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**Responding to Injustice in the Court of Philip IV (1285–1314):
The *De informatione principum* of Durand of Champagne**

Constant J. Mews

Philip IV, king of France for almost thirty years (1285–1314), is most often celebrated as a modernizing ruler, who confronted both the nobility and the Church as part of his efforts to centralize government. His nickname, Philippe le Bel or Philip the Fair, itself captures a positive image of this monarch, denied to his son, the short-lived Louis X (1314–16), known as Louis le Hutin “Louis the quarreller” and the first of the so-called *rois maudits*, whose failure to produce a male heir would lead to the end of the Capetian dynasty. This image of Philip I was certainly supported by Jean Favier in his classic biography *Philippe le Bel*, first published in 1978, in which he presented Philip’s reign as articulating a subtle shift from a feudally structured kingdom to a modernizing, centralized state, governed by bureaucrats rather than nobles.¹ Rather more briefly, he claimed that the young Philip had been shaped by the Aristotelian ethical values of Giles of Rome (c. 1243–1318), a disciple of Thomas Aquinas (1227–74), who dedicated his *De regimine principum* to the young prince, in around 1279, a treatise first translated into French by Henri de Gauchi in 1282.² There is a similar interpretation of Philip IV as a modernizing ruler in Joseph Strayer’s richly documented study of his reign, which presents the monarch as France’s most successful ruler in the

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¹ Favier, *Philippe le Bel*, 9: “Roi moderne, certes, Philippe le Bel l’est bien lorsqu’il fait peser sur tous les habitants du royaume l’exigence du d’un service militaire – l’arrière ban – ou de son équivalent financier, l’impôt.”

² Favier, *Philippe le Bel*, 10. The only evidence for this claim that Giles had tutored the young Philip is the opening dedication to Philip, “the first begotten and distinguished heir to king Philip [III]” and that he had been asked by the young prince to compose a treatise about the governance of princes, *De regimine principum*, Prol. ed. Samaritanus, 1: “Ex regia ac sanctissima prosapia oriundo so Domino speciali Domino Philippo primogenitor, et haeredi praeclarissimi viri Domini Philippi Dei gratia illustrissimi regis Francorum, suus deuotus Fr. Aegidius Romanus... Quare si vestra generositas gloriosa me amicabilem requisivit, ut de eruditione principum, siue de regimine regum quondam librum componerem...” On the date of this treatise and its early translation into French, see Perret, *Les traductions françaises du De regimine principum*, 6 and 61–66. An English translation of this important treatise by Charles Briggs is eagerly awaited.

medieval period. Strayer avoids making claims about Philip's intellectual pedigree.³ More recently the legal historian Jacques Krynen has offered a monograph of Philip IV which reasserts the argument that his reign introduced key changes that helped shape modern France.⁴ The difficulty with all these approaches, however, is that they are primarily focused around the achievements of Philip IV rather than around how the system over which he presided was seen.

Yet even if there are no surviving accounts of Philip IV by his admirers, we do have an opportunity to assess thinking about the administration of justice during his reign, through the medium of a little known treatise about government from the period, the *De informatione principum* (*DIP*), written by Durand of Champagne, the Franciscan confessor to Jeanne de Navarre, queen of France 1285–1305.⁵ His treatise is structured as a series of homilies around the prophecy of Jeremiah 23:5, delivered as part of a warning to the current king of Judah: *The king will reign and be wise, and will deliver judgement and justice*. The treatise is structured into four parts, each dealing with an element of that verse of Jeremiah. The first part is about the king and the virtues he should acquire, the second about how he should behave to his household, his wife and sons and his numerous officials, his confessor, his chaplains, his ministers and various officials, counsellors, bailiffs and knights. In the third, he considers wisdom in its various kinds (borrowing a good deal from his earlier work addressed to the queen), and in the fourth he deals with the administration of justice, an issue little covered in previous mirrors of princes.

This homiletic style may superficially seem to offer little of direct relevance to studying the reign of Philip IV. It opens with a generic claim, derived from John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, that the *respublica* is like a single body in which the king holds the place of the head, seneschals, provosts and judges being the ears and eyes of that body, the wise counsellors the heart, knights being the hands, the merchants being the shin-bones, those working the land being the feet.⁶ Yet if we look at *DIP* more closely, comparing it to the *Communiloquium* by John of Wales, another Franciscan, who could well have taught Durand in Paris in the 1270s or early 1280s, we find numerous observations about corrupt practice in royal government. While its opening claim about the *respublica* is certainly derived from the opening of the *Communiloquium*, we find that *DIP* has added details about seneschals (who exercised authority in the great duchies and counties of France, especially in the south) and merchants, two social categories not mentioned by John of Wales.⁷ The argument is here put

³ Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, 423. He doubts (7–8) that Gilles (referred to as Egidius) had a close relationship to Philip III or that he planned his course of study, although there is evidence that he was personally known to the king.

⁴ Krynen, *Philippe le Bel*, 10.

⁵ For an introduction to the *DIP*, including arguments for its attribution to Durand of Champagne, see Mews and Lahav, "Wisdom and Justice." On its translation into French in 1368, see Merisalo et al., "Remarques sur la traduction de Jean Golein du *De informatione principum*." References to the Latin text of *DIP* are cited through the best surviving copy of the second recension, *P* Paris, BNF lat. 16622, from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, available at <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc77050v>.

⁶ *DIP* 1.1 (*P* 2r): "Sciendum est autem quod cum respublica sit quasi quoddam corpus compaginatum ex membris uariis, rex uel princeps in eo obtinet locum capitis senescali prepositi et iudices officium aurum habent et oculorum. Sapientes consiliarii officium cordis, milites protegentes sunt ad modum manuum, mercatores discurrentes per mundum ad modum tibiaram, agricole et alii pauperes solo inherentes ad modum pedum."

⁷ As with *DIP*, we lack a critical edition of the widely copied *Communiloquium* John of Wales, cited here by the unpaginated 1475 Augsburg edition. I am grateful to Chris Nighman for making available a digital version of this edition to me; *Communiloquium* 1.d1.13: "Multa scribuntur quae spectant ad principis informationem. ... Et praemissis ergo potest praedicator diuinus habere occasionem instruendi principes et utiliter conferendi cum eis maxime tempore pacis." There is no pagination in the 1475 Augsburg edition cited here. On the role of seneschals, see Takayama, "The Local Administrative System of France under Philip IV."

Responding to Injustice

forward that this little studied treatise on the instruction of princes by the Franciscan Durand de Champagne offers an alternative perspective on the art of government, certainly shaped by learned tradition, but also by awareness of failures to implement justice in the kingdom.

While there has been considerable development in the genre of “mirrors of princes” in the thirteenth century, the absence of any modern editions or translations of either of these two Franciscan treatises has meant that there has been limited study of the genre they represent. At first sight, the *De informatione principum* seems very traditional in its heavy dependence on scriptural exempla, with very little attention to Aristotle’s *Politics* such as we may find in the *De regimine principum* of Giles of Rome, an Augustinian disciple of the Dominican philosopher and theologian Thomas Aquinas. Yet in bringing together classical and scriptural authorities to reflect on the principles of good government, *DIP* indirectly has much to say about the prevalence of injustice in royal administration under Philip the Fair. Because its author served at court as confessor to Jeanne de Navarre, he was in a privileged position to look at problems in the administration of justice within and beyond the royal court, even if he had to steer a difficult path between loyalty to the crown and sympathy for those deprived of access to justice.

Central to understanding the idealism about a just king in this treatise is a sense of nostalgia for the memory of Philip’s crusading grandfather, Louis IX (king of France 1226–70), as well as of eulogy of his care for the Church, “constructing monasteries, churches, chapels and many hospitals”, along with placing the most precious relics in his Parisian palace, at Sainte-Chapelle.⁸ Philip’s support for Louis’s canonization in 1297 was central to shaping his public image.⁹ A treatise dedicated to the crown prince could not be specific in its accusations: “Modern princes are more concerned to despoil churches and monasteries than to endow them, to burden rather than construct them, wanting to show off their own magnificence in vain and harmful superfluities.”¹⁰ Philip’s financial problems were aggravated by frequent wars with the English and the Flemings, as well as the loss of Acre, the last Christian stronghold in the East, in 1291. This led to periodic devaluations of the currency.¹¹ The crusading ethos which had driven St Louis was no longer a practical policy. The Knights Templar, who had effectively bankrolled the French crown during the time of Louis IX, could no longer pursue the mission for which they had been founded. In 1295, Philip switched from using the Templars as his bankers to Lombard merchants and refused to send clerical taxes to Rome.

This resulted in Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) issuing *Unam sanctam* in November 1302 against the king, declaring controversially that the papacy had fullness of power in both secular and spiritual domains.¹² In June 1303, Philip IV instituted a campaign, orchestrated by his first lay advisor, Guillaume de Nogaret (d. 1313), requiring all senior clergy and members of religious orders sign a document, calling for a Council to be held that would charge Pope Boniface with heresy, simony and blasphemy. Durand of Champagne was one of those many Franciscans who agreed with the king on the matter.¹³ Philip then sent Guillaume

⁸ *DIP* 1.26.2 (P 34r): “Beatus Ludouicus rex magnifice studuit exaltare honorem diuinum ecclesiam honorare, monasteria, templa, capellas et hospitalia plura construere, ac uenerandas toti mundo reliquias in capella proprii Parisiensis palatii uenerabiliter collocare.”

⁹ Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*; and for texts relating to the cult of Louis, Gaposchkin, *Blessed Louis*. One of the most thorough biographies of Louis IX is that of Jacques Le Goff.

¹⁰ *DIP* 1.26.2 (P 34r): “Moderni uero principes plus curant ecclesias spoliare et monasteria quam ditare, grauare quam construere, in uanis superfluis et nociuis suam magnificenciam ostentare uolentes.”

¹¹ For more precise detail on these changes, see Bompaigne, “Quelques spécificités des monnayages médiévaux.”

¹² On this conflict, see, for example, Wood, *Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII*. And on its background, see Denton, “Taxation and the Conflict.”

¹³ Courtenay, “Between Pope and King.”

to Italy to arrest Boniface at Anagni, precipitating the elderly Pope's demise a month later. Dante remembered these events in his *Divine Comedy*, putting Boniface in the pit of hell.¹⁴ The unexpected death of Queen Jeanne de Navarre aged just thirty-four (poisoned by a corrupt bishop, or so Philip thought) in 1305 seems to have triggered royal paranoia. The following year, Jews were expelled not just from the royal domain, but the entire realm.¹⁵ Between 1307 and 1314 Philip conducted a campaign to dissolve the Templar Order, gain control of its wealth in France and have its members arrested on charges of blasphemy. The further taxes that Philip imposed on the kingdom in 1308 to support the marriage of his daughter, Isabelle, to Edward II only provoked further tension.¹⁶ Peggy Brown has alerted us to the inadequacy of making swift moral judgments about Philip and his advisors.¹⁷ Yet it cannot be denied that, particularly after Jeanne's death in 1305, there was increasing concern being voiced, as in *DIP*, about shift towards a *realpolitik* governed by suspicion towards enemies of the state.

DIP has much to say about the need for the king to have literate counsellors, especially when the king did not have much education or experience in government. Without them, "the kingdom or *respublica* cannot be usefully and prudently governed."¹⁸ Its criticisms of contemporary practice are veiled in generality: "Many admitted to the trust of the prince immediately begin to dominate. They launch calumnies, desert people, remove property, pervert judgements, as enemies devoid of justice, they drive people away using arguments of eloquence rather than wisdom."¹⁹ Such complaints have particular relevance in relation to an emerging new class of lay advisors in Philip's court, notably Guillaume de Nogaret and Enguerrand de Marigny, who originally worked for Jeanne de Navarre, but became Chief Minister of France from 1302 to his execution in April 1315.²⁰ They generated an astonishingly rich archive of financial records, that imply that cash, rather than claims to nobility, drove government.²¹

Inevitably, there was a flourishing of literature that satirized the rise of the *nouveaux riches*, perhaps none as savage as included in the *Roman de Fauvel*, a satirical poem written between 1310 and 1314, probably by a royal clerk, about a horse who rises to prominence in the royal court, but whose name itself refers to six vices at the royal court: Flattery, Avarice, Vileness, Variability Envy, and Laxity. The poem would become the focus of much new musical composition in the period.²² It provides just one example of a wider sense in the early fourteenth centuries that the stability and moral values perceived as having held sway during the long reign of Louis IX, canonized in 1297 through the efforts of Philip IV, no longer applied. The optimistic ideals of Giles of Rome about how a king ought to govern were giving way to more realistic reflection on the practice of government and administration of justice during the reign of Philip IV, such as evident in Durand's treatise about the instruction of princes.

¹⁴ Dante, *Inferno*, 19.76–87.

¹⁵ Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews*, 200–213.

¹⁶ Brown, *Customary Aids*.

¹⁷ Brown, "Moral Imperatives."

¹⁸ *DIP* 1.21.6 (P 69r): "Consequenter dicendum de consiliariis. Isti sunt maxime necessarii, nec sine ipsis potest utiliter et prudenter regnum uel respublica gubernari."

¹⁹ *DIP* 1.27.1 (P 80r): "Multi ad principum fidelitatem admissi statim incipiunt dominari. Inferunt calumpnias, deserunt personas, auferunt substancias, peruertunt sentencias, hostes iusticie uacantes, eloquencie non sapiencie, causas protelant adhibiti."

²⁰ Brown, "Philip the Fair and His Ministers."

²¹ See, for example, Vitry, "L'aide féodale"; and Boutaric, *La France sous Philippe le Bel*.

²² Langfors, ed., *Le Roman de Fauvel* 1915–19. See also the collected studies edited by Bent and Wathey, *Fauvel Studies*.

Durand of Champagne and the De informatione principum

Surviving manuscripts of the *De informatione principum* do not identify its author. While two late copies of the French translation by Jean Golein report that it was written by a Dominican, there are much stronger grounds for attributing it to Durand of Champagne, the Franciscan confessor to Jeanne of Navarre, countess of Champagne and queen of France from 1285 to her unexpected death in 1305.²³ In particular, there are extensive textual and thematic connections between *DIP* and the *Speculum dominarum* (“Mirror of Ladies”), which Durand composed sometime before her death.²⁴ Durand, a prolific author who cloaked himself in anonymity and consequently little known, was extending themes about wisdom and justice that he had previously developed in his *Speculum dominarum*. There is another treatise, *De consideratione quattuor novissimorum* (“On Consideration of the Four Last Things”), in which reference is made for further discussion of wisdom and charity in the *Speculum dominarum* and *De informatione principum* respectively.²⁵ This implies that the same author is referring back to arguments he had made in these two earlier texts. This extended homily on the four last things would subsequently be incorporated into the *Speculum morale*, a massive encyclopedia of ethical learning from the 1320s, which also drew heavily on exempla provided by the *Speculum dominarum*. We can only presume that Durand or a disciple was responsible for crafting this Franciscan encyclopedia of ethical wisdom, which would circulate as part of the *Speculum maius* (alongside three other mirrors, *historiale*, *naturale* and *doctrinale*), originally compiled by the Dominican Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264) for the edification of Louis IX. A surviving prologue to the *Speculum maius* reveals

²³ The work is described as by “ung maistre en theologie de l’ordre saint Dominique” in a fifteenth-century copy of the translation, Paris, BnF fr. 1210, fol. 1r (also on fol. 170rb) in a rubric placed below an image of what seems to be a Dominican friar presenting the book to a young prince and 170rb (s. xv^m), with a similar claim made in BnF fr. 9629, fol. 1r, in which *DIP* is a rubric placed below an image of what seems to be a Dominican friar (white alb, black robe), presenting the book to a young prince, with a Franciscan friar depicted in the rear left). There is a similar image and claim in Paris, BnF fr. 9629, fols. 1r–41v (s. xv^m). Its claim that it was written for a son of Philip of Valois prompted Delisle to question its reliability in an incomplete version, ending *Beati qui persecutionem paciuntur*.... On fol. 1r there is a rubric that erroneously claims the work was dedicated to Louis XI, son of Philip of Valois: “Cy apres commance le liure appelle linformacion des roys et des princes, le quel composa un docteur en theologie de lordre de saint dominique pour induire en bonnes meurs loys aisne fils du roy philippe de valois roy de France.” This inaccurate claim prompted Delisle to question this attribution of *DIP* to a Dominican friar, Delisle, “Anonyme, Auteur du Liber de Informatione Principum.” *DIP* is mentioned only briefly by Perret, *Les traductions françaises du De regimine principum*, 55, repeating the suggestion that it is by an anonymous Dominican. On Durand’s identity, see the introduction to *Speculum Dominarum*, ed. Flottès-Dubrulle, 15–17.

²⁴ *DIP* 3 (chapters 1–41) is identical to *Speculum dominarum* 2.1–32, ed. Flottès-Dubrulle, 254–76, except for the addition of a few final chapters, mainly about mercy. The discussion of different types of justice in *DIP* 4.20–29 is expanded from that in *Sd* 1.3.d4.22–29, ed. Flottès-Dubrulle, 217–25.

²⁵ The *De consideratione quattuor novissimorum*, preserved in (M) Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, 969, fols. 1r–77v was printed several times in the late fifteenth century as *Sermones quattuor novissimorum*, including Paris 1495 (*Q*), digitally available on Google Books. It provides the foundation of the second book of Pseudo-Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum morale*, in Vincent, *Speculum maius*, vol. 3, cols. 699–960. As explained in Mews and Lahav, “Justice and Mercy,” 175, the unpublished treatise makes specific references to both texts (*M* 3r; *G* 8): “De misericordia latius inuenies in *Speculo dominarum* et in libro *De informatione principum*.” Shortly after (*M* 3v; *G* 9), we come across the reference “De sapientia inuenies multa in libro *De informatione principum*. Nunc autem sufficiat opera sapientiae sub breuitate tangere, quia hoc est quod a principio proposuimus et promisimus declarare.” These specific titles are removed from the version included in the *Speculum morale* 1 d.2, cols. 4B and 4E.

that Vincent did envisage a fourth volume, a *Speculum morale*, but he never lived to complete this project.²⁶ It would be a Franciscan focus to compile an ethical encyclopedia inspired by the *Speculum dominarum* of Durand of Champagne.

Durand became Jeanne de Navarre's confessor sometime during her reign, which officially started in 1285, having married the sixteen-year-old Philip in 1284, when she was just eleven years old. Durand's appointment likely came about through the intervention of her mother, Blanche of Artois (1248–1302), herself countess of Champagne. While not a Franciscan radical like the Montpellier/Narbonne-based Peter John Olivi (c. 1248–98), Durand was a friend of Bernard Délicieux, the Carcassonne-based Franciscan critic of Dominican inquisitors. The records of his trial for heresy reveal that Bernard wanted to use Durand to help make contact with the queen.²⁷ Bernard, who had the misfortune to tangle with the formidable inquisitor, Bernard Gui (c. 1261–1331), was aware that Jeanne would visit the Languedoc in the period around 1303, and was hoping she could temper the repressive measures being taken by Dominican inquisitors in the region. Following her death, Durand served as executor of the queen's will, helping to administer her vast personal fortune to establish the Collège de Navarre.

Durand also became confessor to Marguerite of Burgundy (1290–1315), who married the sixteen-year-old prince Louis in 1305 when she was just fifteen. Durand thus acquired intimate experience of the royal court at a particularly difficult period. In 1314, Philip was driven to act by a series of accusations of adultery against three royal daughters-in-law, leading to Marguerite being cast into prison at the Château Gaillard, where she died on August 14, 1315, under circumstances always considered as suspicious.²⁸ Five days later, the newly crowned young Louis X took a new wife, Clementia of Hungary. The new king, to whom Durand dedicated his treatise on the instruction of princes, would remain king for only eighteen months, as he died suddenly in June 1316, playing tennis.²⁹

Nothing more is heard of Durand after these dramatic events. It seems that he devoted the end of his career to writing about the importance of leading a moral life through reflection on the four last things (death, judgment, eternal punishment and beatitude). Either he or perhaps John, a *socius*, mentioned in a list of signatures from 1303 of those supporting Philip IV in his action against Pope Boniface VIII, may have been responsible for compiling the *Speculum morale*, constructed in part out of combining much of the ethical instruction in the *Speculum dominarum* with the more philosophically grounded moral teaching of Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa Theologiae*.³⁰ The *De informatione principum* did not require familiarity with Aristotle to make sense of its arguments. Appealing to the prophet Jeremiah in his polemic against the kings of Judah provided a much more comprehensible way of giving instruction to a young prince not trained in newer, Aristotelian ways of thinking circulating at the University of Paris.

²⁶ Van den Brincken, "Geschichtsbetrachtung bei Vincenz von Beauvais," 457–60.

²⁷ Friedlander, *Processus*, 116, 124–25, 257, 266–67, 276, 283; Friedlander, *The Hammer of the Inquisitors*, 120, 124.

²⁸ Adams, "Between History and Fiction."

²⁹ On Durand, see Mews and Lahav, "Wisdom and Justice," 177–81.

³⁰ Mews and Zahora, "Remembering Last Things." The references to Durand and John are mentioned by Courtenay, "The Franciscan Community," esp. 169: "Durandus confessor reginae Francie, Johannes socius Durandi."

Mirrors of Princes: An Evolving Genre

Durand's *De informatione principum* belongs to an evolving tradition of writing "Mirrors of Princes" that had started to flourish in the second half of the thirteenth century.³¹ One of the first mendicant preachers to write about the duties of rulers was the Dominican Vincent of Beauvais, who offered little precise detail about political science within his *Speculum doctrinale* (about the teachings of every discipline of the liberal arts).³² Shortly before his death in 1264, Vincent composed his *De morali principis institutione* (*On the Moral Education of a Prince*), dedicated to Louis IX and Theobald, king of Navarre and count of Champagne.³³ Vincent explains his purpose in his introduction to his treatise about the education of the prince: "It seemed to me useful to gather from the many books I had read some writings pertaining to the behaviour of princes and courtiers, summarized in one volume and separated into chapters ... for the benefit of princes, soldiers, counsellors, ministers, provosts and others, involved in administering matters of the *respublica* (commonweal)."³⁴ His concern is not with the specific practice of government. Vincent was here drawing on the founding exemplar for subsequent Mirrors of Princes, the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury, in particular for its teaching (reportedly derived from a lost treatise of Plutarch, likely invented by John) that the *respublica* was like a human body, of which the prince was the head. Vincent made only limited use of John's text, adding quotations from Cicero and Seneca, but referring to Aristotle only once by name.³⁵ Vincent urges the king to surpass others in wisdom, to be wise in choosing friends, councillors and officials and warning against detractors and fawners, the dangers of ambition, adulation, cupidity and credulity. Yet he says nothing about the administration of justice or indeed corruption in the kingdom. Vincent was a scholarly Dominican, who spent most of his compiling (with the help of other Dominicans) the greatest encyclopedia of his day, but had no actual experience of government.

Perhaps more important for shaping Franciscan attitudes to government was the *Eruditio regum et principum* of Guibert of Tournai (c. 1200–c. 1284), who taught in Paris as the Franciscan regent master, most likely in the period 1259–61.³⁶ Guibert composed his treatise to Louis IX in 1259, in the form of three letters on the art of government, with greater attention than Vincent to practices the king should avoid, as part of his general theme that a king's right to govern was always compromised by failure to act justly.³⁷ Guibert draws on a

³¹ On this genre and the notion of political virtue, see Bejczy, "The Concept of Political Virtue in the Thirteenth Century" in Bejczy and Nederman, *Princely Virtues*, 9–32.

³² Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum doctrinale* 7.1–5, cols. 555–59.

³³ Vincent of Beauvais, *De morali principis institutione*, ed. Schneider; trans. Throop, *The Moral Instruction of a Prince*.

³⁴ Vincent, *De morali*, Prol., ed. Schneider, 3: "michi quidem utile uisum est aliqua de multis libris quos aliquando legeram ad mores principum et curialium pertinentia summatim in unum uolumen per diuersa capitula distinguendo colligere, ... si quando nobis incumberet huiuscemodi generibus hominum, uidelicet principibus, militibus, consiliariis, ministris, balliuis, prepositis, ac ceteris siue in curia residentibus siue foris rempublicam administrantibus, ea que ad uite honestatem et anime salutem spectant, unicuique, prout statui suo competit, priuatim uel publice suadere."

³⁵ Vincent makes twenty-three references to Cicero (*Tullius*) and thirty-eight to Seneca, but only one explicitly to Aristotle, *De morali*, 18, ed. Schneider, 91–92: "Hinc eciam dicit Aristoteles in Topicis quia quod magis eligit prudens id melius est et magis eligendum. See also *De morali* 21, ed. Schneider, 108: "Vnde philosophus: Vtinam inuidi oculos haberent ubique ut omnium torquerentur felicitate."

³⁶ Guibert of Tournai, *Eruditio regum*. On its date, see the introduction by De Poorter, 6. See also Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 472–82.

³⁷ Guibert of Tournai, *Eruditio regum* 1.3, ed. De Poorter, 7.

range of examples from classical antiquity, including the so-called letters of Aristotle to Alexander, subsequently called the *Secretum secretorum*. This was a pseudonymous work translated into Latin from the Arabic by Philip of Tripoli in the early 1230s, first mentioned by Vincent of Beauvais c. 1245, although not in any detail. These letters were only loosely inspired by Aristotelian teaching, providing not just principles of good government but much scientific knowledge in general.³⁸ Thus the first letter, based on biblical and historical examples, is about the need for the king to practise reverence and care, avoiding unnecessary extravagance, the second about the need for administrators and officials not to abuse their position, and the third about the protection of subjects. The Franciscan Guibert is more outspoken than his Dominican contemporary about specific problems in government, like bad laws, corrupt officials, and self-serving clerics and religious within royal courts.³⁹ While he does not explicitly cite the widely copied *De XII abusivis saeculi* (“On the Twelve Abuses of the Age”), a Hiberno-Latin text from seventh-century Ireland about various abuses (like the rich man without mercy, the unjust king, and the negligent bishop), Guibert provides his own version of these abuses in the contemporary world.⁴⁰

The particular way *DIP* combines examples from both classical and scriptural tradition is closest to that provided in the *Communiloquium* of John of Wales, itself much influenced by the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury, the great twelfth-century moralist and diplomat.⁴¹ John of Wales was a prolific author, whose writings (currently available only in early printed editions) were immensely popular in the medieval period.⁴² He taught in Oxford until around 1270, when he moved to Paris, teaching and writing there until his death c. 1285, apart from a period in the 1280s when he was engaged by the archbishop of Canterbury, to visit Wales. John’s *Communiloquium*, perhaps first drafted in Oxford in the 1260s, but then completed in Paris after 1270 is not strictly a “Mirror of Princes,” as it seeks to provide ethical instruction for different groups in society. John also quotes extensively in his *Communiloquium* from the reported exchanges between Aristotle and Alexander: “Many things are written there regarding the instruction of a prince,” concluding this chapter with the comment: “From the aforesaid, a preacher of divinity can have the opportunity to instruct princes and usefully speak with them, especially in a time of peace.”⁴³ The passages he cites may not be the words of Aristotle, but present moral standards about the need to look after the poor: “One who inordinately disposes the goods of the kingdom to the unworthy and not to the needing, depopulate the *respublica*, destroys the kingdom and is unfit to govern.”⁴⁴ The fact that Durand of Champagne borrows many of his stories from John of Wales supports the possibility that John might have been his teacher during the 1270s or early 1280s. That other

³⁸ On Guibert’s multiple references to these letters, see Williams, *The Secret of Secrets*, 207 and 254 n. 302, and on Vincent, 185. While Williams reports that he had not found a single quotation from the *Secretum* in the *Speculum maius*, the letters to Alexander are referred to briefly in *Speculum doctrinale*, 4.92, 130; 5.63; 15.69, cols. 352, 374, 440, 1421.

³⁹ Guibert of Tournai, *Eruditio regum*, 2.7 (de malis quae faciunt officiales in curiis); 2.11 (de malis quae faciunt curiales in curiis); 2.14 (de malis religiosus qui se ingerunt in curiis), ed. De Poorter, 50, 55, 59.

⁴⁰ On the influence of the *De XII abusivis saeculi* (including on John of Wales and Durand of Champagne), see the various papers assembled by Mews and Neal, *Addressing Injustice*.

⁴¹ On John of Wales, see Swanson, *John of Wales*, and Boureau, “L’Exégèse de Jean de Galles.”

⁴² There is a large literature on John of Salisbury and *Policraticus*. See, for example, the introduction and translation of this work by Cary J. Nederman, John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*.

⁴³ John of Wales, *Communiloquium* 1.d1.13: “Multa scribuntur quae spectant ad principis informationem ... Et praemissis ergo potest praedicator divinus habere occasionem instruendi principes et utiliter conferendi cum eis maxime tempore pacis.”

⁴⁴ John of Wales, *Communiloquium* 1.d1.13, quoting *Secretum secretorum*, ed. Steele, 43. “Qui fundit inordinate bona regni sui indignis et non indigentibus talis est depopulator reipublice, regni destructor, inconueniens regimini.”

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English Franciscan, Roger Bacon, was so fascinated by the practical instruction offered in these exchanges that he produced his own glossed edition of the *Secretum secretorum* when he was in England in around 1275, although the work had already been known in Franciscan circles for at least two decades.⁴⁵

Thomas Aquinas, Giles of Rome, and the De regimine principum

The method of combining biblical and classical examples, followed by John of Wales and Durand of Champagne, was very different from the philosophical focus of Giles of Rome in his *De regimine principum* or *On the Rule of Princes*. Giles wrote this treatise in around 1279, very early in his career, when he was still establishing himself as a teacher at the University of Paris, before becoming Prior General of the Augustinian Order in 1292 and (in 1295), archbishop of Bourges. His *De regimine principum* is concerned uniquely with the theory of government, not with its implementation.⁴⁶ Avoiding all reference to the fictitious letters of Aristotle to Alexander, Giles drew only on his authentic writings, above all the *Politics*, introduced for the first time into the Paris through the translation from the Greek by the Dominican William of Moerbeke during the 1260s.

Thomas had first begun to develop his reflections on kingship in a treatise, addressed to the king of Cyprus, that he started, but did not complete, in around 1267–69.⁴⁷ Thomas praised kingship as a superior form of government, when directed to the common good, without making any observations about its implementation in practice. Having studied under Thomas in Paris in the years 1269–72, Giles admired his optimistic vision of human potential at a time of increased hostility between Stephen Tempier, bishop of Paris (1268–79) and the Faculty of Arts. The *De regimine principum*, rich in theoretical insight about government, but without any criticisms of political practice, provided a way for Giles to attract royal patronage at a difficult time in his career. In crafting such a philosophical treatise, Giles was distancing himself from the more homiletic style of John of Wales, followed by Durand of Champagne.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the *De regimine principum* is the complete absence of any argument from scripture and Christian doctrine about how a ruler should behave. Thus the first of its three books is about the cardinal virtues as applied to a ruler (prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude) and the passions of the soul (in other words, the emotions), as well as the virtues and vices of both the old and the young. Whereas Thomas had presented Aristotle's ethical theory as largely compatible with Christian teaching, Giles does not attempt any such synthesis. In its second book, Giles considers how princes (as also other citizens) should rule their wives, sons and household, while in the third, he reflects on how various communities (the household, the city and the kingdom) should be governed in times of peace and of war. Giles clearly valued what Aristotle had to say about city politics in a way that made more sense in the context of northern Italy than of France.

Running through his entire treatise is the conviction, shared with Aristotle, that man is a political animal, and that the pursuit of ethics is to be found in moderation. Yet for all its intellectual originality, Giles's treatise shows no awareness of how government is conducted in practice. In focusing so much on the teaching of Aristotle rather than of Seneca or Cicero, he was departing from earlier patterns of giving advice to princes. Giles's treatise was

⁴⁵ Williams, *Secretum Secretorum*, 175–81.

⁴⁶ On its influence, see Briggs, *Giles of Rome's De regimine principum*; and Perret, *Les traductions françaises du De regimine principum*.

⁴⁷ On the context of Thomas's *De regno*, see the introduction by D. Carron to Thomas Aquinas, *La royauté au roi de Chypre*, 22–27.

enormously popular, both in Latin and vernacular versions, among both clerical and lay audiences. At the same time, however, it did not challenge the established order.

Not the least intriguing feature of Giles's intellectual evolution is that after becoming archbishop of Bourges in 1295, he came to side with Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) in asserting papal over royal authority. In his *De ecclesiastica potestate* (*On Ecclesiastical Power*), Giles declares his support from the outset for Boniface's vision of papal authority as over that of kings.⁴⁸ These were subjects he simply did not speak about in his earlier treatise about the government of princes. In both treatises, however, we may note that his approach is to focus on theory rather than the implementation of government in practice.

Durand on justice

Durand's *De informatione principum* differs sharply from the *De regimine principum* of Giles of Rome not just in its much greater dependence on arguments from scripture, but in its concern with practical failures in the administration of justice. This was a perspective which he had already started to develop in his *Speculum dominarum*, in which he addressed the queen about failures in *iustitia* within the kingdom, and excessive burdens being placed on the poor: "The role of the queen is, by travelling around the kingdom, to listen to the cries of the innocent, the complaints of the oppressed, the causes of the poor and the desolation of wretched people, to inquiry and have inquiries made into the truth, to correct errors, to punish strictly those who injure and rendering to each according to the rule of equity, so that once the advent of such a lady is heard about, the impious are terrified and injuries may cease, all unjustly weighed down may be relieved and with her, peace and justice, joy and security may come forth."⁴⁹ He laments that without such a response: "The impious and wrongdoers wax bold, the poor are oppressed, justice perished, iniquity reigns, crimes multiply, the kingdom is squandered."⁵⁰ Although Durand is writing for the queen, he does not hesitate to describe how princes and kings should behave, moderated by the ethical demands of noble women.

The term *iustitia* occurs some 160 times throughout the *Speculum dominarum*, bringing home just how important is the role of the queen in this respect.⁵¹ Durand's rhetorical technique in this treatise, reliant overwhelming on scripture (above all the Old Testament wisdom literature and prophets) is radically different from the rigidly Aristotelian focus of Giles of Rome, who offers no sense of the established order being driven by injustice. The primary focus of this treatise for the queen, however, is the cultivation of virtue. He structures his treatise as an extended homily around Proverbs 14:1: "The wise woman builds her house." Its first part is organized around the condition of woman (from nature, fortune and grace), with the second about aspects of wisdom, and the third about the four sides of her imagined house (exterior and interior, inferior and superior, namely hell and heaven). Durand makes only very limited references to Aristotle's *Ethics* and none to the

⁴⁸ See the introduction by Dyson to Giles of Rome, *On Ecclesiastical Power*.

⁴⁹ *SD* 1.2.9, ed. Flottès-Dubrulle, 107: "Proinde pia domina circueundo per regnum debet clamores innocencium, querimonias oppressorum, causas pauperum et miserabilium personarum desolaciones audire, veritatem inquire re et inquiri facere, errata corrigere, injuriantes rigide punire et reddere singulis secundum regulam equitatis, ut audito adventu talis domine terreantur impii, puniantur injusti, cessent injurie, consolentur, gaudeant et releventur omnes injuste gravati, et cum ea pax et justicia, gaudium et securitas adducatur, et cetera."

⁵⁰ *SD* 1.2.19, ed. Flottès-Dubrulle, 115: "Insolescant impii et male faciendi sumant audaciam, opprimantur pauperes, justicia pereat, regnet iniquitas, multiplicentur scelera, dissipetur regnum dum dantur cornua peccatori."

⁵¹ Lahav, "A Mirror of Queenship."

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Politics.⁵² Cicero and Seneca get only occasional references, but are cited with nothing like the frequency of citations of scripture, or for that matter of Augustine and Gregory the Great.⁵³

This changes with Durand's *De informatione principum*, the argument of which is built around Jeremiah 23:5: *The king will reign and be wise, and will deliver judgement and justice*. In its second recension, he includes within the prologue an extended eulogy of the young prince Louis: "If one looks at that distinguished youth of the most excellent Philip, king of the Franks, he may see a lively sensibility, a subtle genius, a tenacious memory, a prompt will to the good, innate distinction and distinguished character and attractiveness in all behaviour... and thus observe that it may be truly said about the lord Louis that verse 'The king will reign and be wise', etc."⁵⁴ As Louis was born in 1289, Durand could have voiced this extravagant praise in 1305, when Louis became king of Navarre and then married Marguerite of Burgundy, perhaps as a way of introducing himself as spiritual mentor to the young couple.

Durand's way of combining scriptural, patristic and classical testimony has strong echoes of the *Communiloquium* of John of Wales, from whom he draws a good number of his exempla. Compared to his writing for the queen, Durand offers many more classical authorities. Thus there are just four references to Aristotle (all to the *Ethics*, none to the *Politics*), eight to Cicero, but over a hundred to Seneca, alongside many more hundred to scripture. He also differs from earlier treatises in giving much more detail about failures in the operation of the government of the crown. In his first part, Durand has much to say about the dangers of financial greed, not just by the king, but by his court: "I judge that they make feasts and banquets for the vainest praise, not for the poor of Christ, but for the sake of the rich, actors, and other dishonest people. They multiply ornamented horses for themselves, shieldbearers and other servants beyond number and beyond sufficiency."⁵⁵ Durand seems to be speaking from his experience of court when he argues: "To this I respond that to commit all the business of the realm to others and to excuse its entire weight is inexcusable negligence and laziness."⁵⁶

In the second part, Durand explores how the king should behave to others. Thus to his wife, he should demonstrate mutual love and affection, but rehearses the familiar line that sexual activity should be for the sake of procreation.⁵⁷ Where he departs from tradition is in his detailed description of the various posts occupied in the royal court, something for which

⁵² SD 1.3.d4.22 [De justicia], ed. Flottès-Dubrunle, 217: "Item justicia est quedam equalitas secundum philosophum" and 217–18 Item secundum philosophum: justicia preclarissima virtutum videtur esse." He cites Aristotle's *Ethics* 5.3 and 5.1. There is also brief reference to sayings of "the philosopher," taken from Aristotle's *De sophisticis elenchis* 15 and to *Physica* 7.3 in SD 1.3.d2.9, ed. Flottès-Dubrunle, 129.

⁵³ See the list of sources provided by ed. Flottès-Dubrunle, 326–30, where (328) she observes just two references to Cicero's *De inventione*, two to his *De officiis*. By comparison, Seneca is cited a little more often, with four to his *Epistulae morales* and sixteen to Martin of Braga, *Formula vitae honestae*, always circulated under the name of Seneca (329–30).

⁵⁴ DIP Prol. (P 1r): "Si quis in preclarissimo iuvene excellentissimi principis ac domini prepotentis Philippi, Dei gracia Francorum regis illustrissimi primogenito domino uidelicet Ludouico, diligenter attendat uiuacem sensum, subtile ingenium, tenacem memoriam, uoluntatem ad bonum promptissimam, preclaram indolis et morum omnium uenustatem, luculenter potest aduertere quam uere de dicto domino Ludouico possit intelligi uerbum prepositum: *Regnabit rex et sapiens erit*, etc."

⁵⁵ DIP 1.6.12 (P 10r): "Item pro uanissima laude faciunt festa et conuiuia non pro pauperibus Christi, sed pro diuitibus, histrionibus, traiectoribus et personis aliis inhonestis, et hoc uanissimum iudico. Item equos sibi multiplicant, phaleratos, scutiferos et alios seruientes supra numerum et ultra suppetentiam facultatum."

⁵⁶ DIP 1.8.3 (P 11v–12r): "Ad hoc respondeo quod omnia regni negocia committere aliis et a se totum pondus excutere esset inexcusabilis negligencie et torporis."

⁵⁷ DIP 2.3.2 (P 47v–48r).

there is no precedent in either Vincent of Beauvais or Giles of Rome. After rather brief summaries of the role of a confessor, chaplain, and almoner (dispensing charity), Durand launches into a lengthy tirade against nepotism and inefficiency in his account of the role of the chamberlain, effectively the chief minister of the realm.⁵⁸ In 1304, the position of chamberlain was given to Enguerrand de Marigny, a protégé of Queen Jeanne de Navarre and thus certainly known well to her confessor, Durand. Enguerrand was only the second layman to hold this position. He rose to position of great wealth and power over the next decade, acquiring great personal wealth and notoriety for debasing the coinage in order to pay for ultimately fruitless wars against Flanders. The death of Philip IV on 29 November 1314 and the rising influence of his ambitious brother, Charles of Valois, led to Enguerrand's execution in 1315 – a fate rather like that of Thomas Cromwell in the 1530s.

This makes Durand's tirade against corrupt and nepotistic chamberlains of the greatest interest. "Such people establish outside the palace and throughout the kingdom, relatives, kinsmen, compatriots as seneschals, bailiffs, judges, provosts, tax collectors to extend their power. In these offices, they put in charge men who are inadequate, unworthy, ambitious, covetous, greedy, impious, accumulating money, horses and multiplying services, practicing injustices, despoiling the country, and not sparing the people."⁵⁹ Durand's list of officials shows that he was aware of the distinction between a seneschal, who exercised authority in the great duchies and counties, especially in the south, and the bailiffs, who administered government and justice within the royal domain.⁶⁰ Durand then offers twelve chapters about abuses practiced by such people: from insatiable ambition to hold higher office, to betrayal of friends, laziness and many kinds of theft.⁶¹ He follows this with more positive accounts of how counsellors should behave, that they should be wise, literate and truthful. Durand concludes with chapters about how bailiffs, provosts, justices and knights should behave. In mentioning all these categories, Durand was extending a technique developed by John of Wales (never touched on by Giles of Rome) of commenting on a wide range of roles in society, but with much more detail.

The third part of Durand's treatise, about various aspects of wisdom, connects not just to a parallel section in the *Speculum dominarum*, but to a distinctive theological position developed by Bonaventure, who framed all teaching around the ideal of wisdom. In the fourth part, Durand returns to the last part of that quote from Jeremiah 23:5, "*and will deliver judgement and justice.*" By singling out this verse, Durand found an opportunity to explain how justices ought to behave and the need for rectitude and impartiality, speed, and efficiency. Durand concludes by expanding on an idea that he had raised in the *Speculum dominarum*, that there were four kinds of justice: commutative (in exchange, as in making contracts), punitive (as in appropriate punishments), distributive (as in assigning rewards),

⁵⁸ DIP 2.8–11 (P 52v–53r), followed by (P 53r–55v) a much longer chapter (2.12) on the chamberlain and a shorter one (2.13) on ministerials.

⁵⁹ DIP 2.11.4 (P 55v): "Extra palatium etiam circumquamque per regnum instituebant consanguineos et affines, compatriotas, et consentaneos in senescallos bailliuos, iudices, prepositos, receptores, ut ubique suam extenderent potestatem. In hiis autem officiis proficiebant homines insufficientes, indignos, ambiciosos, cupidos, rapaces, impios pecunias aggregantes, equos et famulos multiplicantes, iniusticias exercentes, spoliantes patriam, et populo non parcentes."

⁶⁰ See n. 7 above.

⁶¹ DIP 2.13–24 (P 56v–77v), listed at the opening as: "XIII De insatiabili ambitione dignitatum; XIII De inexplebili cupiditate facultatum; XV De abhominabili simulatione sanctitatis; XVI De immoderata acceptione munerum; XVII De dolosa adinventione calumpniarum; XVIII De subdola acceptione personarum; XIX De uendicione officiorum; XX De mendosa adulatione; XXI De inuidiosa detractatione; XXII De prodiciosa amiciciarum fictione; XXIII De ociositate et infructuosa occupatione; XXIII De multimoda furti commissione."

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and retributive (as in repayments).⁶² This expands on an Aristotelian distinction between commutative and retributive made in the *Politics* (which Durand never cites by name), while Aristotle had also spoken in the *Topics* about distributive justice.⁶³ In classifying these four types of justice, Durand was not innovating on the scale of Giles of Rome. Nonetheless, his closing with these four categories shows that he wanted his *De informatione principum* to show that he was guided by the spirit of Aristotle, at the same time as by scripture and the Church Fathers. Durand was also practical in his spirit, and wanted to think systematically about how judges were involved in implementing justice throughout the realm.

Conclusion

The *De informatione principum* may not be explicitly Aristotelian as the treatise of Giles of Rome on government, but it was much concerned with injustice in the realm. Through his role as Franciscan confessor to Queen Jeanne of Navarre and then to her young daughter-in-law, Marguerite of Burgundy, its author had acquired unusually close familiarity with the workings of the royal court run by Philip IV of France and his advisors. He was working in a court in which Philip IV drew heavily on Dominican confessors to implement royal policy. The fact that in 1303 he was one of those many mendicant friars in France who signed a petition of assent to Philip's efforts to have Pope Boniface VIII condemned for heresy and gross abuse of power highlights how his first loyalties were to the crown, in a way that was quite different from the position taken by Giles of Rome in that conflict.

Yet Durand was also very concerned by failures of justice in the realm, as he first signalled in his *Speculum dominarum*, in which he urged the queen to use her influence on Philip to listen to voices of those of his people placed in positions of economic distress. He took these ideas much further in his *De informatione principum*, on the instruction of princes, in which he picked up on the voice of the prophet Jeremiah (23:5), warning the king of Israel about abuses of power and looking forward to a time when *The king will reign and be wise, and will deliver judgement and justice*. Choosing this verse as the basis of commentary had particular relevance when commenting on the responsibilities of Philip's son, Louis, to govern the kingdom well. Durand's prophetic approach is very different from the Aristotelian perspective pursued by the young Giles of Rome in his *De regimine principum*, written in 1282. Avoiding any reference to the authority of scripture, Giles wanted to set out a system of ethical values that the young prince should follow, without making any comment on the practice of government in the kingdom. Writing soon after the death of the queen to educate the young prince Louis, Durand was keen to develop a Franciscan perspective on the duties of kingship, one which highlighted abuses in government as much as the theory of government and justice.

We do not know how much attention Philip IV and his Dominican confessors paid to the Franciscan Durand of Champagne, particularly after the death of Jeanne de Navarre. Philip then started to assert his authority in several directions, not just over the Church, but in expelling Jews and in accusing the Templars of gross negligence in their failure to live up to

⁶² *DIP* 3.23.2 (*P* 117r–v): “Sciendum est autem quod est iusticia commutativa que consistit in contractibus faciendis, vindicativa que consistit in criminibus puniendis, distributiva que consistit in muneribus conferendis, retributiva que consistit in mercedibus rependendis.” Cf. *SD* 1.3.d4.26–29, ed. Flottès-Dubrulle, 221–25.

⁶³ Aristotle, *Politica* 1.9, trans. Moerbeke, 36: “Hii quidem enim ipsorum communicabant omnibus, hii autem segregati multis rursus et aliis, quorum secundum indigentias necessarium fieri retributiones, quemadmodum adhuc faciunt multae barbararum nationum, secundum commutationem.” Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea* 5.7, 5.8, trans. Moerbeke, 459–60 and 464–65. Aristotle had used the words *vindictivus*, but not as a specific classification of *iustitia*, in *Ethica Nicomachea* 4.11 and 10.10, trans. Moerbeke, 445 and 586, and similarly *retributivus* in 4.8, trans. Moerbeke, 441.

their crusading vocation. In the last years of his life, Philip accused his three daughters-in-law of adultery, including Marguerite of Burgundy, to whom Durand of Champagne had become confessor. Philip developed very firm ideas about potential threats to what he perceived as his rightful authority. Given that Marguerite was thrown into prison in 1314 and would die there in suspicious circumstances the following year, it is not surprising that Durand's position at the royal court would come to an end, and that he would then devote himself to writing about the four last things (death, judgment, hell and beatitude) in a treatise in which he referred to both the *Speculum dominarum* and *De informatione principum*. These writings of Durand would subsequently be integrated (alongside many passages excerpted from Thomas Aquinas) into the *Speculum morale*, completing the *Speculum maius*, as originally planned by the Dominican Vincent of Beauvais. It seems to have been a particularly Franciscan contribution to emphasize the importance of ethical behaviour within this great compendium of knowledge.

Philip IV certainly presided over a process of centralization of government and the collection of taxes of major influence in the history of France, such as his biographers (most recently Krynen) have documented. Yet attention also needs to be given to the consequences of his policies for the practice of government and the administration of justice. Durand of Champagne was driven by his experience of life at court to go much further than his Franciscan predecessors, Guibert of Tournai and John of Wales, in offering his own observations on failures in the implementation of justice in the kingdom, as well as on the duties and responsibilities of various types of royal officials. Durand preferred to anchor his advice on the collective wisdom of scripture, the Church Fathers and the ancients, rather than simply base his arguments on texts of Aristotle that might be known to other intellectuals, but did not have wide circulation in society.

Durand's treatise on the instruction of princes has none of the theoretical Aristotelian brilliance of Giles of Rome, but it has much to say about failures of justice and the need for an effective judiciary to administer justice for the king. While there is no doubt that Philip was effective in asserting authority within the kingdom, in particular against those tendencies in the Church which wanted to maintain its independence from royal authority, Durand was aware of the need to maintain the administration of justice. It was all very well for Giles to plunder Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics* for potential advice to a ruler as to govern a kingdom, but he had nothing to say about the problems confronting the administration of justice within an increasingly centralized monarchy. As a Franciscan, Durand had to steer a path between life in court and proclaiming sympathy for the poor and their demands for justice. His name would not be circulated as author of the *De informatione principum*, resulting in his specific contribution to educating princes being largely forgotten. Yet the need to respond to corruption and injustice within government, whether within France or elsewhere, would never disappear.

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