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William J. Courtenay, *Rituals for the Dead: Religion and Community in the Medieval University of Paris*. Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press (Indiana, 2019) xi + 201 pp. Notes, illustrations, maps, index, bibliography. \$45.00 U.S. (pb). ISBN 978-0-268-10494-8.

Review by Michael Robson, St. Edmund's College, Cambridge.

The mention of the University of Paris in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries evokes memories of the relationship between the papacy and the university, the masters' and scholars' links with the successive kings of France, the prestige of the schools which attracted scholars from all parts of western Europe, the adoption of Master Peter Lombard's *Sentences* as the manual for the teaching of theology, the recovery of the Aristotelian materials which enriched the teaching in the faculty of arts, the role of the four principal orders of the friars, the university strikes of 1229 and the mendicant controversy which flared up in the 1250s and again in the 1270s. The Christian context of life at the University of Paris is described by William J. Courtenay, the Charles Homer Haskins Professor Emeritus of Medieval History at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He has already illuminated the careers of the Parisian masters and helped to clarify the nature of the theological instruction available in the *studia generalia* of the four main mendicant orders at Paris. His magisterial account concentrates on the ritual for the faithful departed in the halls and the nascent colleges in the University of Paris. This monograph draws attention to the liturgical and devotional life of the masters and students. It is rich in illustrations, largely of corporate seals with some rose windows. The text is followed by extensive endnotes, a selected bibliography and an index of persons, places and subjects.

The first chapter, *Death in Paris*, opens with an observation on the amount of space allocated to suffrages in the earliest statutes of the University granted by Robert of Courcon, the papal legate and a former regent master of theology, in 1215. As much as 20% of the statutes deal with suffrages, despite the youthful composition of the student body and the fact that the secular masters did not linger for long in the schools. In the thirteenth century all the Parisian churches had cemeteries, as did the religious houses. The statutes of 1215 do not stipulate where burials took place. John, dean of Saint-Quentin, who was teaching theology at Paris in the first decade of the thirteenth century, bequeathed the Dominicans the site for their Parisian priory, where he requested burial and arranged for Masses to be celebrated in perpetuity at Saint-Jacques for the repose of his soul. Another master who favored interment among the newly arrived mendicant orders was Philip the Chancellor, who chose burial in the church of the Cordeliers. If any student in the faculties of arts or theology died during their studies, professors in the arts were required to attend the funeral. When regent masters in the faculty of arts or theology died in office, the

other masters were obliged to participate in the vigil and attend the requiem Mass. Lectures were cancelled for the day of the funeral. The funeral and interment were stages in the ritual of remembrance. The second chapter, *Allocating Spiritual Rewards: The Power of the Mass for the Souls of the Dead*, explains that the colleges helped to keep alive the names of the deceased through prayers and anniversary Masses. Colleges, like monastic communities sharing necrologies, recorded the names of those for whom Masses and other suffrages were to be offered. There was an annual commemoration of the faithful departed on 3 February.

The third chapter, *Candles for Our Lady: the Arts Faculty Nations as Confraternities*, explains that the Nations of the faculty of arts resembled religious confraternities in their commemoration of deceased members. From the middle of the thirteenth century the Nations had their own churches. The English Nation, for instance, gathered at the church of Saint-Côme in the rue de la Harpe, located on the site of the present Librairie Gibert Joseph on the boulevard Saint-Michel. It was the smallest Nation and counted between 12 and 15 masters and perhaps 150 students. The number of scholars promoted to the baccalaureate, licentiate and mastership and the decisions taken by the masters were recorded in the *Proctors' Book of the English Nation* from the 1330s. The offering of candles to Our Lady was also entered in this book. The statutes of the Nation in 1252 had required the masters to celebrate the feasts of Saints Edmund, king and martyr, Nicholas, Catherine and Thomas Becket communally. A fuller explanation of the liturgical life of the Nations is given in the fourth chapter, *Gaudy Night: Colleges and Prayers for the Dead*. A gaudy night was an occasion for feasting and recalling past bonds between generations of scholars, their colleges and benefactors. The occasion was preceded by a commemoration of former members in the chapel. The daily prayers in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge reflect the liturgical life of the Nations in Paris. The Collège de Hubant, founded by John of Hubant and also known as the Collège de l'Ave Maria, amply illustrates the liturgical life of students at Paris. Prayer was continuous during the day and week, as it would be in a monastery. There were prayers upon waking, before and after meals and before retiring at the end of the day. The Little Office of Our Lady was celebrated by the students early in the morning, the Office of the Dead before lunch, Vigils and Compline before supper, Matins and Lauds of the Virgin in the evening and prayers to each student's patron saint before sleeping. The Psalter was read during meals, which were to be consumed in silence. A solemn Mass was celebrated each Sunday and there were Masses for the dead on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. On Tuesday there was a Mass in honor of the angels and a Mass in honor of the Holy Spirit on Thursdays. Masses were offered for the repose of the soul of the founder, especially on the anniversary of his death as well as the anniversary of the completion of the College chapel.

The fifth chapter, *A Hidden Presence: Women and the University of Paris*, opens with an account of the education available to women in western Europe during the Middle Ages. By the fourteenth century every parish in Paris had one or more schools; girls and boys were educated separately. Some women taught in schools for girls. The school of Dame Annette d'Arke in the rue du Fouarre, for instance, was mentioned in 1286, as was the school of Dame Jahanna la Frissone two years later; the latter was on the rue des Cordeliers, which contained the houses of Beguines, who may have been involved in the teaching. Women loom large as founders or co-founders of colleges at Paris and elsewhere. The first foundresses were active in Paris in the early decades of the fourteenth century and were almost contemporaries of Elizabeth de Burgh, the lady of Clare, and Marie de St Pol, countess of Pembroke, who founded Clare and Pembroke Colleges respectively in Cambridge. The Collège de Navarre was the first academic institution in Paris founded by a woman. Queen Joan of Navarre, the wife of Philip IV, died in 1305 and was buried

among the Cordeliers of Paris, an order which she favored greatly. The terms of her will governed the life of the college, including the nature of the foundation, the appointment of fellows, other statutory regulations and the establishment of a chapel on the college property. Fellows were required to attend Masses on Sundays and feasts and prayers for the foundress were stipulated. Joan's husband, Philip the Fair, delayed the implementation of his wife's will for a decade beyond her death. A second Parisian College was founded by Joan of Burgundy (†1330), who outlived her husband, Philip VI. This college was established to support scholars from her region and it was composed of a master, a chaplain and eighteen students in logic and natural philosophy. The master was required to have graduated in the arts and Mass was to be celebrated daily, with a sung Mass on feast days. Women were also prominent among patrons of individual scholars, giving employment to several graduates.

The Growth of Marian Devotion forms the sixth chapter and reflects the centrality of Marian piety in the life of the University of Paris. The eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries saw advances in Marian piety and a marked increase in the number of churches dedicated to Our Lady throughout France and England. Similarly, the number of churches with a lady altar proliferated along with the pious tradition of a Saturday votive Mass in honor of Our Lady and the office of Our Lady. Marian devotion found expression in the dedication of the city's cathedral, in theological debates concerning the conception of Our Lady or the Immaculate Conception in the later thirteenth century, and the number of seals, including that of the University of Paris. Marian piety was more pronounced in the Colleges founded in the 1320s and 1330s. The Collège de Presles (1324) was established under the combined patronage of St James and Our Lady. The chapter closes with this pithy summary: "She (Our Lady) oversaw the academic activities of masters, bachelors, and students on the Great Seal, and she was fervently prayed to on the seals of masters for her intercession on their behalf" (p.130).

The last chapter, *Balancing Inequality*, notes that it was the wealthier members of the university who were strong in their support of poor students. The Parisian Colleges acted as a religious community, recalling the death of the founder and his family as well as former members; masters and students alike bore the same responsibilities for suffrages. The colleges of the University were religious as well as educational institutes. The final paragraph closes with an apt quotation: "The university was a collection of subgroups, faculties, nations, and colleges, whose daily activities had a large, sometimes dominant religious component..." (p.136). The focus of these devotions was the celebration of Mass with expressions of Marian piety.

This magisterial account teems with insights into the lives of the masters and students in the halls and colleges of the University of Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It demonstrates that studies in the faculties of arts and theology were situated in the Christian tradition and that Christian piety framed masters' and students' lives and conduct, with its cycle of prayers for the dead. This volume is a wholesome companion to the texts describing the academic debates, exercises, and disputations within the University of Paris. It will be warmly welcomed by historians of the nascent universities. I, for one, will be glad to add it to my personal library.

Michael Robson,
St Edmund's College, Cambridge
mjpr100@cam.ac.uk

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