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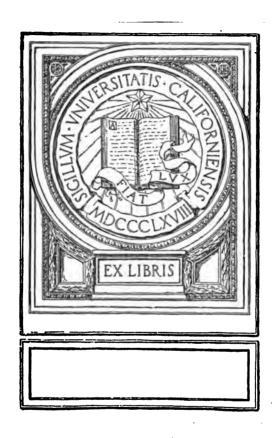
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SEYBOLT





AN ORIGINAL ACCOUNT OF LIFE IN THE MEDIAEVAL UNIVERSITY

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN

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INTRODUCTION

STUDENTS of university life in the Middle Ages have long been familiar with the *Manuale Scholarium*. Several writers have used it as their chief source of information concerning life in the German universities of the later Middle Ages; others have based their accounts exclusively upon it. The comments of many investigators on its documentary value would seem to justify an attempt to make the *Manuale* available to a wider circle of readers.

The popularity of the *Manuale* among modern writers seems to be due to its interesting description of the freshman ceremony of initiation, in the second chapter. Kaufmann and Steinhausen refer to the *Manuale* only in connection with the 'jocund advent.' This chapter, containing the earliest published account of the rite of deposition, is duly acknowledged by Rait and Rashdall.² A rather free and much abbre-

¹ Georg Kaufmann, Die Geschichte der deutschen Universitäten, ii, p. 233: "One gets a vivid picture of it from the description in the Manuale Scholarium, which presents the custom of the fifteenth century." Georg Steinhausen, Geschichte der deutschen Kultur, p. 458: "The much used . . . Manuale Scholarium affords a glance into student life itself, its ofttimes rough customs, and particularly the deposition."

² R. S. Rait, Life in the Medieval University, pp. 116-119; Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, ii, pp. 629-631. Wilhelm Fabricius, "Die ältesten gedruckten Quellen zur Geschichte des deutschen Studententums," in Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde, Jahrgang i (1897-98), i, p. 182, note 2: "The description of

viated translation of it appears in Coulton's Medieval Garner, under the title "The Freshman's Ordeal." Fairly complete translations of this section are to be found in the studies of Busch and Schultz; each, however, leaves several phrases in the original.

Liberal acknowledgment is made by these writers and others of their indebtedness to the *Manuale* for their accounts of other aspects of student life. The evidence of references, in their chapter on "Das deutsche Studententum bis zur Reformation," indicates that the most thorough use has been made of the work by Schulze and Ssymank.⁵ Otto Kaemmel's study on "Die Universitäten im Mittelalter" draws very freely upon it.⁶ Schultz makes brief mention, on

the deposition in the Manuale Scholarium was frequently published in the seventeenth century, and is of great importance in the investigation of this custom;" and ibid., Jg. 3 (1899–1900), i, p. 100: "I have already remarked, in the first part of this series of articles, that the Manuale Scholarium contains the oldest description of the custom of deposition. A whole literature on this custom sprang up in the succeeding centuries." O. Kaemmel, "Die Universitäten des Mittelalters," in K. A. Schmid's Geschichte der Erziehung (Stuttgart, 1884–1902), ii, p. 535, n. 1: "The Manuale Scholarium, Chapter II, gives the first detailed description, almost in the form of a dramatic scene." Friedrich Zarncke, Die deutschen Universitäten im Mittelalter, p. ix: "The description of the freshman initiation is, so far as I know, the oldest example of its kind."

- G. G. Coulton, A Medieval Garner (London, 1910), pp. 670-673.
- ⁴ Moritz Busch, "Deutsche Studenten in alter Zeit," in *Die Grenzboten*, Jg. 25 (1866), ii, pp. 206-211; Alwin Schultz, *Deutsches Leben im* XIV. und XV. Jahrhundert, i, pp. 204-209.
- ⁵ Friedrich Schulze and Paul Ssymank, Das deutsche Studententum von den aeltesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart, pp. 46-78.
 - ⁶ In K. A. Schmid, Geschichte der Erziehung, ii, pp. 334-548.

the page following his translation of Chapter II, of several aspects of university life as revealed by the third, seventh, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of the *Manuale*. A digest of certain sections is given by Karl Hartfelder in an article entitled "Heidelberger Studentenleben in alter Zeit." 8

The *Manuale* presents a lively account of certain aspects of life in the German universities of the later Middle Ages.⁹ Two students of Heidelberg, through the medium of their dialogue, afford us a glimpse into their daily routine.¹⁰ From them we learn not only the

⁷ Op. cit., i, pp. 209-210.

⁸ In Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Geschichte, ii (1885), pp. 780-785.

Busch (op. cit., p. 205) calls it "a very clear description." Schultz (op. cit., p. 203) says: "The Manuale Scholarium gives us the best information concerning student life."

¹⁰ Rashdall (op. cit., ii, p. 620, n. 2): "The book consists of a series of Dialogues intended apparently in part as a repertoire of the Latinity which a Scholar would require for conversational purposes at the University." Schulze and Ssymank refer to it as a "students' adviser" (op. cit., p. 51), and "students' guide" (op. cit., p. 56). Adolf Pernwerth von Bärnstein, in his bibliography (Beiträge zur Geschichte & Literatur des deutschen Studententhumes, p. 101), characterizes the Manuale as "an official book of regulations, to serve those who are newly entering the university as a guide to conditions awaiting them there." Fabricius, op. cit., Ig. 1, i. p. 178: "It is a collection of conversations between students, which treat university matters of that time in such a way that the work may be regarded as an excellent source for research concerning academic conditions about 148o." Zarncke (op. cit., p. ix): "The Manuale Scholarium was composed chiefly to give to any one entering the university, who was from that time forth obliged to speak Latin, directions as to how he should properly express and conduct himself. The great number of editions that have come down to us supply evidence that the book fulfilled its purpose."

formalities of matriculation, the details of the freshman ceremony of initiation, the course of study, methods of instruction, requirements for degrees, their life in the lodgings, etc., but also their reactions to these features of university life. As Rait says, the *Manuale* "gives, in some ways, a remarkable picture of German student life, with its interests and its temptations; but it raises more problems than it solves, and it affords a fresh illustration of the difficulty of attempting to recreate the life of the past."¹¹

The Manuale, the authorship of which is unknown, first appeared in 1481.¹² During the next two centuries its popularity carried it through many editions. According to Fabricius, one Paul Niavis was tempted to publish it as his own work, and without extensive rearrangement of material, under the title Latina Ydeomata (c. 1481–1520).¹³ Fabricius's study contains an interesting discussion of the authorship of the two works, the dates of their composition, and a detailed comparison of their contents.

The text used for the translation is the well known edition by Zarncke.¹⁴ To preserve, in some measure, the atmosphere of the university setting, and the

¹¹ Op. cit., p. 108.

¹² Fabricius, op. cit., Jg. 1, i, pp. 177-182; Zarncke, op. cit., p. 224.

¹⁸ Fabricius, op. cit., Jg. 1, i, pp. 177-182.

¹⁴ Zarncke, op. cit., pp. 1-48. For editions, see the British Museum Catalogue; Erman and Horn, Bibliographie der deutschen Universitäten, i, pp. 291-292; Fabricius, op. cit., Jg. 3, i, pp. 99-105; and Zarncke, op. cit., pp. 221-223. The Manuale Scholarium has never been translated into any modern language.

adolescent spirit of the *dramatis personae*, as well as to cope with the problem presented by the bad Latin ¹⁵ and the etymological vagaries of the unknown author, rather free use has been made of student colloquialism. The content of the notes and appendix has been reduced to the minimum; only a few typical statutes have been selected from the codes of Erfurt, Heidelberg, and Leipzig, to amplify and illustrate the text.

18 Zarncke, op. cit., p. 226: "His [the author's] Latin betrays not the slightest influence of the works of Cicero; indeed, it is often so incorrect that it can hardly be excused even for the fifteenth century. Not only does he unhesitatingly use ut and the indirect interrogatives with the indicative, and often quod instead of ut and vice versa, and quia and quod instead of the accusative with the infinitive, etc., but he also interchanges the indicative and the subjunctive, using particularly the present subjunctive and the future indicative in parallel constructions (cf. 4, 15: sic nemo te arguet parcitate et superflui sumplus evitentur; 43, 18: ibimus ad ecclesiam atque audiamus sermonem, etc.); so that one must sometimes suspect that the author was more actively interested in the amusements and jests of student life, some of which he has been able to depict so vividly in the second chapter, than in the diligent attendance upon academic lectures, reviews, disputations, and exercises."



CHAPTER I

How new Students should address their Masters, that they may be entered upon the Register of the University, and initiated

Student. Reverend master, I beg you to help me to be registered 1 upon the roll of this kind university,

¹ ut in matriculam . . . intituler. The terms matriculation and intitulation were interchangeable. Matriculation, or registration, was required of all students.

Erfurt statute, 1412 (Acten der Erfurter Universitaet, ed. by J. C. H. Weissenborn, ii, p. 144): "Students should be listed on the roll of the university, and should be students in fact, and not merely students in name." Erfurt, 1447 (Acten, i, p. 12): "The university should have a roll on which to list all who shall come to Erfurt for the purpose of study, and who wish to enjoy the privileges of the university and be considered members of it; and no one shall be enrolled on the same unless he has previously given his oath to the rector of the university, and pays what he owes according to the statutes." Erfurt, 1447 (Acten, i, p. 13): "No one shall be received in any faculty unless he shall first be enrolled and received in the university; entrance on any other terms is worthless and void."

A Heidelberg statute of 1464 required that matriculants be fourteen years of age, at least. *Urkundenbuch der Universitaet Heidelberg*, ed. by Eduard Winkelmann, ii, p. 40.

The customary matriculation fee was abated or remitted in the cases of poor boys. See Heidelberg, 1448 (*Urkundenbuch*, ii, p. 38): "The university decrees that the fee of 5 sol. may be remitted in the case of a matriculant who is notoriously poor; in no case, however, does this apply to the fee for the beadle." Erfurt, 1447 (*Acten*, i,

18 :::: THE MANUALE SCHOLARIUM

and initiated.² I've just arrived, and am unknown here, and don't know any one but you to whom I may apply for assistance.

Master. Where do you come from, boy?

Student. Most excellent master, I'm from Ulm, and before I left home I was advised to have confidence in Your Lordship. They say that you are the one who

p. 12): "Whoever is matriculated at the university must pay one third of a florin, if he can afford it, or twenty groschen, which we consider the same in value. But if he be a noble, or hold rank as baron, count, or greater, let him, for the sake of his own honor, pay one florin; prelates, and those desiring to be placed in the first forms or grades, must pay at least half a florin. Likewise, if the matriculant is poor, he must pay at least six old groschen, of which three go to the treasury and three to the servitors of the university." If the matriculant paid no fee, his name was entered upon the roll with the qualification "p" (pauper), or "n.d." (nihil dedit)

² a beanio absolvi, a variant of the usual expression for initiation: depositio beanii (in English, deposition). Beanium, the state of being a beanus (i. e., a freshman). Beanus (Ducange, Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis: Novellus Studiosus, qui ad Academiam nuper accessit), French: bejaune (bec = jaune), bejane, bajan; German: Gelbschnabel, Fuchs; English: fledgling, yellow bill, greenhorn, freshman, etc.; Scottish: bejan; defined acrostically: "Beanus Est Animal Nesciens Vitam Studiosorum (the beanus is an animal ignerant of the life of students)." The beanus was often called cornutus (horned one), and the initiation, depositio cornuum (the laying aside of the horns, i. e., of the freshman's uncouthness). The initiators or inductors were known as depositores.

Cf. Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum (Stokes edition, pp. 101, 366), i, 39: "In primo die quando veni ad universitatem, et deposui beanium (On the very day when I arrived at the university, and underwent initiation)"; and the same (pp. 180, 440), ii, 22: "tunc dixi ei quod . . . in universitate coloniensi fuistis depositor meus, quando deposui beanium . . . (Thereupon I told him that . . . at the University of Cologne you were my depositor when I was initiated as a freshman)."

grants the various petitions that are properly presented to him.

Master. Why did you come here? Tell me.

Student. To study.

Master. Did you come alone?

Student. I did, reverend master.

Master. Are your parents well to do?

Student. They're fairly well off; they are tradesmen. They've assured me that if I apply myself to study, they'd be willing to exercise every economy in my behalf.

Master. I shall take you to the rector immediately. Take care that you are undaunted. Do not be too frightened, lest fear deprive you of the power of speech; be especially careful that you take the oath properly; and take care lest your haste in reading make you stumble.³

Student. I'll do as well as I can, most worthy preceptor, and as my faculties permit me, but at first I can hardly help being afraid, as I've never before been among doctors and illustrious men of this sort. However, I'll gladly submit to Your Lordship as well as my bashfulness allows.

Master. I advise you then to pay strict attention.

After the enrolment, the master says to the student: Now you are registered. Where do you intend to have your deposition?

³ The entering student took an oath to observe the statutes and customs of the university. See Appendix, 1, Oath of Matriculants.

Student. Reverend master, I leave that to you, for Your Lordship knows better than I where it can best be done, and as I asked you before, I beg that you have me in mind in this matter.

Master. Do you like it in my sanctum?

Student. I like it so well, that I don't think it could be more pleasant anywhere else.

Master. Shall I invite more masters to be present? Student. Most worthy preceptor, I have but little wealth. Above all I ask that the collation be not made too expensive, nor do I wish that it be spread too thin and my character injured, but that moderation be observed as well as custom.

Master. I understand how it is. I shall, therefore, call three masters, and two bachelors, and some of my associates.⁵ Thus no one will accuse you of parsimony, and excessive costs will be avoided.

Student. Honorable master, that is most pleasing to me.

- 4 The collation provided by the freshman, after his initiation, afforded the students another opportunity to impose upon him. See the latter part of the freshman's confession (p. 33): "Don't be niggardly this evening, but generous . . . I have ordered him to spend his money freely, and forsooth on us, and he has promised to regale us all with the best wine, to spend all the money which his father collected . . . all the money which his mother had extracted from her husband . . ."
- ⁶ et quosdam de sociis meis. Hastings Rashdall, in commenting upon this (The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, ii, p. 630, n. 1), calls the socii "pupils or boarders"; Zarncke, Die deutschen Universitäten im Mittelalter, p. 228: "the socii are the students whom the master has in his care."

Master. Bear it with calm mind if any one come and annoy you with words, and taunt you; for this the ancient custom of admission has brought about, that when there is a laying aside of the beanium, it may appear at first rather a severity than an occasion of joy and eagerness. However, I will see to it that no one oversteps the bounds.⁶

Although the deposition was recognized by the university, and usually took place under the supervision of a master, or of a depositor appointed by the rector, it was characterized by its rough horse-play. Contemporary accounts, and statutes, indicate that it was overdone in many instances, and that the beanus was often imposed upon in the matter of the deposition-fee.

Vienna, 1385 (Rudolf Kink, Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität zu Wien, ii, p. 77): "No one shall dare to molest the entering students, who are called beani, with any kind of undue exactions, or to annoy them with any injuries or abuse." Erfurt, 1447 (Acten, i, p. 18): "There should not be exacted, nor should any one be permitted to exact, from the beanus for the deposition, more than one third of a Rhenish florin, if permission for exacting more has not been obtained from the rector of the university or the privy council." Greifswald, 1456 (J. G. L. Kosegarten, Geschichte der Universität Greifswald, ii, p. 304): "The rectors of the lodgings should not permit them (the students) to exact and demand more than one third of a florin from the beanus for his deposition. The deposition of the beanus should be held in the colleges in the presence of the directors, unless the one to be initiated is the son of some resident of this city, or has the special permission of the dean and his assistants." Leipzig, 1495 (Die Statutenbücher der Universität Leipzig, ed. by Friedrich Zarncke, p. 102): "STATUTE FORBIDDING ANY ONE TO ANNOY OR UNDULY INJURE THE BEANI. Each and every one attached to this university is forbidden to offend with insult, torment, harass, drench with water or urine, throw on or defile with dust or any filth, mock by whistling, cry at them with a terrifying voice, or dare to molest in any way whatsoever physically or severely, in the market, streets, courts, colleges and living houses, or any place whatsoever, and particularly in the present Student. I'll take it not merely with equanimity, but with the greatest equanimity, most excellent preceptor. Nevertheless, I beseech your kindness, since you keep me in hand, that no one attack me with force and violence.

college, when they have entered in order to matriculate or are leaving after matriculation, any, who are called *beani*, who come to this town and to this fostering university for the purpose of study. Under the penalty of five groschen," etc. So also Heidelberg, 1585 (*Urkundenbuch*, i, pp. 322-323).

Brief accounts of the deposition are to be found in, Aschbach, Geschichte der Wiener Universität, i, pp. 66-67; Gersdorf, "Beitrag zur Geschichte der Universität Leipzig" (see Bibliography), pp. 103-110; Kaufmann, Die Geschichte der deutschen Universitäten, ii, pp. 232-233; Janssen, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters, vii, pp. 206-208; Rait, Life in the Medieval University, pp. 109-123; Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, ii, pp. 628-636; Schulze and Ssymank, Das deutsche Studententum von den aeltesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart, pp. 56-57; Raumer, Geschichte der Pädagogik, iv. pp. 33-38; and Zinck, "Studentisches Leben in Leipzig zur Zeit des Kurfürsten August." in Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte. Neue (4) Folge, vi, pp. 194-195. The most satisfactory study of the deposition from the sources is Oskar Schade's "Die Deposition auf den Universitäten," in Weimarisches Jahrbuch für deutsche Sprache, Litteratur, und Kunst, vi, pp. 315-360. For bibliographies of the literature of deposition, see Erman and Horn, Bibliographie der deutschen Universitäten, i, nos. 12077-177, 16303; ii, nos. 463, 2032, 3370, 10220, 10966, 11605-608, 13746, 14907, 15734, 16017, 16378; Fabricius, "Die ältesten gedruckten Quellen zur Geschichte des deutschen Studententums," in Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde, Jg. 3, i, pp. 99-105; and Pernwerth von Bärnstein, Beiträge zur Geschichte & Literatur des deutschen Studententhumes, pp. 08-101. Woodcuts of deposition scenes are reproduced in Fabricius, op. cit., p. 101; Reicke, Lehrer und Unterrichtswesen in der deutschen Vergangenheit, pp. 91, 92; Albert Richter, Bilder aus der deutschen Kulturgeschichte, ii, p. 371.

Master. Do not fear. I shall protect you, and when dinner is over hurry to my sanctum.

Student. I'll do so, most gracious master, and gladly.

CHAPTER II

Concerning two Youths, called Camillus and Bartoldus, plaguing a Beanus; pretending that they do not know he is a Beanus, but that he is an Offensive Smell

Camillus. What's the stink that's smelling up this place? We can't stand this! There's either been a corpse rotting here, or a goat, filthiest of beasts. Most worthy masters and excellent fellows, how can you sit in the midst of this smell? I can hardly close my nose to keep it out. I must go. If I stay any longer, I'll become so infected that I'll faint, and hit the ground head first. I'm off! Come on, Bart.

Bartoldus. Stay a little while, and we'll see where this smell comes from.

Cam. That's a good idea. Look into all the corners of the house, to see whether you can't find out where this stink, like a hog-pen, comes from.

Bar. Since your reasoning powers are so keen, you investigate too.

Cam. What do I find here? What sort of monster is this? Beware how you turn your eyes this way, Bart; you can't look at it without hurting your eyes and addling your brain; for this beast is horned, has ears like an ox, and his teeth, sticking out in both directions from his jaw, threaten to bite like a wild boar. He has

a nose curved like an owl's beak, and red and bleary eyes threatening rage. Woe to him whom he seizes! I think he'll tear him to atoms. To be brief, you surely remember having seen at some time the horrible figure of the devil? This animal is much more misshapen than he. Let's get away from here quickly, lest he attack us.

Bar. I will look, even though I risk my life. What do you say, Cam? It's actually a beanus.

Cam. Do you think it's a beanus?

Bar. If I'm not entirely mistaken, it's a beanus.

Cam. Never have I laid eyes upon any beast that shows such cruelty and savagery as this misshapen animal.

Bar. Be quiet for a minute, I'll speak to him. Master John, when did you come here? Why, you're a fellow-countryman of mine; shake hands. What, beast! Would you scratch me with your claws? I won't receive you unless I'm completely covered with armor. What are you sitting for, ass? Don't you see the masters present, venerable men, in whose presence it's proper to stand? Oh good God, he stands as stiff as a rod, and is not embarrassed although all eyes are fixed upon him. Look, all of you, see how easily he's exhausted! he has weak legs. A moment ago he stood up, now he bends again like a little old woman bowed with age. See how he draws in his neck!

Cam. You haven't any pity in you. By what right do you annoy him this way? I won't permit any more

1 furcifer, literally "rascal."

of it, for he's a fellow-countryman of mine. John, cheer up! I'll defend you. Have a glass, and take courage after this annoyance. O you stupid boor, aren't you afraid to touch the glass? Would you dip your venomous beak, more poisonous than the basilisk which kills with a glance, into the cup from which your learned masters are now drinking? Don't you long to taste the wine — such sweet wine, too? You ought to drink water, muddy water, at the brook with the cattle. Stick in your crooked snout there, like a quadruped, quench your raging thirst, and like a packhorse worn out by the day's work, draw in the water with your swollen lips.

Bar. Stop, that's enough. Do you think it a small matter for a most tenderly reared youth to be treated like an ox? What if his mother should know this, whose only darling he is? What tears she would weep, what misery her heart would feel! If he ran the risk of a violent death, he could hardly endure greater suffering. Come, look at his face. Isn't he weeping? Certainly his eyes are wet. When he heard his mother's name mentioned, he was moved, and said to his comrade, whom he brought with him from home, that, when this thing was completed, he should on his return take back a message to his parents: "Is this what you tell me? I wish that misfortune had come upon you! I'd let the devil take the university before I'd go to it. They're so proud in the university that no one knows how to get along with them, and they speak such wonderful Latin that I don't know what they are talking about." O beanus, O ass, O foul goat, O evilsmelling she-goat, O toad, O cipher, O shape of nothing, O thou absolute nonentity! May the devil smear you with filth and anoint your belly and feet! What sort of answer is this? You don't answer, you only mumble; you don't speak Latin, but just stammer. But perhaps this is due to his mental disturbance and violent emotion.

Cam. What are we to do with him, anyway?

Bar. That's a stupid question. There's a great deal to be done, for I think he has hastened here with the intention of being purged of this uncouthness, and finally joining the praiseworthy society of students. First, I intend to summon a physician. Ah! What do I say? You are highly skilled and well versed in medicine, Cam. You know, of course, how the horns are removed from the bacchants who are insane, and afterwards the teeth are pulled out. But, as is customary, their ears are shortened with knives; and we cure their weak eyes. Look at those hairs sticking from his nose! See that you draw those out first. But it'll be difficult to cut so long and so bristling a beard; however, since you have a very sharp razor made of an oak splinter, you'll spruce him up elaborately. Then he confesses his crimes. Finally, he'll be rid of that offensive smell by the venerable masters, and made a member of our fellowship.

Cam. That's good advice. But you know, of course, that such a profitable task can't be accomplished with-

² Quod tibi dyabolus permerdat et mingat tibi super tuum venter et pes!

out great labor and danger to me. John, my friend, wait a little, I go to get my instruments, and I'll rid you of this insanity. Bart, see that you comfort him meanwhile, for I'm off now, and will return shortly.

Bar. I'll do it, and very gladly. John, take heart, and be happy. Now the health-bringing time approaches, for you will be cleansed of all indisposition, both of body and mind; and you'll be made a sharer of all the privileges of our university. Don't be grieved because your physician isn't here; he'll surely come back soon. I think he has gone to the apothecary, to get some little pills made from melampus flowers and Greek White, so that there would be a remedy for you in case some weakness should assail you in this treatment. Look, here is our Camillus. I marvel, Cam, at the speed you make; how quickly you have returned. Didn't you go to the apothecary?

Cam. I did.

Bar. What luck did you have?

Cam. I got a salve, so that if our patient can't bear the strength of our medicine, I may anoint his nose and mouth.

Bar. What sort of ointment is it?

³ arbitror ipsum profectum ad apothecam atque illic emere pillulas factas ex floribus melampi alboque graeco.

floribus melampi may refer to the herb melampodium, discovered by the legendary Greek physician Melampus. The reader familiar with medieval colloquialism will recall another translation for this.

"Alb. graec: a popular medieval remedy, made of the chalky excreta of hyenas and other carnivora." Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum, Stokes edition, p. 87, n. 67.

Cam. A little fat pressed from fabis hircorum, and water distilled from fimo virgineo, seasoned with flowers that bloom at midnight when the peasants have drunk mead during the day.

Bar. A most precious medicine, indeed, for this man.

Cam. First, I'll get rid of his horns. Bart, hand me the saw. Little ass, would you fight against your physician?

Bar. Check his attack, and restrain him like an intractable horse. Take care that he doesn't strike you with his cruel hoofs, or injure you with his horned head.

Cam. How hard and deeply rooted are these horns! Look, the saw is broken, and almost all of its rotten teeth shattered. Now look at your horns, violent beast! Before this you couldn't see them, and didn't believe us.

Bar. Good God! there isn't an ox or wild beast of the field whose head would be burdened by so great a mass.

Cam. What did I do with the forceps?

Bar. Here they are.

Cam. Hold out your mouth! Bart, here's one tooth, and now you have another.

Bar. I'll preserve those teeth, and some time I'll put them on exhibition as something worth looking at;

4 Pinguedo nonnulla, extorsa ex fabis hircorum, et aqua, destillata e fimo virgineo. I'll extract money from those who gaze at them, like those who bring in sea monsters.

Cam. Bring a basin, pour some water into it, and put in some fragrant herbs, so that his beard may be dipped into it, and then he'll be shaved.

Bar. They're all ready.

Cam. What sort of herbs did you put into it?

Bar. I'm not certain what they are called, for they grow in the garden where the sewer bas its outlet.

Cam. Quite right! Hold your chin still, and don't move. The beard is soaked enough. But where is the razor?

Bar. Beside you on the bench.

Cam. John, look at your beard; it's as black as the apostle's who betrayed Christ. I believe you are to be trusted, and as the proverb says, they are prudent guests who remove their things when you enter the inn.

Bar. He grows faint; he hasn't been accustomed to endure such rough surgery.

Cam. You're right, for his expression has changed, and he doesn't keep a natural color. That's a sign of weakness. Now apply the ointment.

Bar. Didn't you get some pills?

Cam. I forgot. Run quickly to our stable and get some, for the apothecary is too far away.

Bar. I will.

Cam. Take heart, come to yourself, and pay attention; I know that the pills for which Bart has gone, will be very good for you. See, there he comes.

5 cloaca.

Bar. Take a handful.

Cam. I see that our medicine is of very little use. In case he should die on our hands, it would be well for him to make a confession. Just look at his expression, see it now! Unless care is taken, his spirit will flee these limbs. At this very moment, half alive, with bending knees, he sways about strangely, disturbing us all. Bart, consult the men expert in this matter and who can easily come to our assistance, so that this noise may not deafen us.

Bar. I'll do so, but I have a plan, which, unless my expectation fails, will entirely cure him of all his infirmity.

Cam. Produce it, Bart, for you see how ugly he appears now.

Bar. I think it would be the best medicine for him if he were to be hung up by a rope for a little while in the sewer of our lodging house, which produces a powerful exhalation. If he is lulled to sleep, even though for a short time, he'll be restored to health at once.

Cam. But I want him to confess, first.

Bar. I'm in holy orders; that'll be my care. But where did I lay my surplice?

Cam. Look behind you.

Bar. Now begin, friend John, to confess all your sins, and you'll surely be saved. What do I hear? Did you steal geese and chickens every day from the peasants? Oh, terrible crime! What more? Say it

· cloaca.

without fear. But this a more serious crime. Was she a virgin before you violated her? Consider well. It is a great crime, in the first place, because you have violated a virgin; secondly, because she was your father's servant; and next, when she bore a child, you swore that you didn't do it, and so you became a perjurer. And lastly, I'm especially grieved at what you've done here where your peers are conducting a rite, and that you've been so shameless, for you've committed this fault before the eyes of your peers.7 But since indulgence ought not to be refused to one truly confessing, while a pious confessor such as I am ought to inflict penance, this shall be your penance: for these and other sins, and your horrible offensive smell, you must refresh your masters with a generous dinner. Your masters, I say, whom henceforth you are bound to cherish and honor in recompense for the humanity and benevolence that they will show you: and also the high confessor and keeper of your soul. and in like manner the physician of your body, who

7 postremo maximum censeo, quod in eo loco peregisti, ubi equi sacrificium habent, et quod fueris impudicus: nam perpetrasti videntibus equis. The context of the confession clearly indicates that equus should be translated as aequus. Unfortunately (for Dr. Schultz, who translated this section of the Manuale in his Deutsches Leben im xiv. und xv. Jahrhundert) this escaped the notice of Zarncke; he made no reference to it in his notes. Schultz (i, p. 208) fell into an old error when he rendered this sentence as: "Endlich halte ich es für die grösste Sünde, dass du es an einem Ort vollbrachtest, wo die Pferde ihre Opferstätte haben, und dass du schamlos warst, denn du hast es im Angesicht der Pferde gethan." The Romans themselves made this mistake in conversation. Pompeius and other grammarians complained of it.

in this very hour, with precious medicines, comes speedily to assist you in your extreme need. And so you'll appease them with rich refreshment and drink. Don't be niggardly this evening, but generous. Bid the servant bring in some of the better wine, so that by its virtue our weakened parts may be revived. I have authority only to give penance, and not to pardon; wherefore I send you to the masters, who have this power of pardoning. — Reverend master, this is a very great sinner: he has committed unmentionable crimes. I have been given authority to enjoin penance; I have done so: I have ordered him to spend his money freely, and forsooth on us, and he has promised to regale us all with the best wine, to spend all the money that his father collected from the Tusculan field, all the money that his mother had extracted from her husband and hidden in a certain hoard. Now go to the master, John, and you'll receive his forgiveness.

After the deposition, all will approach and say: Good luck to you, John!

CHAPTER III

How the Students talk about the Exercises and Lectures

Cam. Bart, do you know how many lectures and exercises it's necessary to complete for the bachelor's degree?

Bar. I know very well, for there are nine lectures and six exercises.¹

¹ The nine lectures were: tractatus Petri Hispani, Priscianus brevior, vetus ars, libri priorum, posteriorum, elenchorum, physicorum, de anima, sphaera materialis; the six exercises: vetus ars, libri parvorum logicalium, sophistriae vel parvorum logicalium loco sophistriae, novae logicae, physicorum, de anima. Zarncke, Die deutschen Universitäten im Mittelalter, p. 228. See Leipzig, 1410 (Statutenbücher, p. 311); Leipzig, 1499 (ibid., p. 464); Zarncke, "Die urkundlichen Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität Leipzig," p. 862.

Leipzig, 1436 (Statutenbücher, p. 326): "BOOKS FOR THE BACH-ELOR'S DEGREE. The books for the bachelor's degree are: tractatus Petrus Hispani, Priscianus brevior, vetus ars, priorum, posteriorum, elencorum, phisicorum, de anima, spera materialis, Donatus minor or the second part of Florista, algorismus and computus and some book in rhetoric." See Leipzig, 1447 (Statutenbücher, p. 346): "BOOKS PER-TAINING TO THE BACHELOR'S DEGREE"; 1507 (ibid., p. 490): "BOOKS TO BE HEARD FOR THE BACHELOR'S DEGREE," and "EXERCISES TO BE HEARD FOR THE BACHELOR'S DEGREE."

Leipzig, 1436 (Statutenbücher, p. 327): "EXERCISES PERTAINING TO THE BACHELOR'S DEGREE. No one should be admitted to the examination for the baccalaureate in arts, unless he has been present in the following exercises: once in the parva logicalia at least, once in the sophistria, twice in the vetus ars, once in the nova logica, once in the physica, and once in the de anima. And he may not have more than

Cam. How are they completed, do you know?

Bar. Why not? The lectures and exercises are in three parts, and so it is possible to complete them entirely in three terms, that is in the space of a year and a half.² Namely, whoever would be quickly promoted must in each term attend and hear three lectures and two exercises.

Cam. How do you know?

Bar. Well, I know it, because I've heard it from many bachelors who know well.

Cam. I intend to go along with you to hear these books, when you're ready to satisfy this requirement. But listen, there's one thing I want to know from you.

two exercises at one time, except the sophistria, which he may have as a third." See Statutenbücher, pp. 346, 405, 410, 464. See also Appendix, 2, infra.

For comments on the course of study, see Aschbach, Geschichte der Wiener Universität, i, pp. 85 ff.; Rait, Life in the Medieval University, chapter viii; Reicke, Lehrer und Unterrichtswesen in der deutschen Vergangenheit, p. 38; Schultz, Deutsches Leben im XIV. und XV. Jahrhundert, i, p. 209; Die Grenzboten, Jg. 25 (Leipzig, 1866), i, pp. 462-463; ii, pp. 211-212.

² Leipzig, 1417 (Statutenbücher, p. 314): "No one should be promoted to the bachelor's degree, who has not first been in another university, unless he has been in this university at least until about the middle of the second year; and this 'about' shall not permit reduction by more than six weeks." Heidelberg, "Aelteste Fakultätsstatuten" (Urkundenbuch, i, p. 34): "Every one shall swear that he has been in attendance at this university or at some other privileged university for at least one full year and a half, which must be spent in the continual hearing of books."

Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum (Stokes edition, p. 485), ii, 46: "In those days (mid-fifteenth century) the University (Leipzig) was in full bloom; and when a student had resided for a year and a half he was made Bachelor."

They say that if we shall have been at the beginning and end of the lectures, it's enough for completion, and if we wish, we may attend three or four times in the middle.

Bar. Why so? What sort of a completion would that be?

Cam. They say that we learn nothing in the lectures, especially in the higher books, namely of physics and the like, but when the time comes for promotion, it'll be given to us.

Bar. You're greatly mistaken, for the masters of the faculty of arts have decided that it's necessary for each one, before he is admitted, to declare on oath how he has listened and how often he has been absent. Previously, many were promoted who had rarely been in the lectures, paying big money for fines; but our teachers noted the looseness of the students, and that none or few learned anything. Now they've decided that each one must listen and complete the work most carefully, and they enjoin the lecturers that their lectures be useful to us, so that we may get something out of them.³

The statutes were very definite in their requirement of diligent attendance. Leipzig, 1436 (Statutenbücher, p. 328): "THE MODE OF HEARING. The mode of hearing is this: whoever is hearing any lectures for any degree in arts, except mathematics, logica Hesbri, and the de politica, shall be bound to hear them, in the book which is read, with care; and he shall not neglect three successive lectures without reasonable cause, nor have two lectures at the same hour, on penalty of not having such books counted (toward the degree), either wholly or in part. The same to be understood concerning exercises." See also Statutenbücher, pp. 347, 411, 473, 491; Leipzig, 1471–1490 (ibid.,

Cam. It's rather dull and tiresome, so to speak, to be present all the time. I'm afraid I'll never do it.

Bar. If you want to be promoted, you can't avoid it. Cam. I'll say I was present.

Bar. Then you'll be a liar. But you have a healthy complexion, and the he won't show on your face.

Cam. Enough of this. Tell me, which teachers shall we hear?

Bar. I saw it announced today that Master Jodocus will read the *libri elenchorum* near the door of the Church of the Holy Ghost at eleven o'clock; and in the morning, I believe, but at twelve o'clock, at the same place, we shall hear the *libri physicorum* from Master

p. 421): "The Mode of Attending Lectures and Exercises. It is decreed that no one neglect three successive lectures. . . ."

Leipzig, 1436 (Statutenbücher, p. 331): "THE MODE OF ADMISSION TO THE EXAMINATION OR TEST. No one shall be admitted to the examination or test, unless he shall say, on his conscience, in the presence of the masters, at the time of the examination, that he has diligently heard his lectures and exercises, with opened texts, according to the statute provided; that he has not neglected three successive lectures, or three successive exercises; and that he has not gone out before the end of the lecture or exercise, without reasonable cause; and that he has not had two lectures or two exercises at the same hour; and that he has satisfied every master from whom he has heard the lecture or exercise, according to the statute provided." Erfurt, 1412? (Acten, ii, p. 135): "No one should be admitted to the bachelor's examination unless he has heard the exercises and lectures according to the regulations of the faculty." See also the same, p. 145. Heidelberg, 1444 (Urkundenbuch, i, p. 153): "The faculty decrees that bachelors and students, at the time of registration for the test or examination, shall be made to state under oath the number of lectures neglected by them. . . ." Heidelberg, 1458 (Urkundenbuch, i, p. 175). See Appendix 3.

Peter; and after noon a lecture will be given by Master James in the school room on the *libri de anima*.

Cam. You tell it straight. I'll remember these things, so that when you wish to go, I may be ready. Now what do you know about the exercises?

Bar. My teacher will discuss the parva logicalia at his home. I'll be there, and Master John will discuss the ars vetus, to which I'll apply myself.

Cam. That's a good idea. (And what reviews shall) we hear?

Bar. I haven't decided yet, but I'll conduct a diligent investigation. There are many who think that students get more from the reviews than from either lectures or exercises. If our master should review something, I surely wouldn't neglect it, for he's very

4 Leipzig, 1483 (Statutenbücher, pp. 394-395): "THE MODE OF RE-VIEWING. It has been decreed that all public reviews, by whomsoever they are made, should be held with the permission of the dean and seniors, and by means of examinations, so that the students may be dlilgently examined and heard, in order that their ignorance may be remedied. If, however, the one conducting a review wishes to give any information to the students, let him do so on the day following the examination, on penalty of being deprived of the fee for the review and suspended from faculty privileges and emoluments for one year." Leipzig, 1496 (Statutenbücher, p. 24): "CONCERNING CERTAIN RE-VIEWERS TO BE DEPUTED BY THE FACULTY OF ARTS. . . . And no candidate for the bachelor's degree, except those who have a residence in the paedagogium, who are provided with such reviews by the conventors in that place, shall be admitted to the examination, unless he shall have diligently heard these reviews in grammar, logic, rhetoric, and natural philosophy, at least once." See Rait, Life in the Medieval University, pp. 144-145; Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, ii, p. 640.

eloquent and persuasive; when he explains something, it's just as clear as if it were being done.

Cam. I've the same opinion about the matter. I haven't seen any teacher who can explain so beautifully and clearly a thing hidden and particularly obscure, and give the elements of a subject so easily to beginners. I ask you, Bart, to arrange things so that nothing will keep us from being present at his reviews always and with quite a crowd.

Bar. I'll do so, and gladly; that's what I want very much to have from you.

Cam. Then let it be done. I must go now. Save what you have to say. So long, Bart.

Bar. So long, Cam.5

5 The colloquialism "So long" will be used instead of "Farewell" or "Good by."

CHAPTER IV

A Discussion of Methods and Courses of Study

Cam. You praised this teacher to the sky, and yet he's a nominalist.¹

Bar. What of it?

Cam. I won't hear anything from him then.

Bar. You're more foolish than he, if you scorn instruction. Not only the realists, but even the nominalists have attained to a great part of philosophy.

Cam. But they're so steeped in fallacies that they reject true teaching.

¹ modernus est. Via moderna, nominalism; moderni, nominalists. Via antiqua, realism; antiqui, realists. For the struggle between the antiqui and moderni in the universities, see Kaufmann, Die Geschichte der deutschen Universitäten, ii, pp. 357-362; and Prantl, Geschichte der Logik, iv, pp. 185-195.

Nominalism prevailed at Heidelberg until 1452, when both viae were put upon an equal footing. See Heidelberg statute, 1452 (Urkundenbuch, i, p. 165): "To all and singular attached to our university, we strictly forbid that any one detract disparagingly from realism or nominalism, or from the representatives of either of these anywhere, or say anything with contumely, or in any way that may redound to the prejudice of either of the said methods and their representatives, on penalty to be imposed by us according to the degree of his offence. Likewise, we forbid any one, by word or deed, to prevent the students from being able freely to attend and hear lectures or disputations of any master whatsoever of the present faculty, whether on realism or nominalism." See also Heidelberg, 1545 (Urkundenbuch, i, p. 173), 1481 (ibid., i, p. 193).

Bar. You commit an offence against truth, for exceedingly learned men are found among the nominalists. Haven't you heard that in certain countries they have whole universities, as at Vienna, Erfurt, and as once it was here? Don't you think they were learned and good here? And they're still found in our day.

Cam. I know they are. I know it, but their reputation is small. They exert themselves only in the parva logicalia² and in sophistical opinions.

Bar. You're wrong, for they are famous in argumentation. You won't find students of the arts who know syllogisms and the other forms of arguments better than the nominalists.

Cam. But they know nothing of true science.

Bar. What true science do you mean?

Cam. The praedicabilia of Porphyry, and the categoriae of Aristotle, of which they know little or nothing.

Bar. It's unbecoming of you to say such things. It would be disgraceful for such famous men not to know those things. Consider the rules of the consequentiae in which they are thoroughly practiced; they observe the form of argument and of the syllogism, and since universal truths are the bases of argumentation, they must necessarily know them, otherwise they would

² The parva logicalia was often presented in separate lectures, under the following titles: Suppositiones, Relationes, Ampliationes, Appelationes, Restrictiones, Distributiones, Syncategoremata, Obligatoria, Insolubilia, Consequentiae. As to the Obligatoria and Insolubilia, see Prantl, op. cit., iv, pp. 40 ff., 193.

accomplish nothing in any argumentation. But this is important: they have a different method of teaching than the realists. If we listen attentively, we'll get a great deal out of their teaching.

Cam. Bart, explain to me what advantage there is then in the method of the nominalists.

Bar. I'll show you so far as I feel disposed. But I want you to understand one thing. I don't accept their doctrine so eagerly as I do that of the realists, but I think that no one's doctrine ought to be despised. So, give me your attention, and remember what I say. First, one thing which, I think, will be useful in the method of the nominalists is that we learn from them the value of premises, in which they are deeply versed - very skilful in the expression of thoughts - and they understand, of course, the insolubilia and the obligatoria, and they are well versed in methods of conversions in the case of rare forms of the syllogism by means of which they occasion to those not so well versed in them the greatest embarrassment; then, also, they know admirably the hypothetical cases that are valid, and the method to use in them; and you won't find among the dialecticians any who can speak as clearly as they do in their statements of syllogisms. This we think has some value in the things that concern the terms, such as the suppositiones and ampliationes, and the propositions that can be expounded, and lately many paralogisms which are pretty fine; and in this way, in the midst of the argument, the mouth of the respondent is quickly shut, no matter

how violent he may have been. Here you have something of use, and considerably so I think.

Cam. It is as you say, but I don't care to spend my life in these sophistical and quibbling discussions.

Bar. Do as you please.

Cam. I know a master who imitates Albert, whom they call the great doctor.³ I'll follow his teaching.

Bar. Do you think that St. Thomas is less?

Cam. I don't know. The name of Albert is more illustrious.

Bar. Certainly not, for St. Thomas is a saint.4

Cam. Certain it is, that there were many saints who excelled merely in their simplicity. If my guess is right, they attained their sanctity from devotion and fasting, abstinence, etc., while Master Albert achieved the name of great because of his excellence in science.⁵

- ⁸ Albertus Magnus (1193-1280) was called doctor universalis.
- ⁴ St. Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-1274) was known as the doctor sanctus, and doctor angelicus. St. Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus were among the leading exponents of Aristotelian realism (universalia sunt realia in rebus).
- ⁵ Certum est, quia plures fuerunt sancti simplicitatem prae se ferentes; si quidem mea coniectura est, tamen ex operibus, scilicet devocione et ieiunio abstinentia, sanctitatem obtinuisse etc. dominum vero Albertum scienciae propter excellentiam meruisse magnitudinis nomen. In his comparison of the Manuale with Paulus Niavis's, Latina Ydeomata, Fabricius, in Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde, Jg. 1, i, p. 181, says: "Kap. 4. Zarncke 14, 17 haben alle Drucke des Manuale 'tamen,' was ganz sinnlos ist, während Niavis richtig Thomam (v. Aquino) hat." While the change is permissible in this context, I do not agree with Fabricius that the use of tamen is "ganz sinnlos."

Don't you see that fame based on philosophy is more illustrious? 6

Bar. I prefer to stand with St. Thomas.

Cam. Sluggard! If the opportunity were given, who wouldn't want to have plenty? But since you think to enter the order of preachers, as he did, sweat with fasting and other practices leading to the blessed life, and you'll be a sharer of sanctity and an associate of that life. You speak without thinking. This isn't derived from the study of the arts, but from divine contemplation.

Bar. There's no use talking. I think that the teaching of St. Thomas is brilliant.

Cam. And I don't deny it, but I prefer Albert. Nevertheless, if you please, let's approach Master Jodocus; he follows Scotus.

Bar. By no means; they all look at him with aversion.

Cam. Why, do you know?

Bar. I have no idea.

Cam. I'll tell you; it's because rivals don't understand the teaching of the most subtle Scotus.

⁶ The reader will recall a similar argument in the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (Stokes edition, p. 487), ii, 47. It follows: "Secondly, you ask whether I hold *St. Thomas* or *St. Dominic* to be the holier? I answer that it is a moot point. . . . Some hold *St. Dominic* to be the holier as touching his life, but not as touching his doctrine; and, on the other hand, *St. Thomas* to be the holier as touching his doctrine, but not as touching his life."

⁷ John Duns Scotus (c 1265-1308), called doctor subtilis, was a nominalist (universalia sunt realia post res).

Bar. Some say so, but it isn't true; for we have the greatest possible number of masters here, and it would be remarkable if they did not understand him.

Cam. It's well known that they aren't able to perceive many distinctions that he has made.

Bar. Let's not judge these things. Let's agree with those who are wiser.

CHAPTER V

DEBATE ON THE FACULTIES OF POETRY AND LAW

Cam. Master Conrad Schwitzer has announced that he will interpret the comedies of Terence. Shall we go to hear him?

Bar. What use do you find in these comedies? Cam. How unbecoming it is, and contrary to a good man's duty, to disparage so noble a science!

Bar. Don't you think that learned men know what good there is in Terence? Nearly all the teachers disapprove them, and don't touch upon them, for his comedies deal with nuptials and lewd things, that inspire wantonness and passion in youths. On that account it is the advice of almost all the masters that we keep away from this obscene stuff, for it's a hindrance and an obstacle in striving for learning.

¹ Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum (Stokes edition, pp. 484-486), ii, 46: "An old Magister of Leipsic, who hath been Master for these thirty years, told me that when he was a lad, then did the University greatly prosper: those were the days when there was not a Poet within twenty miles. . . . But now-a-days all the students must needs attend lectures on Virgil and Pliny and the rest of the new-fangled authors — what is more, they may listen to them for five years and yet get no degree: and so, when they return home, their parents ask them, saying, 'What art thou?' And they reply that they are naught, but that they have been reading Poetry! And then their parents are perplexed — but they see that their sons are not grammarians, and therefore they are disgruntled at the University, and begrudge sorely the money they have spent. . . . The old Magis-

Cam. I'll say a few words to you. If you'll listen to me, I hope to disabuse you of this error.

Bar. What error, tell me?

Cam. You'll know later, when I convict you of a sort of ignorance.

Bar. If you've anything to say, go ahead and speak.

Cam. I'm going to. First, I want to know from whom you've gathered that those poets have written nothing good? Do you get it from those who are able to read various things written by them, or from those who can't understand their meaning?

Bar. I don't absolutely know, but as far as I can guess, they don't know anything about the poets.

Cam. Have you ever heard, I wonder, that the arts have no rivals but the ignorant? That's a familiar proverb. For they fear that some become more learned than they themselves are, and lest this happen, they consider the more powerful as the more learned. However, if we look around us, and try to recognize our most learned, surely they are the poets and those who attend to the art of speech. I want you

ter furthermore told me that in his time there were full two thousand students at Leipsic. . . . Now-a-days there are not so many students at all the Universities put together as there were then in one or two. . . . It is the Poets that do them this hurt. . . . In those days it was a grave offence to study poetry. . . And thus the Universities throughout all Germany are minished and brought low. Let us pray God, then, that all the Poets may perish, for 'it is expedient that one man should die'—that is that the Poets, of whom there are but a handful in any one University, should perish, rather than so many Universities should come to naught."

to listen to those who consider that becoming dignity of expression and splendor of speech is a vice. You'll find them, as it were, deprived of tongue, and so when they want to bring out anything difficult, often in the midst of the lecture they fall from the proposition because the power of speech is snatched from them. Often they're silent when it's most necessary to speak, and if they continue, they're so crude and uncultivated in their talks, so without ornament, and prosaic and uncomely, that they'd have more honor in silence than they attain glory by speaking.

Bar. Hold your tongue, Cam. If this sort of talk were charged up against you, they'd be very angry with you.

Cam. Your warning is fair. It's advisable for me to have caution in this matter. But if I had no other work on hand, I'd explain to you how much use there is in poetic tales. If any one should explain them, you'd behold the sacred mystery which the intellect of the dull can't understand or comprehend at all. But it would be a long discussion and perhaps tedious. Therefore, lest I become verbose, this is enough to have said concerning the songs of the poets. — I've just thought of it! I wanted to consult you before, but I wandered off on a side track. I have decided that I want to apply myself soon to the law, and see what I can learn in this faculty. What's your opinion?

Bar. I don't advise against it, for I've repeatedly heard the law faculty commended. But the subject is very extensive; it requires a topping big fee, and a large number of books. Of all the faculties there is hardly any that demands so great and diffuse a multitude of books as the faculty of law, and there's a lot of reading to be attended to, without which one can't be a learned jurist; finally, one must have an excellent memory, in order that he may be able to retain many and varied cases. First, then, examine yourself somewhat, to see whether you can put up with these things that I've just mentioned. It's necessary for each one to consider in advance what ought to be done, lest at the end he give up his undertaking in disgrace.

Cam. It's difficult, I admit, to fix so many things in mind. Yet we know that without labor and peril no one is able to attain anything great. Your advice is sound; I agree that it would be wise for one to act with mature deliberation in whatever he wishes to undertake, and not to hurry into a matter with indiscreet speed. Will you be my chum in that faculty?

Bar. How can I? I haven't a book. I'm poor, and not able to buy one.

Cam. What if we were to share our books?

Bar. If you were to offer me such kindness, you'd make me consider myself always in your debt.

Cam. Don't mention it. I'll write to my parents; they may be a help in this matter. I hope to have an answer in accordance with my wish. Then I'll see to it that our companionship is never broken. But just now I have some business with a visitor. So long.

CHAPTER VI

THEIR USUAL DISCOURSE WHEN THEY GO WALKING

Cam. Shall we take a walk, Bart, and rest our minds?

Bar. I don't know. I think it would be more profitable to apply one's self to study than to visit the streets or the field.

Cam. Who can work on his studies all the time? Surely there's danger that one may get his learning too hardly, for I've often heard from very intelligent men that immoderate work ought not to be thrown upon students, under which they break down worn out.

Bar. That's very true, and it's often been my opinion that now and then I should have my mind unfettered and relaxed. But I do believe that whoever is always idle, makes his mind dull and indifferent.

Cam. Get ready then, and we'll go.

Bar. Where to, for instance?

Cam. To the fields and to the meadow. I'll lead you to green places, where lilies grow and flowerets bloom. A mottled kind of herb grows there, and your heart will be as delighted as if it had been placed in the joy of paradise.

Bar. Are there trees near by?

Cam. Not only trees, but also a dense grove, where we may rest in the shade, and this meadow into which

I'll lead you, is encircled by streams from whose murmuring we'll get a great deal of pleasure.

· Bar. I'm ready. Put on your hat, and let's start on our way.

Cam. I'll do so.

Bar. Through which gate shall we go out?

Cam. Through the one they call St. James's.

Bar. I don't like that one.

Cam. Why not? What's the objection?

Bar. They're accustomed to drive the hogs and other animals through that gate to water, and they raise a rotten dust. It won't do. Who can close his nose? Then too, our clothes get all dirty.

Cam. Let's take the other road. Would you go through the lower gate?

Bar. All right. You couldn't have said anything better; but the way is long, while the other would have been shorter.

Cam. What'll we do when we get to the meadow?

Bar. That's what I want to know from you, for you've praised this place to the skies. I can hardly wait to see it.

Cam. You'll find that I haven't exaggerated. Look over there across the Neckar. Where that most conspicuous oak tree rises, is the place I've described to you.

Bar. I see it, but the nearer meadow is hedged in on one side. Do you see? The manifold hue of the flowers stands out.

Cam. I see it near by, but it's another sight to which I'm going to lead you.

Bar. If you think it's a good idea, we might take a swim; the sun's very hot, and we'd shed our perspiration.

Cam. Don't think of it. The river is dangerous; many have drowned in it. I suppose you've heard the report about a corpse found in the water a few days ago. That fellow took a chance. If you've made up your mind to go bathing, I'll take you to a safe brook.

Bar. You're right, but first to the meadow that you praise so highly.

Cam. Look, it's not far. Where'll we take a rest?

Bar. I think the best place is under the tall willow tree.

Cam. Why not under an apple tree?

Bar. Look here. Surely this place is more pleasant and delightful, for here the grass is fresher, and there are more flowers mingled with it.

Cam. So be it.

Bar. Listen, Cam; what a beautiful harmony of the birds fills our ears! You said rightly that the place was more delightful than others, and as lovely as paradise.

Cam. Few know this meadow; if others were to investigate the place, there would always be plenty of fellows here.

Bar. The flowing of the brook greatly refreshes me, and it delights the eye to see the fish darting hither and yon.

Cam. And what a flock of birds! See the stork near us.

Bar. I think I've never rested in such a meadow. On the right I see the brook swarming with fish; to the left there are almost all kinds of growing things. Behind us is a grove resounding with the symphony of birds; the nightingale sings, the crested lark is here with its song, and all the birds sweeten their voices. After this, let's take our books and hie us hither, for the mind ought to be greatly improved here, if this could be remembered.

Cam. So it seems to me. I think it would be by far the best for us to review here, while resting, what we have heard in lectures and exercises.

Bar. Night is coming now, and the chimneys smoke. Let's get back to town.

Cam. I'm so delighted with this loveliness, that I hadn't thought of going back. Let's get up and go quickly.

CHAPTER VII

In which one questions the other concerning his Journey

Cam. Where do you come from?

Bar. From Erfurt.

Cam. What news do you bring?

Bar. Nothing at all, absolutely nothing.

Cam. I supposed that Erfurt was the harbor of all news.

Bar. That fact has escaped me; in fact, I must admit that I don't care to hear gossip.

Cam. Where are you going?

Bar. To Heidelberg.

Cam. What are you going to do there?

Bar. I've often been told that the instruction in the liberal arts is very good there, so I wanted to try out the usage of the university. As good luck would have it, I've met you. Tell me, what are the customs of your school?

Cam. I'll tell you. But first answer my question.

Bar. What is that?

Cam. Tell me the manner of your university.1

Bar. I'll do so gladly. First, they revere the method of the nominalists; if there are any realists,

¹ Expone modum universitatis vestrae.

they're not admitted, and they're not permitted to lecture or to hold recitations.

Cam. Why?

Bar. On account of quarrels; for disputes are stirred up, from which enmity arises and hatred is born. But to avoid disputes of this sort they think best to have one method only.

Cam. That isn't the right way; for if there were more than one method, the students would become keener, and more versed, and more ready in argument.

Bar. That's very true.

Cam. But you asked me to explain the usage of our university to you. It's very different from yours, from what I hear. First, we don't shut out the nominalists; if we can get any good out of them, we're perfectly willing to do so. Second, masters of each method are admitted. Each is permitted to state what he may have in his demonstrations. Indeed, among us there are some who follow Albert, some who esteem Thomas, some who admire the most subtle John the Scot, and follow in his footsteps; and the teaching of all these doctors contributes to the exercise of the understanding.

Bar. To tell you the truth, you've now aroused in me a great desire for study. Nothing is sweeter to me, nothing more enjoyable, than to hear what most excellent men think. Worthy patron, be kind enough to direct me to a lodging house in which study is held in great respect. Cam. To be brief, I may say that all the lodgings are full. At this time there's a great crowd of students, and it isn't permitted to stay except in an approved place.² I advise you to speak to the beadle of the university, to see whether he may know of a vacant lodging, or may show you some one who would take you as his room mate.

Bar. I'll do so, but where's the beadle's house?

Cam. Have you never been in Heidelberg before?

Bar. No, never.

Cam. What! It'll be difficult for you to get a good lodging, unless you have the favor and recommendation of some one who is well known.

Bar. But I haven't any one, so I ask you to be kind enough to help me out. I'll do everything I can to pay you back.

² Leipzig, 1495 (Statutenbücher, p. 106): "STATUTE CONCERNING RESIDENCE IN APPROVED PLACES. It is decreed, etc.: that no one hereafter shall dare to live or reside in any other place than in the colleges or lodgings approved by the university, living in the same according to the parietal laws, or shall accept any other lodging or dwelling place, under penalty of one florin to be paid to the university as often as he stays more than a month in any such unapproved places, counting from the present date." Cf. Leipzig, 1507 (Statutenbücher, p. 401): "CONCERNING RESIDENCE IN APPROVED PLACES OR LODGINGS. It is decreed . . . that no one be admitted to the examination for any degree in arts, unless he shall have lived continually in the college or in approved lodgings." Cf. Leipzig, 1496 (Statutenbücher, pp. 19, 20, 115-116); Die Grenzboten, Jg. 25 (1866), ii, p. 212; Kaufmann, Die Geschichte der deutschen Universitäten, ii, p. 234; Schulze and Ssymank, Das deutsche Studententum von den aeltesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart, p. 59.

Cam. I'll do what you ask. It's getting dark, now, as you see. Tomorrow morning as soon as I wake up, I'll take care of you.

Bar. But please show me where there's a good lodging.

Cam. Do you see that corner house, decorated with paintings?

Bar. Yes, I see it.

Cam. You may lodge there.

Bar. So long, good luck!

Cam. The same to you.

CHAPTER VIII

HOW THEY TALK AT TABLE

Cam. The breakfast bell has rung. Let's go quickly, or we'll be late.

Bar. Good advice! If we're late, the others'll laugh at us.

Cam. It's a common saying, that if any one has been unlucky, he'll be laughed at.

Bar. They'd have a good reason for doing so, for we haven't any excuse for not being at breakfast.

Cam. Look, the table is set. If we had delayed a little longer, we'd have been the talk of these fellows sitting here.

Bar. Now, let's get busy with the grub. It's hard for me to wait at the table when the victuals are ready.

Cam. Friend Bart, are you so very rude that you wish to eat without grace?

Bar. I'm neither a priest nor a theologian.

¹ There were two meals a day: breakfast (prandium), at ten o'clock, and dinner (coena), at five o'clock. A Leipzig statute of 1421 (Statutenbücher, p. 317), under the title "The hour at which dinner should be served," prohibits the announcement of dinner before five o'clock, "on penalty of four groschen." See the following Leipzig statutes (Statutenbücher, pp. 395, 443, 472, 498): "Concerning dinner," "Concerning the serving of dinner in the colleges and lodgings," "Concerning the observance of dinner in the colleges and lodgings," etc.

Cam. But a Christian! Is it conformable to our religion? Let's say grace, lest we fall upon our food like pigs.

Bar. You are witty. As for me, I'll take my food. Why is it that we almost always get veal to eat?

Cam. Hold your tongue for a little while. I'll see to it that you get hare. What's the matter with this meat, anyway?

Bar. It isn't seasoned, it's too soft. I think that this calf has hardly seen its mother three times. Don't be surprised when I tell you that no one would eat it where I live. Every one would be afraid that it would make him sick.²

Cam. O, yes, I know that in your country they always eat game. Also beans, I suppose, and lentils, and relishes, and mead; what are you talking about? Your taste for such dishes is inherited and prenatal.

² Cf. Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum (Stokes edition, p. 376), i, 43-44: "If you have a son, or other kinsman — or a dear friend of yours hath one — who is destined to be a student, send him hither to me at Leipsic. We have many learned doctors amonst us, and rare good victuals in our hostels — seven courses twice every day, at noon and evening; the first is called Ever — that is, porridge; the second, Always — that is, Soup; the third, Daily — that is, greens; the fourth, Again and again — that is, meat; the fifth, Sometimes — that is, roast; the sixth, Never — that is, cheese; the seventh, Now and then — that is, apples and pears."

Thomas Lever's comment on Oxford fare of the mid-sixteenth century may be recalled at this point: "At ten of the clocke they go to dynner, whereas they be contente wyth a penye pyece of byefe amongest .iiii. hauying a fewe porage made of the brothe of the same byefe, wyth salte and otemell, and nothynge els." Sermons (English Reprints, ed. by Edward Arber, 25: London, 1870), p. 122.

Bar. You chatter too much. I'd be stupid to dispute with you, especially since I'm busy eating; and besides, you haven't anything but the chatter of a magpie.

Cam. Tell me, please, who has talked more at breakfast than you?

Bar. I can't help saying what I think. Try your drink, and tell me what kind it is, and what it's worth.

Cam. Ach! Where did you get this sour drink?

Bar. I'm mighty glad you approve what I said, although I was afraid that in this matter, as in others, you'd say something against me.

Cam. What do you say? I always give in to the truth.

Bar. You're always starting quarrels, and in fact very rarely agree.

Cam. Don't say that; it's well known that I love the truth.

Bar. Ha, ha. If some one else said that, he'd lead me to believe it. Do you know what that praise amounts to that comes from one's own mouth?

Cam. Ass, do you charge me with baseness because I've shown you your impropriety? Do you know what you've just done? You're first in the dessert dish, you take the better share, which was not set before you. Are those good manners? What if the others should go for you, and put you out? I'd be glad of it, for wouldn't you have deserved it?

Bar. Am I not permitted to take a helping?

Cam. Nothing but what is placed before you. Whom do you think so ignorant and stupid that he would not take the better share? But here are those older and more honorable than you or I. The bachelors ought to have the preference, who have received the badges of honor; but they say nothing; if they weren't so discreet, they'd call you down. What do you suppose they're saying to themselves? Just this: "How coarse he is, how dirty!" Don't you know how improper it is for you to wash your mangy hands first in the food?

Bar. If the bachelors were to say that, I'd heed it; but from you, who are wont to interpret everything in the worst light for me, I don't care to take it, and if you don't stop, I'll pull your hair, and show you plainly whom you may annoy. Scarcely ever do I have peace and quiet when I want to eat.

Cam. Even if you had hoofs like the beast of the fields, and horns, so that you might be called 'ox,' who do you think could put up with your foolishness? Do you think that you will conquer me with threats? I'll find a remedy, and a good one, for I'll tell all these things to the master.

Bar. You may do so if you like. Be our betrayer, and just as other betrayers get their reward, so will you.

Cam. Not for that reason would I be a betrayer, but to stop your rudeness.

³ All classes — masters, bachelors, students — ate together at a common table in the lodging houses, or colleges, of which they were residents.

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Bar. I don't know who would give you a job, if you wanted to be a toady. At any rate, you'd put yourself in business as a parasite. Would you report to the master as others have done, and try to get his favor that way?

Cam. Hold your tongue, so that grace may be said. Bar. Very well.

CHAPTER IX

CONCERNING QUARRELS AMONG THE STUDENTS

Cam. .Where did you put my book?

Bar. I haven't had your book.

Cam. But I know that you did have it.

Bar. You lie!

Cam. Learn one thing from me: if I ever find my book in your hands again, I'll see to it that you don't hide it next time.

Bar. Great snakes, man, I haven't hidden it. How hard it is for you to believe! Even if an oath were necessary, I'd still affirm it.

Cam. And I don't put much faith in your oaths. Your nature is strong, and oaths aren't easily observed in this matter.

Bar. Please don't try to push me too far with your tormenting, and prod me with your words as with some kind of thorn, or you'll hear things you don't like. Have you ever heard that it's wise to let sleeping dogs lie? 1

Cam. I know that you say a great deal, but actually you do little or nothing.

Bar. Would it were so, and that I weren't on the point of laying hands upon you and beating you. But listen to one word: how many times have you used my

¹ Audisti unquam, obsecro, consultum esse canem quiescentem non excitare ad rabiem?

things, my books and clothes, as if they were your own? When I accuse you and rebuke you, how do you treat me? Where is the friendship that was formerly agreed upon between us, when you said that we should esteem each other?

Cam. By Pollux, I'd have done so, if you hadn't changed your mind toward me, and I don't want you to think that I've become your enemy. I like you more than it's seemly to say, but I neither approve nor commend your manners.

Bar. Tell me, Cam, when did I ever say anything to you that would justify a slackening in our friendship?

Cam. As if you never did! From day to day and more and more you're stretching your wits to figure out how you can injure me and be a hindrance to me. Tell me plainly what impelled you to report me yesterday to the master when I fell asleep in the review? He afterwards rebuked me.² Didn't you get some reward for telling on me? But if I should call you a traitor, perhaps you'd be angry with me!

² As far as the statutes are concerned, sleeping during lectures seems to have been permitted; reference is made, however, to certain disturbances. Heidelberg, 1444 (*Urkundenbuch*, i, p. 154): "It is decreed, moreover, that those who are engaged in the hearing of books, who were not present from the beginning of the lecture of the master to the end, or who at the time of the lectures threw pebbles or committed other offences, shall be made to count those lectures, in which they committed the above mentioned, among the number of neglected lessons." See Heidelberg, 1458 (*Urkundenbuch*, ii, p. 45). Heidelberg, 1466 (*Urkundenbuch*, i, p. 183): "He shall not annoy or hinder the master or masters or students, with outcries nor any improprieties,

Bar. That's ingratitude! If you were wise, you'd be very grateful to me for having done you this favor, so that afterwards you would take in the reviews with greater care and diligence. By this act, as God loves me, I thought to increase our friendship.

Cam. Excellently said. But there's an old saying; "Don't do to others as you would not that they should do to you."

Bar. I approve this.

Cam. Then why do you get so angry with me when I rebuke you because of your corrupt and crude manners?

Bar. I'd often take it better, I say, if you'd call me down in a kindly manner, and show me these things privately. But when you yell out in public, all stare at me. Who do you think can stand that calmly?

Cam. See what you did yourself. If you had done as you want me to do, you wouldn't have gone to the master so quickly to tell him that I had fallen asleep. Why didn't you come to me and rouse me? Then I should have known that your friendship for me was true.

Bar. You're right. But who thinks of everything beforehand?

and no one shall force any of the beani to cry out 'Salve' or throw filth at him, on penalty of being retarded." Statutes of Oxford, 1483-89 (Rashdall, op. cit., ii, p. 773, appendix): "No students at the time either of lecture or recitation, or disputation, shall yell, chatter, make a noise or uproar of any kind whatsoever, on penalty of a quarter." See Rait, Life in the Medieval University, p. 147; and Kaufmann, Die Geschichte der deutschen Universitten, ii, pp. 417-418.

Cam. Besides, there's another matter that makes me sore.³ As soon as ever I let out something in the vulgar tongue, without stopping to think, you instantly report me.⁴

Bar. No one has been summoned. And indeed you

- * Aliud est etiam, in quo magnum habeo displicentiam. Literally: "Besides, there is another matter at which I am greatly displeased."
- 4 The statutes required that Latin be spoken at all times, in the lodgings, as well as in the class rooms. All students were encouraged to report infringements of this rule, but a spy, the 'wolf' (lupus, sometimes called signator), was especially appointed for this purpose. Those who spoke the vernacular were called vulgarisantes. See Chapter XI, note 2.

At Erfurt, 1447, the rector bursarum was obliged to take the following oath (Acten, i, p. 18): "I promise that I am willing faithfully to supervise my lodgers in morals and instruction, and guide them to speak Latin."

Statutes of the Oxford halls, 1483-89 (Rashdall, op. cit., ii, p. 772): "It is decreed that none of those in the hall shall speak in any other language than Latin, unless he be an illiterate or a foreigner, especially at the time of plays, or of principal feasts, within the precincts of the hall, in any way whatsoever, or penalty of a quarter for every time."

See Leipzig, 1495 (Statutenbücher, p. 117): "STATUTE OF THE DEAN CONCERNING DILIGENT ATTENDANCE UPON ORDINARY AND LATE DISPUTATIONS, AND THE SPEAKING OF LATIN." Leipzig, 1496 (Statutenbücher, p. 23): "STATUTE COMPELLING STUDENTS TO ATTEND ORDINARY AND LATE DISPUTATIONS, AND TO SPEAK LATIN."

6 Of interest in this connection are the citation forms of Leipzig. Leipzig, 1495 (Statutenbücher, p. 99): "FORM FOR SUMMONING A STUDENT. We N. publicly require, by these presents, and peremptorily summon N., a student in our said university, to appear before us and our assistants in the place of our usual residence, within three days from the present date, and to make proper answer to the charges to be set forth and presented by us, on penalty of half a florin to be paid to the university." See Leipzig, 1495 (Statutenbücher, p. 119): "PROCESS AND FORM FOR SUMMONING A STUDENT." See also Appendix, 4, infra.

know that it's the common rule that one report another for anything said in the vulgar tongue. Our friendship ought not to be crushed on that account.

Cam. You couldn't say anything more true, but it's very troublesome, I should almost say, and annoying, not to talk in the vulgar tongue.

Bar. Every beginning of anything is difficult, especially of the great things; but custom and frequent repetition lessen the irksomeness.

Cam. Bart, old man, I can hardly restrain myself at first when you report me; but when I consider my progress, then I have no grudge against you.

Bar. It's a mark of a wise man to know how to get rid of anger. Now we've said enough about this matter. We've spun it out beyond the limit. So long.

CHAPTER X

How they talk with one another when they intend to present themselves for Examinations

Cam. I have a letter from my parents, from which I learn that unless I take the examination, I shan't get any more help from them. I'm worried, and scared out of my wits.¹

Bar. Why?

Cam. I'm afraid I shan't be promoted.

Bar. Why not?

Cam. There are many things in the way. I haven't completed my work satisfactorily, and many masters dislike me; so I'm afraid I'll be kept back. I've accomplished little, and I'm afraid I'll be rejected. So, you see, it's no small matter that upsets me.²

Bar. Consult your master. He knows what ought to be done and avoided in this matter.

Cam. I have consulted him. He advises against it; he says I know too little.

Bar. I know his frame of mind. He's trying to scare you. There's no need of your being so afraid. It's obvious that there'll be much more ignorant ones

¹ Angor me torquet atque metus exagitat. Literally, "Anguish tortures me, and fear disturbs me."

² Itaque non parva res me angit et prorsus me infestat. Literally, "distresses and disturbs me."

in the examination. As for me, I should assume some courage; you know that the timid can't do anything.

Cam. There's something in what you say, but fortune isn't always fair. If I should be turned down, my master would think himself excused, from what he had said to me earlier. I should be so terribly disgraced that I couldn't look my father and mother in the face. I should have nothing, and I'd be the laughing stock of all.

Bar. But it isn't such a serious matter. Listen to just one word; I hope it will be of benefit to you. If you have money, you can bestow tokens of honor and respect upon your examiners. In our age gifts do much; for three or four florins you'll buy the favor of all.

Cam. Your advice is good. Now I've taken heart.

Bar. And you must do it. If you want to get anything from a peasant, unless you first get his good will, your labor is futile.

Cam. I don't think I'll venture in vain, for my hand will be full of money.

Bar. Do you remember reading in Ovid:

"Believe me, men and gods with gifts are pleased; Even angry Jove with offerings is appeased"? 3

Cam. I know what I'll do.

Bar. What?

Cam. I'll tell my parents to send me more money.

Bar. How much did you just get?

3 Ars Amatoria, iii, vv, 653 f.

Cam. At the last market the merchants gave me twelve florins. I'll write for ten more. Before I enter the examination I'll make a collation, and invite the masters, whom I've offended at any time by word or deed, and I'll treat them handsomely. I hope to get their favor this way. But look here, there's another thing that's bothering my head.

Bar. What's that?

Cam. I haven't finished my courses satisfactorily,

⁴ Leipzig, 1244 (Statutenbücher, p. 365): "CONCERNING EXPENSES BEFORE THE EXAMINATION AND TEST. In order that the occasion for useless expenses may be removed, it is decreed that, on the day when the test or examination is to begin, no expenses for entertainment of masters or students shall be incurred before entrance by those to be examined or tested. As a fee, however, the candidates may, if they choose, offer to the proctor and the assistant examiners, one measure of beer, and no more, on penalty of one florin, which penalty the dean may exact from those who violate this act." See Leipzig, 1496 (Statutenbücher, p. 20).

Terrae-Filius, or, The Secret History of the University of Oxford (London, 1726), p. 231: "Several ingenuous candidates have confess'd to me, that they never studied an hour, nor looked into any system of the sciences, 'till a month before they were examined. How well the examiners perform their duty, I leave to God and their own consciences. . . . It is also well known to be a custom for the candidates either to present their examiners with a piece of gold, or to give them an handsome entertainment, and make them drunk; which they commonly do the night before examination, and sometimes keep them till morning, and so adjourn, Cheek by Joul, from their drinking room to the school, where they are to be examined — Quaere, whether it would not be very ungrateful of the examiner to refuse any candidate a testimonium, who has treated him so splendidly over night?"

See Chapter XVIII, and Appendix, 5; also Rashdall, ii, pp. 686-688.

and wherever I haven't been enrolled in lectures and exercises, I'm afraid I shan't get a certificate.⁵

Bar. You'll be able to do it all right, for your master is obliging, and often gives a boost to others, when they ask anything of him. I'm sure that when you address your master by name, you'll get whatever you seek, even if you've never been in the lectures.

Cam. You encourage me, but I'll be perjured.

Bar. Every promoted bachelor is perjured, and every one knows that few of the masters are free from this disease.

Cam. I see a merchant to whom I must speak. So long.

Non bene complevi, et, ubique in lectionibus exercitisque non fuerim intitulatus, vereor, me non extorquere recognitiones. Leipzig, 1496 (Statutenbücher, pp. 21-22): "THE CERTIFICATE FOR HEARING LECTURES AND EXERCISES. We decree and ordain that henceforth none of the masters shall presume to give a certificate of lectures and exercises to any student, unless it shall be evident to him, through the inspection of his register, that the applicant for a certificate has heard a certain lecture or exercise from him, on penalty of suspension by an act of the regency for the whole year. And it is decreed that a candidate who shall receive a certificate from a master whose lecture or exercise he has not heard, and shall dare to exhibit it before the faculty of arts, shall be immediately prevented and not admitted to the examination for any degree in arts at this time."

CHAPTER XI

How they talk about the Wolf and the Statutes, in the Lodgings and Colleges

Cam. May the minions of hell destroy him. If I ever find out his name, he won't get away.

Bar. What ails you?

Cam. Listen to me; I've been up against the wolf twelve times.² The rascal is just like a sheep; he lacks both discretion and decency.

- ¹ Quod inferi eum eradicent. Inferi, "the dead," or "inhabitants of the lower regions," lacks force at this point.
- ² duodecies fuerim in lupo. Leipzig, 1400 (Statutenbücher, p. 471): "CONCERNING THE STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE SPEAKING OF LATIN IN THE COLLEGES AND LODGINGS BY THE CANDIDATES FOR PROMOTION. It has been decreed that the speaking of Latin shall be strictly observed in all the colleges and lodgings, not only by the simple students but also by the bachelors, according to the statutes above set forth, and expressed in a revision, namely that in the lodgings and colleges the Latin language is to be used constantly by all candidates for promotion, on penalty of a certain fine to be imposed. And the proctors should appoint wolves, according to ancient custom, who shall enter upon a certain register the names of those who speak the vernacular, which register is to be turned over to the proctors and read publicly every Friday. . . . The money collected by the proctors, for annoyances and other neglects of the students, should be turned over to the fellows for making an entertainment or feast at the discretion of the proctors; yes, a certain portion of it, such as a third or a quarter part may be reserved for kitchen utensils."

Leipzig, 1471-90 (Statutenbücher, p. 426): "The proctors ought to appoint wolves, who write down those who speak the vernacular, and exact a fine from them." See also Leipzig, 1507 (Statutenbücher, p. 496).

Bar. Who was it?

Cam. I don't know.

Bar. If you don't know him, what's the use of your rage?

Cam. I'll see to it, I'll find him. Later, I'll avenge this injustice.

Bar. It isn't an injustice, but rather the rule. Don't be surprised that you've been reported so often; he could have reported you a hundred times. To tell the truth, I haven't heard a single word from you in Latin for a whole week. Since we do so, I shouldn't see any difference, not to say between the beani and ourselves, but even between the laity and ourselves, unless some pressure were brought to bear. Our speech would be as barren, as absurd, as nothing on earth.

Cam. Really it's too much to report so often. And what annoys me more, I've been caught four times in the kitchen, and they demand a fine from me.

Bar. By what right do they do this?

Cam. Do you ask? They've made a statute to the effect that no one may go into the kitchen, unless he's a servant or has some urgent reason.

Bar. Has this statute been published?

Cam. It has.

Bar. Then you're to blame. You have no excuse.

Cam. I didn't suppose they'd want to hold so strictly to these statutes. And they've devised this scheme. If one doesn't pay within the space of a month, the masters are assembled at the college bath

house * and demand the payment; the punishment is doubled if he refuses. Finally, if he doesn't submit and pay up, the culprit is denounced to the rector and is subject to greater punishment still.

Bar. Such is the wisdom of men!

Cam. You can't believe how hostile the theologians are to us.

Bar. Did they notify you of all these things before? Cam. Yes. They decreed that it be published by the bell; they published everything.

Bar. You reproach them without cause.

Cam. What are you talking about? For pouring out slops they fine one two silver pennies! I'm equally guilty under that statute. I wish that the three-headed Cerberus might snap at them.

Bar. Be sensible, and stop reviling, lest there remain more penalties for you to suffer. You know what the rule is: that we shall not revile the preceptors, nor speak disparagingly about them.

³ stuba communitatis. DuCange, Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, vii, 618: Stuba, vaporarium, hypocaustum; vox Germanica Stube, unde nostri Estuve.

Basle, 1465 (Vischer, Geschichte der Universität Basel, p. 152, note 13): "Let the rector of the lodging diligently provide concerning the one who indicates those who speak the vernacular, whom they call the wolf, who shall faithfully indicate those who speak the vernacular, and shall reveal himself to no one under the obligation of good faith owed to his rector."

See Appendix, 6.

4 pro effusione statuerunt duos albos. See Leipzig, 1495 (Appendix, 7): "MANDATUM DE NON EFFUNDENDA URINA AUT PROIICIENDIS PULVERIBUS DE DOMIBUS PAEDAGOGII."

Cam. What do you think? They've extorted ten florins from me in one week. Where'll I get it? This doesn't grow in my little garden, I think. By hook or by crook they get our money away from us.

Bar. You're to blame; you voluntarily incurred this punishment. Next time you'll be more careful. Listen a minute. Sometimes the stench was so strong here, that I shouldn't have been at all surprised if all the inhabitants had become infected. Very often laymen going by said; "It is strange that learned men can endure this indecency." You might have seen everywhere in the court under the windows the filth of the night, and it once happened that our Prince Philip passed by, and couldn't sufficiently close his mouth and nose. And what's more unseemly, sometimes they had such ill-advised habits during the day that they offended the masters and others walking there. It is highly useful to diminish these things and to remedy them.

Cam. You've spoken well, and I've had the same thought several times myself.

⁵ squalorem noctium de urina.

⁶ Prince Philip the Upright was not the only noble who suffered such a mishap. St. Louis, at an earlier date, had a similar experience. This anecdote has been preserved in the form of an interesting miniature of the fifteenth century, which bears the legend: "St. Louis, King of France, going to matins at the Cordeliers Church, Paris, 'ung estudiant par mesprison lui tumba son orinal sur son chief.' The King, instead of punishing the student, gave him the prebendary of St. Quentin in Vermandois, 'because he was in the habit of getting up at this hour to study.'" Paul Lacroix, Science and Literature in the Middle Ages and at the Period of the Renaissance, p. 19, figure 21.

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Bar. It seems to me, to express my own opinion, that our masters could have done nothing better, both for our advantage and for protecting the good name of the lodgings. Look at the walls and the houses. Isn't it disgraceful that they are so disfigured? Unless it's stopped, a bad reputation for us will grow up among the people.

Cam. Now you've persuaded me so that, with you, I approve that act, and I won't be angry any longer. I'll gladly pay the money; after this, I'll be more careful. But it's time for dinner. So long.

CHAPTER XII

VARIOUS CONVERSATIONS AMONG STUDENTS

Cam. I was at a lecture. I don't suppose I learned a single word. Our preceptors compel us, we spend our time to no purpose.

Bar. How's that? I suppose you don't pay attention. Explain to me what's the bother.

Cam. The trouble is this, the subject matter is too deep and serious. I'd rather give my money and not enter; I'd do something worth while.

Bar. What sort of a lecture is it?

Cam. On the books de anima.

Bar. This book is of very little use to the unintelligent or to those who lack preparation. Why did you enter it?

Cam. Oughtn't I to take it?

Bar. Ask your master. Perhaps he can find a way out of it.

Cam. I did ask him. He says there isn't any remedy. If I want to take it, it'll be necessary to attend regularly.

Bar. I must be silent if that's the way your master feels about it.

Cam. Ha, ha, nevertheless I'll do as I please.

Bar. I've been summoned by the rector, and he thinks he's going to extort a fine from me. I'm so hot

with anger that you could hardly find a drop of blood in my body.

Cam. Why did he summon you?

Bar. I wear this stomacher, and open-work collar,¹ and he looked at my pleated linen shirt as if I were the only one who wore one!

Cam. I know there's a rule that no one shall wear them. When I warned you, you didn't care to believe it.

¹ Quod pectorale defero ac collirium cancellatum. Many statutes of the fifteenth century strongly insist that students wear proper clothing.

Leipzig, 1458 (Statutenbücher, p. 59): "No student of the university shall go about publicly with pointed shoes, with a tunic too strikingly short, or with mantle open at the side, or in silk sleeves partly open to the shoulder or to the elbow, or with open-work collar, or other indecent garments, on penalty of half a florin as many times as he shall be accused and convicted thereof."

Erfurt, 1447 (Acten, i, p. 21): "No one shall go about in public places in bifurcated garments, or strikingly short or conspicuously long garments, or with offensive weapons, on penalty to be imposed at the discretion of the university, and on penalty of losing his weapons."

Heildelberg, 1421 (*Urkundenbuch*, i, p. 121): "... with indecent clothes, or lay garments, or divided contrary to the usual manner...."

There were many statutes under the titles: "Statute prohibiting the wearing of improper clothing," "Clothing," "Proper Clothing," "Concerning proper garments for simple students and bachelors," etc. See the following: Heidelberg, 1421 (Urkundenbuch, i, p. 120), 1434 (ibid., i, p. 134), 1437 (ibid., i, pp. 140-141), 1444 (ibid., i, p. 152), 1491 (ibid., i, p. 198), 1518 (ibid., i, p. 210); Erfurt, 1412 (Acten, ii, p. 145); Leipzig, 1437 (Statutenbücher, p. 343), 1447 (ibid., p. 355), 1463 (ibid., p. 344), 1458 (ibid., p. 59), 1495 (ibid., p. 105), 1496 (ibid., pp. 18-10).

See Die Grenzboten, Jg. 25 (1866), ii, pp. 218-219; Rashdall, op. cit., ii, pp. 636-644; Reicke, op. cit., p. 36; Schultz, op. cit., i, p. 211. See also Appendix, 8, infra.

Bar. Why doesn't he summon the others in the same way?

Cam. It isn't for us to judge what he does, but rather to obey the rules.

Bar. I'll see if I can make up some excuses.

Cam. That would be the best plan.

Bar. Where are you going, Cam?

Cam. To the disputation.

Bar. I'll go with you. Wait for me a little, I've something to say to my master. I'll come shortly.

Cam. Be quick then, or it'll be too late.

Bar. I will. — See, I did hurry. Yesterday I decided that today I would go to the disputation, for the respondents are good and keen and have individual ideas, and hold them against our ordinary use, and they are full of contentions. You'll hear wonders.

Cam. It's easy enough to say that they hold them, but they give way before the arguments of the masters.

Bar. They're not at all strong in their facts.

Cam. What do you think? Aren't there some masters of twenty years' standing? They have examined many books and writings, proved the keenness of their authors, and practise it in argument. I can't believe that the respondents are able to resist, for they are mere beardless youths.

Bar. Your judgment is good, but your understanding is better. When I first heard it, I thought the matter stupid; but they are determined and very presumptuous.

Cam. All the worse, but let's listen. —

Bar. What do you think of this disputation, Cam? They've responded very well. I'd never have supposed them so learned and erudite.

Cam. To tell the truth, I liked it. But Master John Rechenmacher is too impetuous, and shouts at them as if he were mad.

Bar. He does that to all the respondents. For, whatever they say, if they don't agree with him, he rages at them, as it were; and if they follow him, he says they don't know anything.

Cam. That's an old and hard-shelled custom of his. But what do you think of Master Martin, who almost trapped him with a fallacy?

Bar. It's characteristic of all nominalists, that they come with their hollow arguments. I don't care for it.

Cam. But it's splendid to know how to solve things, and the dialectician is skilled in this.

Bar. But who will end all his days in sophisms? Aren't there many higher sciences and faculties, to which one ought to devote his attention?

Cam. That's quite my opinion. It's time for breakfast. So long.

Bar. I was at a late disputation.² I'm all worn out; I'll hardly go again.

² Eram in disputatione serotina. The disputatio serotina was held every evening after dinner (coena).

Leipzig, 1496 (Statutenbücher, pp. 22–23): "CONCERNING THE LATE AND ORDINARY DISPUTATIONS. We desire that each and every student completing his studies for any degree in arts, shall be obliged to partic-

Cam. Why?

Bar. It seems useless to me for an opponent of this sort to bring out his first porridge. That bachelor was stuttering so that I could hardly understand a third of what he said. I even think that he has conceived a fondness for his own discourse.

Cam. Have you heard the old saying, "all poor speakers use many words"?

Bar. Others do the same thing; they speak a great many words to no purpose.

Cam. It's an old practice, and it won't be laid aside on our account.

Bar. I'll scarcely go again.

ipate in useful disputations of this sort and to observe the rule concerning the speaking of Latin, and that they shall oppose, argue, and respond therein in their order. The proctors also of the colleges and approved lodgings should be obliged to exact penalties in each semester from students not opposing, not arguing, and not responding, and not taking part in the late disputation, and speaking in the vernacular."

Leipzig, 1497 (Statutenbücher, p. 239): "At the time of the late disputation no one shall hinder or annoy the one opposing, responding, arguing, or any one else then present, and especially the proctor, with noise, clapping, uproar, or any other disturbance or annoyance, on penalty of five groschen."

Leipzig, 1499 (Statutenbücher, p. 471): "CONCERNING DILIGENT PARTICIPATION IN THE LATE DISPUTATION BY BACHELORS AND STUDENTS. The faculty of arts has decreed that they shall diligently attend the late disputation of the colleges and lodgings, the simple students as well as the bachelors, and shall dispute, argue, and respond." Repeated, 1507 (ibid., p. 497).

* prodium. DuCange, Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis vi; pp. 523-524: Prodium, pro Brodium, nostris Brouet, Dictionnaire internationale, Français-Anglais. Edited by Hamilton, H., and Legros, E. (Paris, 1901): "Brouet . . . porridge . . . (in joke) mess."

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Cam. They've made it a sort of rule that from now on the use of the *libri physicorum* shall not be prohibited. I can't understand why our masters are so concerned about this, as if there were any advantage in it.

Bar. Do you know why they do it?

Cam. I haven't the slightest idea.

Bar. If this weren't so, few or none would enter the disputation.

Cam. Why wasn't this the rule in our time?

Bar. I don't know, but many things change in time, so will this also. I see my fellow-countryman Peter, I'll go to meet him.

CHAPTER XIII

COMMONPLACES

Bar. Where were you, Cam?

Cam. In the lecture room of the ordinary disputations.

¹ The disputatio ordinaria was a more important affair than the disputatio serotina. It was held once a week in the arts faculty, and on such days no lectures, or other exercises, were held. Usually the entire faculty, with the dean at the head, attended. Many contemporary comments indicate that the ordinary disputation was a long drawn-out, fatiguing performance; it began in summer at five o'clock, in winter at six, and lasted all day, interrupted only by the midday meal. Several days before the disputation was to take place, the master, who was to preside, posted questions (quaestiones) and theses (sophismata) upon the doors of the colleges and lodgings. Other masters accepted these as a sort of challenge, and prepared themselves to play the rôle of opponents; the bachelors, on the other hand, responded, i.e., supported or defended the presiding master. See Reicke, op. cit., p. 36.

Leipzig, 1410 (Statutenbücher, p. 311): "CONCERNING ATTENDANCE BY BACHELORS UPON THE ORDINARY DISPUTATION . . . it was decreed and ordained that every bachelor of arts should be present at the ordinary disputations, and should not neglect three in succession, on penalty of eight new groschen to be paid as often as he shall be neglectful, according to the form already established." See Leipzig, 1410 (Statutenbücher, p. 311): "CONCERNING ATTENDANCE BY CANDIDATES FOR PROMOTION UPON THE ORDINARY DISPUTATION;" and Leipzig, 1436 (Statutenbücher, pp. 336-337): "CONCERNING THE ORDINARY DISPUTATION."

Leipzig, 1499-1522 (Statutenbücher, pp. 468-469): "CONCERNING THE NUMBER OF DISPUTATIONS AT WHICH CANDIDATES FOR THE BACH-ELOR'S DEGREE ARE OBLIGED TO BE PRESENT. No one may be ad-

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Bar. What good did you get from it?

Cam. The statutes were read.

Bar. I've heard them so many times that it bores me to listen to them any more. I should usually prefer to hear our privileges, but I'm not so lucky.

Cam. You're a child, you talk foolishly. If the lord rector could collect as much money from the privileges as from the statutes, I believe they'd be read to us every year.

Bar. You agree with me, I see.

Cam. Do you remember the money I lent you so readily, Bart? You promised to return it in a short time. You don't do it. I'm hard up.

Bar. Don't judge me too harshly, Cam.

Cam. I won't do so intentionally, God help me.

Bar. I haven't any money now. I am expecting a

mitted to the examination for the degree of bachelor of arts, unless he can say, on his conscience, that he has been present at thirty ordinary disputations, as well of the masters as of the bachelors, as long at least as five masters or bachelors were arguing, if there were so many arguing there." Leipzig, 1499–1522 (Statutenbücher, p. 483): "CONCERNING THE RESPONDING OF CANDIDATES FOR THE DEGREE OF BACHELOR. No one should be admitted to the examination for the degree of bachelor of arts, unless he has responded six times in the ordinary and as often in the extraordinary disputations, as well to the masters as to the bachelors, on Sundays or on other days."

Leipzig, 1436 (Statutenbücher, p. 338): "CONCERNING THE HOUR FOR BEGINNING THE ORDINARY DISPUTATION. The one disputing in an ordinary disputation must appear (intrare) in summer about ten o'clock, and in winter about eleven o'clock; and stop in winter before one, and in summer before twelve."

messenger from home every day. As soon as he comes, I'll satisfy you.

Cam. That's the way you always talk. You know I'm poor and need money, and you don't consider it at all. But I ask you, for the sake of that mutual friendship that we agreed upon long ago, not to put off paying me any longer.

Bar. I'll see to it most carefully.

Cam. Are you sending a messenger home?

Bar. Yes.

Cam. Please ask him, for me, to take some letters to my parents.

Bar. See him yourself. I'll give you some advice as to how you may get him to do your errand.

Cam. Tell me, what's the method?

Bar. If you give him a bottle of wine as a present, he'll do it gladly.

Cam. I haven't any money.

Bar. Then you'll waste your time.

Cam. He'll be going any way, and he could do this errand as well as not.

Bar. As you like, but I know what the situation is. You're always displaying your stinginess, you can't conceal it, it's frequently breaking forth. Liberality will never be your long suit.

Cam. If he isn't willing, he may refuse. As for me, I'm on my way.

Bar. I almost got a rise out of you that time. Go, then, you who can't listen to the truth.

Cam. Bart, I come to ask you to lend me three silver pennies for a short time. To tell you my innermost secrets, I haven't had a single farthing for a whole week. If I can ever be of service to you, I'll do it gladly.

Bar. I have very little money now. Be sure of one thing that you return it to me within a month; otherwise all our friendship will be dissolved. I have no friend so close that I'd trust him now, if I lose you.

Cam. I won't go back on you.

Bar. See to it that you keep your promise.

Cam. I'll do so.

Bar. I'm in great sorrow, and I don't know which way to turn.

Cam. What's troubling you?

Bar. Bad news.

Cam. What sort of news?

Bar. Both of my parents are dead.

Cam. Are you joking?

Bar. Would to God I were.

Cam. Tell me, is the news certain?

Bar. Absolutely certain.

Cam. I'm truly sorry for you. What are you going to do now?

Bar. I'll go home as soon as possible, for I have a brother and a little sister, and there is a great deal of money. My friends urge me to take up the care of the household, lest our goods be scattered and fall into the hands of others.

Cam. What'll be done now about study?

Bar. Nothing, except that I'll postpone it.

Cam. That's serious.

Bar. Not only serious, but provoking.

Cam. Put your trust in God, for those who hope in him have never been abandoned.

Bar. I must do so.

Cam. I've heard horrible news, I'm frightened out of my wits.²

Bar. What is it?

Cam. A fellow-countryman has arrived, who says that the plague rages so fiercely at home, that more than thirty are buried every day.

Bar. Do you mean that?

Cam. It's a fact.

Bar. How you scare me! I won't wait; I'll find him as quickly as possible, so that I may know for certain what the facts are.

² timor me circumdedit et tremor oppressit. Literally, "fear takes complete possession of me, and terror overwhelms me."

CHAPTER XIV

How the Students talk about Women when they are in the Flame of Love

Cam. Where are you coming from, Bart?

Bar. I've been to church for worship. I wish I'd stayed at home.

Cam. What happened?

Bar. Don't ask. I won't tell any one.

Cam. Won't you even tell me?

Bar. Keep still, it's no use to ask.

Cam. Haven't you often read, "Among friends all things ought to be in common"?

Bar. Yes, I know, but you can't help me.

Cam. Neither shall I do any harm. If you'd explain the matter to me, I might help you.

Bar. I'm afraid there isn't any help.

Cam. Speak out; if I can, I'll help you.

Bar. Keep it under your hat, then.1

Cam. I'll be utterly dumb.

Bar. I was at church, and saw a certain girl. When she turned, and looked back at me, my heart melted; my whole body was set on fire, so that I didn't know what to do.

Cam. Who was the girl?

Bar. Do you know the older daughter of Gabriel Schwartz?

¹ Sis ergo taciturnus.

Cam. I know her.

Bar. It was she.

Cam. Take my advice and be careful, for she is ill, and is now poisonous.² She is as poisonous as a serpent. Keep this in mind: if you had got any closer to her, you would have been in great and serious danger.

Bar. What do I hear? I don't understand this. What's this about women?

Cam. Don't you know, Bart?

Bar. No, tell me about it.

Cam. Every month women are unwell.³ Then they are more poisonous than vipers, so that if one looks at any of them, he won't escape without harm. Sometimes, even, one is so weakened and so completely infected at the sight of them that he dies.

Bar. Now I shrink from women. Are virgins like this too?

Cam. Yes, and more often than women.

Bar. Never again will I look at a woman. You've done me a great kindness in explaining this. So long. I see my master; I'll go to him.

Bar. Where are you going, Cam?

Cam. To the hall. They are dancing there.4 Won't you go with me?

Nam quolibet mense mulieres fluxum sanguinis patiuntur.

² Cave, obsecro, quia menstruosa est et iam venenosa. A popular medieval theory. See Hugo Magnus, Die Organ- und Blut-Therapie, pp. 54-62.

⁴ Erfurt, 1447 (Acten, i, p. 21): "Students are charged not to go to city dances, unless they are especially invited." Heidelberg, 1454

Bar. No.

Cam. You'd see something pleasant.

Bar. What?

Cam. Forms of girls and women like angels; your heart would be delighted, as if placed in the joy of paradise.

Bar. I don't like dances, nor do I care to look on women. Much more beautiful is the sight of wisdom, which is acquired by the study of letters. For the joy of paradise rests where the reward is gained by abundance of virtues and disciplines. Now in the dance hall, if you weigh it well, there the thing is devilish; not prudence, but passion, not learning, not justice, not truth, but sham. The roses seem to blossom on the cheek and there is all that beauty on the surface, but inside there is an ulcer, full of madness, and foulness, and poison.

Cam. Shut up, or you'll make me never look at a woman.

Bar. Have I said anything but the truth? What plague is more virulent than woman?

Cam. I admit it, but you interpret everything about them in the worst way.

Bar. Tell it as bad as you can, they'll be worse than you say.

(*Urkundenbuch*, i, p. 171): "The students of our university must not attend public dances, or tournaments, about the time of the fasts, or at any other time, on such severe penalties as may be imposed by the rector for the time being."

Cam. As for me, I'll stay here and pursue the liberal arts with you.

Bar. You do well, Cam.

Cam. Come out with me, Bart, old man. Take my word for it, you won't repent it.

Bar. Where are you going?

Cam. To Arnold's house, where we'll have some good cheer.

Bar. Who'll be there?

Cam. Beautiful women and handsome girls will be there. We shall have such a sight that you could hardly ask for anything better.

Bar. Perhaps you lead me to the Mountain of Love.⁵

Cam. Put away those things, and listen to my prayer.

Bar. No, I won't do it.

Cam. Why not?

Bar. I know what danger there is in it.

Cam. No danger at all.

Mons Veneris. Erfurt, 1412 (Acten, ii, p. 145): "They must not have clandestine relations with indecent or suspected women." Erfurt, 1447 (Acten, i, p. 24): "If any one shall bring in women suspected of incontinence and be convicted thereof, as often as he does so, he shall pay two florins to the treasury of the university; and if after punishment he does not mend his ways, he shall be expelled from the lodgings and society of others; in any case he shall pay the penalty above written. Likewise, if any one shall support such women in any notorious place, to the scandal and disgrace of the university, he shall be severely punished."

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Bar. Tell that to some one who doesn't know. In one hour you are bound to be so inflamed that in a fortnight you'll have no kind of appetite for study. Now it's clear to you how harmful to students of letters is the sight of women.

Cam. The women are decent.

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Bar. However, I won't go, lest I be led into licentiousness.

Cam. I'll get pleasure from agreeable conversation with them.

Bar. Does the sweetness of words tempt you? Today's disputation is sweeter, in which the words of holy and learned men are discussed and precepts for proper living are set forth.

Cam. You're right, I'll go with you.

CHAPTER XV

TELLS OF WOMEN, AS BEFORE

Cam. Bart, come here, please. I'll show you something.

Bar. What will you show me?

Cam. Look at this. Do you see a girl going by now? Bar. Yes.

Cam. Who is so hard-hearted and indifferent that he doesn't enjoy such a sight?

Bar. What a stupid question! A foolish man can't act like a wise man because he's weak and vacillating by nature.

Cam. You're always talking about wisdom.

Bar. That alone is the life of man. Think it over, and see for yourself what sort of speech you've just made. The sight of a woman's form overcomes you. What would the sword of a strong man do?

Cam. Oh, go 'way. I don't want you with me any longer.

Bar. You can't listen to the truth.

Cam. Why should I talk to you? You are rougher, I might say more savage, than the wild animals. Even among the beasts each loves the other as his life companion.

Bar. And, if I must tell the truth, you're more like the beasts than like a wise man, for you are moved by feeling, not by reason.

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Cam. I admit it. A certain sight moved me, and if I wish to follow reason, I'll say the opposite.

Bar. Now I'll leave, since I have what I want. So long.

Bar. See. Isn't this valuable, beautiful, and costly? Cam. Where did you get it?

Bar. It was given to me as a present. Oh, how gentle were those hands from which I received it!

Cam. I see, it's a ring. Although you value it, it's worth only three or four silver pennies. But tell me, what kind of hands were they you told me about. I can't imagine.

Bar. The gift doesn't please me so much as the kindness of the giver.

Cam. Tell me, who gave it to you?

Bar. I shall tell no one.

Cam. No one at all?

Bar. The elder daughter of the judge.

Cam. Surely you are jesting.

Bar. Why?

Cam. That you value this small thing. If you knew and understood what I know, you'd put this thing far from you.

Bar. Tell me, what is it?

Cam. I will, if you'll keep it to yourself.

Bar. I'm not so talkative that I gabble everything about.

Cam. Look out, lest a noose draw tight around your neck, and the ring be changed to an iron fetter.

Bar. I don't quite understand this talk of yours. What are you driving at?

Cam. I'll explain. They say that she has been deflowered. Some one else got the nut; if you wish, you may have the shell.

Bar. What do you say? Surely she is chaste.

Cam. Now I see that you are violently in love with her. If you don't believe what I say, take a good look at her and you'll see for yourself. 2

Bar. Where did you get this information, Cam?

Cam. It's the town talk. Her father will make haste to marry her off to you, if he can.

Bar. It has been my intention all along to marry her.

Cam. Oh extreme of madness, oh most manifest insanity! On account of one mere woman, and such a common one, would you give up the study of the liberal arts, which you love and admire so much? Get this out of your mind, I say, and see to it that you are a man.

Bar. What can I do? Love has struck in to my very bones.

Cam. What do I hear? Well! a remedy! Think what a changeable creature a woman is, how unmanageable, and how she can not be held in by any curb. Bear it in mind that this one is dishonored, corrupt, and deflowered, and surely what love you have for her will be extinguished and utterly blotted out.

¹ ipsam ardes. Cf. Virgil, Bucolica, 2, v. 1.

² Tu verbis si meis fidem non habes, conspice ventrem, nunquid tumescit?

Bar. I'll do so. I know that I'll give you the greatest thanks since you didn't hesitate to explain the things that I didn't know. I'll see what is proper for me. So long.

Cam. If you aren't busy, old man, come out with me.

Bar. Where to?

Cam. You'll know later.

Bar. I prefer to know beforehand.

Cam. At any rate, you'll approve it.

Bar. I won't go unless you tell me.

Cam. I won't lead you astray, as you'll see.

Bar. I haven't any faith in you, even if you give your oath.

Cam. I'll take you to the evening dances.

Bar. What good are they?

Cam. Loveliness for the eyes, a crowd of women and girls.

Bar. Shows are foolish; nothing is more harmful than to see them.

Cam. You're a theologian, you're old-fashioned.

Bar. Don't try to reproach theology; it would be better for you than foolish things.

Cam. I shall go all the same.

Bar. You aren't wise in this.

Cam. No harm 'll come of it.

Bar. None? Don't you see the crowd of townies who always lie in wait for us, and seek occasion by

³ Cf. Chapter XIV, note 4.

fair means or foul to attack us? What if they pitch into you and beat you up? 4

Cam. You couldn't say anything truer. I see some who have a deadly grudge against me. I'm much obliged to you for telling me this. Now I'll stay.

Bar. I didn't advise your going.

Cam. I'll go to bed, and tomorrow, as they say, I'll get up whole and with a whole skin.

Bar. That's a good idea; you'll avoid danger.

Cam. So long, Bart.

Bar. So long, Cam.

4 See Rait, op. cit., chapter vii; Rashdall, op. cit., ii, pp. 677-686.

CHAPTER XVI

COMMONPLACES AMONG STUDENTS

Cam. The dog-days are near at hand; I feel it in my head.

Bar. In what way do you feel it?

Cam. Because I'm getting a loathing for study.

Bar. I think all days are dog-days for you.

Cam. Why?

Bar. Because you seldom have any desire for study.

Cam. I suppose you learn all the more eagerly for that.

Bar. You are getting angry.

Cam. You don't see the point, but then not everything should be explained to you.

Bar. Did you ever hear that there are two kinds of men? One kind gets angry, the other doesn't care a rap.

Cam. Do you like to make fun of me?

Bar. What if I say that I do?

Cam. What if I pull your hair?

Bar. So soon?

Cam. Sooner than you would like.

Bar. And what would I do then?

Cam. We'll fight it out, if you like, and I'll show you the number of my nails.

Bar. I prefer to be quiet, and take your word for it.

I know that you are quarrelsome. I desire to be more discreet than to get into a fist fight, so I'll go away.

Cam. The princes are coming. Don't you hear the trumpeters?

Bar. I hear them.

Cam. Let's go to see them.

Bar. Haven't you ever seen the princes before?

Cam. I have, but they have such a display now that I want very much to see it.

Bar. You're as easily moved as a woman, who wants to look at everything. Stay here, and I'll show you a certain letter of Cicero, in which as in a very mirror you'll see this most ancient philosopher and preceptor of life.

Cam. I'll be glad to. Where is it?

Bar. See, here it is.

Cam. Where are you coming from?

Bar. I'll tell you something wonderful. I've seen a juggler's exhibition.

Cam. Good God, what do I hear! You're always restraining others, and you've fallen into the very pitfall that you advise against.

Bar. Don't be astonished. Master N. is responsible; he wanted to see the show and asked me to go with him. I dared not refuse, especially since he paid my admission.

Cam. What did you see that was any good?

Bar. Nothing that's worth telling, or that gave me any pleasure. He knew how to wrestle, which is common enough; and he had a wolf, which obeyed the human voice, at which I was surprised for a time. Afterwards, he made transparent forms go out of a certain veiled place, which fought among themselves. But best part falls to the juggler, for he gets the money and fills his purse; otherwise, I couldn't see anything that was good.

Cam. I wish I'd been with you.

Bar. It makes little difference whether one sees these things or not. Even if I were able to see it all free all day, I should prefer to stay away than to waste time on this folly.

Cam. You persuade me not to see it, but I'll go to the sermon.¹

Bar. That's a good idea.

Cam. We'll go to church and hear the sermon. They say that monk is preaching who comes from Italy.

Bar. Perhaps he's that stupid fellow who belonged to the Friars Minor of Heidelberg.

Cam. He is.

Bar. I've often heard him. He isn't eloquent. He talks as if he were telling stories.

Cam. But he's well informed. If the common talk is true, he's as learned as any one in the town.

¹ Illo sermone facis, quod non conspicar, sed ibo ad sermonem. Literally: "Your sermon persuades me not to see it, but I'll go to the sermon." A play on two uses of the word sermo.

THE MANUALE SCHOLARIUM

Bar. I don't dispute it. But at this moment I have a reason for going away. Time doesn't permit.

Cam. There'll be jousts 2 in the market-place. Shall we go to see them?

Bar. No.

Cam. Why do you refuse? Can't you go with me?

Bar. I won't go to see them, even though there be tournaments. No good will come from it.

Cam. You'll see a gathering of men that many want to see.

Bar. I see the stark lunacy of men, and how many are carousing. Would you want to be seen in that mob?

Cam. You advise so strongly against it, that my desire for going and seeing has disappeared.

² hastiludia. Cf. Chapter XIV, note 4.

IOI



CHAPTER XVII

How one ought to reply when questioned concerning the Customs of the University

Cam. I'm glad to see you, Bart, old scout, glad you arrived safely.

Bar. Thanks, old man; the same to you.

Cam. What's the good word from your university?

Bar. I have a little business with a relative.

Cam. Tell me, have you received your bachelor's degree?

Bar. Not yet, but I'll take the next exam.

Cam. Good luck to you.

Bar. The same to you.

Cam. Isn't there a crowd of students now at your university?

Bar. A real crowd, all the dorms and lodgings are full. I don't recall a time at which there was such a mob as there is now.

Cam. Is the university getting along well?

Bar. As far as I can make out, it has rarely been as flourishing as it is now.

Cam. Which faculty is the most popular?

Bar. The faculty of arts.

Cam. What method is popular now?

Bar. You'll find those who pursue the arts according to every school, but the method of the doctor sanctus cuts the widest swath.

Cam. I've heard from many that formerly that university was full of the doctrines of the nominalists.

Bar. That's a fact, and the senior masters, mostly Swabians, are still nominalists, but the students do not favor them.

Cam. But what do you say concerning the method of the doctor magnus, or the doctor subtilis?

Bar. Nothing. Those who follow Albert are few, merely three or four masters graduated at Cologne, and probably just as many follow Scotus, but their audience is small and they receive little.

Cam. What do you say about expenses? What does food cost?

Bar. There is plenty of everything in the market except bread, for fine white flour and wheat are very high.

Cam. Leipzig isn't the only place where bread is high. For the last few days you couldn't get bread from any baker. Your beer isn't the best in the world.

Bar. We're accustomed to drink the rake brand, but sometimes one who isn't used to it prefers a milder drink.¹

¹ Sumus assueti rastrum potare. "The students call the beer of Leipzig 'Rastrum,' a metaphor borrowed, I think, from the farmers, because just as they turn over and soften the hardness of the soil with rakes, hoes, and mattocks, so the beer of Leipzig, with its acidity, injures, moves, and destroys the intestines, like a rake." De Generibus Ebriosorum (1515), in Zarncke's Die deutschen Universitäten im Mittelalter, p. 144.

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Cam. They say there's a doctor of medicine in Leipzig who claims some skill.

Bar. Right you are, but if there's any truth in what most people say who know, his fame is greater than his ability.

Cam. Old sport, I have a relative, an affable and well informed young fellow, who wants to go to the university, but his parents are poor, and they can't help him very much. How much money will he need?

Bar. To tell you the truth, he should have at least twenty florins or he won't get along very well.²

Cam. But that's too much money.

Bar. The university seeks the wealthy.

Cam. I had a talk with one of the masters not long ago, and it was his opinion that my relative should be a servant to some master and so add something to his funds. What do you think of that?

Bar. I don't know what to say. If I could manage it for a while, I should prefer to be free. The university demands one's unhampered strength, and it is notorious that often those who do nothing but study and who are not mixed up with other things, make very little progress. For my part, it seems to me that I shouldn't get very much out of the sciences unless I

² Schulze and Ssymank, Das deutsche Studententum von den aeltesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart, p. 55: "The necessary yearly allowance was . . . twenty gulden (florins), which according to Paulsen was equivalent to the income of an artisan of that time." See Oskar Dolch, Geschichte des deutschen Studententhums, pp. 50-51; Die Grenzboten, Jg. 25 (1866), ii, p. 214.

were in with a certain crowd, and had nothing to hinder me.

Cam. That's all right for you, who are wealthy. What if you couldn't do better?

Bar. I don't know. In that case, I suppose I'd make the most of time and opportunity. To be perfectly frank, I've seen certain poor fellows, burdened with menial tasks, occasionally get more out of their studies than the rest, and become the most learned men, but they worked hard while others slept; they thought nothing so worth while as learning, virtue, and knowledge of the liberal arts.

Cam. I understand, Bart, and I thank you very much for telling me this so plainly. I'll think it over. Come home with me, and let's have a friendly drink.

Bar. I haven't time now, for I'm going to my relative; he has promised to help me in a certain matter. I'll be more than glad to accept when I have more time.

Cam. I should be glad to have you.

Bar. There's time yet. I'm going to stay longer, and we'll get together more often. So long.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE MANNER OF INVITING DISTINGUISHED PERSONS TO BREAKFAST OR TO COLLATIONS ¹

REVEREND masters, men of great dignity and wisdom, Master N. begs Your Lordships that you deign to breakfast with him tomorrow morning, and he will endeavor most eagerly to please Your Reverences in whatsoever he may be able.

Honored master, I beseech Your Reverence in the name of Master N. to be present with him at breakfast. He will seek to deserve your kindness by the utmost care and effort.

Most illustrious master, my master asks that you consent to be with him at a collation at the evening hour, and in whatever way he can render this an agreeable occasion to you, he will not be remiss therein.

Honored lord, I beg on behalf of the preceptor that you consent to lend him Tully's Rhetoric, and whatever you may ask from him, which he may have, he will lend you not only willingly but eagerly.

Noble lord doctor, Master N. begs Your Honor and Worthiness, that you deign to breakfast with him tomorrow, which he will endeavor to merit to the extent of his ability.

¹ Cf. Chapter X, note 3.

Distinguished lord doctor, most gentle and worthy man, my master asks Your Lordship that you deign to accept the entertainment of a collation with him, and as far as he shall be able, he will strive most diligently to please you.

Commencement Spreads

Worthy preceptor, most delightful man, we entreat Your Grace to attend a collation this evening at the home of Master N., and that you will not despise our poverty, because each one of us will eagerly endeavor to be worthy.

Reverend master, may we ask Your Reverence not to refuse to accept the entertainment of Master N.'s collation, and that you be mindful of us in the disputation, and we shall always be most studious to please you.

Reverend master, does it please Your Grace to enter the bath? ² For I am going to pay the fee for you. I pray, moreover, that you accept it with good will. Indeed, if I could show you greater reverence or honor, I would do so most eagerly.

² Heidelberg 1419 (*Urkundenbuch*, i, p. 117): "In the same year, in the same assembly, it was unanimously agreed that on the completion of the examination or test of the candidates for bachelor's and licentiate's degrees, they shall invite no one by themselves, nor procure to be invited by others, to the bath or to a banquet immediately after the bath, except only the worthy dean and his associates, in view of the fact that in such banquets the poor ones are too greatly burdened by excesses and extravagances."

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Most beloved master, I think that Your Lordship remembers that I contented you at the time of the half-fee. And so I come to beseech Your Reverence that you will give me a certificate.

Honored master, I have taken your course in the ars vetus; I seek, in the name of my master, that you be willing to bestow a certificate in writing, in return for which my master will satisfy you.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

I

OATH OF MATRICULANTS

(Erfurt, 1392?) 1

I, N., swear and promise you, Master N., rector of the University of Erfurt, and your successors in this office, obedience in proper and legitimate matters; and that I desire to observe whatsoever statutes made and to be made by the university concern me; and also to care for and preserve, to the extent of my ability and knowledge, the welfare and honor of the said university, in whatever status I may attain. Likewise, I swear that if there should arise in the university any cause whatsoever of dissension between me and any student of the university, or any inhabitant of the town of Erfurt, I shall not defend my right by law or deed, except in the presence of the rector for the time being, or before a justice or an ordinary judge living in the aforesaid town. Likewise, I swear and promise that if, on account of any neglect of my studies, disobedience, or excesses, actual or in what way soever presumptive, manifest to the lord rector or his substitute, I shall have been ordered by the same to withdraw from the town of Erfurt within a certain stated time, and return at once to my own home, and not return within the further term fixed for me, I shall carry this out without rebellion, delay, fraud, or deceit. And that I shall not withdraw myself from the

¹ Acten der Erfurter Universitaet, ed. Weissenborn, i, p. 34.

university in order that I may escape or even anticipate the sentence that ought to be placed upon me. [All of which I shall observe], unless, in the matters above stated, or any one of them, I shall receive a dispensation from the rector or his substitute. So help me God and the authors of the Holy Gospels.

STUDIES

(a)

Time table, and fees for courses (Leipzig, 1409-1522) 2

Lecture fees for the baccalaureate		Time for finishing lectures for the baccalaureate					
6 groschen. 3 " 2 " 4 " 3 " 2 " 1 "	Phisicorum De anima Vetus ars Petrus Hispanus Priorum Posteriorum Elencorum Priscianus minor Sphera materialis	Four r Three Max.	2 r 3 3 mo mo 3 n	nonths; " nths. onths. nonths nths.	u u	5 10 10	weeks. " "
Fees for exercises the baccalaures	tte { Veteris artis Novae logicae De anima Parvorum loycalium	exerc	for cise	for finishing the baccal	aureate	3.	
6 "	Phisicorum Exercicium 5 months.						

² Statutenbücher, ed. Zarncke, pp. 462-463. See list in Aschbach, i, p. 352.

(b)

Extract from an Erfurt Rubrica of 14128

BOOKS TO BE READ, AND THE TIME ALLOTTED TO EACH.

The liber phisicorum should be read for eight months, the de anima for three months . . . the spera materialis for a month and a half; the vetus ars for four months (second part of Alexander for one month) the priorum for four months, the posteriorum for four months . . . the elencorum for two months, Petrus Hispanus for three months . . . Priscianus minor for three months.

3

THE MANNER OF HEARING EXERCISES AND LECTURES

(Leipzig, 1471) 4

THE manner of hearing shall be as follows: that whosoever is hearing any lecture for a degree in arts, except mathematics, logica Hesbri, and the politica, is obliged to hear it with diligence in the book that is read, in such wise that he have his own or a borrowed text of the lecture with him at the time of the lecture (yet two or three at most may use the same text at one time); and that, without a reasonable cause, and except in the case of a legitimate obstacle, he has neglected no lecture which he ought to hear, or exercise at which he ought to be present, counting from the third lecture or exercise from the beginning of the books; and that as far as possible, he has remained, without deceit or

² Acten, ii, p. 134. See Leipzig, 1507 (Statutenbücher, pp. 504-505): "When exercises should be begun and finished," and "Hours allotted to exercises."

⁴ Statutenbücher, p. 411.

fraud, from the beginning to the end of the lecture or exercise; and that he has not had two lectures or two exercises at one hour. However, how often he has neglected an exercise or a lecture or lectures, or has not remained from the beginning to the end, and all his other defections, he must write down and describe in the schedule of his acts, to be presented at the time of the dispensation, with the reason if he has one, and moreover must ask for a dispensation, so that according to the multitude or fewness of negligences and failures, and their reasons if he has any, the masters will be able to consider and decide whether he merits a dispensation. The masters consider a legitimate obstacle to be illness or absence from town for a reasonable cause, or something else approved by the faculty.

4

FORM OF SUMMONING A STUDENT

(Leipzig, 1495) 5

We, N., rector, by these presents publicly require and peremptorily summon N., and N., students in our said university, within three days, obedient to this requisition and summons, to appear personally before us and our counsellors and assistants, in our usual residence, or in another place to be assigned to them, to answer truthfully to the charges set forth and presented by us, to clear themselves lawfully and canonically of certain misdemeanors committed by them (as is strongly presumed and suspected), or fully to pay the penalties if they shall not lawfully clear themselves from such misdemeanors to be charged against them, or shall be unable to clear themselves. Otherwise,

⁵ Statutenbücher, pp. 113-114.

when the time of the summons has elapsed, we shall proceed in accordance with justice, in spite of their rebellion and stubbornness, to their expulsion or other deserved punishment.

5
EXPENSES AT EXAMINATIONS

(Leipzig, 1444) 6

It is decreed that no expenses shall be incurred by the candidates for promotion, before the opening of the examination or test, by the invitation of the masters or others. but if they choose, they may offer one measure of beer to the proctor and his assistants as a fee, and no more, under penalty of one florin, which penalty any one doing the contrary, by himself or through another, directly or indirectly, and in any manner whatsoever, shall always incur. Which penalty the dean is required to take from him, examining him on his oath, before the beginning of the examination or test, and pay it to himself. . . . Likewise, now and henceforth, all money that is due to the masters examiners, for their consolation and honor, is by no means to be divided among them; but let them spend it according to ancient custom entering the bath, or having four meals, or two according to circumstances. For so the reproach of others may cease.

6

THE MANNER OF EXACTING A PENALTY FROM THOSE WHO SPEAK THE VERNACULAR

(Leipzig, 1499) 7

It has been decided by the masters, with the counsel of the faculty of arts, that the proctor in the exacting of a penalty

⁶ Statutenbücher, pp. 362-363.
⁷ Statutenbücher, p. 471.

for the speaking of the vernacular, ought to apply an exact and solicitous diligence, and if there be need, to ask the advice and assistance of the dean and of the entire faculty, or indeed of the heads of the colleges, who for the welfare of the college and the promotion of study among the students therein, ought to be bound to the giving of counsel and assistance in the matter of the exaction of this penalty. But if the proctor shall have been neglectful, and at the demand of the dean does not correct himself or exhibit diligence in the matter of the offences, let him be punished by the faculty by a penalty to be imposed according to the degree of the fault committed.

7

MANDATUM DE NON EFFUNDENDA URINA AUT PROIICIENDIS PULVERIBUS DE DOMIBUS PAEDAGOGII

(Leipzig, 1495) 8

CUM universis, tum magnatibus tum nobilibus, plebeis ast etiam communibus huius oppidi civibus, ius et servitus libere eundi per paedagogii curiam concessum fore dinoscatur, circa quam decentia pariter et honestas (ne alicui pertranseuntium horror, displicentia vel nausea incutiatur, seu etiam damnum inferatur) merito observanda censetur: ideoque mandat omnibus et singulis suppositis paedagogium immorantibus sive qualitercunque ibidem existentibus, quatenus nullum ipsorum deinceps ex quacunque pariete domus vel anterioris vel posterioris, diurno praecipue tempore, urinam vel aquam aut quamcunque aliam immundiciem effundat vel eiiciat, neque ad cannalia domus novae quocunque tempore eadem fundere vel proiicere praesumat, neque etiam sub ianuae posterioris

8 Statutenbücher. p. 118.

gradu locum urinando vel stercorizando defoedet, sub poena .x. gr. tociens, quotiens quis contrarium facere praesumpserit, universitati irremissibiliter persolvendorum. Si vero aliquod suppositum urgente necessitate aquam seu urinam de praescriptis locis nocturno tempore effundere voluerit, non aliter nisi spargendo eandem effundat, poena sub praemissa. Datum rectoratus sub sigillo.

8

COSTUME

(a) ×

Excerpts from Clothing Ordinances (Heidelberg, 1469) 9

THE university decrees that indecent and irregular clothing should be avoided by every student. First, as to hoods, that they be made in proper and honorable lengths. . . . Concerning collars, it is ordained that they shall not be made as they are now seen, scarcely a half, but they shall go about and completely surround the neck. . . . In shoes also they shall observe decency, especially as regards the beaks, which shall not exceed the length of the toe joint. . . .

(b)

Excerpt from Statute concerning Conduct and Proper Clothing

(Leipzig, 1495) 10

- . . . commands to all and sundry students of the said university that none of them presume to go about in dis-
- 9 Urkundenbuch der Universitaet Heidelberg, ed. Winkelmann, i, p. 186.
 - 10 Statutenbücher, pp. 115-116.

graceful, indecent, and inappropriate clothing, as, for example, in too short a garment, in openwork collar or one cut too short in the back, with effeminate stomacher, lay hat, short or abbreviated hoods, folded leggings, chasuble, biretta, and shoes fashioned in various intersections of color, or in any other forbidden garments whatever, either in the public square or in the colleges, or in any other public place, on the penalty set forth.

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