Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (The Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983), 54-55, 181-82.

Perseigne wrote to the countess of Chartres, telling her that if anything was unclear in his Latin, her chaplain G. had both the learning and ability to help her. The assumption is that she could read Latin, although she may have lacked the ability to understand some of the finesse in Adam's letter.[152] In another letter to Blanche of Navarre, countess of Champagne, he explains that he wrote in Latin to retain the flavor of the language.[153] In both cases, it can also be understood that the women had a great desire to understand and learn what the abbot had written.

Queens had an additional responsibility to ensure that their sons became effective, compassionate, Christian rulers. Queens had to instill a proper understanding of the roles and responsibilities of kingship. They were also often responsible for educating the young men who were raised in the royal household along with her son.[154] According to Jaques de Cessoles' educational treatise (c. 1347), the queen should be from a good family, of good character, and be capable of directing the moral and educational training of the royal heirs.[155] Those children not destined to rule still had to be trained in a way that would permit them to make suitable marriages. Like other noble women, girls destined to be queens often married young and moved to a foreign court where the language and customs could be different. Completing their educations at their new home, they learned not only the language, but also the habits and customs of their new homes so they could teach these to their own children.[156]

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[152] Adami Abbatis Persenie, *Epistole* 27, col. 686, in Migne, J. P., ed. *Patrologia latina* (Paris: Garnier, 1844-1891).
[153] Joan M. Ferrante, *To the Glory of Her Sex: Women's Roles in the Composition of Medieval Texts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 47.
[154] Stafford, 112-13.
[155] Lester K. Born, "The Perfect Prince: A Study in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Ideals," *Speculum* 3, no. 4 (Oct., 1928): 492.
[156] Alexandre-Bidon and Lett, 45-46.

French queens had a long history of education and of educating their children. Pope Gregory the Great praised the Merovingian queen Brunhild for ably instructing her son, the future king Childebert II (570-596). When Childebert reached his majority, Brunhild dismissed his tutor and assumed his instruction.[157] Much closer to Vincent's time, Blanche de Castile was a well-educated woman who, according to Joinville, took an interest in her son's education. She "taught him both to believe in God and to love Him, and brought up her son in the company of religious-minded people. Child as he was, she made him recite all the Hours, and listen to sermons on days of high festival."[158] As noted in the introduction, she either taught Louis herself from her psalters or supervised his instructors. Louis' wife, Marguerite of Provence also played a role in educating her children. In a letter to his heir Philip, Louis advises his son to accept the good teaching from his mother, and to trust her counsel.[159]

Women of lower ranks also received some type of education. Often the most important goal in instructing a girl was to provide her the skills to read scriptures, her prayers, and teach her to be modest and chaste.[160] As noted in the discussion of schools, some lay girls attended town schools. One school mistresses was listed in Paris charters in 1292, but by 1380 twenty are listed.[161] A charter of 1357 indicates that women were mistresses of the *petites écoles* of Paris.[162] Ordinances indicate that they were allowed to teach only female students.[163] Along with their male counterparts, the women taught their

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[157] Janet L. Nelson, "Queens as Jezebels: The Careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History," in Medieval Women, ed. Derek Baker, pp. 31-77 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), 41.
[158] Joinville, 182.
[159] Louis IX, *Teachings of Saint Louis*, 55-60. Statement 21 concerns Philip's mother.
[160] Shahar, *Fourth Estate*, 154.
[161] Ferrante, "The Education of Women in the Middle Ages," 11.
[162] Gabriel, *Garlandia*, 56.
[163] Ferrante, "The Education of Women in the Middle Ages," 11.

charges by "good example in good morals and sciences." They held catechism class two times a week, Monday and Saturday. As the grandmaster of children's schools, the chanter, who assisted the chancellor, appointed school mistresses, and they owed him "honor and reverence."[164] They probably only taught basic letters.[165]

One of the most significant differences in teaching boys and girls that evolved between the Carolingian period and the thirteenth century was language. Once women were excluded from universities, much of their reading was restricted to vernacular rather than Latin. A boy might expect to continue his education in a university and would learn Latin. Girls were most often taught to read the vernacular. During the twelfth century the growth of vernacular writing combined with the development of universities leads to the "beginnings of a gender difference in linguistic competence." Women's Latin skills began to lag behind men's as written Latin, the language of clerks and administrators, became limited to the purview of men. In general, women taught the maternal language, such as French, at home while Latin was taught in grammar schools attended primarily by boys. As noted by Roberta Krueger, this situation meant that noblewomen "were linguistically separated from important realms of political and intellectual activity."[166] Nuns, too, were less fluent in Latin than their male counterparts. Female monasteries owned significantly more vernacular books than male establishments.[167]

Book ownership, while not an exact indicator of literacy, is a strong sign of women's interest in education, in reading, and even the love of books that engenders the

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[164] Gabriel, *Garlandia*, 56.
[165] Ferrante, "The Education of Women in the Middle Ages," 12.
[166] Roberta L. Krueger, *Women Readers and the Ideology of Gender in Old French Verse Romance* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 22.
[167] David Bell, *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1995), 75.

habit of collecting. In her psalter, produced between 1280-1290, Yolande of Soissons is shown praying to the Virgin and child, while her book lies open on its stand.[168] Such examples suggest that women actually read. Former interpretations explain the books as symbols of the woman's piety, however, Sheingorn posits that instead, the depictions of women holding books should be taken "as evidence of a literate woman, an owner of books, and possibly even a patroness."[169] Bell's "preliminary research suggests that book-owning women substantially influenced the development of lay piety and vernacular literature in the later Middle Ages."[170] Her evidence suggests that a substantially increasing number of women owned books by the fourteenth century, and the number "multiplied dramatically by the fifteenth century."[171] Cavanaugh examined English wills, household inventory records, and catalogues from eighty medieval libraries to determine the extent of book ownership by women during the period 1300-1450.[172] Her results indicate that literacy and book ownership were probably not uncommon.[173]

In addition to religious works, laywomen also read secular writings, which educate men thought was problematic. Cavanaugh's evidence indicates that "women were among the more important consumers of vernacular literature."[174] A number of vernacular romances were written in northern France toward the end of the twelfth century, often dedicated to female patrons.[175] Popular literature including the poetic *lais* written by Marie de France (fl. 1160-1215), concerned love, marriages with problems,

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[168] Karen Gould, *The Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1978), Plate 19; Morgan Library, f. 232v.
[169] Sheingorn, 75.
[170] Susan Groag Bell, 743.
[171] Ibid., 744.
[172] Cavanaugh, 4-6.
[173] Ibid., 19.
[174] Cavanaugh, 19.
[175] Krueger, 2-3.

adultery, and other issues faced by women.[176] Female troubadours, from western France, wrote verses exalting women and love at about the same time as Marie.[177] Educated men often advised against reading such material. The thirteenth-century author Philip de Novara (1200-1270) determined that so much harm came from women's reading and writing, those skills should be limited to nuns.[178] His fear was that a woman would read improper ideas and, with the devil's encouragement, act upon them.[179]

Unlike Philip de Novara, Vincent encouraged women to read. *De eruditione* is one of the pedagogical works that continued to change the ideas, function, and purpose of medieval education. Vincent's theories were set within the existing educational standards; however he adjusted his proposals to suit the needs of noble children. By including women, Vincent also opened a new arena for pedagogues. The next two chapters will explore Vincent's proposals, how his work related to existing theories of educational practice, and his ultimate plan for the education of noble children. Chapter three examines Vincent's main theories and his proposals for boys, while chapter four examines in detail his proposals for teaching women. The two chapters together show that his goals were significantly different for the two sexes.

[176] Vicki Mistacco, *Les Femmes et la Tradition Littéraire: Anthologie du Moyen Âge à Nos Jours* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 75-79.
[177] Ibid., 109-10.
[178] Krueger, 23.
[179] Ibid., 220.

CHAPTER THREE: VINCENT'S GENERAL THEORIES OF EDUCATION

Vincent inherited both a tradition that emphasized religious and moral education, and the new theories from universities. In discussing the education of noble children within *De eruditione,* he acknowledged the established divisions, such as *trivium* and *quadrivium*, and noted that "all desire to learn ought to tend toward theology, this is divine science," but he emphasized the enforcement of Christian principles and the discipline needed by members of a royal family to ensure that they would be models of Christian behavior.[1] In doing so he actually reflected ideals of education more appropriate to the patristic age than the thirteenth century.[2] He emphasized asceticism for both boys and girls and relied heavily on Jerome in his guidelines for instructing girls. His proposals for literate and moral education, conduct, and political concerns are found not just in *De eruditione,* but also within the *Speculum maius*, and *De morali principis institutione*. Even though in *De eruditione* he attempted to create a single document that could be used to educate a child, Vincent ignored certain details that he included in his encyclopedia. *De morali principis institutione* includes concepts of behavior similar to the ideas that Vincent considered important enough to include in *De eruditione*. This chapter presents the main pedagogical ideas in these documents, shows how his theories fit into the didactic discussions ongoing at Paris at the time, describes his proposals for the education of boys, and provides some thoughts about why Vincent made certain proposals.

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[1] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 159-60, 181.
[2] McCarthy, *Humanistic Emphases*, 59.

General Didactic Proposals in *De eruditione*

Vincent was not a teacher, nor did he directly participate in the education of the royal children. Instead, in producing *De eruditione,* Vincent supplied theoretical underpinnings that defined the proper and necessary education of royal children. As he explains in the introduction to *De eruditione,* the application of his theories was placed in the hands of the *clerici* Simon, the children's tutor.[3] While *De eruditione* is the primary source for Vincent's educational ideas, it provides more a plan of studies than a detailed curriculum. It includes all aspects of a child's education, from infancy to early adulthood, but establishes different pedagogical goals and methods for the two sexes. Boys were to receive broader training that would prepare them for their roles as leaders. Girls were to receive instruction "in purity or chastity, in humility, in silence, and in maturity of morals and behavior."[4] Specifics of the material to be studied are not included. Instead, the particulars can be found in the *Speculum*, or a tutor could bring his own books. Whether Vincent intended it or not, both documents together would have been provided sufficient material to give a basic education to any boy, but to explore Vincent's didactic proposals requires examining *De eruditione* first.

Vincent discussed education for all periods of a child's life in *De eruditione,* beginning with the discipline that needs to be instilled in the young child and ending with adult concerns, including marriage. Including a discussion of young children in his educational manual was one of Vincent's innovations. Since a small child was too young to be taught intellectual material, Vincent concentrated on instilling discipline in the

[3] Vincent, *De eruditione*, ed. Steiner, prologue: 19-21.
[4] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 376.

youngest pupils.[5] Within the chapters on boys' education Vincent describes the qualities of a good tutor and the steps that a young scholar must take to learn to read and write, and the type of literature that is suitable for a Christian child. Royal boys were expected to learn theology grammar, dialectic, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, ethics, economics, and especially politics. He ignored physical education, although he discussed it in the *Speculum doctrinale*.[6] Vincent supported his proposals with quotations from various sources, sometimes expressing his views more through his sources than in his own words.

As a Dominican, in the early, dynamic days of the order, Vincent certainly considered the spiritual well-being of his students to be paramount. Since man's spiritual nature made him the greatest of God's creations, it also gave him the "right and duty to grow intellectually and morally that he might imitate and share in the goodness of God."[7] For Vincent, then, the highest purpose for education is to learn how to serve God.[8] To achieve this goal he advocated an education that established morals and discipline, and then intellectual concepts. Study was primarily verbal, and placed responsibility on the boys, and to a limited extent girls, for making efforts on his or her own behalf and doing his or her own learning. Boys require three qualities in order to have the ability to learn: the proper nature so that they can comprehend and remember the lessons; the ability to exercise so that they "may cultivate by effort and application the natural power of

[5] Joseph M. McCarthy. "Innovation in Late Medieval Educational Thought: Vincent of Beauvais, Ramon Lull, and Pierre Dubois." Paper presented at the Medieval Forum (April 19, 1991), 5.
[6] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxvi; Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 17-20; Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 12, ch. 16.
[7] Bourne, xii.
[8] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 13.

perception;" and discipline.[9] Discipline is especially important for boys. Interspersed through all chapters in the section on boys are statements reminding the reader that without discipline and moral conduct boys will never become educated. Discipline is less important than morals in educating girls, a distinction that reveals the different pedagogical goals and methods Vincent proposed for girls.

Acquiring both discipline and intellectual achievement could be accomplished more easily if a good and learned man were a child's tutor. Reading and writing were necessary for intellectual achievement for boys. Girls were expected to read, but not necessarily write. In selecting reading material, Vincent admonishes the teacher to avoid "poetic tales and dissolute fictions."[10] Instead, sacred texts were to be emphasized, especially for girls.[11] The use of Christian sources would both encourage the qualities that students need and impart moral values.[12] When the student begins to read, he or she must progress slowly, digesting the words and once a reading is complete, the student needs to also meditate upon the material.[13] Vincent envisioned both reading and writing as strenuous processes that required discipline from the student.[14] Writing well required not only skill obtained by copying, but also an accurate original because what is learned in writing is retained.[15] Vincent also advised students to gain maturity before attempting to write their own original works.[16]

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[9] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 130.
[10] Ibid., 133.
[11] Vincent, *De eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 42.
[12] Ibid., ch. 5.
[13] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 181, 190-91.
[14] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 17: 40-73.
[15] Ibid., ch. 4: 23-59.
[16] Ibid., ch. 4: 13-14.

Tutors were not the only participants in a child's education. Parents, most often fathers, also played a role in ensuring that from the youngest age children were taught Christian virtues. While the father's role may not have always been the actual practice, it was supported by a number of authorities.[17] Vincent also expected other people to show good examples for children and youths to follow. The entire educational process took years, and the efforts of many different people. The end result was a young man who possessed the right habits and attitudes, had the ability to distinguish truth, and the desire to continue to learn, to independently pursue wisdom and goodness. A properly educated young girl would act with modesty and humility and make an affectionate, acquiescent wife, or a nun.

Vincent's contemporaries, such as Alan of Lille (1128-1203) complained that during their lives education had been suffering, teaching had become leadened, and reading was becoming a scarce skill.[18] As this chapter shows, Vincent agreed with this assessment and through all of his works attempted to correct this problem. Vincent considered study to be a difficult but worthwhile, even necessary, task. Using Cicero's example, Vincent defined study as "an assiduous and ardent occupation of the mind, directed to some object by a strong will."[19] He expressed disdain for those who claimed to be educated but had not put forth the effort to become learned. He criticized young scholars who bragged that they knew more than they did or who joked about serious things. He disapproved of "certain pseudo-scholars who spent their time in useless

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[17] Grace analyzed *Liber de Natura Rerum* by Thomas of Cantimpré, *De Proprietatibus Rerum* by Bartholomaeus Anglicus, and *Speculum Maius* by Vincent of Beauvais, all written between 1240 and 1265. Each author was a member of the mendicants; Thomas and Vincent were Dominicans and Bartholomaeus was a Franciscan. The discussion of the responsibilities of the father was page 222.
[18] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 8; Craig, 119.
[19] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 19; Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 5, ch. 45.

verbalism."[20] He advised teachers to remind pupils of the strenuous work that erudition requires. The teacher must also warn students against "laziness, tardiness, indolence, and negligence. Complaisant and soft education breaks the nerves of the mind and the body." Vincent considered negative measures almost always ineffectual in guiding the student, however. Instead, good examples, and appropriate activities would lead the young scholar to his own meritorious habits. For example, dedicated students will also strive for submissiveness, a requirement of both learning and teaching. Pupils learn this habit from their tutors by both instruction and example, and tutors must first make themselves submissive before they can teach that skill to their students.[21]

The Chapters on Boys' Education in *De eruditione*

Vincent begins his educational treatise with a prologue introducing the work and noting that Simon, the children's tutor, had been given a copy of the work for his use in instructing the very young children, especially Philip. Vincent's main goal is to teach the children letters and verses, and he expects that after they have advanced in their studies the children might read the manual itself in order to learn the right way to live.[22] The introduction to the first chapter begins with a quotation from Ecclesiasticus, "Hast thou sons? instruct them, and bow down their neck from their youth. Has thou daughters? have a care of their body, and show not thyself cheerful toward them."[23] The remainder of the first chapter takes a less stern tone, arguing that royal sons, in particular, must be

[20] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 18; Also see Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 1, ch. 31; Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 14: 63-74.
[21] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 19; Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 5, ch. 45.
[22] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, prologue.
[23] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 106. Ecclesiasticus 7:25-26.

educated when young since eventually they will have places of honor. Education will help to enlighten a child's mind while teaching him discipline and control over his emotions. These beneficial skills will help the student from childhood through old age. The need to instill discipline is so important that the tutor might need to enforce the message with blows in addition to words.[24]

Vincent clearly defines the characteristics of a good tutor in chapters two and three of *De eruditione,* specifying a need for dignity, the ability of the tutor to express himself clearly, and to know his material so that he is not entirely dependent upon his books. In both the *Speculum doctrinale* and *De eruditione,* Vincent describes the exemplary master as possessing a clever mind with an ability to make just judgments so that he can choose the most appropriate material to be taught. If he has led a virtuous, faithful life, he will possess humble knowledge, moral honesty, and not be conceited. He must express himself with simple eloquence and with determination, piety, and prudence. Certainly he requires a talent and skill for teaching, including the ability to instruct each child according to his capacity. Something the children may have appreciated: Vincent required the tutor to have an agreeable expression, attempt to make the lessons pleasurable, and avoid monotony, since "speech if always prim, will not delight them that read the story."[25]

Chapters four through six provide hints to help a boy learn. While a pupil's self-discipline is most important, he can concentrate only if he and the instructor avoid distractions. A boy must work toward his own learning, overcoming pride, envy, anger,

[24] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch.1: 66-75.
[25] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 2; Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 1, chs. 36 to 39; Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 122.

sloth, covetousness, lust, and gluttony. As Jerome noted, "the fat belly does not bring forth fine feelings."[26] Instead a young scholar must have a talent for learning, must practice discipline and humility, and must put forth the effort needed to learn a subject. And the proper subjects were of great importance. Vincent scoffed at teaching children romantic tales and fiction. Rather, the material presented to students must be chosen because it improves morals. A short section, repeated from the *doctrinale*, seems to indicate that Vincent was also considering students who were not of royal or noble birth. In that discussion, he advocates helping less fortunate students out of poverty to allow them to complete their education.[27] Conversely, Vincent counsels against too much wealth because with it comes distractions that lure the scholar from his studies. He warns that few noble or rich men know the scriptures because they are rarely consistent and good scholars.

Chapters seven through ten discuss the student's relationship with his teacher and his readiness to learn. Vincent explains the need for beginners to have someone to guide their studies so that they will be given moral and virtuous material to study. Once again he stresses a concern that to progress in his studies the student must exert himself as well as submit humbly and listen diligently and intently to his tutor. Unless the student makes an effort the teacher will not have success, no matter how well he instructs. Crucially, as explained by St. Augustine, the ability to interpret scripture is linked to moral capacities.[28] The instruction of the tutor is necessary to ensure the student finds the correct understanding, and while his pupils must question the teacher about any unclear

[26] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 126.
[27] Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 1, ch. 30; Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 18.
[28] Brian D. FitzGerald, "Medieval Theories of Education: Hugh of St Victor and John of Salisbury," *Oxford Review of Education* 36, no. 5 (October 2010), 577.

points, he must not do so for prideful display. Vincent's advice follows both Hugh of St. Victor and Augustine in making reading a moral act. Both viewed interpretative skills primarily as a way to recognize that everything points beyond itself to something greater, that understanding worldly things could lead to a recognition of their relationship to the divine. In that sense, all education had a spiritual goal.[29]

Chapters ten, fourteen, and seventeen discuss issues of memory. Vincent's discussion of memory is closely aligned with Carruther's analysis. According to Vincent, the child must willingly to make the effort to remember what his instructor has told him. He must "studiously ruminate" and "remember by heart . . . for . . . the heart of a fool is like a broken vessel, and it will hold no wisdom."[30] Repeating the comments he made concerning memory in the introduction to the *Speculum*, Vincent acknowledges that a student cannot remember all the words spoken during a lesson or all the words of a book, so he gives steps to assist the young scholar. The child must first listen carefully to the entire lesson and apply his heart to the task. He must then organize a summary of what he has heard in his memory. In reviewing the lesson the student will also increase his understanding. Once he has progressed, he can be given assignments, practice by himself, and hone his skills in "reading, meditating, writing, discussion, or questions and answers" with reading and meditation being the most important, since these are the skills needed to know the scriptures.[31]

According to Vincent, the process of reading begins with the student listening to the teacher because listening to the wise imparts wisdom. The student must then meditate

[29] FitzGerald, 579.
[30] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 153-4.
[31] Ibid., 178.

upon what he or she has learned.[32] This advice follows the pedagogical precept, perhaps originating with Plato, that the value of a written text depended upon the knowledge and quality of the person who read it. Since written texts might be read by the ignorant as well as the learned, "live teaching" is necessary to ensure that the reader learns the proper interpretation of any given text.[33] Quoting Hugh of St. Victor, Vincent advises students to divide short pieces of useful reading into logical parts, then reassemble and commit them to memory. This requires careful, slow reading of a few select books, followed by an intensive recollection from the storehouse of memory. Since such study is stressful, "it should be kept within bounds especially in the case of boys and youths, or too great a strain may hurt the body or even break down the brain cells that have to do with memory."[34] And finally, students must take time for sleep "so that neither the time allotted for study should he indulge in sleep, nor should he remain in reading or study in the time due to sleep."[35]

Chapters eleven through thirteen discuss instructional methods. Vincent begins by defining the three characteristics that must be present for student to have the opportunity to learn: order, desire, and purpose. Vincent relied on Hugh of St. Victor's concerns about the importance of teaching subjects in a particular order.[36] To be successful students the instructor must present material in a logical sequence suitable to the age and station of each young scholar. Showing that Vincent expects the student to participate in his own education, Vincent stresses that students must want to learn, and to encourage

[32] Vincent, *De erudition*, ed. Steiner, ch. 14.
[33] Carruthers, 35.
[34] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 192.
[35] Ibid., 192. This is a problem that plagues students to this day.
[36] FitzGerald, 576.

them, there must be a proper purpose for their education. Vincent then discusses the material that noble children must be taught. The most important subject of study is theology followed by the sciences: language, logic, theoretical science, natural science, divine science, and political science. Then, in one of the few chapters where Vincent mentions the *trivium*, he divides the science of language into "three sciences of speech: grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic."[37] Following Alfarabi's logic, he makes grammar the foundation of all sciences.[38] Vincent advises teachers to make student's instruction worthwhile, pleasant, of enduring value, and profitable. If those criteria are met, a student will be eager to learn, his studies will make him prudent, deliver him from carnal vices, and leave his mind serene and happy. Vincent warns against "abominable" reasons for learning, including a long diatribe against curiosity, "the lust of the eyes," the vain desire for experience, "cloaked under the name of knowledge and learning."[39]

Theology, as the divine science and most important subject for study, receives its own chapter, number fifteen. In the spirit of his time Vincent endowed philosophy with exceptional importance. Theology, according to Vincent, is philosophy and wisdom, and is much nobler than worldly learning. All of Vincent's works "display the early Scholastic's tendency to blend philosophy and theology and to consider philosophy the broader discipline, embracing theology as one of its components."[40] Although grammar is necessary because it is required to understand theology, other skills, such as the simple ability to calculate mathematics is only of slight importance. Having established the importance of theology, chapter sixteen then addresses the circumstances under which a

[37] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 160, ch. 11.
[38] Vincent quotes from Alfarabi's *Kitab ihsa' al-'ulum* (The Book of the Enumeration of the Sciences).
[39] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 171.
[40] Bourne, x.

Christian may read classical and apocryphal texts. Such reading is limited to those who have "been best acquainted with the sense of the divine scriptures and most firmly strengthened both in faith of its articles and articles of faith."[41] Some non-Christian books contain useful information, but may also include descriptions of pagan gods or sensuality, or promote the acquisition of worldly goods. The useful material can be kept, while the subversive sections should be ignored. Those classical authors who agreed with Christian ideals may also be read. Apocryphal texts may not have authority within the church, but they contain a general authority, and according to St. Jerome might contain a measure of truth.[42]

Vincent advocated initial instruction in writing only after a child had begun to master reading. In chapters eighteen and nineteen he discusses the techniques necessary for a young scholar to learn writing. To avoid boredom and dulling the student's intellect, instruction in writing should be alternated with reading. The first assignment is for the student to study writing, to copy good examples or to search for errors within books and make corrections as needed. Selecting the appropriate text is "more difficult than picking flowers from a meadow full of roses, violets, and lilies. In the meadow the rose is red, the lily shining white; and our mind is drawn this way and that in its selection of the more beautiful flowers. If we gather roses, we leave lilies; if we take the lilies, the violets are left."[43] Applying order and method will help in choosing the best texts from all those available. Translating and expounding upon a text are also part of the writing skill. Accuracy is important, as well as clarity, in both translation and commentary. As

[41] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 188.
[42] Within *De eruditione* Vincent does not define which texts are apocryphal.
[43] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 24-25. Vincent's source for this metaphor is Psalm 77.

Carruthers argues, Vincent suggests copying as a way to place a text in memory. Notes taken during lessons or discussions also help a student remember. Students must not expect to produce writings for a public audience, items such as books, tracts, commentaries, and treatises, until they had satisfied seven criteria: "maturity, truth, brevity, humility, appropriateness to time and place, frankness, moderation, discrimination."[44] Meeting these criteria prevents the student from falling into one of the most common traps, having too great an appreciation of his own creation.

Just as writing is a form of expression so is the ability participate in an intellectual discussion, especially within a classroom or with a tutor. In chapters twenty through twenty-two, in which Vincent presents the goals and problems of proper discussion, his emphasis on verbal instruction is evident. These chapters again clearly show that Vincent expects the student to participate in his own education. Chapter twenty introduces the art of discussion while chapter twenty-one describes the pitfalls of improper discussion and chapter twenty-two explains how to maintain caution and exercise moderation during discussion. Vincent defines the goals of discussion, or inquiry, as a way for the student to discern the truth. To have a good discussion the young man must have some foundation in or basic knowledge of the material, to act with moderation and maintain his dignity, and, since a discussion is a learning experience, the youth must have a desire to search out the truth, not to brag about his understanding. Mature men deplore contentious discussion, and yet Vincent found "scarcely one among thousands who is temperate in discussion, but all strive and struggle savagely, and so they darken the truth more than

[44] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 199.

brighten it. This is done most especially to pursue vainglory or to conceal ignorance."[45] Students who participated in contentious discussion usually did so for seven reasons: pride, vanity, stupidity, insolence, confusion of the conscience, to make an assault on the truth, and to obscuring understanding. Practicing caution and moderation help a student avoid superfluous arguments, unprovable assertions, and unsophisticated conclusions. Vincent provided instructions for how a tutor can defuse a heated argument. Students who ask provoking questions will be answered with blows only. Those who ask in a sincere effort to lean must be treated gently and encouraged to learn more.

Chapters twenty-three to twenty-six again present arguments that favor an education robust in moral training. Vincent begins by explaining how literature instills morals into a child, that knowledge and virtue are connected. Because of this connection boys must be taught both at the same time, starting when they are young, innocent, and able to receive "impressions as easily as soft wax."[46] Once past a certain age, it becomes much more difficult to instill morals into a child. Not only is it easier and more effective to teach a young child, if he is restrained from evil by threat of punishment and receives instruction in goodness, he will likely retain his good habits until his death. With the advantage of an early start, subsequent learning, built upon that good foundation, can lead the child down a path toward eternal life. Children trained to serve God most often continue to do so as adults. In fact, one option for a young boy is to choose the life of a virgin. The attitude of the tutor plays an important role in the effort to properly educate a child. If he is not a humble, virtuous man he will be unable to teach these qualities to his charges. He must also be diligent in anticipating problems that might require discipline,

[45] Ibid., 207
[46] Ibid., 224.

rebuke the child as necessary, and use beating if required. The tutor must himself use some restraint and not cause either the physical or spiritual death of any child. Instead, Vincent stresses an application of patience and gentleness mixed with strictness, to direct the child to the proper behavior. Parents, particularly the father, also participate in inculcating humility, Christian doctrine, and abstinence from sin. The father is also responsible for choosing an appropriate tutor. In chapter twenty-three Vincent mentions the role of the parents in their son's education five times, the role of the father thirteen times but the mother only twice.[47] Vincent brags on the wise son, the glory of his virtuous and moral father, and the joy that the father has in such a son. Good parents have an extra benefit. After death, saints can observe the status of their children, but the worldly or evil man has no such consolation. A final set of factors also proves the benefit of beginning an education when a child is young. A number of examples such as the lives of St. Nicholas, David, Josiah, and Daniel show that they desired and were granted knowledge at a young age. Early manhood is the most appropriate time for anyone to perform mechanical arts such as planning, doing business, building, and sailing.

In one his longest chapters, twenty-seven, Vincent places responsibility for patiently accepting discipline upon the boy himself. He defines seven reasons why a boy must accept discipline: "the goodness of divine will, reverence for parents, the good of patience itself, the example of Christ and the saints, the actual usefulness of discipline, its relative shortness, and its subsequent happiness."[48] Both God and parents give discipline from love and desire to improve the child. Patience teaches a child to endure difficult

[47] A similar ratio is present in other chapters where the roles of parents are discussed.
[48] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 246. Although Vincent lists these seven reasons at the start of the chapter, he adds "lightness of discipline" and "its own necessity" after number six in the text, making nine total reasons.

circumstances. Since Christ suffered for us, all Christians accept discipline from his example. Discipline is useful for teaching a child to do well, to endure, to instill humility, and to punish a fault. Finally, since the discipline itself does not take long but has lasting happy results, the child should accept it when given.

Vincent mentions the parent's role in education in chapters twenty-three and twenty-four, while chapters twenty-eight through thirty-one are dedicated to discussing the boy's need to master obedience. Since God demanded obedience both from the first man, from Abraham, and from Christ, its importance is clear. In practicing obedience a child also discovers self-discipline and finds order and peace within himself. He learns to govern himself by accepting governance from others. Once a boy acquires a habit of obedience he will lose pride, but gain the skill to live a good, humble, and sociable life, and place his foot on the path to eternal life. His inward peace will become visible to those who see him through his modest appearance, calm gestures, quiet speech, and neat manner of eating. Royal children, more than any other, need self-control since they will eventually lead others. They gain the quality of leadership through obedience. Conversely, the disobedient are classified with idolaters. Vincent warns, as did Augustine, that "the first and greatest evil of the fall was the pride which wished power for itself, the name of which is disobedience."[49] Pride topples men from their dignity and brings the Lord's rejection. Therefore, a child must obey God first, especially those commandments given in the Decalogue, even if it means disobeying a father or prelate who makes a request counter to God's commandments. With that caveat, children must also obey parents, and prelates, even those who live evilly. In the later case, the

[49] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 268.

obedience is given to the position, not the man. Children owe their parents obedience for both the physical necessities they receive, such as food and clothing, as well as for the teachings their parents supply. An even stronger injunction, the fifth commandment, orders children to obey their father and mother. Vincent warns parents that they should moderate their commands to their children and not provoke the child. The last group a child must obey are spiritual and temporal rulers. Vincent includes one additional group of people in his discussion of obedience. Like children, servants must obey their masters. Both children and servants have high expectations to meet. Their obedience to each of their superiors must be given freely, quickly, cheerfully, and be unceasing.

Chapters thirty-two and thirty-three concern the choice of companions suitable for a noble youth. As could be expected, Vincent emphasizes the need for a young nobleman to find friends among good men and avoid those who are evil or corrupt. Suitable qualities in a friend are prudence, faithfulness, a good outlook, and steadfastness. Striving to be humble, pleasant, agreeable, and patient will gain a youth such friends, but "excessive familiarity and unrestrained affection should be guarded against in the social life."[50] Excessive, unrestrained affection in the turbulence of youth can lead to lust.[51] The best companions have characters, education, and training that match each other. Friendship is of such importance that Vincent instructs young men "to consider with whom you eat and drink, before what you eat and drink. For without a friend or comrade a dinner is like the life of a lion or wolf." Companions make a household more pleasant. They also make travel more pleasant as Vincent explains: "A talkative companion on a

[50] Ibid., 302.
[51] Vincent uses an exceptionally long quotation from St. Augustine's *Confessions* to warn young men against such licentiousness feelings. Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 33: 72-120.

journey will replace a wagon."[52] Friendship has a number of rewards. Friends can be counted on to help with a fall, physical, emotional, or spiritual. They provide consolation, advice, and good examples to follow. To have a good supply of examples requires having a larger number of friends, but old friends must not be forsaken when a new one is made. Companions can also be counted on to help against an attack, a quality especially needful in a king's friends. Because a person becomes like his companions, corrupt men must be avoided. Vincent warns young men to avoid certain types of people, including malicious servants, and avoid compromising their own morals if they come in contact with bad characters.

Chapters thirty-four through thirty-six once again concern conduct and morals, this time of young men, first discussing how they should behave toward men and then the discipline, rule, and morals needed by youth.[53] Young men should be taught how to act when in the presence of their superiors, equals, or inferiors. They must be friendly to all. Superiors are due obedience, fear, deference, and veneration. A man shows kindness to his inferiors, offering to help them, avoiding insult, correcting or punishing with fairness and without cruelty, and ruling without haughtiness. By watching his superiors and following their example a young man can learn how to behave. From them he can learn self-discipline, something the youth needs even more than a boy because the young man has "the use of reason" combined with an inclination to evil. Wrath, lust, and the pull of a dissolute life plague the young man. Not only does he lust, but he has a desire to be lusted

[52] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 291.
[53] Chapter thirty-four consists almost entirely of two quotations, one from the Hugh of St. Victor's *On the Institution of Novices* and the other from *Tractatus de quatuor virtutibus*. While Vincent identifies the author as Seneca, and Steiner identifies him as Pseudo-Seneca, it was probably the sixth-century bishop Martin of Braga, who might have copied much of the material from a lost treatise by Seneca.

for. When young people gather together they tend to encourage each other's faults. Only with bravery and concerted and on-going effort can these tendencies be overcome. The young man can fight vices with virtues. He must apply humility against wrath, chastity against lust, and maturity against lasciviousness. Spiritual weapons are his protection: righteousness, good examples, prayer, and penance. Not only must a young man give the appearance of good behavior, but he must instill the virtues into his heart. Humility, modesty, and sobriety must become a part of his character. Likewise, if he cultivated seriousness and silence, he would gain maturity. Finally, recalling old age, death, and God's judgment after death would help inspire a young man to act correctly.

Probably because noble children were expected to marry, Vincent provides direction for both the boy's family and the young husband. The overwhelming reason for a young man to marry was to provide an outlet for his lustful impulses, but only for the goal of producing children. By remaining chaste and devoted to a single woman, man would avoid the sin of fornication. Vincent provides advice for the young man and his family in the choice of a wife, on having children, and on managing the house and his family. Vincent warns the youth that finding a good wife is difficult, and, indeed, she is a "rare bird in this world." Since "her price is far above everything" care should be taken in finding a woman suitable to marry.[54] Mistakes must be avoided because once married, the woman, no matter how irascible, foolish, haughty, or hateful is permanent. Most men would "rather dwell with a lion and a dragon, than to keep house with a wicked woman."[55] Conversely, a good wife, a graceful, delightful woman who soothes her

[54] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 326.
[55] Ibid., 330.

husband "is a crown to her husband."[56] Harkening back to early Christianity, Vincent described St. Cecilia as one type of good wife who converted her pagan husband to Christianity. It is not clear in his example, though, whether he expects the wife to provide the religious influence in the house. Once the young man has found a good wife, the young man must treat her kindly and honorably, as friend, love her chastely, with sound judgment and passion, and avoid lust for any other woman. The couple's sexual activities must be directed toward conceiving children. Vincent gives control of the household, family, and family property, to the husband. The husband is also expected to manage the household, establish a high moral standard for the household. He is expected to care for the members of his household, be gentle to servants, be hospitable to strangers, practice charity, and administer his property "so that he may skillfully and faithfully enlarge his goods and temporal possessions, cautiously conserve them, prudently dispense them."[57]

Not all young men wished to marry, and in chapter thirty-eight Vincent provides extensive advice for those who wish to remain virgins or embrace religious life, primarily by painting vivid pictures of the problems with marriage. He begins by quickly praising virginity, since being difficult, it is more meritorious than married life. The rest of the chapter is dedicated to presenting the many disadvantages of married life. The worldly cares of the married force them to divide their time between secular and spiritual duties and prevent them from fully serving God. Marriage also reduces the amount of time a man can spend on the study of wisdom, and in the longest single quotation in the entire

[56] Ibid., 329.
[57] Ibid., 336.

text, Vincent advised those wishing to study philosophy to eschew taking a wife.[58] In doing so the man avoids the potential for having enemies in his own household, in the forms of a dishonorable wife, son, or daughter-in-law.

In the last three chapters in the section on boys, Vincent completes the instruction that adolescent men need to learn in leaving childhood behind and taking on the mantle of adulthood. While a man outgrows many characteristics of childhood, the virtues of humility, purity of life, and chastity are beneficial throughout life. Unlike children, adults must think of the future, apply judgment and consider the effects of their actions and words. Men look toward spiritual goals rather than immediate worldly gain. They also abandon foolishness and uncleanness. A man must be steadfast, especially in efforts that will win him glory after death. Toward that end he must dismiss shamelessness and youthful desire for both worldly beauty and carnal lusts. Children are full of youthful fears, often creating anxiety over trivial or imaginary concerns. A man should fear only the Lord. A man, sitting midway between youth and old age, is best equipped to look within his soul recollecting the past and looking toward the future, as well as manage the present. Remembering the past a man will be able to learn from his own experiences and in the future continue his good efforts and correct his errors. The two "sorts of things to be wept over in this: the commission of sins and the waste of time."[59] In determining his future, the man ought to consider the potential for punishments and rewards. Through confession, penance, and the contemplation of evil he can overcome sin. Contemplation is important since it can help a man understand why sin occurs and perhaps prevent

[58] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 38: 44-113. The quotation is from a misogynistic work attributed to Theophrastus, the *Liber aureolus*, This quotation repeats much of the what Vincent has already said about the negative aspects of marriage.
[59] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 351.

future sinful actions. Reflecting on good has a similar beneficial effect, providing examples of appropriate actions. These efforts are valuable because no one is exempt from God's future judgment. The second concern, wasted time, is one of the greatest regrets of old age. Because it takes time to fully appreciate the Lord, Vincent defines waste as time not spent on the effort to bring the heart to God. Removing the distraction of riches and vanities is the best way to avoid wasting time. A man living a clean, uncluttered life has a better chance at achieving salvation. Experiencing fleshly vices also accelerates the coming of old age. The thought of senescence and the pains of hell reminds a man to forgo the collection of temporal pleasures. Unless he has prepared for the afterlife, a man will suffer an evil old age, fearing what is to come and not knowing when to expect death. The man good, virtuous man, however, may look forward to his afterlife.

Educational Aspects of the *Speculum maius*

There is a coherence and consistency in the educational ideas in both *De eruditione* and *Speculum*. Spread throughout the *Speculum doctrinale*, for example, are not only many of the same words that Vincent used in *De eruditione,* but considerably more information.[60] Together the two texts, *De eruditone* and the *Speculum maius*, provide a fairly complete educational program that a tutor could use in instructing a child. While the educational manual supplies some theoretical underpinnings and the general guidelines, the *Speculum*, a compendium of all knowledge, provides the particulars needed to implement the proposals in *De eruditione.* The two texts together form a

[60] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xv. For this analysis, I examined many sections of the *Speculum*, but did not read the entire encyclopedia.

comprehensive source for education. For example, Vincent intends for noble children to receive an education based on the trivium and quadrivium, but he supplies the details for both branches of study only in the *Speculum*. Without the *Speculum* a teacher would need other texts or his own extensive education to provide necessary source material. Conversely, it would be more difficult for an instructor who had only the *Speculum* to determine a coherent plan of studies similar to the type that Vincent proposed in *De eruditione*. Although most of the concepts in the educational treatise are also in the encyclopedia, the overall plan is missing. For anyone who already had a basic education, the *Speculum* would have provided a steady supply of material for further study. Whether Vincent planned it or not, his educational treatise and his encyclopedia together form a coherent teaching program and both propose a consistent methodology, if no new theory.

In *De eruditone* Vincent refers to current pedagogical theories, quoting many of the scholars that preceded him including Hugh of St. Victor's *Didascalicon*, Richard of St. Victor's *Liber exceptionum* (Book of Exceptions), and through Helinand of Froidmont, John Salisbury's *Policraticus*.[61] Vincent also includes those and other scholars in the *Speculum*. He relied on Hugh of St. Victor for significant portions of theoretical aspects of *De eruditione.* Much of this advice came from book three chapter three of the *Didascalicon* (twenty-three of twenty-eight references).[62] Similarly, a considerable amount of the material in the didactic sections of the *Speculum doctrinale* is borrowed from Hugh. Book one, chapter thirty-one of the *doctrinale* is a summary of

[61] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 12; Vincent refers to John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* in *De eruditione*. but according to Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, note 12, Vincent's actual source was Helinand of Froidmont's "*De constituendo rege*," a long tract based on *Policraticus*.
[62] Steiner, *De eruditione*, 229.

book three, chapter three of the *Didascalicon*.[63] Book one, chapter twenty-nine of the *doctrinale* closely adheres to book four chapter eighteen of the *Didascalicon*, including informing students that wisdom requires labor, love, care, and vigilance.[64]

In harmony with other scholars who followed Hugh of St Victor, Vincent, used the *Speculum* to demonstrate Hugh's proposal that all knowledge is one.[65] Hugh argued for ordering all knowledge, both sacred and secular in "a belief in the unity of all knowledge, the interrelationship of the liberal arts and their importance for an understanding of the divine."[66] Within the *Speculum* Vincent defined all knowledge as subfields of philosophy. In the preface to chapter nine of the *Speculum historiale* Vincent said that only through the study of philosophy and with the possession of learning, could man recover from the ignorance of his sinful state.[67] He divided philosophy into mechanical (*mechanicam*), bodily needs (*indigentias corporis*), and liberal (*liberalem*), the needs of the mind and spirit (*indigentias animae*). Rational matters, created by man's intellect, include items such as grammar, logic, and poetics.[68] By also organizing knowledge within the plan of creation, as he did in the *historiale*, Vincent implemented a part of Hugh's plan and reconciled knowledge with theological doctrine. Thus the *Speculum* is *"*the final chapter in Scholasticism's crusade to impose philosophical order on knowledge."[69]

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[63] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 18, n. 4.
[64] Ibid., 17, n. 2.
[65] Power, *Legacy*, 141; Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 1, chs. 15 and 18.
[66] FitzGerald, 576.
[67] Vincent, *historiale*, preface, ch. 9; Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 14.
[68] Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 1, ch. 18. For a discussion of the entire set of divisions, see Charles Burnett, "Vincent of Beauvais, Michael Scot and the 'New Aristotle.'" In *Lector et Compilator*, 189-213.
[69] Power, *Legacy*, 142.

As in *De eruditone*, Vincent establishes an order of learning in the *doctrinale*. First language, then grammar, followed by logic and poetics.[70] Following Quintillian he explains that instruction must begin when a child is young and easily guided.[71] This same proposal is also mentioned in the *naturale*.[72] In *De eruditone* Vincent provides an order for the study of reading, explaining the need for students to read slowly, digesting the words. Otherwise "little or nothing is stored up and digested in the belly of memory," and once a reading is complete, the student needs to meditate upon the material, and organize their lessons in their memory.[73] In no place, though, does he discuss the accepted theories of memorization. These concepts are defined and described in the *naturale*.[74] As he does within *De eruditione,* within the *Speculum doctrinale*, Vincent explains that secular literature can be read for enjoyment and edification.[75] While Hugh included long sections on the mechanical arts in the *Didascalicon*, probably reflecting the increased need for such arts during a time when Paris was growing, Vincent mentions them only once in chapter twenty-four of *De eruditione*.[76] He does, however, discuss them in detail in book eleven of the *Speculum doctrinale*. Some of the topics include architecture, the parts of a

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[70] Vincent, *doctriale*, bk. 2, ch. 1, bk. 1, ch. 21.
[71] Ibid., bk. 6, ch. 9.
[72] Vincent, *naturale*, bk. 30, ch. 41.
[73] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 181, 190-1; Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 10.
[74] Vincent, *naturale*, bk. 26 discusses aspects of apprehension, perception, cognition. Vincent's sources include Hugo, Aristotle, and Avicenna.
[75] Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 1, ch. 35. Weber notes that Vincent applies a somewhat more strict standard in the *Speculum naturale*. In that volume he holds more to St. Augustine's argument that a Christian ought to read only what will make him holy and that if only those things that lead one God are useful. In the *doctrinale* Vincent argues that reading pagan writings to learn their errors was acceptable.
[76] FitzGerald, 578; Vincent, *De eruditione*, ed. Stiener, ch. 24: 112-17. Georges Duby, *France in the Middle Ages, 987-1460: From Hugh Capet to Joan of Arc*, trans. Juliet Vale, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991; Originally published as *Le Moyen Age 987-1460* (Paris: Hachette, 1987)), 158, notes that Hugh included mechanical arts in the liberal arts because of the construction not only of fortifications, but in church structures, such as St. Denis. See Hugh of St. Victor, Didascalicon*: A Medieval Guide to the Arts*, trans. and with an introduction by Jerome Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 1 bk. 1, chps. 5,8, 11, bk. 2, chs 1, 20-27, bk. 3, chs. 1-2.

structure, types of structures such as fortifications and churches. Agriculture, methods of making food and wine, alchemy and much more find their place in the mechanical arts.

As a font of information the *Speculum* provided a copious supply of examples for Dominicans to employ in their preaching, for priests planning sermons to instruct their parishioners, and provided a source book for both instructors and those intent on self-education. While Vincent advocated a tutor to guide young children, he acknowledged that self-education was possible. In fact he seems to have hoped that his encyclopedia, with its table of contents and indices, would provide that service to those who studied it carefully.[77] Much of the material presented in *De eruditione* is also included in the *Speculum* and some material glossed over in the educational manual is covered extensively in the encyclopedia. The *trivium*, the skills of grammar, logic, and rhetoric are rarely mentioned in *De eruditione,* but are discussed at length in the *doctrinale* in books two and three.[78] In particular, a detailed discussion of grammar, including its origins, parts of speech, details such as declensions, participles and the construction of a gerundive, is presented in chapter two of the *doctrinale*. Chapter three discusses oration including interpretation, suppositions, oppositions, and argument. In chapter three Vincent also discusses the poetic arts, comedy, tragedy, invective, satire, argument, fable, and history.[79] All of this material would be suitable as a textbook for instructing students. Vincent did not discuss the *quadrivium*, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, at all in *De eruditone*. He covers those topics extensively in book sixteen of *doctrinale*.

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[77] Within the prologue Vincent indicates that a dedicated scholar could embark on a program of self-study using the *Speculum*.
[78] Vincent, *doctrinale*, bks. 2 and 3. One of the only mentions of the seven liberal arts in *De erudition* is chapter 14 in an extensive quotation from Hugh of St. Victor (p. 53, 14: 35-51) followed by another long quotation from Seneca (p. 53-4, 14: 51-63).
[79] Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 3, ch. 109.

Again, the material in the *Speculum* would be suitable as a textbook for a tutor to use in teaching his pupils or by dedicated reader.

Among others, Vincent refers to Isidore, Priscian (f. 500 CE), and primarily Petrus Helias (c. 1100-1166), in the chapters on grammar.[80] Isidore, Alfarabi, Augustine, Richard of St. Victor, Boethius, Aristotle, Porphyry of Tyre (234-c. 305) all provide material for the chapters on logic.[81] Cicero, Isidore, Boethius, and Quintillian are Vincent's sources for rhetoric.[82] Why both the *Speculum* and *De eruditione* lack references to several of major preceding theorists including Thierry of Chartres, William of Tournai, and John of Salisbury's *Metalogicon*, is not clear. The most likely explanation is that Vincent simply did not have access to their texts. Vincent's work includes proposals for young children, while the earlier theorists were generally writing for young university men. However, Vincent eventually addresses the topics such as reading, retention, and writing, the same topics addressed by the major pedagogues.

In addition to intellectual material, there is no lack of information concerning discipline and morals within the *Speculum*. Book four of the *doctrinale* is devoted entirely to the moral sciences, including memory and intelligence, and monasticism. Humility, respect, obedience, piety, self-control, taciturnity, moderation, maturity, and abstinence, among many others, all have a chapter devoted to them.[83] Book five continues with moral lessons and further information on monasticism. The *doctrinale* ends with book seventeen, more discussion of theology.

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[80] Ibid., bk. 2, chs. 1-193.
[81] Ibid., bk. 3, chs. 1-98.
[82] Ibid., bk. 3, chs. 99-136.
[83] Ibid., bk. 4, ch. 38-41, 89, 91, 93,94, and 95, respectively.

Other issues discussed in *De eruditione* are included in the *Speculum*: friendship, the proper friends, and the treatment and cultivation of friends. As he says in the educational treatise, Vincent advises friends to be humble, patient, and respect the other's opinion. One ought to keep good friends whose virtuousness will provide an example throughout life. The greatest obstacle to true friendship is flattery.[84]

Vincent discusses corporal aspects much more in the *Speculum* than in *De eruditione.* The *historiale* and *doctrinale* both relate physical health to moral and intellectual progress.[85] In addition to the chapters on marriage in *De eruditione,* Vincent includes similar chapters in the *Speculum naturale* and *doctrinale*.[86] Vincent's attitudes on issues such as marriage, virginity, and family life reflect other encyclopedists, whose scholarly, prescriptive advice did not necessarily correspond with actual practice.[87] Each proffered suggestions from often conflicting authorities. The result was mix of both positive and negative views of sexuality and marriage. Vincent displayed similar attitudes in both the *Speculum* and *De eruditione,* praising the benefits of a good wife and disparaging the bad wife, as well as praising the benefits of marriage in promoting self-control and avoiding sin.[88] As in *De eruditione,* he gives the father the responsibility for household management, or economics. Following the guideline of Socrates and Isidore, Vincent defines economy as the skills necessary to the normal operations of the house, just as politics is the management of the state. Included in household management was

[84] Ibid., bk. 5, chs. 84-87.
[85] Bourne, xiii.
[86] Vincent, *naturale*, bk. 30, chs. 30-31, and 40, *doctrinale* bk. 6, chs. 3 and 4.
[87] See Grace for a discussion of the attitudes of several medieval encyclopedists.
[88] Vincent, *De eruditione*, chs. 37 and 38; *doctrinale*, bk. 6, ch. 3; *naturale*, bk. 30, chs. 30-31.

the love of spouses, the education of sons, the regulation of servants, and acquiring and keeping of material goods.[89]

Since the primary purpose for marriage was to produce offspring, Vincent outlined the proper regimen for children, beginning with the mother's pregnancy and continuing through adolescence.[90] He included a chapter on how to feed the baby, choose a nurse, and bathe baby.[91] While he includes very little about infants in *De eruditione,* he discusses pregnancy and includes advice for the youngest children in the *Speculum doctrinale*. Small children should be bathed often, both when they awake and before their second meal.[92] Children begin their schooling at the age of six, learning slowly, without the need to attend school every day.[93] While Vincent skims over the need for physical education in *De eruditione,* in the *Speculum doctrinale* he advocates physical exercise starting at age twelve. Before that age, he suggests that a child to play an hour before breakfast, and between breakfast and the next meal.[94] He emphasizes the need for the body and soul to be sound and harmonious to give a child an even temperament and good morals. He lists some potential problems and emotions to avoid and explains that "anger excites, sadness enervates, and laziness releases the animal forces."[95]

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[89] Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 6, chs. 1-2.
[90] Ibid., bk. 12, chs. 25-31.
[91] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 19; Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 12, ch. 31.
[92] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 20; Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 12, ch. 31. Vincent discusses pregnancy in *doctrinale*, 12, chs. 25-31.
[93] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 20; Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 12, ch. 31.
[94] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 20.
[95] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 19; Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 12, ch. 31.

Evaluation of Vincent's Educational Proposals

Having explored what Vincent proposed, it is also important to examine certain concepts that Vincent did not include. His intent was to provide individual instruction to a small number of select students. Vincent gave little consideration to the organization, support, or administration of schools.[96] He provided no hints for helping a noble child through the political world of court. His proposals were not useful for the younger students at the universities. He did not provide specific guidance for monastic houses, although several houses held copies of *De eruditione.* Vincent did nothing to support Charlemagne's ideal of supplying an education to all children, although tutors for children of the increasing number of merchant families might have found some of his proposals useful.

Several scholars have described Vincent's educational precepts as conservative, reflecting principles that might have been proposed by patristic Christian fathers, rather than pedagogues of the thirteenth century. Vincent's primary sources for *De eruditione* are biblical and patristic.[97] Vincent does seem to be trying to apply early Christian ideas of asceticism onto children maturing in thirteenth-century France, yet in the *Speculum* Vincent shows an awareness of some of the new intellectual theories being developed in Paris. The final organization, scope, and orientation of the *Speculum naturale*, *doctrinale*, and *historiale*, mirror the curriculum current at the University of Paris. It shows Vincent's awareness of Aristotelian natural philosophy, metaphysics, and Arabic

[96] Bourne, xiv.
[97] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xix-xxx; Craig, 565-583.

science.[98] In many ways, however, material in the *Speculum* reflects the contents of works out of fashion at the University of Paris.[99] Since Vincent was not situated in the university, where scholastic philosophers debated, argued, and gained an understanding of new ideas, he may not have been aware of developments happening at the time he was writing.[100] Because of this, he ignores, for example, Thomas Aquinas and his efforts to incorporate the ideas of Aristotle into the scholastic method.[101] In some cases Vincent ignored new sources if he had one already available that he seemed to consider sufficient. Among several possible reasons why Vincent might not have cited all parts of Aristotle's *Ethics*, only recently translated, was that he used an existing source, *Liber de finibus rerum naturalium* (Book about the Limits of Natural Things), by Arnold de Saxe, a suitable reference since the topic of the fifth book was morality.[102] *De eruditione* ignores many of these new aspects of intellectual thought, including some Aristotelian thought.[103] Although Vincent includes citations from contemporary authorities who are used extensively in the earlier *Speculum naturale*, he includes few of them in *De eruditione* or *De morali*.[104]

Adam Fijalkowski argues that Vincent's views of what it means to be human directed his attitude toward education. Rather than borrow much from Aristotle, Vincent

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[98] Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter, eds. *Medieval grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300-1475* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 78.
[99] Burnett, 193.
[100] Jacqueline Hamesse, "Le Dossier Aristote dans l'Oeuvre de Vincent de Beauvais. À Propos de l'*Éthique*," in *Intentions et Réceptions*, 214; Fijalkowski, 516-7. Modern scholars agree that Vincent was not associated with the University of Paris. Vincent never quotes Aristotle extensively, but he includes Aristotle more in his earliest work, the *Speculum*, than in his later works. Tobin, *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, 24, 30, argues that Aristotle's claim that a woman was an imperfect man explains Vincent's harsh attitude toward women. Charles Burnett, "Vincent of Beauvais, Michael Scot and the 'New Aristotle,'" 194-5, indicates that Vincent may not have been aware of the latest scientific works available in Paris.
[101] Gutek, 62-4, Power, *Legacy*, 141.
[102] Hamesse, 206.
[103] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xiii-xiv.
[104] Ibid., xxv.

emphasized Genesis, noting that since man was created in the image of God; man's essence, his cognitive and ethical sense, mirrored God. Man's soul, created from nothing, exists in some antagonism with his flesh, created from earth, which is not God's likeness. To Vincent, human meant male or female, both equal, and the actual sex was an inferior quality since it was based on flesh, not the soul. This dual view of humanity was a Platonic, not an Aristotelian concept. Again, perhaps Vincent, sequestered in Royaumont, separated from the intellectual life of the Universities, retained his old concepts. Vincent viewed the physical aspects of the person, the part made from earth, with concern. He associated sexuality with sin. Vincent applied the ancient principles of St. Jerome, St. John Chrysostom (c. 347-407), St. Augustine, and St. Cyprian, to establish moral guidelines for his own age.[105] He expected both boys and girls to follow his strict principles in their conduct.

Whether *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* reflects the ideas of humanism being formed during Vincent's life is not clear. Although *De eruditione* was a work tied firmly to early Christian fathers, with its inclusion of classical authors, some claim that it bridges the medieval and Renaissance worlds.[106] One distinctive feature of twelfth-century humanist culture was an effort to fuse classical and Christian sources to "demonstrate a fundamental consistency between ancient moral philosophy and medieval moral theology."[107] Vincent quotes classical sources 335 times and patristic sources 371 times.[108] Some of his longest quotations are from Ovid. Thus, although a work tied firmly

[105] Fijalkowski, 516-17.
[106] McCarthy, *Humanistic Emphases*, 14.
[107] Quentin Taylor, "John of Salisbury, the *Policraticus*, and Political Thought," *Humanitas* XIX, nos. 1 and 2 (2006), 138.
[108] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xix-xx.

to early Christian fathers and has an emphasis on the salvation of the child's soul, with its inclusion of classical authors, some claim that it bridges Medieval and Renaissance worlds.[109] In analyzing Vincent's use of only parts of Aristotle's *Ethics*, Jacqueline Hamesse noted that Vincent shows a support for the humanistic views of the classical authors.[110] Steiner, however, notes that Vincent's attitude "was distinctly not the detached aestheticism of the Humanist."[111] In relying upon authorities such as St. Jerome, Bede, Gratian, and Hugh of St. Victor, Vincent sought to confirm the authority of the church. Although he condemned the use of "poetical fables and immoral fictions," his own sources show that he relied heavily upon Ovid, Horace, and other classical writers.[112]

Cary J. Nederman argues for aspects of humanism in John of Salisbury's work, in his claims that humans flourish, live well in communities, and develop their limited intellectual capacities to the best they can. Although spiritual and religious, John's arguments are in opposition to asceticism or a spirituality that rejects the world. Instead he recognizes that men can gain knowledge and happiness in this life through interacting with each other and the world.[113] In some ways Vincent's work reflects a similar attitude. Even though he places spiritual needs as the apex of man's desires and stresses an uncluttered life, Vincent's entire effort to provide pedagogical material acknowledges man's desire and ability to develop intellectual capacities. He acknowledges the need for an entire community to provide good examples to educate a child. He emphasizes the

[109] Power, *Main Currents*, 253, 271; McCarthy, *Humanistic Emphases*, 14.
[110] Hamesse, 214.
[111] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xiv.
[112] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xv, 229, and 232-33.
[113] Cary J. Nederman, *John of Salisbury*, (Tempe, Arizona: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2005), 41-43.

benefits of friendship and even admits the possibility of a good marriage, which he defines as a chaste, loving relationship with a kind wife, and well-behaved children.[114]

There are several possible explanations for why Vincent chose his proposals in *De eruditione.* He was directing his instructions to royal children who would be expected to hold high positions, especially the heir who would eventually become king. It was perhaps also for this reason that he included instructions for all stages of childhood. Vincent clearly understood that children have different personalities at different ages, and his guidance would ensure that a child would continue to advance through early adulthood in a manner proper for his position. Although Vincent considered sexual continence the highest goal for any person, he obviously understood that noble children would marry and included some information to help both the family and the young husband first find a good wife, learn to live well with the new spouse, and for the young man to manage his own household.

When deciding what to write, Vincent almost certainly included instructions that matched the precepts of his patron, King Louis IX. Vincent was probably making an effort specifically to satisfy his patrons, and although the manuscript was requested by and dedicated to the queen, it seems to have been directed toward the king, a strong supporter of the mendicant orders over the universities.[115] Vincent had a friendly relationship with the king, who frequently visited Royaumont and saw Vincent on at least some of those occasions. Vincent expressed his affection for the king in a letter, *Epistola actoris ad regem* (An Advocate's Letter to the King), advising the king to set aside some

[114] Vincent discusses the attributes of a good wife and the potential benefits of marriage in chapter 37 of *De eruditione*.
[115] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, prologue; See Hilderbrandt, 57, Parkes, 555, Power, *Legacy*, 122-3 for discussions of the schools proposed during Charlemagne's rule.

leisure time for the "development of his interior life and the study of those things which would contribute to the common good of his kingdom." Not only would this enrich the king's interior life, but also relieve him of the fatigues of office.[116] Essentially, this was a "safeguard of the spiritual and mental health of the ruler."[117] How much each man influenced the other is unclear, but certainly Vincent seemed to make proposals that would please the king, and it is equally certain that Vincent's words had an effect on the king. The ascetic and monastic attributes Vincent demanded from kings seem to apply very specifically to Louis. When Vincent wrote that "the main solace of life is the study of wisdom," and he was most certainly talking about the wisdom that comes from knowing God, he probably pleased the religious Louis who seemed to search for a connection with God his entire life.[118] Thirty years later, when the Dominican friar Aegidius Romanus copied from *De eruditione,* he ignored those ideals.[119] Perhaps, given the patron of the book, Vincent intentionally chose to emphasize the Christian thinking that would please Louis IX.[120] The longest chapters in the section devoted to boys in *De eruditione* concern morals, discipline, and obedience, especially filial obedience. Vincent included a section on caution and moderation, which, if students followed, they would behave in much the same manner as Louis IX.

Louis definitely took an interest in the education of his children, sons and daughters. He talked with them each night before going to bed. Not only did he insist that they learn the Hours of the Virgin, he also required them to repeat the Hours of that

[116] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 44.
[117] Ibid., 45.
[118] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 111.
[119] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xiii; Power, *Main Currents*, 254.
[120] Joinville, 343-44.

day.[121] As they grew older he required they go to mass, matins, and listen to sermons with him every day.[122] In consideration of their positions, he discussed problems of leadership and governance. By comparing the actions of good and bad kings, he reminded his children that, when they confronted similar issues, they should consider how God would view their actions. He reminded his children to take appropriate action if faced with similar problems "and not make God angry with you."[123] Louis provided a good example for his children, acting much as a man would have if he had been raised according to Vincent's guidelines. Joinville described the king's piety, concern with ethical values, his desire to live a proper Christian life, and his efforts to help those in his care to live similarly.[124] Practicing moderation, the king never ordered special meals for himself, and he mixed water with his wine to avoid drunkenness. His garments were plain and not excessively expensive, and he expected the same from the men who served with him.[125] Joinville described the king's generosity to the poor.[126] These are all actions that matched Vincent's precepts. In chapter six, for example, Vincent warns against excessive wealth because of its distracting influence.[127]

How much the king had been influenced by Vincent is unclear. Louis was himself a well-educated man who founded a library at Sainte Chapelle. He certainly knew about and probably read *De eruditione* as well as some of Vincent's other works, and he had

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[121] Ibid., 336–38.
[122] Louis Carolus-Barré and Henri Platelle. *Le Procès de Canonisation de Saint Louis (1272-1297): Essai de Reconstitution* (Roma: École Française de Rome, 1994), 34. From the testimony of Geoffroy de Beaulieu, St. Louis' confessor.
[123] Joinville, 336–38.
[124] Ibid., 343–44.
[125] Ibid., 168–70.
[126] Ibid., 342–43.
[127] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 6: 68-82.

heard Vincent's sermons.[128] Louis wrote letters to some of his children when they adults. He likely composed the letters between 1267 and June 1270 after Vincent's death,[129] and there is much similarity between the friar's and the king's guidance. Louis' first admonition to his heir Philip was to love God. Among other requests, he instructed his son to avoid mortal sins, to suffer willingly any ills sent by God, to accept gratefully any prosperity, and to keep friends of good quality. He also told his son that, were he to become king, he must rule with virtue, take care of the poor, and maintain his land and the church, but avoid unnecessary wars. Louis mentioned his wife once, saying that he hoped that Philip loved his mother and, as noted already, accepted her good teaching and trusted her counsel. Several times in his letter Louis emphasized the need for his heir to be loyal to and protect the church and to follow the advice of his confessor and of good men -- all precepts that Vincent would have supported.

In preparing children for their place in the adult world, Vincent may have also been considering the political changes currently in play in the French kingdom. In the introduction to his educational treatise *De eruditione* Vincent explains that to write it he has temporarily put on hold work on an *Opus universale de statu principis*, a guideline for the governance of the realm.[130] In it he intended to define the roles, behaviors and duties of the king, his family, and the officers of his court. The first volume of the *Opus*, *De morali principis institutione*, was a guideline to assist the king in ruling the realm. It is in this text that Vincent provides the help a noble child would need to navigate through

[128] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xx-xxi, argues that Vincent and the king shared a strong friendship. O'Connell argues that Vincent and his writings were one of many sources from which the king drew inspiration when writing the letters to his children. Louis IX, *Teachings*, 52–53.
[129] Louis IX, *Teachings*, 47; Louis IX and Isabelle, *Instructions*, 59.
[130] Schneider, "*Opus* Reconstruction," 286-89.

the political world of the court. There is clearly a coherence between *De eruditione* and *De morali*. Gabriel identified a "harmony between the preface addressed to St. Louis in the *Speculum majus* and the basic idea of this treatise *De morali principis institutione*"[131] Although *De eruditione* was completed before *De morali*, within the *Speculum* and within the research prepared for *De morali*, Vincent had already been thinking about the duties he expected functionaries to perform in governing the kingdom.[132] The *Speculum doctrinale* discusses the political power and organization of the city (*res publica*, the king, the law), and then the rights of persons and assets.[133] Thus, *De morali* can provide some idea of Vincent's plans for royal children and *De eruditione,* which eventually formed the last volume of the *Opus*, shows the education matched the roles Vincent established for royal men and women in *De morali*.[134]

Administrative Kingship

Vincent might have been attempting to ensure that the royal children, especially the boys, were raised to understand their ultimate roles and thus could be better prepared for them. Vincent's education would ensure that boys would be prepared to become leaders and future kings who met the standards set by King Louis IX. In *De morali* he encouraged kings to become familiar with sacred and secular literature.[135] This would provide them with a wide source of acquired wisdom giving them an ability to make statutes and decrees in harmony with canon law and divine law as stipulated in Scripture. He acknowledged that while it would be

[131] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 44.
[132] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, prologue. Vincent explains in the prologue to *De eruditione* that he had already begun work on the "*Opus* Reconstruction." Vincent's words imply that he had already been thinking about his proposals for governing the realm.
[133] Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 7.
[134] The chronology for Vincent's work is based on Robert Schneider, *De morali principis institutione*.
[135] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xxvii.

impossible for a prince to know everything through experience, he could learn a great deal through texts. From all of his reading, the prince would discover many historical models to imitate.[136] These precepts are reiterated within *De eruditione.* Vincent said after a sufficient time boys could read non-scriptural works, because some non-Christians wrote books that "agree and are consonant with Christian dogma."[137] And, as long as the Christian was "acquainted with the sense of the divine scriptures and most firmly strengthened both in faith of its articles and articles of faith" they could even read heretical books.[138]

The political proposals in *De morali* were made at a time when the growth of administrative kingship placed men to work at specific functions in an incipient bureaucracy.[139] In *De morali* Vincent describes medieval society as a community of the faithful, divided into spiritual and secular portions.[140] Vincent's secular community resembles a quasi-bureaucratic organization, with administrators assigned to particular positions.[141] In *Policraticus*, a work Vincent quoted in *De eruditione* and *De morali*, John of Salisbury proposed a structure very similar to Vincent's, although John's organization was not divided into spiritual and secular bodies.[142] Vincent had been exposed to John of

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[136] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xxvii; Vincent, *De morali*, ch. 16.
[137] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 187.
[138] Ibid., 188.
[139] Elizabeth M. Hallam and Judith Everard, *Capetian France, 987-1328*, 2nd ed. (Harlow, England: New York: Longman, 2001), 205. For an analysis of the rise of Administrative kingship see C. Warren Hollister and John W. Baldwin, "The Rise of Administrative Kingship: Henry I and Philip Augustus," *The American Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (Oct., 1978): 867-905.
[140] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xxiv, summarizing ch. 1 of *De morali.*
[141] Vincent, *De morali*, ch. 1: 17-29.
[142] Bk. 4, ch. 2 of *Policraticus* reads: "The place of the head in the body of the commonwealth is filled by the prince, who is subject only to God and to those who exercise His office and represent Him on earth, even as in the human body the head is quickened and governed by the soul. The place of the heart is filled by the Senate, from which proceeds the initiation of good works and ill. The duties of eyes, ears, and tongue are claimed by the judges and the governors of provinces. Officials and soldiers correspond to the hands. Those who always attend upon the prince are likened to the sides. Financial officers and keepers . . . may be compared with the stomach and intestines . . . The husbandmen correspond to the feet, which always cleave to the soil, and need the more especially the care and foresight of the head, since while they

Salisbury's ideas through Helinand of Froidmont but he acknowledged Plutarch as his source for his political structure. John's *Policraticus* lacks discussion of feudal institutions.[143] He deviated from earlier writers "who treated the *princeps* as a particular person whose authority rested on fealty." Instead, he defined the prince as a public agent who administered a certain territory, its commonwealth, members, and military.[144] As Gabriel notes, Vincent also steers away from feudal concepts for the structure of government.[145] In *De morali*, Vincent, too treats the *princeps* as a public agent administering a territory, a view that coincided with Louis IX's.

Vincent had considered administrative kingship, and the formal structures needed to support it, before writing *De morali*. Monica Paulmier-Foucart noted a shift in Vincent's emphasis between the 1240 (two part *naturale* version) and the 1260 (three part *doctrinale* version) of the *Speculum*. In Book VII, Vincent placed more emphasis on written rights, both civil and canon, in the management and handling of contemporary society, via the formation of universities of jurists, judges, and lawyers.[146] Schneider identified 195 quotations in *De morali* that Vincent took from *Speculum doctrinale* Books IV through VII. These quotations captured the views of classical poets and early Christian writers on "virtues and vices, the moral qualities of kings and counselors, and

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walk upon the earth doing service with their bodies, they meet the more often with stones of stumbling, and therefore deserve aid and protection all the more justly since it is they who raise, sustain, and move forward the weight of the entire body. Take away the support of the feet from the strongest body, and it cannot move forward by its own power, but must creep painfully and shamefully on its hands, or else be moved by means of brute animals." John of Salisbury, *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury: Being the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books, and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books, of the Policrataicus*, trans. with an introduction by John Dickinson (New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1963. Reissue from 1927, Alfred A. Knoff, Inc.).

[143] Quentin Taylor, 139.

[144] Ibid., 140.

[145] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 45.

[146] Paulmier-Foucart, *Grand Miroir*, 74-5. These changes were made during the period Vincent wrote *De eruditione*.

the domestic and political sciences."[147] Vincent also took about twenty quotations on political theology, mostly from Gregory the Great and Augustine, from the *naturale*.[148] Forty *exempla* on kingship and the relationships between ecclesiastical and secular authorities from the *doctrinale* and *historiale* also provided Vincent material for *De morali*.[149]

Vincent's interest in administrative kingship matched his patron's interests. Louis IX continued the process of centralizing the government, begun under his grandfather, Philip II Augustus.[150] From his ancestors Philip had inherited an ambulatory court. The king traveled regularly to various parts of the relatively small royal domains and received taxes and reports from local officials.[151] Philip changed the nature of the court, from peripatetic to stationary. His innovations contributed to the development of the monarchical centralism though administrative and financial innovations.[152] When he departed for his crusade in 1190, he left a temporary court at Paris that lasted about eighteen months.[153] The need for a permanent court was soon made clear. At a battle in Freteval, Normandy in 1194 the king lost his baggage train, including personal belongings and records. To reduce the hazards of traveling with documents and valuables, Philip made the court at Paris a permanent, stable, central institution, the beginnings of a centralized government.[154] He created traveling agents, bailiffs, who were sent from the central court to enforce royal justice, increase the contact of the court with

[147] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xxx.
[148] Ibid., xxxii.
[149] Ibid., xxxiv.
[150] Le Goff, 35-36.
[151] Hollister and Baldwin, 868.
[152] Le Goff, 35-36.
[153] Hollister and Baldwin, 96.
[154] Duby, 175-6; Hollister and Baldwin, 97.

its subjects, and report information on the state of the realm. From this point, the king no longer went to the country; the country came to him. He also established central accounting procedures that kept a tighter control over both the treasury and local officials. For the first time the French government "made a conscious effort to collect and preserve its own records, and for the first time the modern historian can see the French royal government from the inside."[155] Such records helped establish continuity of royal policy. Some of these innovations were forced by the acquisition of Brittany and Normandy after the Battle of Bouvines, which made the royal demesne too large to be controlled under the old system.[156]

Perhaps most importantly Philip established vice-regents to perform some of the king's functions. These qualified and trusted individuals, usually without high rank but almost totally dependent upon the king, increased the efficiency of government operations. At the same time, by taking positions away from the higher nobility, Philip reduced their power and increased his.[157] Louis, influenced by his grandfather, continued the expansion of monarchical power, including legal innovations. In 1202, Philip had added a clause to a vassal's oath of loyalty that placed allegiance to the king ahead of allegiance to the immediate lord.[158] Under Louis' rule French law theorists refined this law. John of Banot (fl. 13th c.) declared that the king had the right to demand service to the kingdom from his sub vassals, even against the wishes of their immediate lords.[159] Jurists also validated royal prerogatives over allods and feudal tenures. The re-

[155] Hollister and Baldwin, 896.
[156] Hollister and Baldwin, 868, 896-97. Duby, 156-6, 220. The first records of Philip's new bureaucratic government are in the ordinance he issued before he left for the Third Crusade. Hollister and Baldwin, 895.
[157] Hollister and Baldwin, 902-4.
[158] Duby, 214.
[159] Ibid., 251.

introduction of Roman law, taught at the University of Orléans, affirmed the king as "emperor in his kingdom." Implementation of this is clear in a 1263 ordinance that made the king's coin the only legal currency in the realm, leaving nobles with no further right to mint coins.[160]

Louis' efforts toward continuing the process of administrative kingship were practical but also symbolic, following Philip's lead. Philip had been eager to promote the crown, even using the legend of Charlemagne as a political program and modeling his actions on events from Charlemagne's life. Like Charlemagne before his battle at Roncevaux, Philip blessed his troops before the battle of Bouvines and in his speech reminded them of their legacy as descendants of the Trojans and heirs of Charlemagne and Roland. He requested the Bishop of Senlis, head of the chancery, to compile documents, including the *Registrum Guarini*, as evidence of the rights upon which crowns were founded.[161] Louis continued these symbolic measures particularly by enhancing "the prestige of the sacred French monarchy by his own probity and personal sanctity." He made himself an example of a literate, pious, virtuous, wise, and valorous leader.[162]

As such a pious leader, Louis attempted to emancipate himself from secular ecclesiastical interference. After the return from his first crusade "Louis's reign was characterized by indifferent, if not contentious, relations between the crown and the

[160] Ibid., 254. Allods were "naturally inherited freeholdings not subject to any feudal superior."
[161] Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "The *Reditus Regni ad Stirpem Karoli Magni*: A New Look." *French Historical Studies* 7, no. 2 (Autumn, 1971), 164-66.
[162] Duby, 251.

secular church."[163] Le Goff argued that Louis favored a rise in power of priests, the king, and men of learning.[164] For instance, he used mendicants, rather than secular ecclesiastics for a number of functions.[165] The king probably viewed the friars, with their emphasis on humility and service, as being more Christ-like than secular clergy. By supporting the friars, he also placed the cathedral and secular clergy in a lower, humbler position.[166] Louis sent mendicants as diplomatic couriers and missionaries, but perhaps most importantly he employed them as investigators in a series of inquests into the practices of royal administrative officials between 1247 and 1248.[167] The process of the investigations was based closely on the standards established by the church's Holy Office, the Inquisition, instituted in 1233 and entrusted mainly to the Order of Preachers. As a result of the investigations Louis issued a series of ordinances to reform the government.[168] Louis also patronized intellectuals who articulated a theoretical framework that matched and supported his political goals. Both Vincent's and the Franciscan theologian Gilbert of Tournai's works "tended to favor the independence of the body politic, what they called the *corpus reipublicae mysticum*, mystical body of the commonweal, existing alongside the *corpus ecclesiae mysticun*. These ideas represent a major step in the French monarchy's attempt to emancipate itself from ecclesiastical interference."[169]

M. Cecilia Gaposchkin argued that a door of Notre Dame Cathedral provides clues about the conflict between the king and the cathedral canons. The Porte Rouge on

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[163] M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "The King of France and the Queen of Heaven: The Iconography of the Porte Rouge of Notre-Dame of Paris." *Gesta* 39, no. 1 (2000), 58.
[164] Le Goff, 274.
[165] Little, 134.
[166] Gaposchkin, "The King of France and the Queen of Heaven," 66.
[167] Eighteen of the thirty-one known investigators were mendicants, eight Dominicans and seven Franciscans, and three friars whose orders are not clear, Little 133.
[168] Little, 133.
[169] Ibid., 134.

the north flank of the east end of Notre-Dame in Paris has long been considered a depiction of Louis IX and Marguerite kneeling before an image of the Coronation of the Virgin. This interpretation does not consider the fact that the royal couple never acted as patrons of Notre-Dame, but instead supported the Cistercians and mendicants.[170] Gaposchkin argues that the image, above a private door designed for cathedral canons to enter the chancel, was designed by the canons to show the cathedral's authority over the king. Since over the course of the twelfth century the image of image of the Coronation of the Virgin had become associated with and the idea of the Church Triumphant, the image of Mary on the portal symbolized *Ecclesia* herself.[171] In depicting the royal couple

> in a ritual gesture of supplication to Maria-Ecclesia, the portal expressed the church's ideal of the king subordinate and supplicant to the triumphant cathedral. Furthermore, in the image of the king the portal denies any likeness to the figure of Christ, rejecting the contemporary, but competing ideal articulated by the crown during Louis's reign of a sacral and christological kingship independent of the church.[172]

Louis viewed the relationship differently. He had not patronized the cathedral or relied extensively on secular clerty. Rather than endow the cathedral with the prized relics of Christ's passion, he built a new site, Sainte-Chapelle, to house them, after having assigned Dominicans to escort the crown of thorns from Constantinople to Paris. Thus, Sainte-Chapelle was not only a home for his relics, but also a means to display his kingship.[173] The windows in his chapel proclaim Louis' assertion, emphasizing the sacred nature of kingship, and depicting France as the new Jerusalem. According to

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[170] Gaposchkin, "The King of France and the Queen of Heaven," 65-66 notes that except for the supplicant king and queen in the Port Rouge door, there is no evidence that Louis patronized the cathedral or provided funds for the doorway.
[171] Gaposchkin, "The King of France and the Queen of Heaven," 60-61.
[172] Ibid., 58.
[173] Alyce A. Jordon, 66; Little, 128.

Gaposchkin's analysis, the crown of thorns was "an analogue for the crown of France [and] an especially potent symbol for the king, and consciously or not, Louis was creating a claim to his own sacrality. It was even reported that he placed the crown of thorns on his head at the dedication of the chapel" and placed three thorns into his own crown.[174]

As is clear from Louis IX's emulation of his grandfather, the pious king placed great importance upon the Capetian line.[175] Le Goff argues that one of Louis' strongest ties was to his lineage.[176] The interest in Capetian genealogy was in part spurred by the nobility's efforts to establish grand heritages. Most of them claimed descent from Charlemagne.[177] Louis had additional concerns about the legitimacy of his family's rule.[178] At the time of Philip, two separate theories provided the idea of dynastic continuity between the Capetians and Charlemagne. The first, *reditus regni Francorum ad stirpem Karoli*, claimed that the kingdom of France would return to the family of Charlemagne.[179] The second, the Valerian prophesy, put a date on that event. The prophesy claimed a long history, back to the time of the Norse invasions when St. Valery's (d. 622) body had been taken from his own church to Saint-Berin for safekeeping. The Carolingian Count of Flanders, Arnulf refused to the return the body after the Normans were converted to Christianity. St. Valery chose the Count of Paris, Hugh of Capet (c. 939-996) as his defender, asking the count to bring Saint's body back to his original church. Once Hugh completed the task St. Valery prophesied that he would

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[174] Gaposchkin, 66.
[175] Spiegel, 164.
[176] Le Goff, 598.
[177] Alyce A. Jordan, *Visualizing Kingship in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2002), 20.
[178] Spiegel, 164.
[179] Brown, "Vincent de Beauvais and the *reditus regni francorum ad stirpem Caroli imperatoris*," in *Intentions et Réceptions*, 167-68.

become king; however, in seven generations, the rule of the Carolingians would be restored.[180] The *reditus* implied that after the death of Philip in 1223 the royal line should no longer be Capetian, but Carolingian.[181]

During Philip's rule André de Marchienne (c. 1150-c. 1202) wrote the *Historia succincta* (Brief History) describing Hugh as an inglorious usurper who, contravening an anathema imposed upon him by the church, invaded the kingdom of the Franks, and attacked his lord and relative Charles of Lorraine (953-993). Hugh usurped the throne even though Pope Stephen (715-757) had blessed Pepin (d. 768), conferring the rule of France on the Carolingians sempiternally.[182] For Vincent, Hugh's performance as depicted by André called into question the legitimacy of Capetian rule and in the 1254 edition of the *historiale* he modified the description of the Hugh's actions.[183] Vincent simply mentioned Stephen and the anathema, and then stated that the kingdom was transferred from the Carolingians to the Capetians because God recognized royal qualities in Hugh.[184] The Carolingians lost their right to rule because they had failed to support God's churches. Vincent's innovation was to combine the *reditus* and the Valerian prophesy by claiming that Louis VIII, the son of Isabella of Hainaut (1170-

[180] Spiegel, 147.
[181] Brown, "*Reditus regni*," 168.
[182] Ibid., 168-70. André de Marchienne, a supporter of Count Baudoin V of Hainaut wrote between 1191 and 1196 in an effort to exploit the Carolingian heritage of the Hainaut family.
[183] Brown, "*Reditus regni*," 168-70. In "Autour de 1254, une revision capetienne du *Speculum historiale*," in *Intentions et Réceptions*, 141-166, Marie-Christine Duchenne discussions a series of additions to the *Speculum historiale* that show Vincent's increasing concern with the problems of kingship and the legitimacy of Capetian rule.
[184] Duchenne, 154; Brown, "*Reditus regni*," 174-8; Vincent, *historiale*, bk. 31, ch. 126.

1190) of Carolingian descent, became the seventh of the Capetians to rule. Thus, the throne returned to Carolingian rule in the person of Louis IX's father, Louis VIII.[185]

The 1254 additions to the *historiale* dealt with issues that Vincent also addressed five years later in *De morali*, questions of the legitimacy of royal power, the qualities of a prince, and dynastic issues.[186] In *De morali*, Vincent repeats the combination but ignores Hugh's anathema. Instead, comparing Hugh to Jacob, who patiently waited to receive his inheritance, Vincent claimed that God had selected Hugh to be king. In making this conclusion Vincent contributed to the legitimacy of the Capetian dynasty by redeeming Hugh's actions and elevated the royal house through proof of its Carolingian heritage.[187] The *reditus* also gave the Capetian kings not only descent from Charlemagne, but restoration of Carolingian rule placed the Capetians in a position far superior to the nobility.[188] It is possible that Vincent included the *reditus* to console Louis IX after returning from his first, unsuccessful crusade. Elizabeth Brown argues that the date of the changes in the *historiale* correspond to the time when Louis returned. Convinced that he was responsible for the crusade's failure, Louis might have welcomed Vincent's proposal that God approved of the Capetian, and Louis' reign.[189] Implicit in Vincent's interpretation of Hugh's actions is a warning to all rulers that they held their positions only through God's forbearance.[190] No matter why the Dominican encyclopedist wrote the *reditus*, Louis IX was so impressed by the analysis that he had Vincent's idea

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[185] Brown, "*Reditus regni*," 178; Harvey Stahl, *Picturing Kingship: History and Painting in the Psalter of Saint Louis* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 162; Spiegel, 167, n. 88.
[186] Brown, "*Reditus regni*," 168-70.
[187] Brown, "*Reditus regni*," 178, Stahl, 162; Spiegel, 167, n. 88.
[188] Alyce A. Jordan, 20.
[189] Brown, "*Reditus regni*," 180-1.
[190] Brown, "*Reditus regni*," 178-80; Kathleen Daly, "Picturing past Politics: French Kingship and History in the 'Mirouer historial abregié de France,'" *Gesta* 44, no. 2 (2005): 106.

captured in the *Grandes chroniques de France*, the first official history of French royalty.[191]

The ideas of administrative kingship, and Vincent's proposals, are reflected in the art created during Louis' reign. Symbolism in art emphasized the personal sanctity of the king, dynastic continuity and legitimacy, and the special role of France and its king as the protector of Christianity.[192] Louis' refurbishment and reorganization of the royal tombs in St. Denis were part of the project to give a forceful, large-scale expression of the royal lineage. Carolingian tombs were placed along the south of the transept parallel to Capetian tombs set along the north. Connecting the two sets were the tombs of Philip Augustus, Louis VIII, and Louis IX. This physical arrangement mirrored Vincent's claim in the *reditus*, that Carolingian rule was restored in the life of Louis VIII, whose mother Isabella of Hainaut was Philip Augustus' queen.[193]

A series of illuminations in a psalter prepared for Louis IX at about the same time that Vincent wrote his treatise on kingship display concerns about proper kingship similar to those Vincent expresses in *De morali*. When interpreted, the images within the psalter tell a story that closely matches one of Vincent's main arguments in *De morali* -- that the need for the king to rule wisely with God's blessing. [194] According to Harvey Stahl the

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[191] Stahl, 162; Spiegel, 167, n. 88.
[192] Stahl, 12.
[193] Alyce A. Jordan, 20.
[194] Stahl, 181. The Psalter of Saint Louis, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 10525, was made for St. Louis in the mid-1260s. See Omont, Henri Auguste, Henry Yates Thompson, Louis IX, Bibliothèque Nationale (France), Département des Manuscrits and Catholic Church. *Psautier de Saint Louis. Reproduction Réduite des 92 Miniatures du Manuscrit Latin 10525 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Paris: Berthaud frères, Catala frères, 1902; Louis IX and *Bibliothèque Nationale* (France), *Département des manuscrits*. *Psautier de Saint Louis: Reproduction des 86 Miniatures du Manuscrit Latin 10525 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Paris: Imprimerie Berthaud Frères, n.d.; Louis IX and Bibliothèque Nationale (France), Département des manuscrits. *Psautier de Saint Louis: Reproduction des 86 Miniatures du Manuscrit Latin 10525 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Paris: Imprimerie Berthaud Frères, n.d.; Thomas, Marcel, and Catholic Church. *Scènes de l'Ancien Testament Illustrant le Psautier de Saint Louis. Reproduction des 78 Enluminures à*

psalter is more political than sacral, emphasizing the "royal responsibilities to the Church and state." Going beyond standard tropes, the psalter "is not simply laudatory but is fraught with warning about possible failure, given the weight and responsibility of kingship."[195] Beginning the psalter with images of Cain and Abel emphasizes the "issue of fate and behavior at the outset of human history."[196] In the *apologia* to the *Speculum historiale* Vincent also emphasized the role of Abel, not Adam, as the font for the history of the church on earth.[197] The images in the psalter portray Old Testament kings. But the last miniatures of the psalter cycle depict the coronation of Saul, not a traditional coronation image or subject. Saul was not a model king. His pride caused him to lose God's favor. Samuel had warned of the dangers of kingship, and Saul, the first king of Israel, disobeyed the Lord and lost his kingdom. While the image of the accession of Saul shows a moment of sacrifice and offering, according to Stahl it also warns of the dangers inherent in the office of king.[198] In *De morali*, Vincent, too, stresses the dangers inherent in ruling. Vincent's argument for the role of the king begins by noting the equality in which mankind initially existed. Unfortunately, the avarice of Cain and Nimrud destroy this. Using the text of 1 Samuel 8 as his guide, Vincent proposes that God permits the institution of kingship because people, weak and sinful, can be led to salvation when peace is enforced by a king.[199] While he acknowledges that the power to rule is given both to bad and good kings, only those who are humble and obedient to God retain their kingdoms. Otherwise, they too will lose their realms, like Saul. This message appears in

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Pleine Page du Manuscrit Latin 10525 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Graz, Akadem: Druck-u. Verlagsanst, 1970.
[195] Stahl, 209.
[196] Ibid., 170.
[197] Ibid., 169.
[198] Ibid., 178-83.
[199] Stahl, 181-82.

the *Speculum historiale* as well. Thus, in both *De morali* and the *Speculum historiale*, Vincent reminds kings that Saul began as a good ruler but degenerated into a bad one. The artists who decorated the psalter chose those same themes. The very religious Louis IX certainly took this message to heart and understood that a successful reign required proper actions from the king.

It seems clear that Vincent's plans for educating young men were directed toward preparing them to take on the responsibilities of kingship or nobility. As a ruler, a boy educated under Vincent's precepts would set a high moral standard for his subjects to follow. Vincent was almost certainly attempting to satisfy the standards of Louis IX. The following chapter discusses Vincent's proposals for educating girls and how those ideas differed from his plans for teaching boys. His goals for girls were entirely different. A girl trained by Vincent's precepts would avoid political life and defer to her father or husband on all matters. Her actions would be in conflict with those of previous noble women. Capetian queens had brought family alliances, territory, but also intelligence and the ability to provide advice to the king. In arguing for the strength of the king, and in supporting administrative kingship, Vincent advocated an education for girls that would produce women who only had the ability to act as a modest wives.

CHAPTER FOUR: VINCENT'S THEORIES SPECIFIC TO GIRLS' EDUCATION

After including forty-one chapters discussing matters pertaining to the education of boys, Vincent provides only ten on the instruction of girls. The section discussing the pedagogy for girls might be expected to be shorter since Vincent had already discussed general educational precepts and provided instructions for important concerns such as discipline, subject matter, reading, and writing. Yet, there are other reasons why Vincent includes fewer instructions for girls. His proposals differ significantly from what he advises for boys. Since women did not attend universities, or expect to contribute to the burgeoning intellectual life of the thirteenth century, they were not expected to have the same breadth of knowledge as boys. Since Vincent also intended girls to have no role in political life, there was no need for extensive education. This chapter presents Vincent's main ideas concerning girls' education, including what can be learned about his plans for women from what he excludes from the chapter. It begins like the previous, presenting Vincent's ideas, followed by an analysis and evaluation, and provides some thoughts about why Vincent made certain proposals.

The Chapters on Girls' Education in *De eruditione*

Vincent begins chapter forty-two, the first in the section on girls' education, by again quoting the same verse in Ecclesiasticus as he had at the start of first chapter of the treatise, "Hast thou daughters? have a care of their body, and show not thyself cheerful

toward them."[1] In this command, Vincent stresses the primary purpose of a girl's education is the need to instruct her and perhaps more importantly, her parents, to protect her body. In Vincent's stern tone are clear worries about the ability of girls to control their own bodies, and with that, their access to a happy and rewarding afterlife. The first chapters all address various problems that might keep a girl from remaining chaste. Some of the specific guidance Vincent gives parents is to keep girls at home "lest as they wander abroad they grow lustful or be lusted after."[2] Quoting Ecclesiasticus, he warns the father that he will often be kept awake worrying about the various problems that can occur during all phases of the girl's life. Using a number of quotations from different authors, Vincent describes the many dismal options that can happen if a girl or woman is not chaste: unwanted pregnancy, abortion, and scandal for parents or husbands. Discipline, which is so much a part of Vincent's solutions for the problems boys face in achieving scholarly success, is also what a girl needs to lead a pure life. Vincent asks parents to nurture daughters with discipline and provides parents with examples of the success that can then be achieved. Vincent's examples are Mary, whose parents guarded her virginity during childhood, and Asella, the daughter of one of Jerome's female disciples who was raised to love solitude.

Chapter forty-three discusses "instruction in letters, and morals, and first, on chastity."[3] These topics are related by a common thesis: literacy training will help a girl maintain her morals and chastity. Learning letters is a good occupation for a girl who is being guarded by her parents to ensure her virginity. As Jerome's advises, a young girl's

[1] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 367; Ecclesiasticus 7: 25-26.
[2] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 367.
[3] Ibid., 373.

friends must be those who, like her, are actively learning, and whom she can emulate. Vincent encourages study and like Jerome encourages instructors to praise a girl to encourage her, allows her to learn at her own pace and to be happy when surpasses herself. He especially encourages a girl to read scripture, and quoting Jerome tells her, "sleep should steal upon you while you are holding a book and when your face falls let it be upon that sacred page."[4] While the girl reads, she must pray, and with these occupations together she can overcome temptation. Finally, singing hymns and working would help a girl concentrate and keep her from thinking improper thoughts. It is difficult to imagine a thirteenth-century French noble girl wanting to following Vincent's suggestion to spin wool, as Augustus' female relatives had. To discourage a girl from taking on airs, women must not praise her with foolish flatteries. The four most important habits a girl must learn are chastity, humility, silence, and mature behavior. Chastity can be encouraged by refraining from engaging in sensual pleasures, including eating meat and drinking wine, and avoiding bad company. Vincent cautions moderation however, and warns that excessive fasting can harm the body. Sleep, necessary only to provide rest to an exhausted body, should be limited. Vincent quotes Jerome who told his disciples to wake their daughters at night and early in the morning for prayer and singing hymns. Because a girl could see her naked body during bathing, baths should also be avoided.

The next two chapters, forty-four to forty-five, discuss practical matters: a girl's clothing and friends. In chapter forty-four Vincent addresses issues of appearance. A modest girl will not wear elaborate garments, makeup, perfumes, gems, or gold, nor will she dye or adorn her hair. Quoting Ovid, Vincent observes that the girl herself gets lost

[4] Ibid., 374.

among her excessively intricate garments and embellishments. All of these devil's splendors cover her real beauty: her meek and quiet spirit. A woman who paints her face will never have the confidence to raise that face to heaven since God would no longer recognize her. Her efforts to change her appearance are an affront to God, the artist who created her. Because a woman's face is a painting made by God himself, she should appreciate the original creation. Not only young girls, but also married women and widows, must avoid the boldness of makeup. Noble girls must be especially careful to avoid being compared to prostitutes who commonly paint their faces. Consecrated virgins are strictly forbidden the use of any adornments. A woman who decorates herself with makeup, charcoal eyes, rouge, and red lips inflames young men with lust, and while the woman might not actually sin, she can easily inspire men to perform inappropriate actions. As Matthew noted, a man who lusts after a woman in his heart has committed adultery. Natural beauty itself is a cause for problems since it encourages pride and foolishness, and can lead a girl to unchaste behavior. Public praise of beauty is particularly detrimental since even modest girls can succumb to this type of flattery. Even if she is not attempting to entice a man, but simply displays her beauty, she sins by setting her attractiveness as a trap, and she is responsible for the souls of those who sin because of her. If the woman specifically attempts to entice a man, according to Augustine she has sinned.

Chapter forty-five is similar to chapters thirty-two and thirty-three in the section on boys' education. Vincent uses most of the chapter to address the problems of unchaste company, which causes harm to both boys and girls by examples and suggestions. He advises parents to choose to sober, temperate, and modest companions who display high

morals. Much of his advice is taken from letters Jerome wrote to mothers attempting to raise daughters dedicated to an ascetic life. Rather than allowing girls to laugh with curly-haired young men, parents should find companions who sing with a flowery voice, but who are pale and somewhat sad. Since the morals and interests of a girl can be detected by observing the morals and interests of her friends, a girl's companions must exhibit the same conduct and dress that parents want the daughter to display. Parents must take care to maintain high moral standards in the house so that nothing untoward can be said about the household that will reflect upon any girls living there. Vincent warns that young widows, especially those who are talkative, might not make the best friends for maidens. Having experienced sex, they might attempt to incite sexual desire in a young girl.

Chapter forty-six returns to the issues discussed in chapter forty-three, humility, silence and maturity. Vincent immediately places humility on the same level as virginity. Using the example of the Virgin Mary, Vincent praised the benefits of humility. Had not Mary been both virginal and humble, she would not have satisfied the Lord. Quoting Ambrose, Vincent notes that without humility heaven cannot be attained. Humility and silence are interlocked. Women must remain quiet in church, especially virgins. Noble girls must exhibit maturity or seriousness so that, in Vincent's own words, "their spiritual deference and chaste modesty may show though their physical expression, behavior, and dress."[5] Included in serious conduct are silence, a lack of joking, becoming dress, and a meek walk. Most important, though, is a modest, straightforward expression where a girl keeps her eyes downcast, her head pointed forward, avoids haughty expressions, slanting glances and winking. With examples from Jerome, Vincent warns parents from letting

[5] Ibid., 395.

their daughters see strange women from whom they might acquire bad ideas. He also decries the adverse influence that city and court life has on some girls, making them wanton and dissolute.

Chapters forty-seven to fifty furnish advice for the families of young women who will be married and define the wife's duties. Parents are provided with guidelines in chapter forty-seven to assist in finding a husband for their daughter. The first instruction makes it clear that the girl must give her consent to the marriage, although out of filial obedience she is expected to accept the husband chosen by her parents. Vincent acknowledges that unions are sometimes contracted "to reconcile enemies, to compose war, and other similar things," but since it cannot be dissolved, a marriage must be entered into only after great deliberation.[6] The future son-in-law must be physically compatible, virtuous and prudent. Wealth and physical beauty are not important in a husband. As he had in the chapters on marriage in the sections on boys, Vincent notes that the main purpose for wedlock is procreation and the second is to avoid fornication. While he admits that marriage is a "great good, continence is even greater."[7] Even so, since wedlock provides an accepted sexual outlet, and children, the father who gives his daughter in marriage has accomplished a great work.

Chapter forty-eight discusses the conduct appropriate to a married woman. The young bride must display five types of proper behavior. She must be able "to honor her parents-in-law, to love her husband, to rule her family, to govern her house, and to show herself blameless."[8] She must treat her parents-in-law with humility and patience. She

[6] Ibid., 399.
[7] Ibid., 400.
[8] Ibid., 404.

must show her love for her husband by subjecting herself to him, keeping the house neat and clean to respect him. By keeping her husband pleased, by tolerating his faults, by willingly subjecting herself to him, and by keeping herself chaste for him, she will ensure that he will love her and avoid adultery. As might be expected, Vincent expounds upon the necessity for a chaste marriage, providing examples from Ovid (two), Jerome (two), Martial, Tibullus, and St. Paul. Vincent also warns against the problems of mistrust within a union, especially when a wife is jealous, whether for good cause or not. A jealous wife expresses her anger out loud, frequently and vehemently. Rather than act like a shrew, Vincent reiterates the need for a woman to appear modest, repeating his admonitions against fine clothing and makeup. He allows a woman to teach her children and servants calm and chaste behavior. In perhaps the shortest section in the entire text, Vincent says a woman is to be taught to prudently administer the house and domestic affairs.

Chapter forty-nine provides advice so that wife can lead a blameless life. Vincent praises the modest woman, calling her a double grace: a grace before God and men. Vincent then uses different quotations to reiterate the need for a woman to wear modest clothing, cast her eyes down, and practice silence. A talkative wife is a hindrance, and a man cannot live under the same roof with her, but a silent woman shows intelligence. A good wife displays an honorable manner of living, acts "not to be wicked, but simple and good; not to be bold or impudent, but humble and modest; nor should she be lewd, but chaste; not wrathful, but gentle; not drunken but sober."[9]

[9] Ibid., 417.

Chapter fifty-one presents the problems that can occur if a young woman is widowed. Vincent provides conflicting advice, quoting different sources to explain the options available to the young widow. The primary concern is whether a widowed woman should declare a vow of continence or not. Ambrose suggests that she remain unmarried and take the vow. If she does marry, the only permitted reason is to prevent fornication, and the ceremony associated with the wedding should be minimal. Jerome suggests that even if she refuses to consider a second marriage, she should be discouraged from taking a vow. That will leave open the possibility of a second union since marriage is not permitted if she has sworn to maintain widowed chastity. According to Vincent she may eventually decide to remarry because her sexual desire might return. As with the first marriage, the woman must be given some choice in choosing a husband. Vincent provides a short history lesson on the early church and the care it took with widows, providing for them from church property as long as they were "of advanced age, once married, of blameless life, and destitute of worldly comforts."[10]

The last, and longest chapter in the section on girls is devoted to extolling the state of virginity. Vincent urges parents to allow daughters to remain virgins if there is no need for them to marry. Continence is the preferred condition and benefits the girl more than marriage. At the same time, the virgin bears more responsibility than the married woman because of the difficulty of maintaining her state. Virginity is precious hidden treasure, and because of the girl's innocence, her life is closer to a heavenly existence. Because of her purity, a virgin is compared to a pure bright light. Vincent repeats the explanation that a virgin is a double grace, both on earth and in heaven. While a virgin

[10] Ibid., 422.

cannot bear earthly children, her fruit is the regard of holy souls. Virgins are freer to serve God, they are unified inwardly, and they wear a crown of victory for their striving to be continent, which makes them glorious. Virgins also gain a glory similar to apostles and martyrs. Virginity is not simply physical, however, but also a matter of spirit. A true virgin is also chaste in her mind. She enters into her vow voluntarily, is humble, and perseveres to the end of her earthly life. A girl who takes a vow of virginity only for praise and admiration is not a true virgin.

Evaluation of Vincent's Proposals for Educating Girls

Rosemary Tobin and William Craig both observed that Vincent's use of the same quotation in Ecclesiasticus to begin the section on boys' and girls' education shows a coherent plan for the entire text.[11] Vincent saw the most important aspect of education for both boys and girls as establishing ethics that would form a good Christian adult.[12] He explained that girls, like boys, must be instructed in morals and good habits.[13] He advocated early training for children, both boys and girls, to calm the turbulence of youth.[14] The overall goals for boys and girls differed, however. He emphasized the need for boys to learn discipline and for girls to learn modesty and silence. The section on boys presents Vincent's general theories for instruction in ethics. The chapters discussing the education of girls include additional guidelines for moral issues tied specifically to females. It is clear that Vincent viewed girls differently than boys. While all children are expected to be temperate, girls must act in a way that makes them nearly invisible. Girls

[11] Tobin, *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, 143, Craig, 26.
[12] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 119.
[13] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 43: 53-55.
[14] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxvi; Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 17-18.

are to dress modestly, be silent and hold their eyes downcast. While his training in scriptures and patristic sources obviously led him to these conclusions, as will be discussed, he was influenced by other factors, including his ties to Louis IX and his support of administrative kingship.

Vincent spends significant space discussing corporal issues and the potential for problems connected with girls' bodies. While the *Speculum* indicates that he saw the souls of boys and girls as equal, corporal differences swayed his writing. His views of girls indicate that he thought they lacked self-control and were susceptible to flattery. For this reason, Vincent advocated stronger parental controls over girls, requiring that they be confined to the house and read scriptures, or perform work that kept them busy. Since boys, by learning discipline, could acquire self-control, Vincent allowed them more physical freedom and placed fewer constraints upon them. He warns girls against eating meat and drinking wine, sleeping too much, bathing, wearing immoderate adornment, etc.[15] Jerome gave the same instructions to his female disciples, so perhaps Vincent's advice is simply a reflection of his sources. His tone within the section on girls' education is in some ways even more strict than St. Jerome, who allowed the child Pacatula to be given honey cakes, flowers, or a doll when she performed her lessons well.[16] Vincent seems genuinely more concerned about girls' physicality than he was about boys'. While his proposals seem harsh, especially for royal children, his primary concern was the children's souls, and he was writing for the children of the very disciplined Louis IX.

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[15] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, chs. 43 and 44.
[16] Jerome, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, second series, vol. VI, Jerome: Letters and Selected Works*, Philip Schaff and Henry Wallace, eds. (Cosimo Classics, 2007; Originally published in 1893), letter 128 to Gaudentius, 613-17.

Vincent perceives a difference in the ways that boys and girls learn. He states that girls must be taught letters, and then almost immediately reiterates that they must be instructed in morals, making it clear that the primary requirement is for a girl to learn proper behavior and acquire the qualities that would make her behave as he desired. [17] Vincent advocated more restrained conduct for girls than for boys. For example, while boys are allowed to travel, the added restrictions on girls required them to remain confined to the privacy of the home, where they could be kept busy, quiet, and out of the view of men.[18] Chapter twenty-five instructs parents in various techniques for teaching boys discipline. This chapter requires effort for parents to successfully teach their son, and for the son to take efforts to apply the lessons. No chapters in the sections on girl's education suggest that parents teach girls how to learn. Instead the stress is on controlling the girl's actions.

Vincent's constant emphasis on subduing the girl's body seems to be caused by his sincere fear that without such regulation the girl will perform an action that will imperil her soul, or a man's soul. Although he praises the desire that many girls have for reading scripture, he seems to believe that girls lack will-power and self-control, and are highly susceptible to flattery, not just from men but also from silly women who encourage bad habits with their fawning over pretty girls. Given the absence of any sense of will power, he sees the best alternative for protecting a girl is to remove her from the source of potential problems. In contrast, he encourages boys to study so their minds are able to withstand the evil associated with an idle mind, and he warns boys about the

[17] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 373.
[18] In chapter six Vincent explains that travel can enhance learning by freeing the student from encumbrances that inhibit their learning. His discussion refers only to men.

pitfalls of pride, envy, anger, laziness, and lust, and advises them on how to overcome these dangers.[19] Since boys can eventually learn self-control through discipline, there is less need to protect them. Vincent also expects more of boys. Chapter four begins by explaining that boys need to overcome such hindrances to acquire the discipline a scholar needs. Vincent does not expect a girl to become a scholar, so she does not need similar instruction. He believes that learning discipline is a difficult task that might require physical punishment, or blows. He suggests such treatment might be necessary to instruct boys, but never makes the same claim for girls.[20] Even while Vincent demands discipline from boys, he acknowledges the joy a boy might find in friendship and in learning, something that he does not assume is possible for girls. Perhaps there is some reflection of his own childhood in his writing about boys. Since little is known of Vincent's life, it is not clear whether he had sisters or had any familiarity with emotions a girl might feel. He bases all his advice on raising girls from literature.[21]

For Vincent, reading was a way to help inculcate morals in children, both boys and girls. As Adam Fijalkowski observed, in the *Speculum naturale* Vincent argues that the human body is formed separately from and because of the soul. Therefore there is an equality of sexes in terms of the soul, with the body being secondary, and inferior. Corporal matters were problematic for Vincent, and in his view "the whole sphere of sexuality . . . is connected with sin."[22] As with others of his time, Vincent allowed that

[19] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, chs. 4-5.
[20] Ibid., ch. 1: 11-25.
[21] In the *Speculum historiale*, bk. 15, ch. 97, Vincent warns that for a priest or monk, it is better to entirely avoid contact with a female. While this might just be practical advice, it does indicate that he has a lack of contact with, and consequent understanding of females.
[22] Fijalkowski, 516-17.

sins connected to sexuality affected primarily women.[23] As Vincent tells boys in *De eruditione*, he also tells girls that sexual intercourse is allowed only within marriage for the production of children.[24] Thus, Vincent encourages parents to teach their daughters to read so they can study the scriptures and avoid the hazards associated with the female body.

Since much of what Vincent discusses concerning reading is simple practical advice for teachers and since he noted that instruction should be to each according to his capacity, the tutor might be expected to apply the methods for teaching reading to girls.[25] Some differences need to be applied, however. Women were expected to read scripture only. If the woman read the prescribed literature she would also imbibe patriarchal values. Vincent probably also recognized that reading was an activity of the upper classes and was also a method of transmitting class ideology and privilege.[26] Thus, the teacher's selection of reading materials is highly significant. Vincent insists upon the use of Christian sources that both encourage the qualities that students need and impart moral values, and, like Louis in his note to Isabelle, Vincent admonishes the teacher to avoid "poetic tales and dissolute fictions" even for boys.[27] Perhaps Vincent also recognized that reading was an activity of the upper classes, and female literacy was a method of transmitting class ideology and privilege, as long as she read the appropriate material.[28]

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[23] Fijalkowski, 517-18; Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages* (Woodstock, NY: Overlook Duckworth, 2000), 402-4.
[24] Chapter 36 for boys and chapter 47 for girls.
[25] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 119. Vincent made this statement in the section on boys, Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch 3: 28-31, when he discusses the methods a teacher must use. Since he did not include a separate section for how a teacher must instruct a girl, the implication is that statement applies to girls as well.
[26] Krueger, 222.
[27] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 133.
[28] Krueger, 222.

While Vincent's instructions might have matched the king's, they were disconnected from the changing taste in reading. Louis IX, for example, did not appreciate profane songs and was known to ask those in his presence to refrain from singing them, and in their place the king taught religious songs.[29] Perhaps knowing the popular literature of the times Vincent emphasized a strict adherence to reading scriptures. Most popular literature at time was directed to women. The noble classes, especially women, were fond of reading or listening to the poetic *lais*, such as those written by Marie de France (fl. 1160-1215), or romances such as those written by Chrétien de Troyes. Written in French beginning about 1170, and exalting love, marriage, adultery, and other issues faced by women, the texts were especially suited to noble women.[30] Not infrequently the authors dedicated their work to women, either an individual or women in general.[31] That young girls, and boys probably listened to these stories is clear from the texts themselves. Chrétien's *Yvain* includes a scene where a girl of fifteen reads a romance aloud to her parents.[32]

The first lyric poetry was created in Provençal in the early twelfth century.[33] For Marguerite de Provence, popular poetry was a part of her upbringing. The queen, raised in Provence, read in the vernacular, if not in Latin. She commissioned a copy of the *Speculum historiale* in French from John of Vignai while Louis IX ordered a copy in

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[29] Le Goff, 463. Le Goff recounts an incident from Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, Henri-François Delaborde (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1899), 19.
[30] Mistacco, 75-79, 109-10; Krueger, 33.
[31] Bumke, 509.
[32] Nicole Clifton, "The Point of Education: Views from Medieval France and England," *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 23, no. 1, (Spring 1998), 12; Chrétien de Troyes, *Yvain, the Knight of the Lion*, trans. Burton Raffel, afterword by Joseph A. Duggan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), Verses 5364-75.
[33] Michel Zink, *Medieval French Literature: An Introduction*, trans. Jeff Rider (Binghamton: Pegasus Paperbooks: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1995; Originally published as *Littérature française: Le Moyen Age* (Paris: Quadrige/Puf, 1992)), 34.

Latin from Vincent.[34] As a child at her father's court, Marguerite heard popular songs and poems about love sung by troubadours and trouvères. French romances emphasized narration, story, and plot.[35] Within the stories love and desire are equivalent, and the need to satisfy desire provides much of the plot, but once satisfied desire disappears. Love, then, "entails a perpetually unresolvable conflict between desire and the desire to desire, between love and love of love."[36] Although initially basing their stories on Latin classics, the romance authors embellished the plots adding magic and stressing the importance of love.[37] Such an accent on the erotic and seductive was contrary to Vincent's demands that love and sexual intimacy within marriage were only for the purpose of producing children. Thus, for him, listening to songs and romances, which were normally read out loud, must have seemed especially detrimental to the morals of a growing girl. While Vincent advocated a literate education for women, he did so with the idea that they would use this skill to read the scriptures and sacred texts, not worldly literature. In choosing Jerome as his primary source for the chapters on girl's education Vincent emphasized ascetic ideals that met his goals but did not reflect the reality of French noble life and the reading habits, which included romances.[38] Instead, Vincent insisted girls read scripture, which provided them with an honorable occupation.[39] In fact, a girl should spend her days with activities such as praying, reading, working, and learning good manners.[40]

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[34] Tracy Chapman Hamilton, "Queenship and Kingship in the French Bible Moralisée," in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 202, n. 38.
[35] Zink, 50.
[36] Ibid., 35-36.
[37] Ibid., 52.
[38] Vincent, *De eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 43.
[39] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 373-74,
[40] Ibid., 374-47.

Within the last ten chapters of *De eruditione* Vincent includes no mention of the process by which girls were to be given instruction in reading, or the other skills he expects her to learn. He advises a tutor as the best way to teach letters to boys, so with no indication to the contrary, that would apply equally to girls. Students require three qualities in order to have the ability to learn: the proper nature so that they can comprehend and remember the lessons; the ability to exercise so that they "may cultivate by effort and application the natural power of perception;" and discipline.[41] Since he assumes girls can be taught, he seems to imply that they possess some amount of these qualities. In not supplying specific instructions for how a tutor should teach girls their letters, implies that girls will be taught to read in the same way as boys. He does not state whether they were to be taught to read in Latin or the vernacular. While he never specifically declares the language in which boys are to study, they almost certainly would perform their lessons in Latin. As leaders, they would have a need to communicate in the international language.

Even if both sexes learned Latin, Vincent expects the boys and girls to read different types of material. Girls are allowed to read only scripture. Since romances were vernacular, instructing them in Latin would help prevent them from reading unacceptable material. Vincent does not advocate teaching them to write or discuss. This is consistent with his goal of silence for girls. He gives them no skills for expressing their opinions through speech or writing. Since memory training is strongly tied to writing, girls probably also did not receive such instruction. Vincent does not seem to expect girls to learn any of the *trivium* or *quadrivium*, although they could have been exposed to aspects

[41] Ibid., 130.

of those subjects if their tutor included sources other than scripture in their reading list. It is doubtful that Vincent expected royal girls to be taught any of the other skills that noble boys learned, such as politics. He encouraged young princes to read secular literature, but not girls.

In not proposing that girls to learn to write, Vincent's advice differs from St. Jerome's. Jerome praised the ability of his disciples to communicate with him.[42] As upper class Roman women, they might have learned writing from a family tutor. Perhaps Vincent is using the example of the Virgin Mary, one of the few role models he gives girls. Vincent praises the Virgin's studious reading in a quotation from Ambrose. Neither Ambrose nor Vincent claims that the Virgin had the ability to write.[43] In not giving noble girls this important skill he ignores the roles they will play as adults, when they could be expected to control the family domains, to communicate with absent husbands and other noble families. Women regularly conversed in writing with their confessors as both the countess of Chartres and Blanche of Navarre, countess of Champagne, did with Abbot Adam of Perseigne.[44] Queens, including Blanche de Castile, carried on correspondence with the Pope.[45]

Vincent tries to create a passive girl who diligently listens to all those around her and has no opinions of her own. Even though a girl would have to participate in her own education, including learning to read, to practice acting modestly, and acquiring inward

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[42] Schaff and Wallace, Summary of Letter 65 to Principia, 134; letter 11 to the Virgins of Aeoma, 12.
[43] Quotation from Ambrose, Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 46: 97-103. Ambrose, *On Virginity*, bk. 2, ch. 2.
[44] Adami Abbatis Persenie, *Epistole* 27, col. 686, in *Patrologia latina*; Ferrante, *To the Glory of Her Sex*, 47.
[45] Jean Richard, *St. Louis: Crusader King of France*, ed. and abridged by Simon Lloyd, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992; Originally published as *Saint Louis* (Paris: Fayard, 1996)), 65.

humility and modesty, the section on girls' education is strongly directed toward parents and not the girls themselves. Vincent gives directions to parents for how to raise their sons, but his instructions require the boys to use the advice to make their own decisions. For example, he demands that boys learn discipline, that they practice listening and remembering, and understand the consequences of their actions.[46] He gives advice concerning which friends to choose and how to keep them. He suggests the companions have characters, education, and training that match the boys. Some of the quotations that Vincent uses in discussing boys' friendships praise companionship and the benefits of lifelong friendship. Although the directions are written to parents, who would initially chose their sons' companions, the boy must act to retain his friends. It also seems the praise of friendship is directed toward the boy to encourage him enter eagerly into appropriate friendships.[47] Chapter thirty-four contains directions that a boy should be given to help him act properly among different types of men, superiors, inferiors, and equals. Once given the guidance, the boy must choose the appropriate behavior and act on those instructions. For noble boys, friendships could also mean political alliances, something that Vincent knew.

Vincent's guidelines for girls' are quite different from his guidelines for boys. Parents are responsible for protecting their daughters, and if Vincent's suggestions were strictly followed, the girl would never learn how to protect herself. Parents are required to raise daughters with discipline, but the girl is never taught the skills needed to establish her own personal discipline. Vincent repeatedly tells girls' parents to avoid placing their daughters in situations where they might be exposed to bad examples. Parents must shun

[46] Craig, 135 for discipline, Craig, 144 for listening.
[47] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, chs. 32-33.

women who might lead their daughters to unchaste actions. The only type of girl or woman who is suitable to associate with a girl is one who is pale and sad. The girl is given no clue how to behave with her companions or with others. Vincent does not even call the girl's companions friends. He almost certainly knew, and perhaps considered, that friendships that a girl made when young would be broken, maybe permanently, when she married, left her family, her household, and her territory.[48]

Vincent provided role models for girls that suited his purposes. Boys might emulate the many leaders they encountered in secular literature. Vincent also advises boys to find friends of various ages, including younger friends whom boy can strive to surpass in morals and knowledge. Having such a large number of friends will at the same time provide the boy with a large number of examples to follow.[49] Girls were given only the examples of chaste, modest women, or descriptions of evil women who lost their souls by their actions. Vincent included no examples of royal women supporting their people, or successful regents, such as Blanche de Castile. Instead girls are told how Esther scorned womanly adornment, not how she successfully pled for her people in a politically dangerous situation.[50] Vincent mentions the Virgin Mary on occasion as a role model. Chapter forty-one, at the introduction to the section on girls, stresses the need to avoid scandal, much as Christ wanted to avoid scandal during his mother's pregnancy. In chapter forty-two, within a quotation from Jerome, Vincent discusses the meaning of the Hebrew work "*almah*," a well-guarded virgin, "who has never been exposed to the views

[48] Vincent uses a number of words and phrases to describe men's friendship including *amicus*, *societas*, *vita sociali*, *concordia sociorum*. The word he consistently uses for girls is *societas*.
[49] Ibid., ch. 32.
[50] Ibid., p. 202:153-68.

of men, but has been guarded with great care by her parents."[51] In chapter forty-six he praises her humility. Without her humble attitude, the Holy Spirit would not have visited her. In effect, it was her humility that proved she was an acceptable mother for Christ.[52] She chose to remain silent concerning what she knew about her son and let him choose the time to reveal her knowledge. She did not interrupt her son, even with maternal authority.[53]

The Virgin Mary developed a significant following during the eleventh and twelfth-centuries, particularly in monastic communities.[54] She formed an excellent example for girls to emulate. During the annunciation Mary called herself the handmaiden of the Lord, and her passive and submissive role in accepting God's control over her made her a paragon of female behavior.[55] Her willingness to obey God, in contrast with Eve's disobedience, allowed salvation to enter the world.[56] Mary was also associated with reading. Beginning in the eleventh century, annunciation scenes painted by Western artists depict Mary reading when Gabriel comes to her. Initially she was depicted reading a scroll, then by the twelfth century a book, and in the thirteenth century a bible. Annunciation images increasingly stressed the virgins' mental activity, with the earliest showing her listening to the world of God. By the twelfth century she is shown actively conversing with Gabriel.[57] Mary's quiet and contemplative reading suggests that

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[51] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 371.
[52] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 46: 10-24.
[53] Ibid., p. 204-5: 40-68.
[54] Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 121.
[55] Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 83.
[56] Pelikan, 87.
[57] Melissa R. Katz, ed., *Divine Mirrors: The Virgin Mary in the Visual Arts*, with essays by Melissa R. Katz and Robert A. Orsi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 38-39.

this was an activity of women, or that they might have emulated the Virgin Mother's action.[58]. In all of Vincent's examples, it is her humility and modesty that is stressed. In only one quotation, where Ambrose praised Mary's studiousness as a model for other girls, did Vincent remind girls that the Virgin was a studious reader.[59] Vincent does not include the example of Anne as an excellent mother, raising and educating her daughter Mary, even though he includes her story in the *Speculum historiale*.[60]

St. Jerome as a Primary Source

The libraries and documents that Vincent had available to him meant that he could have supported his concepts with illustrations from almost any of the large number of church fathers who wrote to or about women.[61] Vincent relies most heavily on St. Jerome for determining the proper education of girls. Jerome emphasized moral training, abstinence from wine, rich foods, and material luxuries, the avoidance of vanity and pride, a pure spirit, and virginity for girls, but understood the value of a literate education. In a letter to the Virgins of Aeoma, Jerome chides them for not writing a response to his regular letters.[62] In another letter to Ascella, he explains the need to study the scriptures,[63] which could be more easily accomplished by those who can read. In a letter 65 to

[58] Ibid., 41.
[59] Quotation from Ambrose, Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 46: 97-103. Ambrose praises Mary's diligence in study in his *On Virginity*. Vincent includes within the quotation Ambrose's comment on the skill the Virgin possessed in speaking, although Vincent discourages women from speaking in the rest of *De eruditione*.
[60] Vincent, *historiale*, bk. 60, chs. 64-65.
[61] Daunou, 453, Ullman, "Project," 312.
[62] Jerome, letter 22 to Eustochium, 22-41; letters 24 and 38 to Marcella, 42-43 and 47-49; letter 11 to the Virgins of Aeoma, 12.
[63] Jerome, letter 45 to Ascella, 58-60.

Principia, he defends the need for women to read and write.[64] Vincent may have chosen Jerome because not only was he familiar with the patristic father's writings, but also he had a copy of much of Jerome's writings available to him, as Arpad Steiner, who edited the critical edition of *De eruditione*, believed.[65] However, Vincent's familiarity with available texts seems to indicate that, as an author, when he choose to quote certain writers more frequently than others, it was done with intention, not by accident. Based on Gregory Guzman's analysis examined the care that Vincent took in choosing and copying sources for an extensive entry in the *Speculum historiale*. Guzman analyzed it seems that Vincent took in choosing and copying sources. [66]

No single scriptural source is predominant in the quotations in the chapters for girls; however the non-scriptural sources rely heavily on Jerome's letters to Laeta, Eustochium, Demetrias, and Salvina.[67] Five treatises and nine letters provide the sixty-nine quotations that Vincent incorporated in the ten chapters on women's education. The forty-one chapters concerning boys' education include seventy-nine quotations from St. Jerome, taken from nineteen treatises, and twenty-eight letters.[68] Thus, forty-four percent of Vincent's quotations in the section on girls were taken from the writings of Jerome, while only ten percent of the citations were from Jerome in the chapters on boys. This reliance on extensive citations from Jerome indicates that Vincent found Jerome's writing to be more significant than the words of other church fathers for determining the proper

[64] Ibid., Summary of Letter 65 to Principia, 134.
[65] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xix.
[66] Guzman, "Mongol Extracts."
[67] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xiv, xviii; Power, *Main Currents*, 252.
[68] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xx, xxiii, 223-36. Steiner provides a table listing the number of times Vincent quoted certain authors and a table listing the citations in each chapter, however, Craig found several inconsistencies in Steiner's identification of quotations. Craig supplied a table listing scriptural sources used within the text. Percentages in this paper were usually calculated after counting the number of quotations in the text.

education and conduct of women.[69] The question that motivates this inquiry, then, is what is this significance that caused Vincent to choose St. Jerome as a major source for his chapters on the instruction of women? Since Jerome was advising women who had formed a monastic community and were creating a new type of life, he provided them with instructions for how to act in this new lifestyle, including how to study. It was quite logical, then, for Vincent to use Jerome's instructions for how to train women.

Jerome was writing instructions for some of the earliest ascetic women whose goals were to develop "heroic virtue through a rigorous asceticism," to practice a "rigid and unrelenting ascetic life," to pray and study and practice mortification.[70] Jerome's followers renounced family ties, marriage, offspring, money, and property.[71] They neglected their clothing and maintained strict diets. In his letters Jerome emphasizes virginity, poverty, abstinence from wine, sleep, and other luxuries. But he encouraged his followers to give alms and help the sick. Additionally, Jerome never actually composed any system of Christian education. In the letter to Laeta he gives instructions for raising her daughter Paula, who is to be dedicated to God. Extreme precautions are to be taken to protect her from worldliness. Jerome's instructions were extensive. Paula was taught both Greek and Latin. Her reading was limited to Scriptures. Only after she was immersed in the psalms, Ecclesiastes, Job, and the gospels, could she move on to the Old Testament, then Christian writers such as Cyprian, Athanasius, and Hilary. Jewels and silks were

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[69] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xiv, xviii, notes that most citations in the chapters for girls are from St. Jerome's letters to his female disciples.
[70] Francis X. Murphy, ed. A *Monument to St. Jerome: Essays on Some Aspects of his Life, Works and Influence*, foreword by Cardinal Tisserant (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1952), 148-49, 167.
[71] Elizabeth A. Clark, *Jerome, Chrysostom, and Friends: Essays and Translations* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1979), 50-53.

forbidden. Even her books were to be written on plain parchment in simple script.[72] As she aged Paula would bathe little, and avoid bathing at all when she grew older, lest she see her naked body and become aroused. She was to be confined to her room. When allowed out, her friends were to be all female, shabbily clothed, pale, with sad looks. She could occupy herself with spinning coarse wool and reciting the psalms. Her education was not entirely strict, though. Jerome suggested a game for teaching the girl the alphabet and suggested that all lessons should be enjoyable and scolding be kept to a minimum. Good work was to be rewarded with prizes.[73] Jerome mellowed even more in his instructions thirteen years later for raising Pacatula, granddaughter of Gaudentius. Pacatula was given honey cakes, flowers, kisses, simple jewels, and dolls for doing well in her studies. Jerome claimed the Bible contained a course equivalent to the seven liberal arts and that anyone who studied the philosophy of the Old Testament had no need for physics, ethics, and logic.[74] This overriding philosophy would seem to meet Vincent's goals for girls' education.

Thus, while Vincent may have had good reasons for choosing Jerome as his primary source for women, his actions raise several issues. While Jerome wrote his instructions for ascetic women, Vincent, conversely, was writing for the daughters of Marguerite and Louis, queen and king of France. As royal children they were expected to marry nobles, produce children, manage great households, attend feasts, and dress to suit their stations. While Louis wanted his daughter Blanche to join a Cistercian monastery at Maubusson, she did not. Instead she married Ferdinand de la Cerda, crown prince of

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[72] Francis X. Murphy, 225-27; Stefan Rebenich, *Jerome* (London: Routledge, 2002), 130-36.
[73] J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1975), 274-75; Rebenich, 130-36.
[74] Francis X. Murphy, 225-27.

Castile. Louis' desire was probably considered a bit unusual. Kings' daughters were expected to marry, often for political or territorial gain.[75] Vincent might have seen that some of the women to whom Jerome wrote, such as Demetrias, Salvina, Paula, and the women of her family, were appropriate examples for the daughters of the king and queen of France. Paula, whom Jerome eulogized in a letter to her daughter Eustochium, was born a wealthy Roman noblewoman, a "self-indulgent patrician," who left her former life and her children to travel to Egypt and the Holy Land. Once in that sacred part of the world, she constructed monasteries in Bethlehem, administered a religious community, studied languages and with that skill, studied scriptures.[76] Her daughter Eustochium followed in her mother's footsteps, leading the community that her mother had founded. As noblewomen, Demetrias, Salvina, and the women of Paula's family were at the same social level as the royal children.[77] William Elwood Craig, who translated the critical edition of *De eruditione*, observed that Vincent specifically chose examples that reflected "the station of his readers."[78]

Vincent did not rely entirely upon Jerome. He quoted many authorities, although he seems to have limited his selection of texts. It is possible that he excluded the works of some church fathers known to him because although they wrote about education, their proposals did not meet his criteria. For example, Gregory the Great's discussion of

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[75] Le Goff, 205. Le Goff commented that at the time that Vincent wrote daughters normally married and in fact, a form of rebellion on the part of daughters was to enter a convent.
[76] Lynda L. Coon, Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 103.
[77] Vincent included quotations from Letter 22 to Eustochium (Paula's daughter), Letters 24 and 38 to Marcella (cousin to Paula's son-in-law), Letter 54 to Furia (daughter of Laeta and Toxotius), Letter 79 to Salvia, Letter 107 to Laeta (married to Paula's son Toxotius), Letter 117 to a mother and daughter living in Gaul, Letter 125 to Rusticus, Letter 130 to Demetrius. See Clark, 63-66, for the status of Paula and her family, and of Demetrius, and Salvia.
[78] Craig, 561, note 13, referring to Vincent's mention of "the noblewoman Praetextata."

education in *Moralia*, applied mostly to converts who were re-educated in the process of becoming Christian, a situation of little value for Vincent's needs.[79] For the many writers that were included, Vincent normally chose only a few illustrations from each man's works. In the chapter on virginity, for instance, twelve, or nearly half, of the non-scriptural examples are from Jerome, and eight other church fathers were chosen for the remaining thirteen quotations. Vincent's habit was to use several examples, often three or four quotations from different men and different scriptural sources, to reinforce a single point. A citation from Jerome is frequently included to support one or more other quotations. In one instance Vincent admonishes women to be modest and blameless before God and man. He provides two quotations from Ecclesiasticus and St. Paul. He follows those two examples with an excerpt from a letter that Jerome sent to Salvina instructing her to act in a modest, blameless fashion.[80] All of the sources chosen by Vincent, whether from scripture, Jerome, or elsewhere, seem to have been chosen for their conservative advice, to reinstate the principles of the earliest church fathers in an effort to advance Vincent's goal of encouraging the royal children to aspire to the highest standards of behavior. Vincent's goal was for royal boys to be an example to those over whom they would rule. His goal for girls was to ensure that they would become moral wives, obedient to their husbands.

An examination of a few chapters gives an idea of both how Vincent used his sources and what his goals for girls were. One of his strongest concerns was that children, both boys and girls, be taught to control their fleshly desires. Vincent begins the section

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[79] Carole Straw, Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection (Berkeley, California, 1988), 195-96. Vincent quotes other sections of *Moralia*, the source that Straw used in her analysis (Steiner, 228, lists the pages on which Vincent quotes *Moralia*).
[80] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 49: 1-15.

on girls with a chapter that warns parents, specifically fathers, to guard the bodies of their daughters.[81] His second chapter, which discusses the need for girls to read scripture, merges into an appeal for chastity.[82] The longest chapter in the section for girls in *De eruditione* expounds upon the virtues of virginity in which Vincent relies most heavily on citations from Jerome for his supporting examples. In this chapter, one-half of the non-scriptural quotations are taken from various works by Jerome, and those quotations are in general longer than the other excerpts.[83] In Jerome Vincent finds inspiring support for the benefits of virginity. Vincent also provided for the option of virginity for boys, but he argues more that parents allow a daughter to remain a virgin if she so desires and "if the girl be under no necessity of marriage, nor her parents to give her in marriage."[84] Using quotations from Jerome, Vincent asserts that chastity is preferred to marriage, that the virgin surpasses the angels just a little, and that the reward for the difficult task of remaining celibate is a place in heaven.[85] Vincent continues his argument by explaining that a girl needs to be virgin in spirit, not just body.[86] As was his normal practice, he provided more than one source to support his examples. In arguing that chastity was the preferred state, in addition to Jerome, he used scriptural sources along with one of the two quotations from Ambrose.[87] In arguing that virgins are heavenly, Vincent again cites scriptural sources and Cyprian's (d. 258) *De habitu virginum* (On the Dress of Virgins).[88]

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[81] Ibid., ch. 42.
[82] Ibid., ch. 43.
[83] Of 59 examples in the chapter on virginity, 34 are scriptural; 12 of the remaining citations are from Jerome.
[84] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 426.
[85] Vincent, *De eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 51: 12-43, quoting Jerome to Eustochium, Letter 22, 19-20, 41, and Book 1 of *Against Jovinian*, and Letter 130 to Demetrias, 10, 4.
[86] Ibid., ch. 51: 184-206, quoting Jerome to Eustochium, Letter 22, 38.
[87] Ibid., ch. 51: 1-12.
[88] Ibid., ch. 51: 43-48, quoting Cyprian, *De habitu virginum*, 24.

A long quotation from Augustine supports Vincent's argument concerning the spirit of virginity.[89]

Although Vincent preferred the state of Virginity for girls, he knew royal girls would marry and a lay girl's education had to prepare her for family life and her role as a wife. He included suggestions for the education that would prepare a girl for this task. Noble daughters trained in proper conduct as specified by Vincent would make model wives in their new families. While the longest chapter for girls in *De eruditione* concerns virginity, the chapter on marriage is almost as long. He included a number of instructions, first for families seeking a husband for their daughters, and then for the young bride. A qualified and compatible, wise and virtuous husband must be chosen with the girl's consent.[90] The implication is that the husband controls the household. Once married, the young woman "should first be reminded that she should give consent not from lustful passion but from filial obedience or desire for children." She was required to look to her husband for moral guidance and direction.[91] As noted, Vincent included other instructions for the young bride, defining five areas for a married woman to display proper behavior: to respect her parents-in-law, to love her husband, to rule her family, to govern her house, and to keep a good reputation.[92] She must remain modest while performing these tasks.[93] She, like her unmarried sisters, must not paint or dye her face or hair, even if she just wishes to please her husband.[94] As might be expected, Jerome, with his emphasis on virginity, is not cited as often here as in other chapters. In fact, within

[89] Ibid., ch. 51, 207-216, quoting Augustine, *De virginitate*, xi, 11.
[90] Ibid., ch. 47.
[91] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 37: 103-122 and ch. 48: 15-22; Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 403.
[92] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 404.
[93] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 48: 66-80.
[94] Ibid., p. 201.

this chapter, no single non-scriptural source predominates in Vincent's examples. Five selections are from Jerome, five are from Ovid, two are from Augustine, and seven other authors each provided Vincent with one quotation.

Vincent reminds women and their families that a widow may remarry, and that rather than succumb to fornication, a young widow should be married. Otherwise, she should remain celibate and act as modestly as she had before her marriage.[95] In the longest chapter in the section on girls' education, Vincent expounds upon the virtues of virginity, noting that "if the girl be under no necessity of marriage, nor her parents to give her in marriage, it is better to leave her a virgin than to have her marry."[96] Parents should not restrain a girl who wants to remain a virgin because the girl will receive three rewards: she will be freer to serve God; she will become more like Christ; and she will be unified inwardly. By contrast, the married woman is divided by her many cares.[97] As a necessary part of education, Vincent advocates for both boys and girls to have the ability to read, which he calls "an honorable occupation." In the case of girls, again, his goal is to raise a moral, docile, and obedient woman. A girl's reading will help circumvent sin. Arguing that girls who read will avoid lures of the flesh, he advises them to limit their study to the scriptures.[98] In his chapter on instruction in letters, morals, and chastity, he uses quotations from Jerome for twenty of the thirty-one non-scriptural selections. Of the eleven non-scriptural, non-Jerome selections in the chapter, nine were chosen from ancient Roman authors, with the four from Ovid providing the largest number from a

[95] Ibid., p. 205-11.
[96] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 426.
[97] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 51.
[98] Ibid., p. 176-77.

single author.[99] In the short section concerning reading, seven of the nine examples come from Jerome. It is here that Paula's family plays an important role. Two examples come from Jerome's letter to Laeta, daughter-in-law of Paula, who had asked for advice on how to raise her daughter, also called Paula, as a virgin consecrated to Christ. Two other letters are to female relatives of Paula. Jerome also praises the zeal for study that possessed Marcella, a cousin of Paula's son-in-law.[100] Following the section on instruction in letters, the chapter discusses moral issues and chastity, advising girls to limit the amount they eat, sleep, and drink. Vincent finds backing for this instruction primarily in the writings of Jerome, but also in Ovid, St. Bernard, Terence, and Cato.[101]

Within Vincent's many sources are only nine from scholastic writers and few from other contemporary authorities, although he did cite them extensively in the *Speculum naturale*.[102] His conservative goals for girls were consistent with the rest of *De eruditione*: he emphasized the enforcement of Christian principles and the discipline needed by members of a royal family to ensure that they would be models of Christian behavior. In this he actually reflected even earlier ideals of education and attempted to transmit those ideas to the royal children.[103] Choosing Jerome as his source for the education of women provided Vincent with the authoritative backing his conservative proposals required. In selecting many examples from Jerome, Vincent emphasized moral training, abstinence from wine, rich foods, and material luxuries, the avoidance of vanity

[99] Ibid., ch. 43.
[100] Ibid., p. 177.
[101] Ibid., p. 179-81.
[102] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxv; Craig, 82.
[103] McCarthy, *Humanistic Emphases*, 59.

and pride, a pure spirit, and virginity for girls, but also the need for a literate education to provide girls spiritual advice. [104]

Administrative Kingship and Women

It is clear that Vincent's ultimate goal for girls' education was to prepare them for their adult roles. How did he define those roles? Examining the details of Vincent's proposals for female education through placing *De eruditione* within the scope of his overall work, including the *Speculum*,[105] shows that Vincent was not simply providing advice about royal womens' edification and spiritual improvement, but that he also wanted to form women fit to participate in his larger concept for the governance of the kingdom. Since Vincent was already working on *De morali* before he began *De eruditione*, the political treatise can provide some idea of Vincent's plans for royal women. *De eruditione*, although it eventually formed the last volume of the *Opus*, provides the education women needed to allow them to fulfill the positions assigned to them in *De morali*.[106] The political treatise provides virtually no place for women in the governance of the kingdom. This contrasts with the important activities typically performed by Capetian queens. When they traveled with their husbands, they conducted business such as establishing monasteries, issuing charters, settling disagreements among religious houses, or making decisions in cases of disputed inheritances.[107] Adélaïde de Maurienne (1092-1154), wife of Louis VI (1081-1137), shared power, as shown by the documents containing her name. Forty-five royal charters include her name along with the king's. Six charters contain her

[104] Jerome, letter 22 to Eustochium, 22-41; Letters 24 and 38 to Marcella, 42-43 and 47-49.
[105] Vincent discusses childhood in several chapters of *Speculum doctrinale*, specifically bk. 12, chs. 25-32. He also discusses conception through adolescence in bk. 31, chs. 25-85 of the *Speculum naturale*.
[106] The chronology for Vincent's work is based on Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*.
[107] Marion F. Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 5 (1968): 3-47, 26.

personal seal. These charters made ecclesiastic appointments, settled legal cases, granted donations to monasteries and confirmed donations made by other parties.[108] Louis' mother Blanche de Castille had acted as a powerful regent during his minority, making treaties, quelling a rebellion, and arranging marriages.[109]

Evidence in *De morali* suggests that Vincent re-assigned the traditional activities of the king's consorts, such as those just described, directly to the kings themselves. In chapter XIII of *De morali* Vincent said the king must be wise in managing the finances of household.[110] Household finances were often in the purview of the queen, an idea supported by earlier writers. In the ninth century Sedulius Scottus (fl. 9th century), observed that although the king ruled the country, his consort ran the household. It was her duty to ensure that the king's house was in good order so that the king and his courtiers could perform the functions associated with kingship within that household.[111] This is consistent with the writings of Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims (806-882) who, in his ninth-century *De ordine palatii*, had given the queen the "responsibility for providing the tools that allowed the king to function effectively." He also made the queen responsible "for good order . . . for the presentation of the king in dignified splendor, for annual gifts to the men of the household."[112] It is not clear whether Vincent knew of the works of either Hincmar or Sedulius Scottus since he does not include references to their works in *De eruditione* or *De morali*. A selective examination of the *Speculum* seems to indicate that Vincent included nothing from the writings of either man in his larger work.

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[108] Facinger, 29-30.
[109] Miriam Shadis, "Blanche of Castille," 140-41.
[110] Vincent, *De morali*, ch. 14, 74: 3-5.
[111] Penelope Ann Adair, "Constance of Arles: A Study in Duty and Frustration," in *Capetian Women*, 10.
[112] Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, "Jeanne of Valois: The Power of a Consort," in *Capetian Women*, 256-57.

However, even if Vincent were unaware of the earlier texts, he would still have been familiar with the functions performed by previous queens.[113]

In chapter XIII of *De morali* Vincent also said the king should also be wise in managing the finances of the court and appointed the king as gift-giver. He instructed the ruler to "acquire possessions justly, preserve them prudently, and give and expend his largess moderately," and avoid indebtedness.[114] Previous Capetian queens had frequently functioned as custodians of the royal treasures. They spent funds from the treasury, distributed rewards, and acted as patrons.[115] A number of scholars have discussed queens as gift-givers, royal representatives, dispersing favors, especially jewels, as a way to bind the recipient to her and the king whom she represented.[116] Since Hincmar describes the same activities, it is clear that the custodial function had already been instituted during the Carolingian period. It was maintained by the early Capetian kings. Robert II (972-1031), the second Capetian king, gave his queen, Constance d'Arles (986-1034), extensive control over the royal wealth, so much so that Robert's biographer complained of her parsimoniousness, saying she kept too tight a reign on royal wealth.[117] Blanche de Castille had regulated the household budget, purchasing clothing, and jewels that were often offered by the king's household as gifts to maintain the support of followers.[118] Both Constance and Blanche had also acted as patrons, expending funds to build large public structures. Constance supported the construction of two palaces, one at Étampes

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[113] My examination was limited to chapters in the *Speculum historiale*, *doctrinale*, and *naturale* that were related to events that occurred during the lives of Sedulius Scotus and Hincmar, and to expenditures, wives, and similar issues. In book 24, chapter 37 of the *Speculum historiale*, Vincent notes that Hincmar was was an archbishop known for his writing. His source was the chronicle of Sigbertus of Gemblours.
[114] Vincent, *De morali*, chs. 12 and 14; Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xxvii.
[115] Adair, 15.
[116] Both Shadis, "Blanche of Castille," 145, and Adair, 14-15, discuss the role of the Capetian queen as gift-giver.
[117] Adair, 14.
[118] Shadis, "Blanche of Castille," 145.

and one at Paris.[119] Blanche donated funds toward the reconstruction of Notre-Dame de Chartres after a fire in 1195.[120] She also established two female Cistercian abbeys.[121]

Vincent also seems to limit the ability of queens to provide advice to the king. His proposals coincided with the growth of administrative kingship and the placement of men to work at specific functions in an incipient bureaucracy.[122] Philip II Augustus, in particular, contributed to the development of the monarchical centralism though administrative and financial innovations such as the creation of bailiffs, direct representatives of the king who oversaw the collection of revenues.[123] The secular community that Vincent described in *De morali* resembles a quasi-bureaucratic organization, with administrators assigned to particular positions. This organization contained no place for an informal advisory role, the type that queens frequently performed when they acted as mediators among the king, his friends, and subjects.

Vincent's ideas concerning one function performed by queens are unclear. In *De morali* he assigns the king the responsibility of holding court. Vincent describes a prince obligated to maintain standards of conduct that surpassed his subjects, and to be wise and good enough to overcome the perils of leadership, especially the dangers from those who attempted to influence the king with flattery or slander at court.[124] It is perhaps for this reason that Vincent makes no allowance for any other person to substitute for the king in his absence.[125] Because *De morali* is concerned with the king, perhaps Vincent planned

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[119] Adair, 14.
[120] Miriam Shadis, "Piety, Politics, and Power," 214.
[121] Ibid., 211.
[122] Hallam and Everard, 205. For an analysis of the rise of Administrative kingship see Hollister and Baldwin, 867-905.
[123] Le Goff, 35-36.
[124] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xxiv.
[125] Ibid., xxvii.

to discuss the responsibilities of a regent in one of the unfinished volumes of the *Opus*. However, since *De morali* effectively eliminated the other functions of the queens, it is almost certain that if Vincent had described the tasks of a regent, he would have proposed a high-ranking nobleman for the position. Yet Capetian queens, and others, had acted as regents when a king went to war or after his death. Anne of Kiev (queen consort of Henry I from 1051 to 1060 and regent between 1060 and 1066) acted with Baldwin V of Flanders (1012-1067) as regent to her son Philip I (1052-1108) from his seventh through thirteenth years.[126] When Philip II Augustus undertook a crusade, he assigned his mother Adèla de Champagne (1140-1206) the role of regent along with her brother Guillaume, archbishop of Rheims (1135-1202). At the death of Louis VIII, Blanche de Castille assumed the responsibility as sole regent.[127]

Blanche proved to be a capable ruler. Even though documents issued during Louis' minority bear the name of her son, Louis IX, Blanche in effect acted as "sovereign of the realm," holding court, meeting with dignitaries, and making decisions that affected the entire kingdom.[128] Against a challenge by a league of barons, her effective leadership ensured the continuation of Capetian line and her son's eventual rule. Blanche had already proven her support to her husband's family when she provided assistance in Louis VIII's quest to take the English throne from king John. Having been such a successful ruler, it was logical for Louis to again leave her in charge when he left for his first crusade. In preparation for his first crusade, Louis began making changes to the

[126] Facinger, 41.
[127] André Poulet, "Capetian Queens and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 109.
[128] Poulet, 110; Shadis "Blanche of Castille," 141, explains that the French royal chancery did not normally include the name of the regent in documents.

government organization.[129] At the same time, Vincent was determining the content of *De morali*. When Louis returned he continued his efforts at reform.[130] It could be, as Le Goff suggests, that when Louis went on his second crusade, he wanted to leave control of the realm in the hands of men who were already familiar with the processes Louis had established. Vincent almost certainly only heard words of praise for Blanche from her son. At the time he wrote *De eruditione*, Blanche had already proven herself as regent during Louis' childhood. While she might have been an excellent regent, Vincent probably did not believe that other women would match her standards. Thus, although Vincent could have appreciated the skills of an individual female, he could easily have seen her simply as an exception. Vincent was not the only political writer to show such inconsistencies. In *Policraticus*, John of Salisbury "wrote scathingly about woman's weakness and her inability to rule. Yet in his *Historia Pontificalis* (Papal History) he actively supported the Empress Matilda, legitimate heir to the crown of her father, Henry I (1100-35), in her struggle against her nephew Stephen for the crown of England."[131]

Louis never gave his own queen the honor and responsibility of being regent during his absences.[132] Louis' decision was not based on Marguerite's lack of ability to rule. She had proved herself a capable leader, especially during the first crusade when Egyptian forces captured Louis. She received the news of the king's capture three days before she delivered her son Jean Tristram. At that point, she became chief of the naval forces and quickly collected and sent the ransom for not only her husband's freedom, but

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[129] William C. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), 35-64.
[130] Ibid., 135-81.
[131] Theresa Earenfight, "Without the Persona of the Prince: Kings, Queens and the Idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe," *Gender & History* 19 no.1 (April 2007): 3.
[132] Shadis, "Blanche of Castille," 145.

also his entire army. Because of her efforts, the king's imprisonment lasted only a month.[133] The day of her son's birth the Europeans living in Damietta, fearing starvation, threatened to leave the city. The next day she called them into her room and told them she would ensure that they did not starve. At great expense, Marguerite purchased food and convinced the Europeans to stay, averting a panic, securing the city, and giving the French the option of returning the city as a negotiating point.[134] When the city was surrendered to the Egyptians, she successfully led the Christians out to the waiting boats.[135] Notwithstanding the queen's successful efforts during his first crusade, Louis did not make her regent when he went on his second crusade. Louis also restricted Marguerite from giving or receiving valuable gifts from his courtiers. [136]

Whether intentional or not, Louis' actions and Vincent's guidelines matched. Some scholars have suggested that Louis limited the queen's powers in order to restrict her ability to perform the function of gift-giver and mediator. The possible reason for Louis' actions was Marguerite's attempt, sometime before 1263, to control her son Philip. Among other things, she required him to remain under her tutelage until the age of thirty.[137] Marguerite's attempt to keep control over her son was probably not an influence on Louis'efforts to limit her financial responsibilities. Only seven years after the incident Louis left a letter instructing his son to follow his mother's advice. Long before 1263,

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[133] Le Goff, 137, 395.
[134] Joinville, 262-63; Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, 2nd ed., trans. John Gillingham, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 264.
[135] Joinville, 256.
[136] Shadis, "Blanche of Castille," 145.
[137] Le Goff, 598. Edgar Boutaric, "Marguerite de Provence: Son Caractère, son Role Politique," *Revue des Questions Historiques* 3 (1867): 417-58, on page 420 argues that Louis could not trust Marguerite. Gérard Sivéry, *Marguerite de Provence: Une Reine au Temps de Cathédrales* (Fayard: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1987), 209-12 argues that there is no good evidence to conclude that there was any great discord or distrust between the couple.

Louis was already carefully managing his finances.[138] According to Joinville Louis had complete control over his finances, including over the members of his household. The king " treated the people of his household with the greatest consideration, making ample and unsparing provision for their needs." While Joinville was attempting to emphasize the saintly king's many generous acts, it seems that Louis, not the queen, managed household finances.[139] On his last crusade, Marguerite remained in France, but her husband appointed two courtiers to control the kingdom.[140] Louis probably chose those two nobles in an effort to leave control of kingdom in the hands of men who fit into the new concept of administrative kingship.[141] Le Goff noted that Marguerite's attempt to control Philip might have been a consideration, but that the real cause was the change in the importance of the state during Louis' rule. The king wanted to leave the kingdom in the hands of men already closely involved in his government. One of Louis' appointees, Simon de Nesle, was his oldest and closet advisor. The other, Abbot of St. Denis, Matthew of Vendôme (1258-86), subsequently handled the day-to-day administration for Louis' son and successor, Philip III.[142] Like his father, Philip III nearly excluded his mother from power, much as Louis had finally done. Philip III's son, Philip IV, reestablished the practice of assigning the queen as regent. He left instructions that during his son's minority his wife, Queen Joan of Navarre, would become regent in the event of his death.[143] This type of arrangement continued with later French kings.[144]

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[138] William C. Jordan, 186. Richard, 250 also notes the efforts that Louis took to ensure that Marguerite would be sufficiently cared for in the event of his death.
[139] Shadis, "Blanche of Castille," 145.
[140] Sivéry, 212.
[141] Le Goff, 598; Richard, 316-17.
[142] Hedeman, Anne D. *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274-1422*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991, 10; Le Goff, 224.
[143] Poulet, 110.

Among some of the best educated medieval women were the early Capetian queens, who also held the responsibility for educating their children. Louis' mother Blanche took the education of her children quite seriously, instructing Louis in moral values and his letters from her psalter, which contains the notation on the last page indicating that Louis had been taught from it.[145] It is certain that she did this even before her husband's untimely death. Marguerite of Provence also played a role in educating her children. Vincent must have known of Blanche's involvement in her son's education. Even though *De eruditione* is dedicated to Queen Marguerite, the children's mother, Vincent makes little mention of her place in instructing the royal offspring.

Rather than encourage queens to teach their children and regulate their households, Vincent's emphasis is on a royal woman's morality, taciturnity, and prudence, all qualities that would make her a docile wife or nun.[146] He spends many pages admonishing girls against habits that could lead to "fleshly lusts, the enemy of chastity."[147] He disdains vanity and the deception implied by "immoderate adornment in either the choice of clothes, arrangement of the hair, painting of the face, and such things."[148] He advises girls to be modest in the clothing they wore, avoid coloring or adoring their hair, or wearing make-up.[149] Since prostitutes painted their faces, "noble girls and holy women ought altogether to avoid and execrate this same thing on account

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[144] Poulet, 112-15.
[145] Jean Joinville and Geoffroi de Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. M. R. B Shaw (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963), 182. Omont, vi. Omont warns readers not to assume that Louis IX made any of the writing in the margins.
[146] It must be noted that while he continually stresses the need for girls to remain chaste, he also advocates chastity for boys.Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 38.
[147] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 389.
[148] Ibid., 380.
[149] Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, chs. 44, 48.

of its ugly significance."[150] Vincent also warns that "beauty is rarely mixed with wisdom. So foolishness is rightly associated with beauty."[151] Other habits also needed to be controlled. Wine was considered especially harmful since it leads directly to lust. Too much food also might lead to lustful thoughts, so, following Jerome's advice, a girl should "eat so that she is always hungry and immediately able after food to pray and to chant."[152] Vincent assigns household management to the husband. While in the section on boys, Vincent uses pages to warn the young man and his family about the problems of an evil wife, he provides no such warnings to the young woman and her family. This might be a result of the sources Vincent had, or perhaps it shows Vincent's unfamiliarity with women. He stresses the need for the bride to be modest and to obey her husband and provides instructions for a husband on how to regulate his household, but gives the wife no such guidance.[153]

In these discussions Vincent displaced the mother from her previous role as the primary educator and emphasized the role of the father in teaching children. Since at the time that Vincent wrote children were usually taught at home until the age of seven, when the period of infancy ended, most children learned the beginnings of their faith by listening to their mothers. Girls learned what they needed to know about running a household from their mothers.[154] Upper-class mothers also often taught their children

[150] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 383.
[151] Ibid., 385.
[152] Ibid., 378.
[153] See Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 37 for instructions to the new husband.
[154] Alexandre-Bidon and Lett, 61.

morals and some ability to read using psalters.[155] Thus, against Vincent's wishes practical education often came at the hands of mothers.

In his discussion of the competencies a girl must acquire, the skills needed to teach her children are not mentioned. No does he provide guidelines for ensuring that a woman would have the ability to teach her own children anything except how to be well behaved. Even though the queen commissioned the book, Vincent makes no mention of the mother's place in the education of her daughters.[156] Occasionally he notes that daughters can bring shame on their parents, but the mother is not specifically mentioned.[157] Vincent specifies that a tutor teach the young girl to read. In actual practice, and contrary to Vincent's advice, practical education often came from the hands of mothers.[158] He ignores household responsibilities and other tasks that might be specifically taught by a mother to her daughter. Instead, *De morali* indicates that the husband has the task of domestic management.[159] The *Speculum doctrinale* also contains a quotation from Ephesians, *Vir caput est mulieris*, "The husband is the head of the wife." Vincent describes the family as composed of a husband who has the authority of command, but the wife is the heart of the family and his companion. The man must take care of his house and belongings.[160] In the *doctrinale*, Vincent also compared the power held by the head of the household to the power held by the king as the head of state. Both

[155] Shahar, *Childhood*, 166-67.
[156] Fijalkowski, 515.
[157] See for example, Ibid., 371.
[158] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 102; Susan Groag Bell, 744.
[159] Vincent, *De morali*, ch. 12, 67-68: 73-90, and ch. 14; Vincent, *De Eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 37: 103-122 and ch. 48: 15-22; Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xxvii. In *De morali* Vincent gives the responsibility of household governance to the king, or his appointee, implying that the husband had control over the household.
[160] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 16; Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 6.

the father and king were expected to impose peace and order.[161] Although this analogy began with Xenophon and Aristotle, Vincent borrowed from Augustine's argument that peace can be kept in a household only when there is a head, just as peace can only be kept in a territory when there is a king.[162]

Vincent allows parents together to provide moral education to their children. Specifically he advises them to "plainly teach their children faith and justice: which consist in what they ought to believe, what they ought to do and of what things they ought to be aware."[163] However, he usually placed that responsibility the hands of the father.[164] Perhaps, this, too, can be attributed to Louis and his involvement with his children. The father is also almost entirely responsible for ensuring that the daughter is moral, and for guarding her virginity. Her failure becomes his: any shame that the daughter suffers is reflected on her father, or her father's house. If she misbehaves, the father becomes a laughing stock.[165] In the *naturale*, Vincent compared fathers who did not instruct sons to those who neglect parental duty by the fault of abortion or infanticide.[166] In almost no cases does Vincent give the mother direct control over the education of her children. Only once he notes that a young wife must teach her children.[167] In another case he acknowledges that a mother is involved in discipline because the children fear her rod, and he admonishes mothers to always be with their daughters in public.[168] Ironically, some of his sources contain examples of mothers

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[161] Grace, 222.
[162] Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 6, ch. 13. Vincent's argument is based upon Augustine, *Civitate Dei*, 19.12.
[163] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 275.
[164] Vincent, *De eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 28.
[165] Ibid., ch. 42: 68-69.
[166] Vincent, *naturale*, bk. 30, ch. 41.
[167] Vincent, *De eruditione*, ed. Steiner, ch. 48: 168-170.
[168] Ibid., ch. 39: 85-88, and ch. 42: 109-114.

teaching their children, including a quotation from Saint Augustine concerning the advice that his mother Monica gave to him.[169]

If a common practice was for mothers to provide or oversee the early education of their children, and some of Vincent's sources contain examples of mother's teaching their children, then why did he virtually ignore their role? There are several possible explanations. *De eruditione* covers the period from age seven until early adulthood. The mother's strongest educational influence would be expected to occur during the child's infancy, a period that Vincent discusses in the *Speculum doctrinale*, the third volume of the *Speculum maius*. In that document he outlines the proper regimen for children, beginning with the mother's pregnancy and continuing through adolescence. However, the mother's role in teaching her children is not included in the *Speculum doctrinale* either.[170] Rather, Vincent notes that at the age of six a child was handed over to a tutor.[171] Quite possibly, as a friar, Vincent had no idea what mothers' needed to teach their daughters, and the subject probably did not interest him, nor did he consider it important. A mother, especially a royal mother, would certainly have taught her daughter some of what she needed to know to act properly at court and to perform functions her particular status demanded. Sometimes another wealthy woman was entrusted with that task, or since the girls often married young, their mother-in-law might complete their education. Vincent ignores all of that.

Perhaps in *De eruditione* Vincent attempted to define the optimal method for instructing children. It is likely that not all families were able to meet his standards. For

[169] Ibid., p. 112: 85-89.
[170] Vincent, *doctrinale*, bk. 12, chs. 25-31.
[171] Ibid., bk. 12, ch. 31.

some families, the practical solution was for the parents, especially the mother, to teach the children both their early religious values and reading. Perhaps, in writing about royal children, Vincent considered their special place in the world. With the growth of administrative kingship,[172] when the queen's function in governing the realm was being replaced by men working in an incipient bureaucracy, Vincent was attempting to ensure that the royal children, especially males, were raised by those who had a good understanding of the children's future roles and thus could better prepare them. Another possibility is that he could have tailored his message to suit his patron, Louis. Knowing that Louis was interested in the children's education, perhaps Vincent emphasized the inculcating of Christian values. His de-emphasis on the mother's role may simply have been an effort to accentuate Louis' role in the education of his children. On several occasions Vincent describes the father as the main teacher of his son as, for example, in a series of quotations including, "He that teacheth his son, shall have joy in him and shall glory in him before the family."[173] This emphasis also would help explain why, although the treatise is dedicated to the queen, it places more importance on the role of the father than the mother in the education of children.

Vincent's proposals may have been made specifically to please Louis IX. Vincent's plan for girl's education closely matches the ideas Louis later expressed in his own letters. Given the type of education Louis planned for his children, he probably approved of Vincent's stern recommendations for girls.[174] Louis took similar stern

[172] Hallam and Everard, 205.
[173] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 218.
[174] See Geoffroy de Beaulieu, St. Louis' confessor for a description of Louis' plans for his children, Carolus-Barré, 34. Neither Vincent nor Louis IX would have considered Vincent's plans stern, but rather would have seen the suggestions as perfectly suitable for young Christian girls.

measures with himself, praying often, reading the scriptures, dressing and eating moderately, and eschewing drunkenness. Other echoes of Louis' desires for his daughters can be detected throughout *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* in the section concerning the education of girls. The guidelines Vincent wrote for women match the ideals expressed by Louis in the letters he wrote to his daughters. The much shorter letter he wrote to his daughter Isabelle, is almost solely concerned with her spiritual well being. Vincent would have been in agreement with this as the most important concern for a woman. Louis begins the letter as he did the letter his heir, Philip, admonishing his daughter to love God. A few of the directions Louis gives to his daughter include choosing a saintly, well educated confessor, and then echoing Vincent, Louis tells his daughter to avoid pride and the lure of fine clothes and jewelry, shun friends with bad reputations, give money to charity, and obey her parents and her husband, unless it goes against God. Louis advises Isabelle to obey her husband, the King of Navarre, her father, and her mother, in that order.[175] He also reminds her to eschew reading vain words (*vaines paroles*) while in church.[176] In a separate letter to one of his other daughters, either Blanche or Marguerite, also written after she was married, he told her to search for and know God, talk little and wisely, enjoy church, think of death, guard her heart from impure contact, be truthful, love and honor Christ, and pray.[177]

Vincent's writing to please Louis may explain the long chapter on virginity for girls in *De eruditione*. While it would be logical to include such a section as an option for girls, Vincent was writing for royal women. Since marriage was a more common activity

[175] Louis IX and Isabelle, *Instructions*, 15, 78-81; Louis IX, *Teachings*, 55-60.
[176] Louis IX, as quoted in Hentsch, 81.
[177] Hentsch, 82-83; the letter does not indicate which daughter was the recipient.

than joining a religious community for noble women, such an emphasis on encouraging virginity seems out of place. Louis had a high respect for monastic women. He was fond of, and influenced by his sister, St. Isabelle (1225-1270), who established an abbey at Longchamp. Upon his return from the holy land, Louis decided his daughter Blanche, born in 1253 during the crusade, should join his sister. A bull of 1259 from Pope Alexander IV allowed Louis to place a daughter, probably Blanche, at the Abbey of Longchamp, the religious community established by his sister Isabelle.[178] Blanche rejected that idea, asking Pope Urban IV for permission to be released from her vows if she ever agreed to her father's demands. The pope granted her request before she reached the age of eleven.[179] Vincent, probably aware of Louis' respect for his sister, might have emphasized the virtues of virginity. Louis had also wanted two of his sons to join a monastery.[180] Perhaps that explains the short section Vincent included on male monasticism in the instructions for boys in chapter thirty-eight.

Vincent's guidelines for educating girls, the emphasis on modesty, submission to fathers and husbands, and the replacement of women from their traditional roles, seems to fit within the overall plans he was proposing in his *Opus*. The first volume of the *Opus*, *De morali principis institutione*, which he had begun just before writing before the educational treatise, discusses politics, the justification of kingship, the behavior of the prince, and how a ruler governed wisely and with goodness.[181] It is clear that within *De eruditione* Vincent attempted to establish a particular conduct for girls that corresponded

[178] Sean L. Field, *Isabelle of France: Capetian Sanctity and Franciscan identity in the Thirteenth Century* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 66. Carolus-Barré, 36. Louis' eldest daughter, Isabelle was already married at this time.
[179] Le Goff, 205. Blanche's intermediary is unknown.
[180] Le Goff, 204-5; Carolus-Barré, 36.
[181] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xxi-xxiii, at page xxi.

to the behavior he wished boys to exhibit. An examination of works in addition to *De eruditione* seems to indicate that the conduct that he wanted to establish for noble children, for both boys and girls, fit into a plan that went beyond simply education. Under Louis' guidance administrative kingship grew, so both the king and Vincent may have seen the role of the queen quite differently than Louis' father and grandfather had. The types of activities performed by Adélaïde de Maurienne and Blanche de Castile were increasingly taken over by male functionaries. Limiting the role that queens, and by extension, other noble women, were expected to play, required that Vincent and Louis change the purpose for their education and the method by which they were taught. The emphasis was placed on their role as wives, not as participants in governmental affairs. At the same time, the purpose and method for teaching boys was also changed. In their case, the material taught to young princes and nobles attempted to ensure that they became politically astute leaders.

Within *De morali* Vincent gave women virtually no place in the government. Within *De eruditione*, his goals were to discipline girls, to train a woman who was taciturn and likely to obey her father and husband, making it consistent with the methodology established in *De morali*. Royal women educated by Vincent's standards would meet the new standards, and not act like earlier Capetian queens,[182] including Louis' mother Blanche de Castile, whose functions in the administration of the realm were often significant. Instead, Vincent expected women to be kept from performing any function in the governance of the realm, but intended them to act as models of moral behavior for their children, and provide support as a wives. Choosing Jerome and his

[182] Marion F. Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 5 (1968): 3-47, 26.

strict ideals was an intentional effort on the part of Vincent to ensure that royal daughters would become women who fit into his overall plan for the kingdom of France. Louis and Marguerite accepted Vincent's guidelines and followed them in educating their children and Louis probably encouraged Vincent's ideas to be accepted at his court.

While he wrote the first treatise for laywomen in a time of transformation for the educational system, and although he was innovative in including details for the education of girls, an examination of *De eruditione* indicates that rather than formulate any new concepts for their education, his proposals upheld older traditions that stressed modesty, virginity, and piety. In many ways Vincent's proposals for teaching women harkened back to the ideals of education promulgated by the patristic fathers. His primary goal was to instruct girls "in purity or chastity, in humility, in silence, and in maturity of morals and behavior."[183] In essence, Vincent's treatise does not match the times in which he wrote.[184] His efforts to force Capetian women to act according to the standards of the patristic fathers, St. Jerome, St. John Chrysostom, St. Augustine, and St. Cyprian, for example, goes counter to the actions and status of women, and probably the women's own goals. Vincent's ideas remained firmly rooted in the older medieval traditions, supported by Louis, which stressed modesty, virginity, and piety. Vincent's instructions limited girls in ways that boys were not limited. Much as Vincent might have wanted to focus the minds of women on scriptures and household duties, however, their reading of secular literature, and their continued participation in matters of court, indicates their

[183] Vincent, "On the Education of Noble Children," trans. Craig, 376. Fijalkowski, 518, said Vincent "revived the accepted heritage of the early Church Fathers in order to provide moral rules for his own epoch."
[184] Fijalkowski makes an extended argument that both *De eruditione* and the *Speculum* do not present an accurate picture of thirteenth-century women.

interest in literature and worldly issues and proves that his efforts were not always successful. The scholars who followed and used Vincent's work found that children required similar training. While they used Vincent's work as a source, they often modified it for their own purposes. Those scholars are discussed in the next and final chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE IMPACT OF VINCENT'S IDEAS

What long-term impact did Vincent's works have? Charles F. Briggs offers the following possibility for the ways a medieval audience use and interacted with a text:

> "A work's audience could, after all, be associated with the text and its manuscripts in several ways. The text could be read from beginning to end or partially, once or repeatedly; it could be recited to a group of listeners, a practice common to both the university classroom, the monastic or college refectory, or the royal or noble hall. Someone might have possessed but not read it, using it rather as a kind of talisman or symbol of status or power, or indeed not using it at all."[1]

Vincent's works were associated with his audience in yet another way: his texts were reproduced and incorporated into works produced by his audience. While the copies of *De eruditione* that formed part of the libraries of monasteries and universities indicate that it had some influence in educating boys, Vincent's proposals were more commonly propagated in the borrowings made by other pedagogues shortly after he completed his work. *De eruditione* lead a field of an ever-increasing number of educational manuals, often with sections for women, or written specifically for women. This chapter briefly discusses the spread of Vincent's ideas on women's education, through the *Speculum*, and through texts based on *De eruditione* and *De morali*, and concludes with an example of the changes in royal women's education in the few centuries after Vincent wrote.

Louis IX' son, Philip III, was given the education that Vincent advised, and taught sacred and secular texts, although the monks of Saint-Denis did not give him high scores

[1] Charles F. Briggs, *Aegidius of Rome's* De regimine principum*: Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University*, c. 1275-c. 1525 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 6.

on his ability to read.[2] Philip III continued the educational policies of Louis IX, and his son Philip IV the Fair (1268-1314) was brought up in the same tradition.[3] Philip IV's education almost certainly included the use of *De eruditione*. He was probably taught by the very conservative Guillaume d'Ercuis (1265-1314/1315) and perhaps also by Lorens, author of *Somme le Roi* (usually referred to as The Book of Vices and Virtues) (1279), who was identified as Philip's *rector* in an epitaph in a collection of sermons owned by Friar Remigo Girolami, a Domican Master of Theology at the University of Paris.[4] As such, Lorens had some influence over Philip's education. Lorens' treatise provided material for religious education for the laity.[5] It is divided into six sections with basic material, including the Ten Commandments, the articles of faith, the seven deadly sins, virtues, and the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost and related virtues.[6] Lorens may have been influenced by *De morali*. Gabriel contends that the *Somme* has the same anti-feudalistic attitudes that Vincent displays in his political treatise.[7]

Among the many educational treatises written shortly after Vincent two deserve brief discussion for the contrasts they make with Vincent's ideas. Their assumptions about boys' behavior resemble Vincent's; however, they propose quite different ideas for the education of women. Writing shortly after Vincent's death, the Italian layman Philip de Novara composed the *Quatre âges de l'homme* (The Four Ages of Man), a treatise on

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[2] Charles V. Langlois, *Le Règne de Philippe III le Hardi* (Paris: 1887; repr. Genève: Mégariotis Reprints, 1979), 4.
[3] Joseph R. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 12.
[4] Strayer, 7; Francis, xvii. Aegidius of Rome has been suggested as Philip IV tutor because he dedicated *De regimine principum* to the prince when he was about young thirteen years old. See Laurent, *The Book of Vices and Virtues: A Fourteenth Century English Translation of the Somme le Roi of Lorens d'Orléans*, trans. W. Nelson Francis (London: Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 1968).
[5] Francis, ix.
[6] Ibid., xvii.
[7] McCarthy, *Humanistic Emphases*, 13; Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 50.

moral behavior and knightly values. As the title implies, the *Quatre âges* presents the moral values and activities an individual ought to pursue in four stages of life (childhood, youth, middle age, and old age). Philip included some guidance for women, like Vincent stressing physical chastity. Although a woman's honor depends simply on being chaste, "a man's honor requires courtesy, generosity, strength, and wisdom." Philip advocated an occupation, such as spinning or sewing, to keep women busy. He also advised that "they should not think too much," and in particular that they not be taught to read since this would prevent their writing and receiving love letters from unacceptable suitors. By contrast Pierre Dubois's *De Recuperatione Terrae Sanctae* (On the Recovery of the Holy Land) (1309) argues that "with the help of concrete examples and detailed explanations, girls can learn the same material as boys."[8] Dubois claimed that children of any social status could be educated as doctors, lawyers, teachers, and missionaries. He proposed teaching girls languages, including Latin, Greek, and Arabic, natural science, surgery, and medicine.[9] Once trained, Dubois planned for the girls to marry non-Christians in the Holy Land and with their skills convert their husbands to Christianity and effect a recovery of the area for Christians.[10] He addressed his rather radical proposal to Edward I of England, and after he ignored it, Dubois revised it and sent it to Philip IV of France who also ignored it.[11]

Translations of Aristotle's *Politics* between 1264 and 1269 inspired a number of commentaries that supplanted Vincent's *De morali* and to an extent *De eruditione*. These later works included *De regimine principum* (c. 1280) written by Aegidius Romanus and

[8] Clifton, 13.
[9] Ibid., 14.
[10] McCarthy, *Humanistic Emphases*, 11.
[11] Clifton, 14.

dedicated to Philip IV. In 1282, Philip III commissioned a French translation of *De regimine,* and from that point it certainly became a primary text used to educate French royal princes.[12] Other political texts included *De Regimine Principum* begun by Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) and finished after his death by Ptolemy of Lucca (1236-1327); *De regia potestate et papali* (On Royal and Papal Powers) of John of Paris (John Quidort) (1255-1306), written about 1301-1302; *Tractatus de bono communi* (The Treatise on the Common Good) of Remigio da Girolami 1247-1319); and *De monarchia* by Dante (1265-1321).[13]

The new treatises did not entirely replace Vincent's texts or ideas, though. In his critical edition Steiner agreed with earlier scholars who claimed that one reason there were so few manuscript copies of *De eruditione* was that much of the material was in *Speculum doctrinale* and citations from the classical authors were in the *historiale*.[14] Thus, since much of the text in *De eruditione* duplicates text in the *Speculum doctrinale*, Vincent's proposals were available, albeit without his organization. The *Speculum* was Vincent's most successful work, with manuscript, printed copies, and translations made frequently. In his effort to explain the small number of copies of *De eruditione* Steiner argues that the *Speculum doctrinale* was sufficient because "except for the arrangement of the material, Vincent cannot and would not claim any originality, since he himself stated his intention of *compiling* an anthology of appropriate passages." In saying this he ignored the fact that in organizing *De eruditione*, Vincent created an educational system, supported by his authorities, and that his own words help explain the overall

[12] Briggs, 9.
[13] Susan M. Babbitt, "Oresme's Livre de Politiques and the France of Charles V," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series* 75, no. 1 (1985), 15-17
[14] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xv.

methodology. With only the *Speculum* a reader would probably not produce the same plan as Vincent and would have taken considerable effort to sift through the *Speculum* and determine an independent system of education. Thus, anyone interested in using a logical process for educating children might have wanted more than simply the *Speculum*. To be effective they would have needed a manual that presented a methodology. Vincent's manual would have been a good option, having the support of the French king and Vincent's name, already known for erudition during his lifetime.

The *Speculum* was popular long after Vincent completed it. It was one of the first texts printed in the latter half of the fifteenth century, with the first edition printed in Strasbourg between 1473 and 1476.[15] Copies of the *doctrinale*, with its educational proposals, existed in monasteries and libraries. Within later manuscripts and editions of the *Speculum*, copiers and printers expanded on Vincent's innovations in searchability, increasing the ability to search the encyclopedia by adding additional alphabetical indices. Essentially, in its changing textual transmission new readers made the *Speculum* their own. In addition to copies of entire volumes, encyclopedists and others borrowed sections from the various books of the *Speculum*. While Steiner mentions the rapid propagation of the *Speculum*, he did not discuss the fact that the most popular book, the *historiale*, contains the least educational material. Shortly after the completion of the *Speculum*, around 1268-1271, Adam, a clerk of the bishop of Clermont, created two abridged versions.[16] At about the same time a Spanish chronicle, *Estoria de Espatta*, was compiled based on the *Speculum*, probably using the copy of the *historiale* King Alfonso

[15] Guzman, "Mongol Extracts," 288.
[16] Alain Nadeau, "Deux abrégés du *Speculum historiale* par Adam de Clermont: les *Flores historiarum* et le *Speculum gestorum mundi*," in Intentions and Réceptions, 413-14. Clermont d'Auvergne is today's Clermont-Ferrand.

X (1221-1284) bequeathed to the church of St Maria in Seville.[17] The *Speculum* was one of several sources for the *Chronicle of Baldwin of Avesne*s, a popular history written for the general public about 1280.[18] The *Speculum historiale* was the major source for the *Mirouer historiale abregie de France* (The Abridged Mirror of the History of France), a history of the French kingdom from 1380, written for Charles VII (1368-1422) about 1451.[19] Latin versions of the *historiale* were in widespread use in German speaking areas, particularly incunabula.[20] German chroniclers included translated sections of the *Speculum* in a variety of texts, including the *Detmar Chronicle* of Lübeck (c. 1400), Jakob Twinger's von Königshofen *Straßburger Weltchronik* (Strasbourg Chronicle) (1380-1414), *Chronicles of Dietrich Engelhus* (b. 1362), and the fifteenth-century *Excerpta Chronicarum* written by the Nuremberg chancellery scribes Platerberger and Truchseß.[21] Each of these chronicles in turn formed sources for additional works. While they contained many of Vincent's ideas, they did not spread Vincent's theories of education.

Steiner was unaware of the twenty manuscripts of *De eruditione* identified after the publication of his critical edition, and although the known total is now twenty-eight, this is still not a significant number compared to the quantities of copies extant for other educational manuals. Even though there were relatively few copies of *De eruditione* or *De morali*, Vincent's proposals had continued influence and were used in education. Table three shows that seven of the extant manuscripts of *De eruditione* are combined

[17] César Dominguez, "Vincent of Beauvais and Alfonso the Learned," *Notes and Queries* 45, no. 2 (June, 1998), 172.
[18] F. J. M., Jr. and Foulet, 3.
[19] Kathleen Daly, "The Mirouer historial abregie de France: Historical Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles VII," in *Intentions et Réceptions*, 468.
[20] Weigand, 391-92.
[21] Ibid., 397, 400, 404-409.

with a copy of *De morali*. Three copies of *De morali* are bound independently of any other works by Vincent, and five copies of *De eruditione* are bound separately. Vincent's consolation to Louis on the loss of his son Louis, *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*, is included in nine of the manuscripts with *De eruditione* but not *De morali*, and in six manuscripts with both *De eruditione* and *De morali*. It seems that some effort was made to keep Vincent's texts together. While not certain, the combination of *De eruditione* and *De morali* hints that the documents could have been studied as a set, or at least available for this purpose. Of the manuscripts identified in the table, three single copies of *De morali* belonged to libraries or abbeys, one single copy of *De eruditione* belonged to an abbey, and nine copies of both belonged to colleges or universities. It is likely that these documents were used as guides for instruction within the various institutions. Thus, boys were exposed to Vincent's theories and methods and as each generation of male students was taught by Vincent's precepts, his ideas were disseminated. Girls did not participate in education in these institutional settings, particularly universities.

Some of Vincent's educational proposals were spread through a widely published text, the fifth book of William Perrault's *De eruditione principum* (On the Education of Princes). Its popularity was based on the assumption that it had been written by St. Thomas Aquinas and consequently was usually published with his *Opusculum* XXXVII. Written in 1265, shortly after Vincent's educational treatise, *De eruditione principum* is so similar to *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* that scholars originally assumed the two documents were copies of the same text.[22] Although the order of presentation is different,

[22] Steiner, "Perrault and Vincent," 51-52.

Perrault discusses much of the same material as Vincent.[23] Steiner closely examined both texts and determined that significant portions were transcribed from Vincent's treatise.[24] Perrault's sixty-seven chapters were intended for children of nobility, not just royal children. Emphasizing moral principles, "etiquette, hygiene, table manners, food, and clothing," but including few truly pedagogical points, the text discusses a boy's life from early childhood until death. The same topics are discussed for girls beginning with chapter forty-nine.[25] Like Vincent, Perrault emphasized girls' morality, virginity, the proper conduct in marriage, and widowhood. Perrault's preface disparages the degeneration of princes of his day and explains his goal as not primarily pedagogical but moral and religious.[26] In keeping with his aims, he omitted the technicalities of learning that Vincent included in chapters eleven to twenty two. Perrault differed from Vincent in a few other areas. He often abridged his sources, omitted details, and applied general axioms rather than practical examples.[27] He omitted the names of the classical authors when he copied those texts from Vincent.[28]

Literary writers disseminated some of Vincent's ideas. Chaucer was certainly acquainted with the *Speculum*, since he mentions the *Speculum historiale* in line 307 of the Prologue to *The Legend of Good Women*. Pauline Aiken makes an argument that within *The Physician's Tale* he also used a description of the progression of disease from

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[23] Ibid.," 58.
[24] Steiner, "Perrault and Vincent," 53, 57; Arpad Steiner, "New Light on Guillaume Perrault," *Speculum* 17, no. 4 (Oct., 1942), 526. In "New Light on Guillaume Perrault," 521 and 526, Steiner notes that Perrault also borrowed extensively from two of his own treatises, the *Speculum religiosorum* and the *Summa Virtutum et Vitiorum*. He also abridged and omitted some passages from that text, however he added the scriptural citations missing from *Speculum religiosorum*. Presumably while Perrault did not see a need to include those in a treatise written for the clergy, he added them when the treatise was designed for the laity.
[25] Steiner, "Perrault and Vincent," 52.
[26] Ibid.," 53.
[27] Ibid.," 57-58.
[28] Steiner, "New Light on Guillaume Perrault," 520.

the *doctrinale*.[29] Likewise, in *The Knight's Tale*, "Arcite's injury, his gradually developing symptoms, the diagnosis of their underlying causes, the treatment applied, and the patient's eventual death" are all based on Vincent's description of accidents to the chest and lungs in the *doctrinale*.[30] The information on stomach illness supplied by Dame Pertelote of *The Nun's Priest's Tale* also indicates Chaucer's familiarity with the *Speculum naturale* and *doctrinale*. In several passages her information closely matches Vincent's, but in one case, the discussion of the progression of an illness matches Vincent's exactly.[31] Dame Pertelote's cures for her husband's sickness were also taken from Vincent.[32]

While Chaucer was obviously familiar with the *Speculum*, his knowledge of *De eruditione* is not as clear. Karl Young argues that *De eruditione* was the source for a section of the prelude to *The Physician's Tale* (C 35 - 120) that describes the character of his heroine, Virginia. According to Young, Chaucer based Virginia's behavior on the model that Vincent provided for girl's behavior.[33] Young's analysis indicates that The *Physician's Tale* is based not on treatises that borrowed from Vincent, but on *De eruditione* itself. Martha Waller argued that Chaucer's source was *De regimine principum*, a Castilian version of Aegidius Romanus' treatise by Don Bernabe at the court of Alfonso XI of Castile.[34] Christine de Pisan had access to the French translation of the

[29] Pauline Aiken, "Vincent of Beauvais and the "Houres" of Chaucer's Physician," *Studies in Philology* 53, no. 1 (Jan., 1956): 22-24.
[30] Pauline Aiken, "Arcite's Illness and Vincent of Beauvais," *PMLA* 51, no. 2. (Jun., 1936). 361.
[31] Pauline Aiken, "Vincent of Beauvais and Dame Pertelote's Knowledge of Medicine," *Speculum* 10, no. 3 (Jul., 1935), 283.
[32] Aiken, "Dame Pertelote," 284. Page 286-87, Aiken notes that she examined medical treatises of the time and none of them could have supplied all of the information that Chaucer uses in his works.
[33] Young, 340-41.
[34] Waller, 293-94, 296.

Speculum historiale, the *Miroir historial*, completed by Jean de Vignay in 1333.[35] She probably took many of the stories of the saints that she included in the *Cite' des dames* (City of Ladies) from that source.[36] Gabriel and others suggested that she could have used *De eruditione* as a source for *Le livre des trois vertus* (The Book of Three Virtues).[37]

When deciding what to write, Vincent almost certainly included instructions that matched the precepts of his patron, King Louis IX. Part of Vincent's proposals persisted in Aegidius Romanus' popular *De regimine*, although in copying from *De eruditione* Aegidius dismissed many of the ascetic and monastic ideals that must have appealed to Louis.[38] Aegidius was an Augustinian friar, a student of Thomas Aquinas, and for many years one of Philip the Fair's trusted advisors.[39] The three books of *De regimin*e deal with the "character of a ruler, the management of domestic life for noblemen and citizens as well as for princes, and theory and practice of ruling."[40] Aegidius promoted marriage and recognized the value of physical education, but not for royal children. Vincent ignored physical education in *De eruditione*, discussing it only in the *Speculum doctrinale*. Both advocated early training for children to calm the turbulence of youth.[41] Popular not only in France but throughout western Europe, notably in Spain, *De regimine* survives in approximately 350 extant copies, "one of the most numerous survivals of a non-religious

[35] Jeffrey Richards, "In Search of a Feminist Patrology: Christine de Pizan and les glorieux dotteurs of the Church," *Mystics Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (March 1995), 6.
[36] Sandra L. Hindman, "With Ink and Mortar: Christine De Pizan's 'Cité des Dames,'" *Feminist Studies* 10, no. 3 (Autumn, 1984), 468.
[37] Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 42; Gabriel, "Christine De Pisan," 16.
[38] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xiii; Power, *Main Currents*, 254.
[39] Elizabeth A. R. Brown, *Customary Aid and Royal Finance in Capetian France* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1992), 39.
[40] Waller, 293.
[41] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxvi; Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 17-8.

work from the Middle Ages."[42] It was used as a textbook of moral philosophy at universities.[43]

The second half of Aegidius' *De regimine* includes twenty-one chapters on the education of royal children. The first eighteen chapters concern the upbringing of sons, and the final three chapters are dedicated to girls.[44] It follows the same logic as Vincent, omits the technical points of learning, and adds a few of Aegidius' own ideas. Like Vincent, Aegidius promoted marriage and recognized the value of physical education, but not for royal children.[45] Both Vincent and Aegidius agreed on the quality of teachers, but Aegidius added the idea that teacher needed to be "experienced enough to observe individual differences in his pupils." For both writers, girls were required to remain in the confined to the privacy of the home, where they could not be kept busy. Both considered taciturnity to be the chief virtue of womanhood.[46] Like Vincent, Aegidius promotes modesty, and sobriety for all women. He justifies his position using Aristotle's logic: "men will do evil when given the opportunity, and women, naturally deficient in reason, are the more liable to do so, especially as young girls." Aegidius also warns that young girls lose their natural shyness if placed in regular contact with men.[47]

Aegidius Romanus proposed even strong guidelines for women than had Vincent. His main goal in educating women was to inculcate industriousness and make them acceptable companions to their husbands.[48] Aegidius borrowed from Vincent and

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[42] Briggs, 3.
[43] Ibid., 6.
[44] Waller, 295.
[45] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxvi; Gabriel, *Educational Ideas*, 17-8.
[46] Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xxvii.
[47] Waller, 295.
[48] Jan Papy, "Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540) on the Education of Girls. An Investigation into his Medieval and Spanish Sources" *Paedagogica historica* 31, no. 3 (1995), 750.

Aristotle, and advocated reading as way that noble women can avoid the idleness that leads to sexual thoughts or deeds.[49] He suggested that they be taught sciences to keep them occupied.[50] Aegidius claimed that women are more prone to do evil and denied that they have reason and intelligence, making it necessary to guard them closely.[51] Aegidius argued that a bride be chosen based on the nobility of her lineage, the friends and allies she would attract, and the wealth she could bring to the marriage.[52] He praised marriage as a means of promoting peace and friendship and resolving conflicts.[53] He also explains that women must be protected to guarantee the legitimacy of the male line. An unchaste woman might produce a son who would inherit from her husband, even though he might not be the father. [54]

A prince brought up and educated according to Aegidius Romanus' guidelines would gain some lessons quite different from Vincent's. Aegidius advised rulers to "maintain themselves magnificently" and suggested that spending money on buildings as well as ceremonies such as weddings or knighings was necessary and virtuous.[55] Aegidius also instructed a king to build strong and durable structures that would last his lifetime, so they would be not simply be outwardly impressive. The magnificence of the exterior was important because Aegidius claimed that any structure that made people wonder would distract them. He also claimed that people would not be inclined to rebel against a king "surrounded by magnificence."[56] Aegidius directed princes to learn how

[49] Krueger, 221.
[50] Papy, 750.
[51] Krueger, 159-60.
[52] Brown, *Customary Aids*, 21.
[53] Ibid., 40.
[54] Krueger, 159-60.
[55] Brown, *Customary Aids*, 40.
[56] Ibid., 28.

their predecessors had acquired legitimate revenue, to "employ laudable and customary means to gain income," and never to usurp the property of others.[57] Philip IV, educated by Aegidius' principles, continued the centralization of the French government begun by Philip II and Louis IX. Philip IV's government was "not highly structured, though it was certainly less informal than that of St. Louis."[58] During his reign royal power "reached a point that was not surpassed, and often not equaled, during the rest of the fourteenth century. The basic structure of central and local government inherited from Philip II Augustus and St. Louis was perfected and institutionalized. The bureaucracy increased in size and improved its professional techniques."[59]

De regimine was used to teach not only French royalty, but also Spanish. Don Bernabe, Bishop of Osma from 1331 to 1351, and physician to the queen, was given the responsibility of educating the Infante Pedro (1334-1369), the heir, in 1344. He commissioned Fray Juan Garcia de Castrojeriz (fl. fourteenth century), the queen's confessor, to translate Aegidius' treatise into Castilian, and add extensive commentary for the prince's instruction. Because of the commentary "the Castrojeriz version lacks the order and elegance of Aegidius Romanus" and differs significantly from *De regimine principum* in tone as well as in content. It looks back toward the asceticism of Aegidius' precursors, including Vincent.[60]

At the start of the Renaissance, *De morali* and especially *De eruditione* were only two of a large number of works written by political theorists and educators. Vincent built

[57] Ibid., 40.
[58] Ibid., xi.
[59] Ibid., xii, 12. (See top of pg. 8 of Strayer for what Aegidius proposes.) Does not specifically say if he was taught using *De eruditione*. His source is Langlois, 9-10.
[60] Waller, 293-95.

his ideas upon the earlier works of both classical authors and church authorities, and Renaissance authors continued to expand on his proposals. Although *De eruditione* was a work tied firmly to early Christian fathers, with its inclusion of classical authors, some scholars claim that it bridges Medieval and Renaissance worlds.[61] Some early humanists cited Vincent's works. Cardinal Dominici (1356-1419) cited both the *Speculum* and *De eruditione* 131 times in a treatise discussing education, *Lucula noctis*.[62] A few of the many later Renaissance educators were also influenced by Vincent's work, although to what extent is unclear.[63]

Erasums' (1466-1536) *Institutio principis christiani* (The Education of a Christian Prince), a treatise on political ethics, was written around 1515 during his tenure at the court of then Prince Charles, the future Emperor Charles V (1500-1558).[64] Erasmus (1466-1536) was aware of Vincent's texts and the many other works that followed him, making it difficult to determine his sources. Several works, including *De morali* and *De regimine*, and St. Thomas Aquinas' *De regimine princiuunm* all present ideas that are similar to those in the *Institutio*, yet many of Erasmus' proposals strongly echo Vincent's.[65] Like Vincent, Erasmus assumes that the prince should be motivated by a desire to act for the good of the state. Both men also assume that because a tutor has an enormous impact upon a youth, care must be taken to choose the best instructor. For Erasmus, the tutor must accept the position with the understanding that he is working for the good of the state. He must instill moral principles but also protect the young man

[61] See arguments in McCarthy, *Humanistic Emphases*.
[62] Ibid., 13, 14,18.
[63] See McCarthy, *Humanistic Emphases*, for a further discussion of Vincent's influence on Renaissance pedagogues.
[64] Lester K. Born, "Erasmus on Political Ethics: *The Institutio Principis Christiani*," *Political Science Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (Dec., 1928), 520.
[65] Born, "Erasmus on Political Ethics," 540.

from undesirable associates who will corrupt or flatter him. The relationship between the student and tutor is close, and the pupil should love his teacher and obey his commands.[66] Morals and Christian principles are the first subjects the future king must be taught. Lessons in Christian values will also ensure that the prince is a philosopher, since "a philosopher and true Christian are one and the same in fact." As Louis IX did in the letters to his son, Erasmus reminds a prince that he must rule justly and fairly.[67] As Vincent reminded his young charges, Erasmus also tells the prince that he must be a model for his people and hold himself to a higher standard.[68] Erasmus warns against flatters and sycophants in the same way that Vincent did in *De morali*.[69] Erasmus provides practical advice lacking in Vincent's treatises. He tells the prince the best way to know his own kingdom is to travel through it. He provides advice concerning taxes, treaties, succession issues, establishing just laws, and engaging in wars.[70]

Erasmus, who was impressed by learned women, also wrote about the education of women in only two of his works, the *Christiani matrimonii institutio* (The Christian Institution of Marriage) of 1526, dedicated to Queen Catherine of Aragon (1485-1536), and a letter to the French scholar Guillaume Budé (1467-1540) in 1521. By the time Erasmus wrote, "the learned lady had long been a feature of Italian humanist culture," and even though women ruled their own principalities, educational writers did not

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[66] Born, "Erasmus on Political Ethics," 525; Desiderius Erasmus, ed. Lisa Jardine, *The Education of a Christian Prince; With the Panegyric for Archduke Philip of Austria*, trans. Michael J. Heath Neil M. Cheshire, and Lisa Jardine (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 9-13.
[67] Born, "Erasmus on Political Ethics," 526.
[68] Ibid.," 527.
[69] Born, "Erasmus on Political Ethics," 530; Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, ed. Jardine, 54-64.
[70] Born, "Erasmus on Political Ethics," 531-39; Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, ed. Jardine, chs. 6, 8, 11.

suggest that women be given the same political education as men.[71] Instead their efforts should be concentrated on the study of religion and literature, and preparation for the responsibilities of marriage.[72] In words that closely match Vincent, Erasmus told Budé that "two things are of the greatest peril to the virtue of young women, idleness and lascivious games, and the love of letters prevents both. Nothing else better protects a spotless reputation and unsullied morals: for they are more securely chaste who are chaste from conscious choice. . . . [T]here is nothing that more occupies the attention of a young girl than study. Hence this is the occupation that best protects the mind from dangerous idleness, from which the best precepts are derived, the mind trained and attracted to virtue."[73] Erasmus continues in the letter to explain that women make better wives and mothers if they are educated. Again, like Vincent, in *Christiani matrimonii institutio* Erasmus advised parents to ensure that the people daughters associate with posses the highest moral quality.[74]

In *De tradendis disciplinis* (On Handing Down the Disciplines), Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540) wrote that the works of Vincent of Beauvais had come to his time complete, although he did not list the individual volumes.[75] Vives would have studied the *Speculum* while at the University of Paris, since it was one of the chief textbooks.[76] Because many of Vincent's educational concepts are included in the *Speculum doctrinale*, Vives would probably have been aware of the ideas, even if he had never read *De eruditione*. In *De institutione feminae Christianae* (The Education of a Christian Woman) Vives did not

[71] J. K. Sowards, "Erasmus and the Education of Women," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 3, no. 4 (Winter, 1982), 78.
[72] Sowards, 78-80.
[73] Sowards, 83.
[74] Ibid., 84-85.
[75] Vives, *On Education*, 281.
[76] Watson, Introduction to *Vives: On Education*, liv-lv.

mention Vincent, Aegidius, Christine de Pisan, or other authors he must have known through his studies at Paris.[77] *De institutione*, however, discusses many of the same issues that concerned Vincent, although like Aegidius he omits the technical points of learning. *De institutione* contains passages borrowed passages from *Carro de las donas/Llibre de les dones* (Book of the Ladies) (1410) written in Catalan by the Franciscan Fransesc Eiximenis, who had borrowed from *De eruditione*.[78] Eiximenis argued that God endowed women with "goodness of nature, fortune and grace." Eiximenis and Vives matched Vincent's views on limiting excessive adornment for women.[79] Vincent and Vives used many of the same patristic and classical sources and among Vives primary sources were Jerome's letters to his female disciples.[80]

Vives began with the ideas of Aristotle, as adapted by Thomas Aquinas, that women were fundamentally weak and imperfect.[81] The highest purpose of her training was to create a chaste woman, strengthening her against evil influences and turning her into a modest being who would help those around her, especially her husband.[82] Unlike Vincent, Vives gave the mother the majority of responsibility in educating her children.[83] He explained that education is imparted with mother's milk. In nursing her daughter, the mother and child grow close, and the mother can begin to teach her daughter lessons in virtue.[84] Vives, like Vincent, suggested that a girl be taught to read so that she can learn

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[77] Papy, 750.
[78] Fantazzi, Introduction, Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual*, ed. and trans. Charles Fantazzi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 26.
[79] Fantazzi, Introduction to *Education of a Christian Woman*, 27; Vives, *Education of a Christian Woman*, bk. 8.
[80] Papy, 750; Fantazzi, Introduction, *Education of a Christian Woman*, 23.
[81] Papy, 743.
[82] Ibid., 744.
[83] Ibid., 758-59.
[84] Vives, *Education of a Christian Woman*, bk. 1, ch. 1.

morals. Unlike Vincent, Vives advocated teaching a girl to write. For practice she should repeatedly write a phrase from scripture or a philosopher. In such repetition she would fix the phrase into her memory.[85] Vives encouraged the study of letters to be accompanied by the study of a skill, to keep for head and hands occupied.[86] Like Vincent, Vives acknowledged the differences in the skill of various students. Vives noted that ability in girls varied as much as it did in boys. Some children, male or female, were talented at letters, and others were not.[87] Vives advised reading and writing only moral materials, but he allowed a girl to learn to read not only Latin, but also her vernacular tongue. Erasmus allowed only instruction in Latin.[88]

Using the same sources as Vincent, Vives limited the amount of time a girl could spend outside of her house, and demanded the girl maintain a modest and quiet demeanor.[89] Like Vincent, Vives discouraged too many amusements or too much laughter. He included an entire chapter condemning dancing, an issue Vincent did not need to address. Like Vincent, he denied a girl dolls, since they are a type of idolatry. Instead the girl could be give household utensils as her playthings, to prepare for her future role as a housewife.[90] He advised a girl to drink only water, practice frequent fasts, avoid elaborate meals, and sleep only the minimum necessary. In this he echoes De eruditione because his sources were the same as Vincent's.[91] Vives' instructions for married or widowed women are far more extensive than Vincent's, perhaps reflecting the changes in women's positions in the two centuries following Vincent. While Vives seems

[85] Ibid., p. 71: 28, 29.
[86] Ibid., bk. 1, ch. 3.
[87] McCarthy, *Humanistic Emphases*, 56.
[88] Papy, 745.
[89] Papy, 745; Vives, *Education of a Christian Woman*, bk. 1, ch. 11.
[90] Vives, *Education of a Christian Woman*, bk. 1, chs. 2, 12.
[91] Ibid., bk. 1, ch. 7.

to repeat much of Vincent's advice on marriage and widowhood, his sources were often different.[92]

One case provides some idea of the changes in the practice of women's education, as well as changes in the texts, in the two centuries after Vincent. The well-documented education of the fourteenth-century queen Juana de Castile (sometimes referred to as Juana la Loca) (1476-1555) indicates that even when Vincent's direct works were not utilized, some of his ideas about women were still commonly accepted, and some of his proposals for educating them were still in practice through borrowings from his texts. It also shows the increasing number of texts directed towards women's education, a genre of literature initiated by Vincent with *De eruditione*.

Juana nominally succeeded her mother, Isabella of Castile (1451-1504); however, both her father, Ferdinand (1452-1516), and her husband, Philip of Burgundy (1478-1506), kept her from power. After Philip's death in 1506 she was declared insane and kept in confinement. As a child, before this sad story, she had been given an education using Aegidius' *De regimine*, *El jardín de las nobles doncellas* (Garden for Noble Maidens) (1468) written by Martín de Cordoba (d. c. 1476) for Isabel, and Eiximenis' *Carro de las donas/Llibre de les dones*.[93] Except for *El jardín de las nobles doncellas*, these texts ignored political instruction, instead concentrating on the domestic role a woman was expected to fulfill.[94] Eiximenis seemed opposed to female rulers. In his *Regiment de la cosa pública* (Government of the Republic) (1383), Eiximenis wrote that

[92] Ibid., bk. 1, chs. 13-15.
[93] Elena Gascón Vera, "Juana I of Castile, Catherine of Aragon, and the Failure of Feminine Power in the Construction of Empire," in *Juana of Castile: History and Myth of the Mad Queen*, eds. María A., Santiago Juan-Navarro Gómez and Phyllis Zatlin (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2008), 49.
[94] Bethany Aram. *Juana the Mad: Sovereignty and Dynasty in Renaissance Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005; Originally published as *La reina Juana: Gobierno, piedad y dinastía*, Marcial Pons Ediciones de Historia, S.A., 2001), 17.

"the effeminate and weak [body politic] is governed by women and by other people similar to them or worse, who have no shame or determination or virtue in their affairs or who care for useless things."[95] Martín's text stressed the need for sound instruction so a ruler could manage herself, her household, and her kingdom. He lamented the lack of female rulers to use as exempla in his text. He observed that "women do not give themselves to the study of liberal arts and other sciences, rather it appears to be prohibited."[96] Juana received more intellectual instruction from two of her tutors, brothers Antonio (d. 1488) and Alessandro (d. 1525) Geraldino, Italians who composed *De eruditione nobilium puellarum* (On the Education of Nobel Girls) in honor of Juana and their other pupil, her sister Catherine. That text advocated teaching noble girls philosophical ideas.[97] By the age of ten, Juana owned her own copy of Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae* (Consolation of Philosophy). Juana's earliest tutor, the Dominican Doctor Andrés de Miranda taught Juana Latin and followed Fransesc Eiximenis' instruction.[98]

Outside of the classroom, Juana was taught riding, becoming an accomplished equestrienne.[99] Much against Vincent's advice, the most expensive aspect of Juana's education was self-presentation, including purchases of expensive clothes and adornments.[100] Vincent might have approved of one of the books in Juana's library, *Visíon delectable de la filosofía y artes liberales* (Delectable Vision of Philosophy and Liberal Arts), "an extended allegory in which the Liberal Arts and the Virtues

[95] Aram, 6.
[96] Ibid., 17.
[97] Vera, 49.
[98] Aram, 24-5.
[99] Ibid., 26.
[100] Ibid., 24-5.

progressively enlighten Human Understanding." Within this text, the husband is instructed to "rule his wife differently from his servant and his son." The husband rewards the prudent wife by giving her governance over the household and accepting her counsel.[101]

Juana's education was a mix of older theories that matched Vincent, and newer ideas that acknowledged the need to train royal women for their leadership duties. Aegidius' *De regimine* , written one generation after *De eruditione* and including material copied from that text, was one of the manuals used in her education. As expected during the Renaissance, Juana read more widely than Vincent advised. She was given physical exercise regularly. As a royal child, her image was of critical importance, prompting her family to purchase clothing suitable for her station. Even the mule that she had as a young child was equipped with trimmings that cost nearly as much as her own dress.[102] Even though educational writers up to Vives prescribed certain standards, Juana's education shows that these were often ignored in practice.

We cannot know how many women or how many of their instructors actually read *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* or the works that followed it. Vincent wrote his treatise for the nobility and for the first time included instructions for teaching girls.[103] In writing *De eruditione* Vincent worked under the medieval assumption that education was ethical in nature, and the main goal of instruction was to instill moral values into youth. Learning was not promoted for learning's sake or for curiosity. This basic tenet was maintained through the Renaissance and gives all educational manuals written after Vincent some

[101] Ibid., 30-31.
[102] Ibid., 26.
[103] Steiner, "Perrault and Vincent," 52. Steiner refers to P. Gabriel Meier, *Bibl.* d. *kath. Pädag.* 111, p. 213.

similarity in nature and content. Thus, it is difficult to determine Vincent's direct influence on later educational developments. However, as an authority himself, and with the backing of the powerful Louis IX, Vincent's proposals almost certainly promoted continuity in educational theory, providing at least a small influence on later pedagogues.

Perhaps in tying his work too closely to his patron Louis IX, Vincent limited the impact of his educational work. At the same time, *De morali*, with its anti-feudal proposals, helped set the stage for the increasing power of the Capetian kings, and allowed a text like Aegidius', with its emphasis on kingly power, to gain favor. Vincent was trapped between two worlds. His educational proposals did not keep up with the intellectual changes in foment at the University of Paris but instead harkened back to the patristic age, and yet his political proposals pushed the French monarchy forward. His work supported Louis IX in his efforts to expand administrative kingship. In both cases, he left women out of the picture. He proposed training a young prince to take on the responsibilities of leadership, but insisted that women relinquish any public role. As an authority himself, Vincent advocated an education for women that included literacy, but would have taken from royal women the responsibilities they had held for centuries. He would have reduced the power of Capetian queens through the *Speculum*, *De morali* and *De eruditione*. However, by including women in the discussion of education, in even a limited way, he set the stage for later pedagogues to advance women's educational opportunities. Whether Vincent wanted it or not, within a few centuries the number of learned women increased significantly. In the end, his proposals reached a larger audience more through their inclusion in other works than through copies of his own texts. Encouraging the education of women, even simply for moral reasons, set the stage

for later authors of educational works. As the author of the *Speculum*, as someone who had the support of the very powerful Louis IX, Vincent's ideas were accepted and included in later works.

TABLES

Table 1: Probable Timeline of Vincent's Life and Work[1]

1184/1194	Birth of Vincent of Beauvais[2]
Early 1220s	Vincent entered the Dominican *studium generale* of Saint-Jacque in Paris[3]
1225	Priory of Beauvais established
1227	Vincent assigned to Prior of Beauvais[4]
1228	Louis IX established Royaumont in Paris[5]
Late 1230s to early 1240s	Plan of *Speculum naturale* and *Speculum historiale* developed[6]
1244	First draft of the *Speculum maius* completed; Louis IX sent funds to make copies[7]
1246	Vincent appointed lector at the Cistercian abbey of Royaumont; while at Royaumont served as reader and commenter of texts[8]
1247/1248	Began collecting material to include in the *Opus universale de statu principis*; began *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* and included comment that work on the *Opus* had been interrupted to work on the educational treatise
1249	Completed *De eruditione*, the fourth book of the *Opus*[9]
1250s	Vincent visited Tournai for additional sresearch for the *Speculum*.[10]
Just after 1253	Final book added to the *Speculum historiale*
Late 1250s	Returned to work on the *Opus*
1256-1259	Revised *Speculum maius* completed, including the *Speculum naturale* and significant changes to the *Speculum historiale*. Included in the changes to the *Speculum historiale* were sections that presented an especially favorable impression of the Capetians.[11] Possible date for *Tractatus de sancta trinitate* and *Liber gratiae*
1259-1260	Vincent was either still living at Royaumont or Saint-Jacque

[1] Unless otherwise noted, all dates are from the introduction *De morali* by Schneider.
[2] Ullman, "Project," 312; Daunou, 449.
[3] Bourne, 6, quoting the Analecta, 69.
[4] Daunou, 452-3.
[5] Daunou, 453, Ullman, "Project," 312; Gabriel, E*ducational Ideas*, 7.
[6] Voorbij, Aspects of Genesis, 12.
[7] Ibid., 12.
[8] Daunou, 453, Ullman, "Project," 312; Gabriel, E*ducational Ideas*, 7.
[9] Vincent, *De eruditione*, ed. Steiner, prologue; Steiner, Introduction, *De eruditione*, xv.
[10] Hunt, 112.
[11] Duchenne, "Autour de 1254," in *Intentions et Réceptions*, 146.

1260	Interrupted work on the *Opus* to write *Liber consolatorius*, a treatise of consolation for the king upon the death of his heir Louis in 1260[12]
1260	Vincent probably left Royaumont.[13]
1260-1264	*De morali*, the first book of the *Opus*, completed and sent to Louis IX and Thibaut V
1264	Death of Vincent of Beauvais[14]

[12] Hans Voorbij, *Vincent of Beauvais Bibliography: Subject:* Liber consolatorius ad Ludovicum regem de morte filii (after 15 January 1260), http://www.cs.uu.nl/groups/IK/archives/vincent/bibl/subj/consol.htm, Last update December 21, 2007, search date: July 22, 2010.
[13] In the prologue to Liber consolatorius Vincent notes that he had returned *ad domun nostram*. See Schneider, "*Opus* Reconstruction," 294 and 295.
[14] Daunou, 457; Ullman, "Project," 312.

Table 2: List of works by Vincent of Beauvais[15]

	Available copies					
Work	Manuscript	Amerbach edition	Rostock	Other printed edition	Translations	Modern Editions
De eruditione filiorum nobilium	X	X	X		X[16]	X
De morali principis institutione	X		X		X[17]	X
Expositio in orationem dominicam						
Liber consolatorius ad Ludovicum regem de morte filii	X	X	X			X
Liber de laudibus beatae Virginis		X				
Liber de laudibus Johannis Evangelistae		X				
Liber de sancta Trinitate[18]	X					
Liber gratiae[19]		X				
Memoriale temporum	X					Extracts
Sermones						
Speculum maius				X		
Speculum naturale	X			X		
Speculum doctrinale	X			X		
Speculum historiale[20]	X			X		

[15] Unless otherwise noted, the following list is from http://www.arlima.net/uz/vincent_de_beauvais.html#his, search date July 8, 2010.
[16] Craig, "Vincent of Beauvais;" Vincent of Beauvais, *Education of Noble Children*, ed. Throop.
[17] Vincent of Beauvais, *The Moral Instruction of a Prince*, ed. Throop.
[18] Mentioned in Book II, chapter I of the second edition of the *Speculum naturale* per to Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xx. Not mentioned in the 1965 facsimile of the Douai version.
[19] Mentioned in Book II, chapter I of the second edition of the *Speculum naturale* per Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xx. Not mentioned in the 1965 facsimile of the Douai version.
[20] The version of the *Speculum historiale* given to Louis IX in late 1245 or early 1246 included the *Epistola actoris ad regem*. See xix, note 1 of Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*.

Work	Manuscript	Amerbach edition	Rostock	Other printed edition	Translations	Modern Editions
Tractatus de poenitentia	X					
Tractatus in salutatione beatae Virginis Mariae ab angelo facta	X[21]					

Potentially lost works
Tractatus de vitio detractionis[22]
Apocryphal:
Speculum morale

[21] Voorbij, Hans, Vincent of Beauvais Bibliography, Subject: *Tractatus de vitio detractionis*.
[22] Voorbij, Hans, Vincent of Beauvais Bibliography, Subject: *Opera Minora* - General Information, http://www.cs.uu.nl/groups/IK/archives/vincent/bibhome.htm - subj, Last updated January 7, 2008, search date July 22, 2010.

Table 3: Extant Manuscript Copies of *De eruditione* and *De morali*[23]

Location	*De eruditione*	Witness	*De morali*[24]	Witness	Notes
Alba lulia, Bibl. Batthyaneum 114 (1429)[25]	X				Incanabula, 1429. Includes *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[26]
Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, B.VI.2	f. 35v - 95v				Manuscript includes *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[27]
Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, A.VII.36			f. 146r - 216v	B	Written in Basel for Johannes von Venningen, Bishop of Basil (1458-1478). Composed of two manuscripts acquired an bound by him. Bequeathed by him to the Cathedral library. Acquired by the University of Basil, probably in the second quarter of the sixteenth century.[28]
Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, B.VIII.31	f. 77r - 155r				Manuscript includes *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[29]

[23] Between 1980 and 1993, Emilio Panella identified fourteen additional manuscripts containing *De eruditione* and added them to Kaeppeli. They are also listed in Ciordia, 24-25. When available, dates and historical information have been provided for the manuscripts.
[24] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xlvi-lxix.
[25] Ciordia, 24.
[26] ARLIMA.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xlix.
[29] ARLIMA.

Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, II 943 (2119)	f. 45v - 128v				Written in the fourteenth century. On a large number of pages is the note "*De Camberone.*" (Likely the Cistercian abbey of St Mary, Cambron, France).[30] Acquired by the Bibliothèque royale in 1885 through a purchase from Cheltenham.[31] Manuscript includes *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[32]
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, 325	f. 1r-99r[33]		f. 151v - 191 r	C	Written in England in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, possibly for John of Stratton, camerarius of Norwich cathedral priory and given by him to the priory before 1325. Acquired by Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury and given by him to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge in 1574.[34] Folios 100r-153r of the manuscript comprise *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[35]

[30] A number of manuscripts, including Egerton 629, 630, 657 and Huntington Library, MS HM 41537 all contain the notation De Camberone along with the notation, "Liber sancte marie de Camberone."
[31] Van den Gehyn, 297-8.
[32] ARLIMA.
[33] Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College*, Vol. 2. (London: Cambridge University Press, n.d.), 142-3.
[34] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, l-li.
[35] ARLIMA.

Cambridge, Trinity College Library, B.15.11	f. 93r-144v		f. 71r - 93r	T	Written in England at Blackfriars Oxford, in 1430 by Cornelius Oesterwick for John Courteys, Oxford University Master and regent. Acquired by Trinity College, Cambridge before 1702.[36]
Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 72.J.53	f. 33 r - 85r		f. 1r - 33r	H	Written in England in the middle of the fifteenth century. Probably sold by Bernard Scheurleer, Jr., bookseller the Hague in 1818 to the Royal Library, the Hague.[37] Manuscript includes *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[38]
Eton College Library, 119	f. 201v-235r				Manuscript includes *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[39]

[36] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, lii-liii; entry from the on-line version of *The Western manuscripts in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge* by M.R. James, Cambridge University Press, 1900, 3 vols. (http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/show.php?index=210), search date, 16 July 2010.
[37] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, lv-lvi.
[38] ARLIMA.
[39] Ibid.

Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham, 947 (olim 878)	f. 105r - 144r		f. 90v - 104v	F	Written in Italy in the fourteenth century. Once belonged to the Abbey of Monte Oliveto Maggiore. Before 1500, purchased by an unknown teacher. Eventually in the collection of Count Boutourlin. By the early nineteenth century in the collection of marchese Giuseppe Pucci of Florence. Purchased by Guglielmo Libri in 1840. Acquired by the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in 1884.[40]
London, Brit. Libr. Add. 38689[41]	X				Fourteenth century. Manuscript includes *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[42]
London, Brit. Libr. Harley 2423[43]	X				Fifteenth century. Manuscript includes *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[44]
Lyon, Bibl. municipale 651 [566][45]	X				Fifteenth century. Manuscript includes *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[46]

[40] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, lii-lv.
[41] Ciordia, 24.
[42] ARLIMA.
[43] Ciordia, 24.
[44] ARLIMA.
[45] Ciordia, 24.
[46] ARLIMA.

Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España, 10254 (olim Plut. II. Lt. N, no. 7)	f. 65r - 118v		f. 45r - 65r	S	Written in southern France or Catalonia in the fourteenth century. Formerly joined to another manuscript of 130 folios containing Aegidus Romanus, De regimine principum, now in Harvard University Houghton Library f.MS Typ. 195H. Acquired buy Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana (1398-1458) or his son Diego Hurtaldo de Mendoza, Duque de Infantado (d. 1479). In 1841 passed to the Duque de Osuña. Purchased in 1884 by the Spanish Ministry of Education and given to the Biblioteca Nacional, in Madrid, in 1886.[47] Manuscript includes *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[48]
Magdeburg, Domgymnasium, 240	f. 260r-267r				Fifteenth century.

[47] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, lvi-lix.
[48] ARLIMA.

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codices latini, 469	1r - 173r	M			Fourteenth century.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson, C.398			f. 89r - 119r	R	Written in England in the middle of the fifteenth century. Acquired by Sir John Fortescue before 1461. Acquired by Richard Rawlinson, probably after 1720, and donated by him to the Bodleian Library in 1756.[49]
Oxford, Merton College Library, 110	f. 275r – 326v		f. 357v - 380r	M	Written in England in the fifteenth century and acquired by Merton College before the seventeenth century.[50] Manuscript includes *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[51]
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin, 13963			f. 1r - 60v	P	Written in France, probably Paris, in the fourteenth century. At an unknown date acquired by the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Transferred to the Bibliothèque nationale at the end of the eighteenth century.[52]
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin, 16390	f. 55r - 134r	P			Manuscript includes *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[53]

[49] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, lix-lxi.
[50] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, lxi-lxiii; R. M. Thompson, 92-93.
[51] ARLIMA.
[52] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, lxiii-lxv.
[53] ARLIMA.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin, 16606	X	R			Fifteenth century.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin, 7605	f. 104r - 145r				Thirteenth century.
Paris, Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq. lat. 1469 [Cluny 57][54]	X				Fifteenth century. Manuscript includes *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[55]
Paris, Bibl. Arsenal 1032 [42 H.L.][56]	X				Fourteenth century. Manuscript includes *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[57]
Rouen, Bibl. municipale 658 [0.51][58]	X				Fifteenth century. Manuscript includes *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[59]
Rouen, Bibl. municipale 659 [0.48][60]	X				Thirteenth-century. Manuscript includes *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[61]

[54] Ciordia, 25.
[55] ARLIMA.
[56] Ciordia, 25.
[57] ARLIMA.
[58] Ciordia, 25.
[59] ARLIMA.
[60] Ciordia, 25.
[61] ARLIMA.

Uppsala, Carolinabiblioteket, C 53	f. 20r - 70r				Fourteenth century.
Uppsala, Carolinabiblioteket, C 616	f. 25v – 71v		f. 4r - 25v	U	Written in northern Germany. Composed of two manuscripts bound together after 1383. Once belonged to the Dominican priory of Lubeck and sold to the Dominican priory in Stockholm after 1407. Became the property of the Swedish crown by the end of the sixteenth century. Donated to the University of Uppsala in 1620.[62] Manuscript includes *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[63]
Valencia, Bibl. Catedral Núm. 48 (s.XV)[64]	X				Fifteenth century. Manuscript includes *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[65]
Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiani, B.IV.51	f. 1r - 83r				Thirteenth to fourteenth century.
Vaticano, Reg. lat. 819[66]	X				Thirteenth to fourteenth century. Manuscript includes *Liber consolatorius ad Ludouicum regem de morte filii*.[67]

[62] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, lxv-lxviii.
[63] ARLIMA.
[64] Ciordia, 25.
[65] ARLIMA.
[66] Ciordia, 25.
[67] ARLIMA.

Table 4: Known Copies of *De eruditione* and *De morali* Now Lost[68]

Former Location	Date	*De morali*	*De eruditione*
Lincoln: Carmelite Priory		X	X
London: Blackfriars Priory	Before 1339	X	X
Milan: Domincan Priory of San Eusorgio, no. 682	Before 1481	X	
Oxford: Greyfriars Priory	Before 1360	X	X
York: Cathedral Library, no. 25		X	X

[68] Schneider, Introduction, *De morali*, xlvi-lxix.

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VITA

Rebecca J. Jacobs-Pollez was born in St. Louis, Missouri on March 3, 1956 and immediately began traveling the world. Because her father, George Jacobs, was a member of the US Air Force, the family moved regularly, lived in several states, as well as France, and Spain. As a child in France she was awed by the beauty and grandeur of medieval gothic architecture. During her father's frequent absences for professional reasons, her mother Joan (née Riechmann) raised Rebecca and her two brothers, Bryan and Glenn, by herself. Bryan lives with his wife, Ann, in Missouri, and Glenn lives with his wife, Crystal, in Tennessee. Rebecca married her husband, Alain Pollez, in 1995. She received a B.S. in Mathematics from the University of Houston – Clear Lake in 1986. She received an MA in History, also from the University of Houston – Clear Lake, in 2000. During those same periods she contributed to the Space Shuttle and the International Space Station programs as contractor for the Johnson Space Agency, National Aeronautics and Space Administration. At the University of Missouri in Columbia, she was awarded a Ph.D. in 2012. Her advisor was Dr. Lois Huneycutt.