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Sarah B. Lynch

# Elementary and Grammar Education in Late Medieval France

Lyon, 1285-1530

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## Elementary and Grammar Education in Late Medieval France

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*Lyon, 1285-1530*

*Sarah B. Lynch*

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# List of Abbreviations

A.D.R.	Archives départementales du Rhône
A.M.L.	Archives municipales de Lyon
C.U.P.	<i>Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis</i>
O.L.E.	<i>Obituarium lugdunensis ecclesiae</i>

# Introduction

The history of formal education and instruction in elementary and grammar schools in the Middle Ages is a difficult story to trace. While the existence of schools and teachers at this level is not disputed, it is frequently ignored. The detailed records left behind by the medieval university usually attracts scholars into a study of higher institutions of learning rather than the more obscure schools that provided such establishments with students or taught the rudiments of academic knowledge on a stand-alone basis. The focus is on the institutional and organizational history of the university and, when the daily practice of teaching and learning is discussed, students' preparatory studies can sometimes be overlooked. This book is concerned with elementary and grammar schooling in one French city, Lyon, where it will examine and reconstruct the educational community there in the period from 1285 to 1530. It will consider two important aspects of learning and schooling in the later Middle Ages: how schools were organized and administered in a given geographical area – in this case, the city of Lyon – and how people such as teachers, parents, and pupils interacted with a nascent 'school system' and its constituent parts.

The concept of a school system is problematic in a medieval context. It suggests a rigidly constructed framework in which all pedagogical activities took place under the administration of an accepted authority. This was not the situation in Lyon in the later Middle Ages; but neither was the concept entirely alien. While there was no absolute authority that made centralized decisions with regard to education, certain institutions sought to establish themselves as pedagogical prime movers in Lyon. Both the cathedral chapter of Saint-Jean and the municipal council wished to serve as that centralizing authority: directly appointing schoolteachers and giving licences to teach others. The cathedral and the council intersected in manifold ways during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but they came into conflict over the question of the control of elementary and grammar schools in the city. This issue of jurisdiction had its origins in the complex history of Lyon itself as it developed into a resurgent mercantile centre from a semi-independent archbishopric in the 'inter-zone' between Capetian France and the Holy Roman Empire. The administration and organization of the schools of Lyon, as well as an examination of pedagogical authorities in other parts of France, will be discussed in Chapter One. Questions of authority were also played out within schools in late medieval Lyon. Certain schools in the city developed clearly defined hierarchies of teachers, and even of non-teaching personnel.



Teaching could be broken into subject-specific positions, and larger schools had roles that did not include classroom instruction but rather consisted of management activities such as financial supervision and procurement, staff supervision and coordination, and disciplinary duties. These hierarchies allowed for the creation of internal career tracks for pupils who wished to become teachers and teachers who wished to become supervisors. These methods of administration will be discussed in Chapters One and Two.

Much of this book is also concerned with considering the many ways with which people came into contact with elementary and grammar education in late medieval Lyon and how involvement with schools affected their lives and their positions within the community. Though constrained by the impersonal nature of the archival sources, there is much that can be learned, especially regarding the socio-economic backgrounds and standing of many schoolteachers and officials active in Lyon. This will include an analysis of the education that future schoolteachers may have received, some details of which can be extrapolated from archival documents.

The careers of pupils will be examined also, though not to the same extent as their teachers. Pupils are rarely discussed as individuals, and information about what they did after their education is sparse.<sup>1</sup> It is only usually possible to construct the backgrounds of pupils based on the socio-economic background of their families, who were interested in having their children instructed, and willing to pay for the privilege and to forgo potential income brought in by their offspring. However, there is some detail in the sources on how the children were viewed by the authorities that controlled their school and how they were treated. For example, apart from competing for control over schools and teachers in Lyon, the cathedral chapter of Saint-Jean and the municipal council often assumed the part of a concerned 'parent'. The municipal council was, after all, a body full of prominent laymen who wished to provide an education to their sons that was not necessarily available in the church schools of the city, and who were willing to use their power as councillors in order to make it so. The cathedral chapter was particularly active in acting *in loco parentis* in regard to the young boys who attended its choir school, leaving behind a vivid record of its actions in the minutes of its meetings. The subject of teachers,

1 The chapter proceedings of Saint-Jean do list the names of individual boys who were added to the choir and, by extension, to the choir school. However, they rarely name the boys who then left the cathedral in order to attend external schools when their voices broke. This inconsistency is all the more unusual given that the departing boys were regularly paid a relatively large sum of money. See Chapter Three, p. 145, and my article: Lynch, 'Pupils and Sources in Late Medieval Lyon'.

parents, and pupils in late medieval Lyon will be principally discussed in Chapters Two and Three.

\* \* \*

A brief note must be made at this point on the usage of the terms 'elementary and grammar education' and 'elementary and grammar schools' in this book. In simple terms, elementary education in the Middle Ages consisted of an introduction to the very basics of literacy and learning: the alphabet, syllables, the principal prayers of the Christian liturgy. Grammar education, meanwhile, focused on the acquisition of literacy – specifically in Latin – and ranged from the fundamentals of grammar, to the study of complex classical and medieval writers, to composition. While elementary instruction and grammar instruction could be discrete parts of the medieval schooling experience, they were often merged in practice. The same teachers in the same classrooms could have introduced their youngest pupils to their ABC and read Seneca or Terence with their older charges, who themselves occasionally took over as informal tutors to their more junior peers.

Schoolmasters and mistresses were rarely defined as 'elementary' or 'grammar' teachers in the records. Even the age of pupils cannot indicate whether they were receiving introductory lessons or Latin lessons, because there was no fixed age for the beginning of formal education, and no fixed schedule for the attainment of specific academic skills. In other words, it is difficult to gauge exactly which sort of pre-university education is taking place based on the majority of references in the archives. Even when a teacher can be identified as one or the other, it does not rule out that they engaged in the other level of education. An 'elementary' teacher may have taught Latin grammar to a preferred older pupil. A 'grammar' teacher may have taken on younger, less advanced pupils as a favour to a patron or friend. Indeed, even when there were attempts to delineate grammar schools from those that were only supposed to teach elementary topics, there were enough infractions of such rules to suggest that the division was blurred in reality. Therefore, it would be misleading to differentiate the two levels of education except where they are explicitly identified. 'Elementary and grammar education' is indeed an imprecise term, but one which is dictated by the evidence.<sup>2</sup>

\* \* \*

2 See Chapter Three, pp. 108–19 for further information on the nature of elementary education and grammar education in the Middle Ages.

The literature surrounding the subject of medieval education is, at the same time, both extensive and limited. There is a tremendous amount of literature concerned with scholasticism, the schools of the twelfth century, and the universities. Such studies are focused on more advanced pedagogy (especially in philosophy and theology) and rarely touch upon the preparatory instruction that would have been necessary for such intellectual activities. Medieval elementary and grammar education in England, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries has been examined in a variety of ways and using different methodologies. The medieval development of schools and learning was highly impacted by the specific political, religious, and economic developments in each of these areas. The educational situation in these different regions was related to that in France but was not the same in every aspect. For example, the apparent lack of ecclesiastical involvement in elementary and grammar education in Italy was not initially replicated in France, except for a handful of exceptions.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, the presence of schools attached to chantry chapels in England seems not to have been replicated in France either.<sup>4</sup> However, these works are replete with a range of evidence and methodological approaches that is valuable to anyone studying late medieval education. While much time can be devoted to an examination of these works, discussion has been limited to the most prominent works on medieval education.<sup>5</sup> An extensive section examining the historiography of French pedagogical history has also been included in order to draw attention to some of the challenges that face the scholar.

Italy has been a particularly rich area for medieval educational history, due to its excellent archives and Italian cities' educational policies during the later Middle Ages. The best monographs on medieval Italian education in English are those by Paul Grendler, Robert Black, and Paul Gehl. All have made highly valuable contributions to the study of medieval education; and, in many ways, they have established the current interest in the subject. Grendler's *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600*

3 See Gehl, *A Moral Art*, pp. 40–42. Robert Black, *Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany*, pp. 173–241. An intriguing article on Renaissance education outside of Italy and its effect on elementary and grammar schooling is Steven Bednarski and Andrée Courtemanche's 'Learning to be a Man: Public Schooling and Apprenticeship in Late Medieval Manosque'. While there is evidence for communal organization of education in Manosque in the fourteenth century, most French cities (apart from Lyon) only made such provisions from the middle of the fifteenth century, such as Châtellerauld in Poitou (1476) and Albi (1488): Small, *Late Medieval France*, p. 184.

4 Arthur Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England*, pp. 197–269 and Hoepfner Moran Cruz, *The Growth of English Schooling*, pp. 89–90.

5 Please see the bibliography for a further excellent examples of scholarship on medieval elementary and grammar education.

is an excellent overview of the trends in education in late medieval and early modern Italy. Though not comprehensive, it lays down the key points necessary to any study of medieval schooling: authorities, teachers, pupils, and curricula (for in Italy, as most probably in England, the vernacular was a feature of elementary education).<sup>6</sup> These patterns of concentration are also found in Black's *Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany*, though they are presented in a far more detailed manner as a result of intensive research in the Tuscan archives.<sup>7</sup> Paul F. Gehl should also be mentioned here for his work on grammar instruction in *trecento* Florence.<sup>8</sup> While he shadows Grendler and does not have the same detailed assessments of the archival sources as Black, he manages to underline important aspects of the actual experience of attending school.<sup>9</sup> Black's *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* is a full account of the changing tastes and fashions in the curricula of Latin grammar schools in Italy, and is extremely valuable as an examination of both education and literacy in later medieval and Renaissance Italy.<sup>10</sup>

Medieval English schools have also received attention from writers and scholars. Arthur F. Leach was one of the earliest to seek to examine pre-university schools in medieval England. His two principal works, *English Schools at the Reformation* (1896) and *The Schools of Medieval England* (1915), focused on the organization of schools and the range of authorities that would have had control over them.<sup>11</sup> Leach's work was deeply flawed at

6 Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*.

7 Due to the nature of the archives, Black was able to trace changes in curricula and administration both through time and geography. For example, he was able to replicate the curricula in the various Tuscan towns as well as give a detailed discussion of the development of the curriculum on Florence itself through two centuries: Black, *Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany*, pp. 43–172. While the first volume of Black's work on Tuscany schools is mostly devoted to the administration and organization of schools, it does devote Chapter One to the school curriculum, fully bringing the book into line with the most recent scholarship on education.

8 Gehl, *A Moral Art*.

9 His discussion of the process of going to the Latin school, and how this could have represented the action of leaving home and the domain of women in order to become a man, is of great interest and is reflected in the pedagogical literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: Gehl, *A Moral Art*, pp. 34–35. For more on masculinity and Renaissance education see Bednarski and Courtemanche, 'Learning to be a Man'.

10 Black, *Humanism and Education*.

11 Arthur Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation* (1896) and *The Schools of Medieval England* (London: Methuen, 1915). Leach has been criticized for his insistence that many grammar schools whose foundations have been attributed to Edward VI pre-dated not only Edward but the Tudor dynasty. While he was not wrong in downplaying the role of Edward in such foundations, he

points and was rightly criticized, but his output still constituted one of the first concentrated attempts at a large-scale study of the subject in English.<sup>12</sup> His primary use for modern scholars is as a source of original documents. Better work on English medieval education has been done by R.W. Hunt and, most significantly, by Nicholas Orme. Hunt's work focused on the development of medieval grammatical texts, including studies on the use of Priscian in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and a particularly interesting article on grammars written by Oxford grammar masters.<sup>13</sup> Orme's best work is probably still his *English Schools in the Middle Ages*, published in 1973. This volume reappeared in an expanded form in 2006 as *Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England*. Orme's research, however, has not been restricted to overviews of formal elementary and grammar education in England, and has ranged from aristocratic education – *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of English Kings and Aristocracy, 1066–1530* (1884) – to school texts – *English School Exercises, 1420–1530* (2013).<sup>14</sup> Special mention should be made of the exceptional and thorough scholarship that has been carried out by Jo Ann Hoepfner Moran Cruz. In her work on schooling in the north of England, she created an equally cohesive view of education in England as that of Grendler and Black.<sup>15</sup> Moran Cruz is particularly valu-

often skewed the dates of schools, assigning them the date of the foundation of the religious institution or chantry associated with them rather than the date of the first recorded activity of instruction *et cetera*. For a full critique of Leach's work, see Miner, *The Grammar Schools of Medieval England*, especially pp. 85–104.

12 Nicholas Orme also criticized Leach's approach but he also appreciated his attempts to establish the study of the organization of schools. 'Leach's death in 1915 unmanned his favourite subject, since for all his efforts to popularize the medieval schools he never attracted many followers. Some of his ideas gained currency, but in general historians have continued to regard his work with reserve and few have been moved to enlarge or repair the edifice he built.' Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages*, p. 7.

13 R.W. Hunt, *The History of Grammar in the Middle Ages: Collected Papers*. Equally of great use is volume eleven of *New Medieval Literatures*, which contains several essays on the various approaches to grammar and literary teaching. Of particular interest are Manfred Kraus' 'Grammatical and Rhetorical Exercises in the Medieval Classroom' and Martin Camargo's 'Grammar School Rhetoric: The Compendia of John Longe and John Miller'. *Medieval Grammar and the Literary Arts*, ed. by Cannon, Copeland, and Zeeman, pp. 6–89 and pp. 91–112. Other notable works that discuss medieval grammar education include Vivien Law's *The History of Linguistics in Europe: From Plato to 1600* and David Thomson's *A Descriptive Catalogue of Middle English Grammatical Texts* and *An Edition of Middle English Grammatical Texts*.

14 Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages*; *Medieval Schools: Roman Britain to Renaissance England*; *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of English Kings and Aristocracy, 1066–1530*; *English School Exercises, 1420–1530*.

15 As Jo Ann Hoepfner Moran, *The Growth of English Schooling 1340–1548: Learning, Literacy, and Laicisation in Pre-Reformation York Diocese*, 'Literacy and Education in Northern England,

able for the clarity with which she lays out her methodology and for her acceptance of the pitfalls of certain sources, such as wills.<sup>16</sup>

While Italy and England have dominated scholarship on medieval education written in English, there are other notable and exceptionally useful works on general European education and on elementary and grammar schools in other geographical areas. Charles Homer Haskins' articles, though mostly concerned with the medieval university, are early investigations into experiences in the medieval classroom.<sup>17</sup> Lynn Thorndike's 1940 article, 'Elementary and Secondary Education in the Middle Ages', is still one of the best introductions to the subject of medieval pedagogical practice.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, this article was the first to deal with the mechanics of schooling as well as discussing the establishment and organization of schools. Studies in English on medieval elementary and grammar education outside England and Italy are sporadic but often demonstrate a high level of scholarship. The best and most recent work on Germany, David Sheffler's monograph on the schools of Regensburg, is a fine example.<sup>19</sup> Sheffler's book is an exceptional case study of, as he puts it, an educational landscape. In many ways, the current work is an attempt to introduce this wider approach to elementary and grammar schools, that is, examining organizations and hierarchies as well as curricula and classroom practice, in a French context. Another example is Annemarieke Willemsen's work on the material culture of medieval instruction, *Back to the Schoolyard*,<sup>20</sup> which looks at how going to school and learning was depicted in a range of artistic media in the Middle Ages as well as at the archaeological remnants of the medieval classroom. Willemsen is particularly strong in presenting the archaeological evidence, and discusses a range of finds from the Netherlands, Germany, northern France and London, thus attesting to the wide availability of schooling in these regions.

There are several works that deal – and deal well – with specific aspects of medieval education, but they cannot all be given the attention that they

1350–1530: A Methodological Inquiry', and (as Jo Ann Hoepfner Moran Cruz), 'England: Education and Society'.

16 She discusses the particular tendency in wills of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries of specific bequests of books to named women. She sees this as a matter of ensuring that certain female associates received certain books outside of the estate given to the heir rather than as a suggestion that books were somehow the preserve of women: Moran, 'Literacy and Education in Northern England', p. 9.

17 Haskins, 'The Life of Medieval Students as Illustrated by their Letters'. Haskins, 'A List of Text-books from the Close of the Twelfth Century'.

18 Thorndike, 'Elementary and Secondary Education in the Middle Ages', 400–08.

19 Sheffler, *Schools and Schooling in Late Medieval Germany*.

20 Willemsen, *Back to the Schoolyard: The Daily Practice of Medieval and Renaissance Education*.

deserve here. However, certain aspects of this scholarship must be briefly discussed here as they were particularly useful in the writing of the current work. Since in the medieval classroom learning to read often went together with learning to sing, research on the world of the chorister is of some worth to any examination of medieval education. Indeed, when it comes to elementary and grammar education in France, research on music education has been an interesting substitution and it is of a high quality. Craig Wright and Alejandro Enrique Planchart have done some excellent work on the cathedral schools of northern France, namely Paris and Cambrai respectively.<sup>21</sup> This research has been continued in a relatively recent volume of collected essays, *Young Choristers, 650–1700*, edited by Susan Boynton and Eric Rice.<sup>22</sup> The need for young boys to be trained in the liturgy provided opportunities for those who may not have been able to access education in other circumstances.<sup>23</sup>

Another aspect of education that has received some attention is writing.<sup>24</sup> The concept of writing and the concurrence of learning to read and write are topics that have exercised historians of medieval education. Of particular concern is the question of when children were taught to write, and whether this took place at the same time as they were learning to read. Black shows that writing lessons were concurrent with the introductory lessons in Latin or with elementary abacus lessons for pupils in Tuscany.<sup>25</sup> Another line of enquiry is the status that writing held in the medieval curriculum. This question is thoroughly examined by Istvan Hajnal – albeit in the context of university training.<sup>26</sup> Though written in 1959, this work still remains important as it looks at how writing was viewed by intellectual circles and how this impacted on its instruction. Hajnal explains that the ability to write (or rather to write well in a technical sense) was not valued as an academic pursuit. Pupils may have learned how to shape the letters of the

21 Wright, 'Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions'. Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris*. Planchart, 'The Early Career of Guillaume Du Fay'.

22 *Young Choristers, 650–1700*, ed. by Boynton and Rice. Of particular interest are the essays by Joseph Dyer ('The Boy Singers of the Roman *Schola Cantorum*'), Alejandro Enrique Planchart ('Choirboys in Cambrai in the Fifteenth Century'), Susan Boynton ('Boy Singers in Medieval Monasteries and Cathedrals') and Eric Rice ('Choirboys, Memorial Endowments and Education at Aachen's *Marienkirche*').

23 See Chapter Three, pp. 130–31.

24 See Ceccherini, 'Teaching, Function and Social Diffusion of Writing in Thirteenth and Fourteenth century Florence'.

25 Black, *Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany*, pp. 54–60. For England, see Moran Cruz, *The Growth of English Schooling*, pp. 49–53.

26 Hajnal, *L'enseignement de l'écriture aux universités médiévales*.



alphabet in order to recognize them, and more advanced students would have had to be able to write in order to make their own copies of key texts; but the action of learning to write in a correct style was limited to those who were not academically gifted.<sup>27</sup>

The teaching of arithmetic and counting is one of the more problematic aspects of medieval education. While this was certainly a pedagogical activity in medieval and Renaissance Italy, it is less well attested elsewhere. This subject is discussed in general works on medieval education but, thus far, there has been no monograph or series of articles dealing with arithmetic, counting, and *abaco* learning in France – probably due to a paucity of evidence. The situation in Italy is far better studied.<sup>28</sup> Finally, there has been some very interesting work done on the material culture and iconography of learning and schooling in the Middle Ages. Danièle Alexandre-Bidon was the forerunner of this area of study, publishing her article ‘La Lettre volée: Apprendre à lire à l’enfant au Moyen Âge’ in 1989.<sup>29</sup> This was followed by Willemsen’s work as discussed above.

Work on elementary and grammar education in medieval France is mainly confined to francophone scholars. However, there is a distinct division between those working on the subject in the nineteenth century and those working on schools in the twentieth century and beyond. These differences have been generally caused by trends within modern French society such as the inheritance of the Revolution and the growth of secularism.<sup>30</sup> These factors, while present in other European regions, have affected how researchers have perceived education in a pre-modern, pre-revolutionary world.

Nineteenth-century scholarship ranges from studies in regional history that reveal important information on schooling in a particular place, to

27 Hajnal, *L'enseignement de l'écriture*, pp. 96–97.

28 Grendler, Gehl and Black all discuss *abaco* schools that were a feature of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italian pedagogy. These schools provided instruction in numeracy and, more importantly, in basic accounting practices. See Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 306–23; Gehl, *A Moral Art*, pp. 20–25 and Black, *Education and Society*, pp. 52–54. Warren Van Egmond’s 1976 thesis, ‘The Commercial Revolution and the Beginning of Western Mathematics in Renaissance Florence, 1300–1500’ was an early contribution to the study of mathematical and *abaco* instruction. He followed this with *Practical Mathematics in the Italian Renaissance: A Catalogue of Italian Abacus Manuscripts and Printed books to 1600* (1980), which contains a valuable section on mathematics teachers in Renaissance Tuscany. Elisabetta Ulivi’s *Benedetto da Firenze (1429–1479), un maestro d’abaco del XV secolo* focused on the career of a single master, further demonstrating the richness of the documentary sources in Tuscany.

29 Alexandre-Bidon, ‘La Lettre volée: Apprendre à lire à l’enfant au Moyen Âge’.

30 Singer, ‘Jules Ferry and the Laic Revolution in French Primary Education’.



detailed work on cathedral schools. The first work on non-university education was Auguste Vallet de Viriville's *Histoire de l'instruction publique en Europe et principalement en France*, published in 1849.<sup>31</sup> While quite general in its scope, and concentrating on the early modern period, it prefigures the methodologies of later authors by examining documentation that was not explicitly educational in nature for evidence of schools and teachers. De Viriville's scholarship, however, did not lead to an upsurge of interest in medieval schooling, and very little was published on the subject until the 1880s. During this decade, the educational reforms of Jules Ferry and the increased laicization of public schools prompted a flurry of publications about pre-university education which continued up to the outbreak of the First World War.<sup>32</sup>

Some of these responded to the rise in general interest in the question of how best to organize primary and secondary education, while others focused on preserving and promoting more ecclesiastically orientated education.<sup>33</sup> The latter works were principally produced by clerics who tended to write the histories of specific cathedral schools.<sup>34</sup> These include monographs pertinent to the current work, such as Abbé Forest's *L'École cathédrale de Lyon: Le Petit séminaire de Saint-Jean* of 1885 and Abbé Pourrat's *L'Antique école de Leidrade: XIe centenaire de sa fondation* of 1899.<sup>35</sup> These works contain a strong endorsement of the Church's involvement in schooling; but they also contain detailed information on the organization and daily functioning of cathedral schools. One of the main problems with the works of Forest and Pourrat is their tendency to see the entire period before the French Revolution as a single entity. Thus, change and transformation are downplayed for the sake of continuity. They are joined in their study of

31 Vallet de Viriville, *Histoire de l'instruction publique en Europe et principalement en France*.

32 This process had begun in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War, when works such as Ernest Renan's *La Réforme intellectuelle et morale de la France* (Paris, 1871) linked the apparent superiority of German education and teachers to France's defeat. 1870 was seen by secularists as a chance to reinvent French education and, with it, every aspect of French society – as discussed in Léon L. Berthaut's 1896 book, *La Revanche du maître d'école*: Singer, 'Jules Ferry', pp. 409–14.

33 For general studies see Ernest Allain, *L'instruction primaire en France avant la Révolution: D'après les travaux récents et des documents inédits* (1881) and Charles Muteau, *Les Écoles et collèges en province depuis les plus reculés jusqu'en 1789* (1882).

34 An exception to this is Ravelet, *Le Bienheureux J. B. de La Salle, fondateur de l'Institut des frères des écoles chrétiennes* (1888). In its preliminary chapter on the state of education before Jean-Baptiste de la Salle (1651–1719), it focuses on parish education in the late Middle Ages and sixteenth century.

35 Forest, *L'École cathédrale de Lyon*. Pourrat, *L'Antique école de Leidrade*.

cathedral schools by Abbé Clerval and his work on the schools of Chartres.<sup>36</sup> In many ways, Clerval's research is more interesting because he does not limit himself to the cathedral school but includes references to teachers and schools in the town and the surrounding countryside as he sees these as part of a system of education in Chartres.

The main drawback to works on cathedral schools at this time is the lack of discussion and interpretation of documentary evidence beyond the need to promote religiously controlled education. At the same time, several good studies on local history also examined the state of education in the regions in question. One of the most thorough is Léopold Delisle's *Études sur la condition de la classe agricole et l'état de l'agriculture en Normandie au Moyen Âge*.<sup>37</sup> Though concentrating on a region entirely removed from Lyon, it shows what documents are useful to the historian of education, as well as revealing how practices both differed and remained the same over geographical distance.

Scholarship on elementary and grammar education changed after the First World War but remained relatively infrequent. Researchers interested in specific cities and provinces would occasionally publish an article on education, but they were generally one-off in nature and were not followed up with sustained research.<sup>38</sup> These works, however, marked two important developments in twentieth-century medieval educational historiography: the examination of particular features of elementary and grammar education, and the artificial separation of 'secular' education from 'religious' education in the Middle Ages.

Let us first deal with the shift to highly detailed examinations of specific aspects of elementary and grammar education. Topics of interest include the engagement of the merchant classes with instruction (Henri Pirenne's 'L'Instruction des marchands au Moyen Âge'), the iconography of education (Alexandre-Bidon's 'La Lettre volée'), and music education (Planchart's 'The Early Career of Guillaume Du Fay'). This concentration on one aspect of

36 Clerval, *Les Écoles de Chartres au Moyen Âge* and *L'Ancienne Maitrise de Notre-Dame de Chartres*.

37 Delisle, *Études sur la condition de la classe agricole et l'état de l'agriculture en Normandie au Moyen Âge* (1903). This tradition of high quality local scholarship was continued into the twentieth century. Some excellent examples are Bouton, *Le Maine, Histoire économique et sociale*, (1962-1974); Fédou, *Les Hommes de loi lyonnais à la fin du Moyen Âge* (1964); and Guenée, *Tribunaux et Gens de justice dans le bailliage de Senlis à la fin du Moyen Âge* (1963).

38 Henri Pirenne published an excellent article on the schools of Saint-Trond and other towns in modern-day Belgium, with the focus on the importance of education for merchants. Pirenne, 'L'Instruction des marchands', 13-28.

elementary and grammar education allows for the detailed assessment of the central questions surrounding the subject, such as who would have gone to school and why. This is a positive step in the historiography of late medieval French education.

The second trend, the use of modern concepts of ‘secular’ and ‘religious’ education in a medieval context, is quite the opposite. This tendency sees scholars concentrating on one type of instruction, either in a church or set of church schools, or the development of *gymnasia* and schools controlled by secular authorities like municipal councils. It is not clear, however, if teachers and pupils in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries made this distinction, especially at an elementary level. The problem with this approach is that it implies that teachers employed by churches and those employed directly by secular authorities taught different things at an elementary level. This was not the case. The alphabet, prayers, and psalms were the bedrock of all instruction in the Middle Ages.<sup>39</sup>

While French scholarship does not explicitly state that there was such a thing as ‘secular’ and ‘religious’ education, the scope of the research is usually limited in a way that suggests this division. For example, Caroline Fargeix’s work on the cultural world of municipal councillors in Lyon concentrates on the proceedings of the municipal council, and therefore does not utilize the evidence in other documentation, such as proceedings of the chapters of local churches.<sup>40</sup> Instead, she sees elementary and grammar education in Lyon as something that only develops in the latter half of the fifteenth century, despite the fact that instruction of this kind was being offered as early as the twelfth century in the cathedral and that the municipal council was paying contributions to masters by the 1370s.<sup>41</sup> This habit of, in effect, not recognizing instruction given by clerics as ‘real’ education is probably the result of the clear separation of Church and State, and is demonstrated in the writing of Philippe Ariès.<sup>42</sup>

39 There is a large amount of scholarship that discusses and demonstrates the use of prayers and Psalms as elementary reading ‘texts’ in both ‘secular’ and ‘religious’ contexts. See Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 143–46,

40 Fargeix, *Les Élités lyonnaises du XVe siècle au miroir de leur langue*, pp. 250–67.

41 For example, a grammar master was listed as a witness in the obituary of Saint-Jean in 1201: *Obituarium lugdunensis ecclesiae. Nécrologie des personnages illustres et des bienfaiteurs de l’Église métropolitaine de Lyon du IXe au XVe siècle*, ed. by M.C. Guigue (Lyon: Scherring, 1867), p. 185 (henceforth O.L.E.). The municipal council was involving itself in the distribution of teaching rights as early as 1381: A.M.L., CC 376, fol. 22 v.

42 It is still astonishing to read what Ariès has to say about medieval education. He discounts the instruction offered in cathedrals, for example, as a kind of memorizing factory that disabled independent thought. “The pupils all chanted in unison the phrase spoken by the teacher, and

Some, like Alexandre-Bidon, have looked at education in a more inclusive manner.<sup>43</sup>

There are other works of interest to historians of French elementary and grammar education in the late Middle Ages.<sup>44</sup> Special mention, however, should be given to four works:

- Astrik Gabriel's research on the state of preparatory education taking place in the shadows of the great medieval universities was important in establishing a much-needed division between elementary and grammar education and what took place in lecture halls. Gabriel's 'Preparatory Teaching in the Parisian Colleges during the Fourteenth Century', first published in 1951, sought to demonstrate how boys who wished to enter the University of Paris prepared academically, and how this was provided for in the structures of several colleges there.<sup>45</sup>
- Sylvette Guilbert's 'Les Écoles rurales en Champagne au XVe siècle: Enseignement et promotion sociale' is probably the best article published on education in France in the past 50 years.<sup>46</sup> Her methodology is of great interest since she concentrates on ecclesiastical court records, under whose purview the misdemeanours and crimes of teachers fell. She also links schooling and literacy, something which is often overlooked by both historians of education and literacy, as well as looking at elementary and grammar education as a means of social mobility, which could take place even in a relatively poor and rural location.
- Olivier Guyotjeannin's 'Les Petites écoles de Paris dans la première moitié du XVe siècle' is another exceptional article on elementary education in the later Middle Ages.<sup>47</sup> Guyotjeannin uses the proceedings

they went on repeating the same exercise until they had learned it by heart. The priests could recite nearly all the prayers in the office from memory. Henceforth reading was no longer an indispensable tool of learning. It only served to aid their memory in the event of forgetfulness. It only allowed them to 'recognize' what they already knew and not to discover something new [...]': Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, p. 138.

43 Not only has Alexandre-Bidon examined the iconography and material culture of learning to read (see Alexandre-Bidon, 'La Lettre volée') but has also written more general works on education and childhood in the Middle Ages. See Alexandre-Bidon and Monique Closson, *L'Enfant à l'ombre des cathédrales* and Alexandre-Bidon and Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, *Système éducatif et cultures dans l'Occident médiéval*. The second work here will be discussed in more detail below.

44 Though not discussed here, important work on education in later medieval and early modern France is collected in *Enseignement et vie intellectuelle, IXe–XVIIe siècle: Actes du 95e Congrès national des sociétés savantes, Reims, 1970*.

45 Gabriel, 'Preparatory Teaching in the Parisian Colleges during the fourteenth Century'.

46 Guilbert, 'Les Écoles rurales en Champagne au XVe siècle: Enseignement et promotion sociale'.

47 Guyotjeannin, 'Les Petites écoles de Paris dans la première moitié du XVe siècle'.

of the chapter of Notre-Dame to create an impressive list of the teachers it granted licences to. The importance of this is that it shows teaching activity outside the churches themselves and the kind of access ordinary Parisians, both male and female, had to elementary and grammar education.

- The final work in this selection is Danièle Alexandre-Bidon and Marie-Thérèse Lorcin's *Système éducatif et cultures dans l'Occident médiéval: (XIIe–XVe siècle)* from 1998. This work examines education and culture as part of the same human activity, and uses medieval literature as its principal source. The focus is exceptionally ambitious. Alexandre-Bidon and Lorcin do not restrict discussions on education to formal instruction within a classroom, but rather expand the definition to include apprenticeships and other life experiences, such as work. The authors present the story of a shepherd boy who acquired a famous knowledge of animal husbandry and management as an example of an archetypal rural education.<sup>48</sup> This wide-ranging approach allows for a valuable assessment of the mentalities of education (in every form), literacy, cultural acquisition, and advancement but does not engage in an examination of the everyday functioning of elementary and grammar instruction. At times, the work is too equivocal. At one point, Alexandre-Bidon states that the rural world ignored the book.<sup>49</sup> However, this statement suggests that there was a lack of interest in such formal knowledge rather than a lack of the means to pursue it. Guilbert contradicts this with her argument (based on her research in Champagne) that many peasants possessed the rudiments of literacy and that such instruction was sought for, and provided for, children whenever possible.<sup>50</sup>

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I have utilized two separate types of source in the current work: archival sources and works of literature devoted to the question of education. Firstly, there are a range of contemporary documents from medieval Lyon that contain information on elementary and grammar schooling. These too can be divided into two groups based on the archives where they are held: the Archives départementales du Rhône (A.D.R., mostly ecclesiastical

48 Alexandre-Bidon and Lorcin, *Système éducatif et cultures*, pp. 62–63.

49 Alexandre-Bidon and Lorcin, *Système éducatif et cultures*, p. 64.

50 Guilbert, 'Les Écoles rurales', 127–47.

documents) and the Archives municipales de Lyon (A.M.L., municipal council documents).<sup>51</sup>

The ecclesiastical documents that include references to schooling and teaching are obituaries, wills, and, most importantly, the proceedings of ecclesiastical chapters. Each of the city's main churches is assigned a series number – 10 G for Saint-Jean, 13 G for Saint-Paul, and 15 G for Saint-Nizier. The proceedings of the chapter of Saint-Jean span the years 1361 to 1530 (the chronological end of the present investigation) and the series numbers 10 G 76–113. The proceedings are recorded on vellum in the earlier part of the series, but are generally on paper and were bound together chronologically at some point in the eighteenth century. Most are copies of the minutes of the chapter but some are the actual minutes, based on the handwriting and level of mistakes. Furthermore, an enterprising cleric (also in the eighteenth century) made a partial list of references to schoolmasters and choirboys in the proceedings of Saint-Jean. This can be seen in 10 G 45. The wills used in this work are in the *fonds* 4 G 41–77 and are more loosely bound by date in folders. The obituary of Saint-Jean, which comes from the series 10 G 1001–1026, is available in a printed edition, *Obituarium lugdunensis ecclesiae: Nécrologie des personnages illustres et des bienfaiteurs de l'Église métropolitaine de Lyon du IX<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (O.L.E.), edited by M.C. Guigue in 1867.

The proceedings of the chapters of Saint-Paul span 13 G 6–9 (1418–1491) and were also bound in the eighteenth century. The proceedings of Saint-Paul are not continuous, unlike those of Saint-Jean, and there are many gaps in the records, most notably for the period between 1432 and 1459. The obituary of Saint-Paul is in one *fond* (13 G 99) and appears to have been bound relatively early, perhaps by the sixteenth century.

The proceedings of the chapter of Saint-Nizier can be found between 15 G 10 (1338–1365) and 15 G 19 (1525–1528). Again, these were bound in the eighteenth century and, like for Saint-Paul, there is a considerable gap in the proceedings, between 1365 and 1450. The proceedings of Saint-Nizier

51 The presence of two separate archives in Lyon, though established for practical reasons, tends to encourage researchers to impose an artificial division on the documents between 'ecclesiastical/religious' and 'secular'. This is detrimental to a study of *lyonnais* history, especially when it comes of schooling and education. As we have already seen, there was relatively little difference between what was taught by a lay person or a cleric. There are similarities connecting both sets of archival sources. Indeed, there are specific overlaps, especially in the case of the issues related to the hiring – or possibly attempted hiring – of Georges Bechier/Bechon by the municipal government and their attempt to impose their candidate on the cathedral in the early part of the 1460s. See A.D.R., 10 G 94, fol. 46 (25 June 1460), A.D.R., 10 G 95, fol. 32 (14 June 1460) and A.M.L., BB 007, fol. 134 and 134 v. (1459), CC 421, piece 2 (1461).

include the actual minutes of the chapter meetings, especially noticeable at the beginning of A.D.R. 15 G 14 (1497–1501).

The obituaries provide information on who were teachers in schools associated with the churches, as well as showing changes in the titles of teachers. They also indicate something of the material wealth of teachers operating in church schools – that is, choir schools – and the important role that teachers and other school officials played as executors and witnesses. Some of the entries detail the payments received by choirboys for participating in funeral and memorial services.<sup>52</sup>

The most valuable documents are the proceedings of the chapters, which contain a great deal of information on the choirs and schools.<sup>53</sup> This includes a guide to the hierarchy of schoolmasters and administrators; details of hiring and promotion practices; detailed information on the care of choirboys (academic, emotional, and physical); and information on how boys entered and left the choir school. These references are particularly valuable as they trace the actual, everyday administration of a well-organized school, though they do not contain much in the way of what exactly was being taught, except some mention of the psalms and hymns that the choirboys had to learn.<sup>54</sup> The main problems with the proceedings are of language and palaeography. While portions of the registers have been carefully copied and annotated, other parts appear to have been the minutes of the chapter meetings. This means that some of the records are difficult to decipher owing to poor handwriting, non-standard, inconsistent ligatures, and a relatively low standard of Latin.

The Archives départementales du Rhône also contain a collection of medieval wills. The majority of these have been collected, edited, and published by Marguerite Gonon, and they include several references to schools, both in Lyon and Forez; to children attending these schools and to individual teachers, some of whom acted as witnesses.<sup>55</sup>

52 The obituary of the cathedral of Saint-Jean has been published, but the obituary of Saint-Paul is only available in manuscript form. See the O.L.E. for Saint-Jean and A.D.R., 13 G 99 for Saint-Paul.

53 Since all the choirboys were in the school and most of the pupils were in the choir (with very few exceptions), the lives of the choirboys must be examined as part of any study on the school. See Chapter Three and my article, 'The Children's Cloister: Choirboys and Space in Late-Medieval Cathedrals'.

54 The chapter proceedings of Saint-Jean have some information regarding what the choirboys were preparing for performance in the church. The proceedings of Saint-Paul, however, have a detailed list of what liturgical texts were being used by the choirboys in their church. See Chapter Three, p. 139.

55 *Testaments foréziens, 1305–1316*, *Table des testateurs foréziens (1314–1469)* and *La Vie quotidienne en Lyonnais d'après les testaments XIVe- XVIe siècles*, all edited by Gonon. Forez, the region just



The Archives municipales de Lyon hold the ‘secular’ records of the city, namely documentation related to the administration of the city’s municipal council. These are almost entirely in Middle French. The proceedings of the meetings provide some information regarding the provision of schooling in the city, but not to the same extent as the proceedings of the cathedral chapter.

The deliberations for the period covered in this book (A.M.L. BB 1–50) begin in 1416 and are generally continuous, with short interludes missing – the longest being between 1436 and 1446. The large amount of material that survives is on very high-quality paper, some of which has the watermark of the arms of the city of Lyon. The three most useful types of document at the Archives municipales are tax records, records of householders, and several miscellaneous contracts that witness contact between the municipality and teachers such as that between employers and employees, or rather between patrons and clients.

The earliest full *Nommées ou dénombrement des biens meubles et immeubles possédés par les habitants de Lyon* dates from 1388 (A.M.L. CC 1). Apart from some less organized surveys of goods between 1380 and 1423 (CC 13), the other survey years were 1493 (CC 4–12) and 1515 (CC 20–32).

There are two separate sets of tax records. The first set lists the taxes paid to the king of France. Those used in the current work begin in 1377 (CC 60). These too are recorded on paper, and some are bound at or around the same time that they were written. A particularly fine example of this is CC 131 from 1515–1516, bound in plain vellum with a spine in leather. The second set of tax records log payments to the communal government, CC 189 (1358–1369) to CC 260 (1523). The earliest communal revenues (1358) were collected to fund a city guard and fortifications, and coincide with similar taxation and building programmes across France prompted by English military action at Crécy and Poitiers.<sup>56</sup> Like the records of taxes collected for the King, these form simple lists – arranged by street, noting name, amount due, and, occasionally, the occupation of the contributor.

The final selection of documents comes from the *comptabilité communale*, or town’s account books. These are more complicated reports that record payments made on behalf of the commune, and agreements and contracts between the council and individuals. They date from 1377 (CC 376) to 1530 (CC 788). The tax and householder records are particularly

to the west of Lyon, lay solidly within the sphere of influence of the city, both culturally and economically. Several wills contain legacies that saw boys being sent to the schools of Lyon: Gonon, *La Vie quotidienne*, p. 249.

<sup>56</sup> Small, *Late Medieval France*, pp. 186–88.



interesting as they demonstrate the wide range of socio-economic levels occupied by both schoolmasters and mistresses. The contracts, on the other hand, trace the increasing efforts of the municipal council to exert control over schooling in Lyon, to the detriment of the authority of the cathedral chapter, which was *de jure* in charge of all educational endeavours in the city. The problem with some of these contracts is that they show that an agreement was made; but they do not always mean that the teachers were even in Lyon, let alone teaching there.<sup>57</sup>

The documents in this archive are mostly in Middle French and the quality of recording (handwriting and so on) tends to be higher than most of the ecclesiastical records – though some have seen a certain amount of decay, probably owing to the fact that they are generally on paper. The importance of both archives is that the information they contain can be brought together to recreate the educational ‘landscape’ of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Lyon, especially the organization of schools and the question of authority over these schools.<sup>58</sup>

The second source type used in this work is medieval pedagogical literature. This is not a discrete genre but rather a collection of treatises, rules, biographies, and ‘mirrors for princes’ that contain a large amount of information regarding the practice of instruction – that is, what was taught and how was it taught. The biggest challenge this type of source presents is that it tends to be more prescriptive rather than descriptive. While some texts described what happened in a particular classroom under the tutelage of a historical teacher – such as John of Salisbury’s account of the teaching practices of Bernard of Chartres – others sought to construct an ideal classroom, such as Pierre Dubois’s schools for potential crusaders.<sup>59</sup> While problematic, this approach allows for an examination of some of the motivations and mentalities that surrounded the idea of elementary and grammar education in the later Middle Ages. This is something that cannot always be found in archival documents.<sup>60</sup>

57 This is the problem with three contracts drawn up in 1401 where the municipal council was paying teachers from Dijon and Embrun to leave their posts and come to Lyon. Two of these were made out to the same person, one at the beginning of the year and one at the end, perhaps in an effort to improve the deal on offer. See A.M.L., CC 385 recto 10, fol. 13 (April 1401), CC 385 recto 10, fol. 24 (August 1401), CC 385 recto 11, fol. 14 v. (November 1401).

58 See Sheffler, *Schools and Schooling in Late Medieval Germany*, ch. 1 for the medieval educational landscape of Regensburg.

59 John of Salisbury, *The Metalogicon*. Dubois, *The Recovery of the Holy Land*.

60 There are exceptions to this rule. Preambles to educational legislation occasionally indicate the motivations for the formation of the laws and instructions contained therein. This can be

Another issue with this body of texts is that it is difficult to limit chronologically the works that might have had an impact on fourteenth- and fifteenth-century pedagogical theory. While it is easy to establish a final cut-off point, too many works written before the period in question were read and were influential in the later Middle Ages. For example, one of the most important writers on education was Quintilian, who flourished in the last half of the first century. His work survived in fragments until it was rediscovered in 1418 at Saint Gall in Switzerland, but he was nevertheless an authority for earlier writers, from Jerome to John of Salisbury to Vincent of Beauvais. All of these predate the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, yet they were available and read during this period. It is unwise, therefore, to omit important earlier authors. While the topic of medieval educational theory will not form a discrete chapter in this book, the works included in this sprawling 'genre' will be referenced throughout.

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This work employs a relatively straightforward methodology that is dictated by the nature of the sources being used. The first set of sources, archival documents from late medieval Lyon, yields precise information about certain aspects of medieval elementary and grammar education, such as the presence of schools and teachers; the organization and administration of such schools; and some material concerning what it was like to be a teacher or pupil. The resultant information allowed for the construction of a factual framework that, in turn, has permitted me to partially reconstruct the actual state of educational provision in Lyon between 1285 and 1530. The secondary set of sources, pedagogical literature from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and before, does not necessarily provide the historical detail that archives contain. Instead, while such literature reveals the personal educational principles of individual authors, it also exposes ideas and concepts that were held in common. For example, educational treatises from the first century to the fifteenth century frequently discussed the same topics and even shared similar opinions on punishment, the age at which to start formal schooling, and so on. These works are not 'factual' and are often highly idealized, but they do indicate mutual concerns and preoccupations. They also allow for straight comparison, indicating how widely – or how narrowly – certain ideas were held. In addition, these

seen in some (but not all) of the the statutes drawn up for the College of Ave Maria in Paris. See Gabriel, *Student Life in Ave Maria College*, pp. 270–71.

writers sometimes have interesting information regarding the individual experiences that they had as pupils and teachers.

Since this book deals with various aspects of social and intellectual history, the methods and concepts associated with socio-cultural or cultural history need to be acknowledged.<sup>61</sup> The creation of a cultural history of schooling, however, is not the goal of this current research. It can be argued that schooling and education are the means of constructing culture and, indeed, of constructing civilization. As will be seen in both the archival and literary sources of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the focus of education was on the creation of members of the community. By teaching children to read, to count, and to write, authorities sought to produce adults who would benefit the religious and economic well-being of society as a whole.

An example of this can be seen in the provision – by ecclesiastical institutions – of elementary education to girls outside convents. This can be explained by possible demand from families and society for girls to have some level of instruction so that they could assist in the running of businesses, thus increasing their desirability as wives. However, it was also seen as spiritually beneficial to the girls to have some knowledge of common prayers and psalms, and perhaps to be able to consume the devotional literature – in both Latin and the vernacular – that was increasingly available.<sup>62</sup> They would have also been seen as conduits of religious information in their expected roles as mothers.<sup>63</sup> Religious instruction for all children, both boys and girls, was seen by commentators on education as something that was not negotiable, and efforts were made to make such education as

61 Peter Burke has been one of the main recent contributors to the theory of cultural history. See Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* for a general introduction. Arcangeli's *Cultural History: A Concise Introduction* is also good. However, the best summation of the approach to history that is cultural history was made by Miri Rubin. 'Like all good ideas the basic point is simple. The cultural turn asks not only "How it really was" but rather "How was it for him, or her, or them?": Rubin, 'What is Cultural History Now?' p. 81.

62 Ravelet, *Le Bienheureux J. B. de La Salle*, p. 21. On the exclusion of girls from more professionally-orientated instruction, see Bednarski and Courtemanche, 'Learning to be a Man', 113-35.

63 For example, Philippe de Navarre in his *Quatre âges de l'homme* sees education in the Christian faith as the responsibility of both the father and the mother: Philippe de Navarre, *Traité moral de Philippe de Navarre*, p. 9. This tradition of associating early instruction, especially early religious instruction, goes back to at least Saint Augustine and the influence his mother, Saint Monica, had on his formation as a Christian as a young child. Quintilian also stated that mothers could have a positive influence on their children, both academically and morally, and gives the example of Cornelia Africana and her sons, Tiberius and Gaius, better known as the Gracchi: Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, I, 1.1.vi.

accessible as possible to as many people as possible.<sup>64</sup> The importance of establishing membership in the wider community that was Christendom was an important aspect of medieval education, and is especially obvious in the motivations of pedagogical writers who were particularly interested in religious and moral training.<sup>65</sup>

This emphasis on morality and faith was a part of the broader curriculum that does not appear to have altered if the teacher was from the laity rather than from the clergy or religious. Such traditionalism was carried on to other parts of curricula, where there was consistency in what literature was presented to pupils. This is the reason why historians of medieval pedagogy can speak of a specific canon of texts that were used in classrooms in varied areas of Europe, such as the *octo auctores*.<sup>66</sup> It is possible, therefore, to view education as being inherently conservative, but in the sense that it sought to conserve and promote the culture that it operated in.<sup>67</sup> The tendency to continue practices in education so that a particular form of culture can be preserved will arise at various points during the present work, especially in the chapter on late medieval educational theory but also in the organization of schools and teachers by traditional authorities such as the 'Church' and the 'State'.

64 One of the best examples of this approach was Jean Gerson's short treatise in French, the *A.B.C. des simples gens*. In it, he presents the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed, the Ten Commandments and other articles of faith in the vernacular as these are things 'that one must fully believe.' He addresses the treatise to '*petiz et grans, filz et filles et aultres gens simples*', 'children and grown-ups, boys and girls and other simple people', signally that the information contained within was for everyone and for the betterment of everyone who claimed a place in the Christian community: Gerson, 'A.B.C. des simples gens', in *Oeuvres complètes*, VII, 154–57.

65 Many writers placed great importance on the moral and religious aspects of elementary and grammar education.

66 See Chapter Three, pp. 117–18.

67 In medieval education, we can see elements of both orthodoxy and orthopraxy, 'right belief' and 'right doing'. While the children were being taught the correct set of beliefs, they were also being taught aspects of the right way of doing things, from liturgical practices to modes of acceptable behaviour in the community. This can be seen in the proliferation of books of manners in the later Middle Ages, which can be viewed as tools for social advancement but also as a means to transmit the correct way of doing things. See Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval London*, pp. 69–78. A discussion of the effect of orthopraxy on intellectual culture can be found in Megan Hale William's, *The Monk and the Book: Jerome and the Making of Christian Scholarship*.