

Abelard falls out with his master at Paris.

Paris, where this art was wont to be most cultivated, to William of Champeaux, my preceptor, who at that time was quite justly famous in his profession. I remained with him for a time and was at first favorably received; later he came to dislike me heartily, when I attempted to oppose certain of his opinions. I began frequently to argue against him, and sometimes appeared to get the better of him in debate. Moreover those among my fellow-students who stood highest were especially indignant with me, since I was reckoned of slight consequence owing to my youth and the brief period I had been studying. Here my calamities had their beginning and they still continue.

[In spite of his youthfulness Abelard ventured to begin teaching for himself near Paris, and attracted many students. But he speedily broke down in health and went back to Brittany for several years. Later he returned to Paris, and forced poor William of Champeaux to change the formulation of his doctrine in a single point. The master being thus discredited, the students now flocked to listen to the new teacher. Before long, however, Abelard decided to turn to theology. He accordingly went to Laon, to study under Master Anselm, then famous in that subject.]

Abelard turns to theology.

I accordingly betook myself to this old man, but found that he owed his name rather to mere tradition than to any special ability. If one applied to him, uncertain as to some question, one left him still more uncertain. He was marvelous in the eyes of those who merely listened, but contemptible to those who asked questions. He enjoyed an astonishing facility in words but was despicable in his understanding and fatuous in his reasoning. . . . When I discovered that he was like a tree full of leaves but without fruit, I did not spend many days lying idle in his shade. I went more and more infrequently to his lectures. Some of the most prominent among his students took this ill, since I seemed to despise their great master.

[One day Abelard's fellow-students, who regarded him as very ill prepared for the study of theology, asked him jokingly what he thought of the reading of the Scriptures.

Abelard replied that he believed that any one who could read ought to be able to understand the writings of the saints without a long course under a master.] Those who heard laughed and asked if I would presume to interpret the Scriptures myself. I said that if they wished to try me I was ready. They then exclaimed, amid renewed laughter, that they gladly assented.

Abelard lectures on Ezekiel without preparation.

[They agreed upon a very obscure passage in Ezekiel. Abelard insisted upon the students coming on the morrow, although they advised him to take more time to think over the passage.] I said indignantly that it was not my custom to reach my goal by long practice but by my wits. I added that they should either let me off altogether or come to my lecture when I wished them to come.

At my first lecture few were present, since it seemed absurd to them all that I, hitherto almost wholly inexperienced in the Scriptures, should undertake the task so suddenly. However, all who came were so pleased that, one and all, they praised my words and urged me to proceed with my comments according to my interpretation. As the affair became known, those who had not been present at the first lecture began to come in great numbers to the second and third. All were, moreover, eager to make notes from the very beginning, upon the explanation which I had given the first day.

[Not unnaturally Anselm was very much irritated and made the audacious and self-complacent lecturer a great deal of trouble later.]

Enough has been given from Abelard's famous biography to show something of his character. The reasons, too, are clear why he had many enemies. He has well been called the *enfant terrible* of the schools of his day.

In order to justify and promote a free discussion of the theological questions in which he was much interested, Abelard prepared his famous book, *Yea and Nay*. A brief summary of the introduction is given below.

189. Abelard's
Yea and Nay
(summarized).

There are many seeming contradictions and even obscurities in the innumerable writings of the church fathers. Our respect for their authority should not stand in the way of an effort on our part to come at the truth. The obscurity and contradictions in ancient writings may be explained upon many grounds, and may be discussed without impugning the good faith and insight of the fathers. A writer may use different terms to mean the same thing, in order to avoid a monotonous repetition of the same word. Common, vague words may be employed in order that the common people may understand; and sometimes a writer sacrifices perfect accuracy in the interest of a clear general statement. Poetical, figurative language is often obscure and vague.

Not infrequently apocryphal works are attributed to the saints. Then, even the best authors often introduce the erroneous views of others and leave the reader to distinguish between the true and the false. Sometimes, as Augustine confesses in his own case, the fathers ventured to rely upon the opinions of others.

Doubtless the fathers might err; even Peter, the prince of the apostles, fell into error; what wonder that the saints do not always show themselves inspired? The fathers did not themselves believe that they, or their companions, were always right. Augustine found himself mistaken in some cases and did not hesitate to retract his errors. He warns his admirers not to look upon his letters as they would upon the Scriptures, but to accept only those things which, upon examination, they find to be true.

All writings belonging to this class are to be read with full freedom to criticise, and with no obligation to accept unquestioningly; otherwise the way would be blocked to all discussion, and posterity be deprived of the excellent intellectual exercise of debating difficult questions of language and presentation. But an explicit exception must be made in the case of the Old and New Testaments. In the Scriptures, when anything strikes us as absurd, we may not say that the writer erred, but that the scribe made a blunder in copying the manuscripts, or that there is an error in interpretation, or

that the passage is not understood. The fathers make a very careful distinction between the Scriptures and later works. They advocate a discriminating, not to say suspicious, use of the writings of their own contemporaries.

In view of these considerations, I have ventured to bring together various dicta of the holy fathers, as they came to mind, and to formulate certain questions which were suggested by the seeming contradictions in the statements. These questions ought to serve to excite tender readers to a zealous inquiry into truth and so sharpen their wits. The master key of knowledge is, indeed, a persistent and frequent questioning. Aristotle, the most clear-sighted of all the philosophers, was desirous above all things else to arouse this questioning spirit, for in his *Categories* he exhorts a student as follows: "It may well be difficult to reach a positive conclusion in these matters unless they be frequently discussed. It is by no means fruitless to be doubtful on particular points." By doubting we come to examine, and by examining we reach the truth.

Abelard supplies one hundred and fifty-eight problems, carefully balancing the authorities pro and con, and leaves the student to solve each problem as best he may. This doubtless shocked many of his contemporaries. Later scholastic lecturers did not hesitate to muster all possible objections to a particular position, but they always had a solution of their own to propose and defend.

The following will serve as examples of the questions Abelard raised in the *Yea and Nay*:

- Should human faith be based upon reason, or no?
- Is God one, or no?
- Is God a substance, or no?
- Does the first Psalm refer to Christ, or no?
- Is sin pleasing to God, or no?
- Is God the author of evil, or no?

Questions
proposed by
Abelard for
discussion.

Is God all-powerful, or no?
 Can God be resisted, or no?
 Has God free will, or no?
 Was the first man persuaded to sin by the devil, or no?
 Was Adam saved, or no?
 Did all the apostles have wives except John, or no?
 Are the flesh and blood of Christ in very truth and essence present in the sacrament of the altar, or no?
 Do we sometimes sin unwillingly, or no?
 Does God punish the same sin both here and in the future, or no?
 Is it worse to sin openly than secretly, or no?

190. Privileges granted to students by Frederick Barbarossa.

In the thirteenth century the rulers, both ecclesiastical and lay, vied with one another in protecting the ever-growing body of students and in granting them exceptional privileges. The first instance of such protection is found in the following document issued by Frederick Barbarossa in 1158.

After a careful consideration of this subject by the bishops, abbots, dukes, counts, judges, and other nobles of our sacred palace, we, out of our piety, have granted this privilege to all scholars who travel for the sake of study, and especially to the professors of divine and sacred laws, namely: that they may go in safety to the places in which the studies are carried on, both they themselves and their messengers, and may dwell there in security. For we think it fitting that, so long as they conduct themselves with propriety, those should enjoy our approval and protection who, by their learning, enlighten the world and mold the life of our subjects to obey God and us, his minister. By reason of our special regard we desire to defend them from all injuries.

For who does not pity those who exile themselves through love for learning, who wear themselves out in poverty in place of riches, who expose their lives to all perils and often suffer bodily injury from the vilest men, — yet all these vexatious

things must be endured by the scholar. Therefore, we declare, by this general and ever-to-be-valid law, that in the future no one shall be so rash as to venture to inflict any injury on scholars, or to occasion any loss to them on account of a debt owed by an inhabitant of their province, — a thing which we have learned is sometimes done, by an evil custom. And let it be known to the violators of this decree, and also to those who shall at the time be the rulers of the places where the offense is committed, that a fourfold restitution of property shall be exacted from all those who are guilty and that, the mark of infamy being affixed to them by the law itself, they shall lose their office forever.

Moreover, if any one shall presume to bring a suit against them on account of any business, the choice in this matter shall be given to the scholars, who may summon the accusers to appear before their professors, or before the bishop of the city, to whom we have given jurisdiction in this matter. But if, in sooth, the accuser shall attempt to drag the scholar before another judge, even though his cause is a very just one, he shall lose his suit for such an attempt.

We also order this law to be inserted among the imperial constitutions under the title, *ne filius pro patre, etc.*

Given at Roncaglia, in the year of our Lord 1158, in the month of November.¹

A modern writer gives the following picture of student life at Paris in Abelard's time.

At five or six o'clock each morning the great cathedral bell would ring out the summons to work. From the neighboring houses of the canons, from the cottages of the town-folk, from the taverns, and hospices, and boarding-houses, the stream of the industrious would pour into the enclosure beside the cathedral. The master's beadle, who levied a

191. An account of the lectures at Paris. (From McCabe's *Abelard*.)

¹ The remarkable privileges granted by Philip Augustus to the students at Paris in 1200, and the protection extended to the same students by Pope Gregory IX in 1231, may be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 3, "The Mediæval Student," by Professor Munro.

precarious tax on the mob, would strew the floor of the lecture hall with hay or straw, according to the season, bring the master's text-book, with the notes of the lecture between lines or on the margin, to the solitary desk, and then retire to secure silence in the adjoining street. Sitting on their haunches in the hay, the right knee raised to serve as a desk for the waxed tablets, the scholars would take notes during the long hours of lecture (about six or seven), then hurry home — if they were industrious — to commit them to parchment while the light lasted.

The lecture over, the stream would flow back over the Little Bridge, filling the taverns and hospices, and pouring out over the great playing meadow, that stretched from the island to the present Champ de Mars. All the games of Europe were exhibited on that international play-ground: running, jumping, wrestling, hurling, fishing and swimming in the Seine, tossing and thumping the inflated ball — a game on which some minor poet of the day has left us an enthusiastic lyric — and especially the great game of war, in its earlier and less civilized form. The nations were not yet systematically grouped, and long and frequent were the dangerous conflicts.

That the students had a bad reputation among the serious-minded may be inferred from the following.

Almost all the students at Paris, foreigners and natives, did absolutely nothing except learn or hear something new. Some studied merely to acquire knowledge, which is curiosity; others to acquire fame, which is vanity; still others for the sake of gain, which is cupidity and the vice of simony. Very few studied for their own edification or that of others. They wrangled and disputed not merely about the various factions and subjects of discussions; but the differences between the countries also caused dissensions, hatreds and virulent animosities among them, and they impudently uttered all kinds of affronts and insults against one another.

192. Life of the students at Paris. (From *The History of the West*, by Jacques de Vitry; d. 1240.)

They affirmed that the English were drunkards and had tails; that the sons of France were proud, effeminate and carefully adorned like women. They said that the Germans were furious and obscene at their feasts; the Normans, vain and boastful; the Poitevins, traitors and always adventurers. The Burgundians they considered vulgar and stupid. The Bretons were reported to be fickle and changeable and were often reproached for the death of Arthur. The Lombards were called avaricious, wicked and cowardly; the Romans, seditious, turbulent and slanderous; the Sicilians, tyrannical, brigands and ravishers; the Flemings, fickle, prodigal, gluttonous, yielding as butter, and slothful. After such insults as these in words they often came to blows.

V. SUPREMACY OF ARISTOTLE IN THE MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITIES: SCHOLASTICISM

Aristotle, utilizing all that the previous Greek philosophers, including Socrates and Plato, had discovered, augmented what the past had bequeathed to him by his own thought and investigations. He then gathered the whole vast and heterogeneous material into a series of works summing up the achievements of the Greeks in all the more important fields of knowledge, — logic, metaphysics, physics, natural history, politics, ethics, rhetoric, etc. His works form an encyclopedia of ancient thought and discovery. Abelard possessed none of Aristotle's works except a part of his logical treatises, but shortly after the year 1200 practically all of his works became known in Paris. The abstract scientific discussion and the unreligious character of his books offended some good people, but the enthusiasm for his incomparable learning and insight was so great that he was generally held in the utmost veneration.

His Arabic commentator, Averroës, shared his fame, and promoted the superstitious awe in which "The Philosopher" was held by the following eulogy, to be found in the preface to his commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*.

193. Averroës on Aristotle's greatness.

Aristotle was the wisest of the Greeks and constituted and completed logic, physics, and metaphysics. I say that he constituted these sciences, because all the works on these subjects previous to him do not deserve to be mentioned and were completely eclipsed by his writings. I say that he put the finishing touches on these sciences, because none of those who have succeeded him up to our time, to wit, during nearly fifteen hundred years, have been able to add anything to his writings or find in them any error of any importance. Now that all this should be found in one man is a strange and miraculous thing, and this privileged being deserves to be called divine rather than human.

Attitude of the Church toward Aristotle's works.

The Church at first opposed the study of Aristotle's books on natural philosophy, and forbade, in 1210, their discussion at Paris. Five years later the papal legate ordered that no one should lecture upon either the metaphysics or natural philosophy of Aristotle, or discuss the commentary of Averroës. In spite of this we find the University of Toulouse advertising in 1229 that the various treatises on natural science which had been prohibited at Paris might be read there freely by all those who cared to penetrate into the secrets of nature.

When, about 1230, Pope Gregory IX undertook a partial reorganization of the demoralized University of Paris, he learned that the prohibited books of natural science by Aristotle contained many useful matters, along with some reprehensible things. Three masters were consequently appointed to examine the works with penetration and prudence and suppress everything which

might lead to scandal or harm the reader, so that the rest might become a safe subject for study. This was a difficult task, and the pope's plan was not carried out. It would seem that the monks and some of the theologians remained suspicious of Aristotle during pretty much the whole of the thirteenth century.

The distinguished Dominican monk, Albertus Magnus, undertook, however, to put Aristotle in a form suitable for general study. He did this by writing a series of works in which he followed Aristotle's classification of the sciences, and in which he incorporated his own notions and discoveries and the suggestions of the Arabic commentators. While this was useful as a form of popularization, Aristotle roused such interest in the minds of many of the scholars of the time that they began to ask to see his work in its original form.

It was perhaps due to this demand that Thomas Aquinas undertook, with a collaborator, a new translation, or revision of the Latin version, of many of Aristotle's works, and then added a commentary on the text. Aquinas appears to have done his work with extraordinary thoroughness and to have, in general, faithfully reproduced the thought, although his translation, like Aristotle's own works, has little elegance of style.

Aquinas did not, however, share the unreasonable admiration for Aristotle which was expressed by the followers of Averroës. He declares that "the object of the study of philosophy is not to learn what men have thought, but what is the real truth of the matter." He says, moreover, in his commentary on *The Metaphysics*: "Anything that a single man can contribute by his labors to the knowledge of truth is necessarily

Editing of Aristotle's works by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas.

View of Aquinas on the progress of thought.

trifling in comparison with our knowledge. Nevertheless, when all the contributions are correlated, selected, and brought together, they produce something really great. This is readily seen in the case of the various branches of knowledge where, by the studies and insight of many investigators, a marvelous increase results."

Roger
Bacon's
views.

Roger Bacon, as usual, took a rather gloomy view of the situation. "The books and sciences of Aristotle," he says, "are the foundations of all the study of wisdom, and whoever is ignorant of his works labors in vain and takes useless pains. Yet the sciences in general, such as logic, natural philosophy, mathematics, are so badly translated that no mortal can really understand anything of them, as I myself have learned by sad experience. . . . Therefore I am sure it would be better for the Latins if the wisdom of Aristotle had not been translated at all than translated so obscurely and incorrectly." Bacon declares, further, that he has seen the translations made by Thomas Aquinas and his colleague, and that they are altogether incorrect and should be carefully avoided.

In his remarkable *History of the Mediæval Universities* Rashdall thus describes the work of the great Dominican scholars.

194. Rash-
dall on
Aquinas
and his
work.

The Dominican theologians made peace between the contending factions by placing Aristotle and the fathers side by side, and deferring as reverently to the one as to the other, except on the few fundamental points upon which the former could not be interpreted into harmony with the latter. The scholastic form of argument, which attained its full development in Aquinas,—a chain of authorities and syllogisms in defence of one thesis, another series for the

opposite view, a conclusion in harmony with Augustine or Aristotle, as the case might be, and a reply to the opposing arguments by means of ingenious distinction or reconciliation,—afforded exceptional facilities for the harmonious combination of orthodoxy and intellectuality.¹

The Dominicans showed the Latin churchman how to be ingenious, startling, brilliant, even destructive, without suspicion of heresy. [St.] Bernard would have been shocked at the idea of inventing or even of fairly stating objections to the Catholic Faith. By the time of Aquinas it was felt that the better the imaginary opponent's case could be stated, the more credit there was in refuting it. The scholar's intellectual enjoyment of thirty ingenious arguments against the Immortality of the Soul was not diminished by the thirty-six equally ingenious arguments with which the attack would immediately be met. In scholastic disputation restless intellectual activity found an innocent outlet; love of controversy and speculation, the real ardour for truth and knowledge which distinguished the age of Berengar² and the age of Abelard, had for the most part degenerated. . . .

Hitherto Philosophy had been either an avowed foe to Theology or a dangerous and suspected ally. By the genius of the great Dominicans all that was Christian, or not unchristian, in Aristotle was woven into the very substance and texture of what was henceforth more and more to grow into the accredited Theology of the Catholic Church. The contents of whole treatises of the pagan Philosopher— including even his great treatise on Ethics—are embodied in the *Summa Theologiae* of Aquinas, still the great classic of the Seminaries. To that marvellous structure—strangely compounded of solid thought, massive reasoning, baseless subtlety, childish credulity, lightest fancy—Aristotle has contributed assuredly not less than St. Augustine.

¹ An example of the scholastic method of arraying arguments and reaching conclusions will be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. III, No. 6.

² A philosopher of the eleventh century.

VI. ROGER BACON AND THE BEGINNING OF MODERN
EXPERIMENTAL SCIENCE

The following passage makes clear Bacon's attitude toward investigation, and also shows that he was not the only one who was turning his attention to experiment, which was to prove so fruitful in the following centuries.

195. Roger Bacon's eulogy of one who devoted himself to experimental science.

One man I know, and one only, who can be praised for his achievements in experimental science.¹ Of discourses and battles of words he takes no heed: he pursues the works of wisdom and in them finds satisfaction. What others strive to see dimly and blindly, like bats blinking at the sun in the twilight, he gazes at in the full light of day, because he is a master of experiment. Through experiment he gains knowledge of natural things, medical, chemical, indeed of everything in the heavens and on earth.

He is ashamed that things should be known to laymen, old women, soldiers, plowmen, of which he is ignorant. Therefore he has looked closely into the doings of those who melt metals and who work in gold and silver and other metals and in minerals of all sorts; he knows everything relating to the art of war, the making of weapons, and the chase; he has looked carefully into agriculture, mensuration, and farming work; he has even taken note of remedies, lot casting, and charms used by old women and by wizards and magicians, and of the devices and deceptions of conjurers, so that nothing which deserves investigation should escape him, and in order that he might be able to expose the impostures of the magicians.

If philosophy is to be carried to its perfection and is to be handled with certainty and advantage, his aid is indispensable. As for reward, he neither receives it nor looks for it. If he frequented the courts of kings and princes he would easily find those who would bestow upon him both

¹ Of Peter of Maricourt, to whom Bacon refers, very little is known.

honor and wealth. Or if he would show the results of his researches in Paris the whole world would follow him. But since either of these courses would hinder him from pursuing the great experiments in which he takes delight, he puts honor and wealth aside, knowing well that his knowledge would secure him wealth whenever he chose. For the last three years he has been working at the invention of a mirror which should produce combustion at a fixed distance, and he will, with God's aid, soon reach his end.

In a curious letter "On the hidden workings of nature and art and the emptiness of magic," Bacon forecasts the wonderful achievements which he believed would come with the progress of applied science.

I will now enumerate the marvelous results of art and nature which will make all kinds of magic appear trivial and unworthy. Instruments for navigation can be made which will do away with the necessity of rowers, so that great vessels, both in rivers and on the sea, shall be borne about with only a single man to guide them and with greater speed than if they were full of men. And carriages can be constructed to move without animals to draw them, and with incredible velocity. Machines for flying can be made in which a man sits and turns an ingenious device by which skillfully contrived wings are made to strike the air in the manner of a flying bird. Then arrangements can be devised, compact in themselves, for raising and lowering weights indefinitely great. . . . Bridges can be constructed ingeniously so as to span rivers without any supports.

196. Bacon foresees marvelous progress in inventions. (Slightly condensed.)

Some other hopes expressed elsewhere in this letter seem a bit fantastic, even to us, habituated as we are to the most incredible achievements. We may, however, yet learn to make gold and to prolong human life almost indefinitely, as Bacon believed would be possible.

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SAINTSBURY, *The Flourishing of Romance*. The best short account of the state of literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

LOUNSBURY, *History of the English Language*. Short and good.

TEN BRINK, *Early English Literature to Wiclif* (Bohn Library). Excellent.

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PUTNAM, GEORGE HAVEN, *Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages*, 2 vols., 1896-1897. Vol. I deals with the Middle Ages. An interesting work by an experienced publisher.

RASHDALL, *History of the Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols., 1895. This is by far the best general account of the mediæval universities in any language. It has an excellent index, and may be consulted with advantage upon most topics connected with mediæval higher education. Earlier works on the subject in English should be avoided, as they all rest upon very insufficient investigation.

MCCABE, *Abelard*. A model biography.

UEBERWEG, *History of Philosophy*, Vol. I. Contains a good account of the scholastic philosophy.

MOORE, C. H., *The Development and Character of Gothic Architecture*. Excellent. The general history of art is treated in the rather arid review given by LÜBKE, *Outlines of the History of Art*, 2 vols.

Among the few examples of mediæval popular literature to be had in English, the following are especially good and available:

SYMONDS, J. A., *Wine, Women and Song*. (Selections from this in *Latin Students' Songs*, published by Mosher in his Bibelot Series.) In this little volume Symonds has translated, with an excellent and scholarly introduction, some of the *Carmina Burana*, a strange collection of verses in Latin, or Latin mixed with German, discovered in the monastery of Benediktbeuren, Bavaria, — hence the name, "Burana." The collection was made apparently in the thirteenth century, and contains the greatest variety of pieces, ranging from love and drinking songs, through satirical attacks on the clergy¹ and parodies of the church service, to poems showing genuine religious and poetic feeling. Few sources give one so vivid a notion of the variety and range of sentiment in the Middle Ages as the *Carmina Burana*. (The complete collection in the original tongues, edited by SCHMELLER, has been twice reprinted and is not difficult to obtain.)

The Song of Roland has been translated into spirited English verse by O'HAGEN.

Aucassin and Nicolette. A most charming tale of the twelfth century.

MALLORY, *Mort d'Arthur* (Temple Classics). A collection of the stories of King Arthur, made in the fifteenth century for English readers.

WOLFRAM OF ESCHENBACH, *Parzifal*, translated by Jessie L. Weston, 2 vols., London, 1894; and GODFREY OF STRASBURG, *Tristan and Isolt*, translated by the same, New York, 1902.

The Romance of the Rose. A famous production of the thirteenth century, in the Temple Classics.

Huon of Bordeaux, *Renaud of Montauban*, and *The Story of Alexander* (Allen, London). These three romances have been excellently prepared for English readers by MR. STEELE.

Medieval Tales, edited by HENRY MORLEY in his Universal Library.

For the general mediæval knowledge of the world, the following are especially good:

The Travels of Sir John Mandeville (The Macmillan Company, 1900). This is not only a good edition of the story of travel falsely

¹ One of these satires, "The Gospel according to the Marks of Silver," is translated by Emerton, *Mediæval Europe*, p. 475.

The
*Carmina
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attributed to Mandeville, but contains the original accounts upon which it was based.

STEELE, *Medieval Lore*. Selections from a very early English version, printed at the end of the fifteenth century, of the famous popular encyclopedia of Bartholomew Anglicus, compiled in the thirteenth century (see extracts above, pp. 443 sq.).

*C. Materials
for advanced
study.*

Even a very brief bibliography for the vast subjects of Romance and Germanic philology, mediæval art in its various manifestations, and the scholastic philosophy would hardly be looked for in the present volume. The chief works on the economic and industrial conditions have been already enumerated at the close of the previous chapter. It only remains, therefore, to mention a few treatises in French and German to which the student of history, anxious to get a general idea of the range of mediæval culture and thought, may most profitably turn.

For France: *Histoire de France*, edited by LAVISSE, Vol. III, Part I, "French Society at the End of the Twelfth and the Opening of the Thirteenth Century," by LUCHAIRE, and Vol. III, Part II, "French Society in the Thirteenth Century," by LANGLOIS. This may be supplemented by LANGLOIS, *La Société française au XIII^e siècle d'après dix romans d'aventure*, 1904.

For the French language and its development, above all, GASTON PARIS, *La Littérature française au moyen âge*, — a truly remarkable little manual by a great scholar. Also, *Histoire de la langue et littérature française*, edited by PETIT DE JULLEVILLE, Vols. I-II, especially the excellent introduction. On the formation of the tongue, see the introductory essay in HATZFELD ET DARMESTETER, *Dictionnaire générale de la langue française*, 1890-1900.

Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, edited by GRÖBER. A technical encyclopedia by a number of scholars covering the whole field. In Vol. II there is a useful *Übersicht über die Lateinischen Litteratur*, from the sixth century to 1350.

For Germany, the fullest and most recent account of the general state of culture is MICHAEL, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert*, the earlier volumes of which deal with the thirteenth century and are evidently modeled upon the well-known work of the Catholic scholar Janssen, who has written an elaborate account of the German people in the sixteenth century (see bibliography at the close of Chapter XXIV, below). There is, so far as I know, no account of the German language and literature in the Middle Ages corresponding

to that of Gaston Paris for France. SCHERER, *A History of German Literature*, is fairly good. LAMPRECHT, *Deutsche Geschichte*, Vol. III, may be added.

A very useful recent work on the architecture, etc., of France is ENLART, *Manuel d'archéologie française depuis les temps Mérovingiens jusqu'à la Renaissance*, 1902 sqq. Vol. I on the religious structures, Vol. II on the civil and military architecture. Well illustrated.

The chief collection of sources for the university life in western Europe is the *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, edited by DENIFLE and CHATELAIN, 1889 sqq. Vol. I comes down to the latter part of the thirteenth century, when the material becomes much more abundant. In addition to Rashdall's work, mentioned above, beyond which few will care to go, may be mentioned DENIFLE, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters*, which served to dispel many ancient illusions in regard to the subject, and KAUFMANN, *Die Geschichte der deutschen Universitäten*, Vol. I; also CLERVAL, *Les Ecoles de Chartres au moyen âge*, 1895.

The *Opus Majus* of ROGER BACON, edited with introduction and analytical table by J. H. BRIDGES, 2 vols., Oxford, 1897. The analysis which fills pp. xciii-clxxxvii is so full and satisfactory that it almost takes the place of a condensed translation. For several of the other important works of Bacon, one must turn to FR. ROGERI BACON *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, edited by J. S. BREWER (Rolls Series), 1859. This volume contains the *Opus tertium*, the *Opus minus*, and the *Compendium philosophiae*. Brewer's introduction is valuable. Something was said of the writings of Aquinas and the theologians at the close of Chapter XVI, above, p. 370.

Roger
Bacon's
works.