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ASPECTS OF FATHERHOOD IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY
ENCYCLOPEDIAS

by

Philip Grace

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts
Department of History

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2005

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Patri et Filio et Spirito Sancto

et uxori amatae meae

et parentibus meis, qui identidem puerem cedentes amicum acquisiverunt

et magistris meis, qui me tironem aequo animo artem suam exercent

et illis magistris antiquis,

qui in turribus eburnis suis de mundo scripserunt

ut in mea scribo.

Philip Grace

ASPECTS OF FATHERHOOD IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ENCYCLOPEDIAS

Philip Grace, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 2005

The thesis examines the treatment of fatherhood in Thomas of Cantimpré's *Liber de Natura Rerum*, Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, and Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Maius*, all of whom were influential mendicant encyclopedists writing between 1240 and 1260. The study examines sections on anatomy, the ages of man, family relations, and the theology of marriage. The thesis argues that the anatomical concept of heat functioned as a metaphor for masculinity, strength and intelligence, and linked together such aspects of fatherhood as the father's formative role in conception and the responsibility to instill virtue in and provide for the child, as well as broader concepts of household management and political government.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Everyone has a father. The simple ubiquity of this experience, along with other similar concepts such as motherhood and childhood, seems to recommend it as a fruitful topic for historical study. Yet it is only in the last half-century that the history of the family has come into increasing prominence, as academic historians and social scientists have begun to reconstruct the lives of common people rather than the few prominent leaders of each generation. This new social history, the history of the disenfranchised, of children, of peasants—in short, of the vast majority of people, who did not write the documents or shape the events of their times—has occupied much recent attention.¹ Often paired with social history, with its focus on demographics and collective experience, is the even newer discipline of cultural history, focused on the creation of meaning via rituals, texts and other shared cultural forms.²

As the history of the family has taken shape, perhaps the most substantive debate has revolved around the question of “affection.” Were medieval families rigidly authoritarian, economically motivated associations, or did they produce love and emotional intimacy between family members? The argument that medieval families were emotionally distant from one another was first articulated by Philippe Ariès and

¹ Miles Fairburn, *Social History: Problems, Strategies, and Methods* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).

² Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 1-5.

more extensively argued by Lawrence Stone.³ Like many seminal works, Stone's (and Ariès') theories have been almost completely discarded by subsequent scholars such as Alan MacFarlane and Martin Ingram, but the question of "affection" in various forms still occupies much scholarly debate.⁴

Scholarship on the history of the family in Europe has focused on the early modern period, when the shift towards affective family life is widely supposed to have occurred.⁵ The vehemence of the opposition to this supposed shift implies that understanding the medieval family may provide a crucial link. If the family did not suddenly become loving in the sixteenth century, what was it like before? By examining the medieval family in more detail, historians can develop a greater understanding of its attitudes and practices, laying the groundwork for studying later developments. The medieval family was the chronological precursor of the early modern family; therefore, a foundation of medieval developments is vital to any exploration of later change or continuity. I need hardly add that studying the medieval family is an end in itself.

In medieval history, most early studies of the family focused on the aristocracy, and specifically on issues of political power. A major debate has centered

³ Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. R. Baldick (New York: Knopf, 1962); Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977).

⁴ Alan MacFarlane, "Review of *Family, Sex & Marriage in England, 1500-1800* by L. Stone," *History and Theory* 18 no. 1 (1979): 103-126; Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex & Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 125-ff. The number of references to Ariès' or Stone's work is noteworthy, even in contexts that are only incidentally related. In addition to the works cited above, other examples are Christopher Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 20; James Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 392, n. 21; Felicity Riddy, "Looking Closely: Authority and Intimacy in the Late Medieval Urban Home," in *Gendering the Master Narrative*, eds. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 217.

⁵ An example is Steven Ozment, *Ancestors: The loving family in old Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001) which, despite the title and its many excellent insights, concentrates on the sixteenth century, with occasional reference to the fifteenth.

around overturning Marc Bloch's theory of "a radical break between the old Carolingian aristocracy and its replacement by a new elite of knights in the first feudal age," with historians finding instead remarkable continuity among noble families from the Carolingian era onward.⁶ This trend in research continued through the 1960s and 1970s.⁷ Since the 1960s, however, research has also taken a more cultural turn, acquiring a focus on "familial self-awareness" and "the ways in which power was justified or imagined."⁸ Still, most work on women has focused on the aristocracy and questions of political and legal power.⁹ More recent work has seen increasing attention to non-noble women,¹⁰ children,¹¹ and an emphasis on day-to-day life that is a central concern of social history.¹²

⁶ Tony Hunt, "The Emergence of the Knight in France and England, 1000-1200," in *Knighthood in Medieval Literature*, ed. W. H. Jackson (Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 1981), 1; Many of the most important studies are translated in Timothy Reuter, ed. and trans. *The Medieval Nobility: Studies on the Ruling Classes of France and Germany from the Sixth to the Twelfth century* (New York: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1978).

⁷ Karl Leyser, "The German Aristocracy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century: A Historical and Cultural sketch," *Past and Present* 41 (1968): 25-53; Georges Duby, "Lineage, Nobility and Knighthood," and "The Nobility in Medieval France," in *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. Cynthia Postan (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), 59-80, 94-111; cited in T.N. Bisson, "Nobility and Family in Medieval France: A Review Essay," *French Historical Studies* 16 no. 3 (1990): 599.

⁸ Bisson, "Nobility and Family in Medieval France," 602, 611; some examples are Georges Duby, "The Structure of Kinship and Nobility," and "French Genealogical Literature," in *The Chivalrous Society*, 134-148, 149-157; Constance Brittain Bouchard, *"Those of my blood": Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

⁹ Georges Duby, *Women of the Twelfth Century*, trans. Jean Birrell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Suzanne Fonay Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500 to 900* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981); Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, eds., *Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988); Theodore Evergates, ed. *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

¹⁰ Sharon Farmer and Carol Braun Pasternack, eds., *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003); Henrietta Leyser, *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England, 450-1500* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995); Christine Meek and Catherine Lawless, eds., *Studies on Medieval and Early Modern Women: Pawns or Players?* (Portland, Oregon: Four Courts, 2003); Shulamith Shahar, *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages*, trans. Chaya Galai (New York: Methuen, 1983).

¹¹ Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Barbara Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

¹² Georges Duby and Philippe Ariès, gen. eds., *A History of Private Life*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987); David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985); Bisson, "Nobility and Family in Medieval France," 610.

The topic of fatherhood is a central part of the question of affection: if the medieval family was authoritarian, did not the father make it so? Ironically, relatively little has been written about fatherhood in what many have seen as a quintessentially patriarchal society. In 1994, Merry Wiesner wrote that “despite great attention to it in the early modern period, fatherhood, as with so many other aspects of masculinity, is still waiting for its historians.”¹³ Although the last ten years have seen some interest in the study of fatherhood, her statement is still largely accurate. To the social and cultural understanding of mothers and children, which are rightly emerging into our understanding of the past, must be added the experience of fathers.

The idea of fatherhood also overlaps with ideas of masculinity and issues of gender. Thomas Laqueur has argued that the late eighteenth century saw a shift from a “one-sex model” wherein “men and women were arranged according to their degree of metaphysical perfection, their vital heat, along an axis whose *telos* was male” to the “two-sex model,” in which male and female were fundamentally incommensurable.¹⁴ While this is a stimulating and helpful analysis, Laqueur’s focus is on a later period, and thus he treats the old model in a single chapter ranging from the ancient Greeks to the fourteenth century.

Ruth Mazo Karras’ *From Boys to Men* is closer to the topic of this thesis. Karras examines the ways young men in the fourteenth century were socialized or inducted into manhood—“how men learned to be men.”¹⁵ Karras argues that various groups in society defined masculinity in opposition to various other statuses. Knights

¹³ Merry E. Wiesner, “Family, Household and Community” in *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation: Structures and Assertions*, vol. 1, eds. Thomas A Brady, Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1994), 64.

¹⁴ Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 5-6.

¹⁵ Ruth Mazo Karras. *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 3.

defined masculinity through violence and power, often in opposition to femininity; university students defined masculinity as not only not-feminine, but also rational rather than beast-like; craftsmen defined it as independence in opposition to boyhood.¹⁶ These conceptions of masculinity, especially the chivalric equation of maleness with strength and power, will be strongly evident in what follows.

Karras' contention that medieval men defined masculinity in opposition to femininity, bestiality, and boyhood is more nuanced for the medieval period and more germane to this thesis. What is helpful about Laqueur's work, however, is his observation that attempting to read pre-modern texts through the "epistemological lens of the Enlightenment...is an unconscionably external, ahistorical and impoverished approach."¹⁷ Indeed, the fact that "bodies in these texts did strange, remarkable, and to modern readers impossible things...culture, in short, suffused and changed the body," is precisely the point of studying cultural history.¹⁸ Since the goal of the project is to understand the cultural meanings of pre-modern anatomy, this thesis will not devote any great attention to what these encyclopedists "really" (that is, scientifically) meant.

Laqueur also makes another, more specific point related to this general principle. This is the observation that writers before the modern period saw biological differences between the sexes as secondary. That is, one's gender was a fundamental "cultural category," while anatomical questions of sex were treated *on the basis* of the metaphysical distinction between the genders.¹⁹ To this extent, Laqueur's argument is compatible with Karras' and with the focus of this thesis. Culturally, gender identities were constructed in opposition to each other. Anatomically, the female sex was seen

¹⁶ Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 11-12.

¹⁷ Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 7.

¹⁸ Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 7.

¹⁹ Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 8-9.

as inferior to the male sex, but on the same continuum. This fundamental difference in medieval conceptions of gender is useful to understand when dealing with questions of fatherhood.

Many medieval historical explorations—of nunneries, prostitution and feudalism, for example—encounter problems arising from the fact that there was no clear medieval term for the thing studied, leading to the question of whether it was even a part of the mindset of the time.²⁰ There is, however, a distinct Latin term—*pater*—that translates directly as “father.” Medieval writers, however, used *pater* in a variety of meanings from biological to social to legal to metaphorical.²¹ There are also religious meanings; the terms *pope* and *abbot* both etymologically derive from words for father, and the relationship between God the Father and Christ the Son is a central part of the Christian conception of the universe. It is precisely this cluster of meanings for “father” that furnishes so much interest to the subject. But how far, exactly, did the concept of fatherhood extend? How did the different meanings interact? Beginning with “literal” fatherhood—that is, fatherhood as a biological and social category—I intend to explore the overlapping meanings of the term.

This thesis is a project in intellectual and cultural history, in that it examines the idea of fatherhood as expressed in three admittedly academic medieval encyclopedias.²² These academic sources do not allow a full examination of the lived

²⁰ Bruce Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890-1215* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), xvii; Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 10-12; Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); see also Miles Fairburn, *Social History*.

²¹ Caroline Walker Bynum, “Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother: Some Themes in Twelfth-century Cistercian Writing,” *Harvard Theological Review* 70 (1977): 257-84, and Dyan Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) provide two examples of how sexual and family roles were understood to have metaphorical meanings apart from their biological basis, both of which will be discussed in Chapter Three.

²² Although none of the texts describes itself with the term “encyclopedia,” medieval historians routinely refer to these and other similar texts as encyclopedias, and they meet criteria which place them in the encyclopedic genre, a fact which will be discussed further in Chapter Two. Robert Fowler,

experience and practice of medieval fatherhood, the ultimate goal of social and cultural history. Nonetheless, this thesis is informed by the concerns of social history and more especially of cultural history, with its attention to the underlying meanings of texts and cultural forms. Thus, although I will analyze the intellectual, academic backgrounds of the sources, I intend to move past these issues to an examination of the shared cultural outlook exhibited by the encyclopedias.

The three encyclopedias that are the focus of this project were all compiled within a few years of each other. Thomas of Cantimpré, a Dominican in the present-day Netherlands, produced his *Liber de Natura Rerum* around 1240.²³ A few years later, a Franciscan, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, produced *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, around 1245.²⁴ At almost the same time, Vincent of Beauvais, a Dominican in northern France, drew upon Thomas' and Bartholomaeus' texts as well as many others in compiling a gigantic work entitled *Speculum Maius*, which would go through numerous revisions up until (and even after) his death in 1264.²⁵ Furthermore, in addition to their relative geographical proximity, the encyclopedists had a largely similar educational background, vocation, and worldview. Thus, these three scholarly compendia constitute a meaningful and important set of texts for historical study. Although there are differences between them, they exhibit a great

"Encyclopedias: Definitions and Theoretical Problems," in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts: Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1-4 July 1996* ed. Peter Binkley (New York: Brill, 1997), 14-5, 27-9.

²³ Arjo Vanderjagt, "Thomas of Cantimpré" in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph Strayer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), 12:34.

²⁴ Michael C. Seymour, et al., *Bartholomaeus Anglicus and his Encyclopedia* (Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Co., 1992), 35.

²⁵ Cantimpré is cited explicitly in the sections examined for this thesis. That Vincent used Anglicus is shown through the study of manuscripts of Anglicus in Michael C. Seymour, "Some Medieval French Readers of *De Proprietatibus Rerum*," *Scriptorium: Revue Internationale des Études Relatives aux Manuscrits* 28 no. 1 (1974): 102. See also E.R. Smits, "Vincent of Beauvais: A Note on the Background of the *Speculum*," in *Vincent of Beauvais and Alexander the Great: Studies on the Speculum Maius and its Translations into Medieval Vernaculars*, *Mediaevalia Groningana* 7, ed. W. J. Aerts, E. R. Smits, and J. B. Voorbij (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1986), 3.

deal of coherence as a set, and can be read together as a window into the views of mendicants and university scholars, who formed a dynamic, influential sector of thirteenth-century society. The encyclopedists and their connections to thirteenth-century intellectual life will be discussed further in Chapter Two.

For the sake of clarity, I will as a rule refer to the texts by the surnames of their compilers rather than by their largely similar titles, and use the encyclopedists' given names on rare occasions to identify the compiler apart from his text, but the titles themselves are indicative of the broad scope of the works. Thomas of Cantimpré's *Book on the Nature of Things* and Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *On the Properties of Things* are clearly oriented toward natural philosophy; that is, explaining the natural world, and indeed apparently the whole world, from the breadth of the term *res*, which can mean "matters," "objects," or can have the vagueness present in the English word "things."²⁶ Vincent of Beauvais' *Great Mirror* is less obvious in meaning, but the idea of reflecting or encapsulating the external world is clearly present.²⁷ The term "mirror" was used in a similar way in many other titles, notably the "Mirrors for Princes" genre, which provided guides to royal behavior and government.²⁸

These three encyclopedists intended their compilations to be used as handbooks for preachers.²⁹ This is appropriate, since all three encyclopedists were

²⁶ Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De Rerum Proprietatibus* (Frankfurt a. M.: Minerva, 1964); Thomas de Cantimpré, *Liber de Natura Rerum*, ed. Helmut Boese (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1973).

²⁷ Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum Quadruplex; sive, Speculum Maius* (Graz, Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1964-65).

²⁸ Examples of the genre can be found in Michael Camille, "The King's New Bodies: an Illustrated Mirror for Princes in the Morgan Library," *Artistic Exchange: Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte, Berlin, 15.-20. Juli 1992*, ed. Thomas W. Gaehtgens. 3 vols. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), vol. 2: 393-405; Wilhelm Berges, *Die Fürstenspiegel des Hohen und Späten Mittelalters*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, vol. 2. (Leipzig, K. W. Hiersemann, 1938); Vicente Almazan, "The Exemplum in the *Konungs Skuggsiá*," in *Mediaeval Scandinavia: A Journal Devoted to the Study of Mediaeval Civilization in Scandinavia and Iceland* 13 (2000): 155-166.

²⁹ Thomas Grzebien, *Penance, Purgatory, Mysticism and Miracles: The Life, Hagiography, and Spirituality of Thomas of Cantimpré (1200-1270)* (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1989), 21; E.R. Smits, "Vincent of Beauvais: A Note on the Background of the *Speculum*," 7.

members of mendicant orders, which focused on preaching to the laity while also promoting high standards of academic learning. At the same time, Dominican writers in general seemed to be aware of the basic works that all Dominican houses should possess. The authors of many “Dominican literary products” seem to have written in order that “brethren in houses which do not have good libraries of their own should not be deprived of any material that is available to better-placed brethren.”³⁰ In this way, these compendia seem to fill certain academic roles that makes them far more than collections of sermon illustrations, a question which will be taken up in later chapters.

The highly specialized function of these academic sources leads to the question of their appropriateness for cultural history. They were composed by ostensibly celibate clerics rather than laymen, by members of the educated elite rather than the population at large. The authors were, furthermore, all male, as indeed were nearly all academic writers in the thirteenth century. In short, these writers knew next to nothing about female sexuality, and theoretically just as little about male sexual experience. Their writings are hardly representative of the average person’s experience.

While these sources are certainly relevant to the approaches of intellectual history, and will be treated as such, they are also valid material for cultural history. Leaders, as well as members of the general population, are a part of their cultural milieu. In contrast to traditional intellectual history, which tends to emphasize the individual contributions of “great men,” my more cultural approach views the encyclopedists as participants in their culture: articulate and influential, to be sure, but not somehow standing outside of the world, like Archimedes’ man with a lever. We

³⁰ Simon Tugwell, “Humbert of Romans, ‘Compiler,’” in *Lector et Compiler: Vincent de Beauvais, Frère Prêcheur, un Intellectuel et son Milieu au XIIIe siècle*, eds. Serge Lusignan and Monique Paulmier-Foucart, *Rencontres à Royaumont 9* (Grâne: Editions Créaphis, 1997), 55.

must utilize the windows to the past that they provide, inconveniently placed and strongly tinted though they may be. And tinted they are. Are not these texts documents of theory rather than practice, more concerned with prescribing what *ought* to happen than with describing what *was* happening? Were they not part of a hegemonic effort to impose an esoteric ideology on an incompliant public?

Indeed, this was the intent of these scholarly authors. Therefore, the ideas in these encyclopedias should not be mistaken for the thirteenth-century *practice* of fatherhood. But these ideas are not irrelevant to actions; they seek to control them. This means that hegemonic ideas and resistant actions by definition share at least a battle line, as prescription attempts to alter practice. The two sides of an argument, even prescriptions and the behavior they attempt to direct, are a part of a single larger cultural discourse. This tension between word, meaning and action is the subject of cultural historical enquiry.³¹ Thus, we can use these academic documents to yield valuable information about the cultural understanding of fatherhood, among academics or other historical actors.

Furthermore, other historians have not hesitated to use these documents. Philippe Ariès, for example, in *Centuries of Childhood*, mentioned above, spends his first chapter detailing the stages of life used in the Middle Ages. In it, he draws heavily from an early modern French edition of Bartholmaeus Anglicus' *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, one of the three encyclopedias that form the focus of this

³¹ One example of conflicting views within a single discourse is the manuscript tradition of a dialogue between the proverbs of the learned and peasants' earthy, witty responses, which appeared in various forms between the tenth and sixteenth centuries. This tradition, along with other learned attempts to collect common wisdom, has been examined in Natalie Zemon Davis, "Proverbial Wisdom and Popular Errors," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1975), 227.

thesis.³² Two points are salient here. First, Ariès uses a prescriptive source as a way of accessing contemporary *attitudes* about family life, skewed though it may be. Second, his reading of the source as “empty and verbose” and his use of it to argue that “since youth signifies the prime of life, there is no room for adolescence” in the medieval conception of age, is strongly at odds with my own reading of the source, which will be discussed at length in later chapters.³³

More importantly, the academic debates in which these encyclopedists participated had far-reaching implications in medieval society. The mendicant orders, of which all three of these writers were members, attempted to counteract various heretical movements, some of which, for example the Cathars, denied the goodness of marriage.³⁴ Although they were academics, their charge was to teach the laity. As guides for preaching and reference books for mendicants, these encyclopedias represent more than merely arcane personal views. Rather, they are works of scholarship, but scholarship with an eye to the spiritual instruction of everyday people. Furthermore, they eventually gained wider distribution and were influential both within and outside of the academic milieu, a development that will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Because of this interaction between academic writers and everyday life, it is possible, albeit cautiously, to examine these texts for insight into contemporary scholarly views about fatherhood. Since the texts are part of a theoretical, sometimes

³² Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, 19. The citation on p. 419, n. 10, reads “*Le Grand Propriétaire de toutes choses, tres utile et profitable pour tenir le corps en santé*, compiled by B. de Glanville, translated by Jean Corbichon, 1556.” Bartholomaeus Anglicus was incorrectly identified with Bartholomew de Glanville in the early modern period. See Gerald E. Se Boyar, “Bartholomaeus Anglicus and his Encyclopaedia,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 19 (1920), 168-89.

³³ Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, 22, 25.

³⁴ James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 337. Obviously, the mendicant orders were not founded *solely* to defend marriage, nor even solely to refute heresy. It is simply an example of the broad relevance of issues of sexuality and marriage to many areas of medieval life.

rhetorical polemic, it is appropriate that they be pressed hard to yield not only explicitly stated information regarding fatherhood, but also the implicit assumptions that form the fabric of the debates of which they are a part. At the same time, the project is essentially a historical one, since the goal is to discern the path of attitudes through time, with a view to their implications for the lives of medieval people.

Much of the thesis will be devoted to placing the encyclopedias in concentric circles of cultural and historical context before examining the texts in detail. Chapter Two examines the intellectual milieu in which these encyclopedias were compiled by exploring the development of universities and the rise of mendicant orders and locating the encyclopedists within these movements, as well as discussing the aims of the medieval encyclopedic genre. Chapter Three examines in detail the many aspects of fatherhood present in medieval scholarly treatments of theology, canon law, and anatomy. Chapter Four approaches the material from the standpoint of intellectual history, discusses the authoritative sources and rhetorical strategies used in compiling the encyclopedias, and argues that the encyclopedists were attempting to produce a coherent text, not simply a collection of citations. Chapter Five uses a more cultural, textual approach, examines the view of fatherhood constructed in the three encyclopedias, and finds a complex “shape” of fatherhood that is linked across several aspects of human life by the anatomical concept of heat, which is used as a metaphor for maleness, strength, intelligence and power. Chapter Six discusses the reception history and later uses of the encyclopedias and speculates on the applicability and implications of the findings. Upon close examination, the texts reveal a nuanced model of human sexuality and society. In the end, it is clear that these encyclopedias provide a means of exploring the concepts of fatherhood held in thirteenth-century academic circles.

CHAPTER TWO

INTELLECTUAL CONTEXT: THE MID-THIRTEENTH CENTURY

This chapter examines the intellectual context in which the encyclopedists examined here composed their encyclopedias. The thirteenth century saw the growth of universities, the rise of the mendicant orders, and the development of new textual and research tools. The three encyclopedists examined here were closely involved with these developments; all three studied at the university at Paris, were members of mendicant orders, and contributed to the new wave of reference materials.

Universities

Academic study was strongly associated with the Church in the 1200s. The Church had been the main custodian of learning since late Antiquity, but with the rise of universities as formal institutions, the academy began to move away from ecclesiastical control and see itself as an independent “guild,” broadly analogous to the self-governing professional and political organizations in other trades.¹ Mediterranean universities tended to be more secular than their northern counterparts, but even in Paris, where all three of the encyclopedists examined here spent a part of their careers, the university agitated towards autonomy. This ambition was held in tension, however, at least in Paris, by the renown of the theology program and the pivotal role that the Cathedral of Notre Dame played in binding the university together from the many cathedral schools from which it was formed. In addition,

¹ Marcia Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition, 400-1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 267-8.

papal bulls and royal decrees alike considered all students to be under ecclesiastical rather than secular jurisdiction, and the academic community at Paris found this protection to be highly beneficial.² Although education was an increasingly independent concern, the thirteenth-century Church was still the most important producer and consumer of scholars.

In addition to being largely clerical, the academy was aggressively male. A few women writers of the period had a degree of influence, but they did not attend universities. Two female professors taught law as part of the faculty at Bologna, for example, but even they were taught at home by their fathers, rather than matriculating to the university.³ Scholarly authors, therefore, assumed that the reader was male. This assumption exerted a strong influence on discussions of gender and sexuality and, in turn, of fatherhood. Scholars such as William of Pagula, for example, advised that because women were so bashful of speaking about sex, husbands should render the conjugal debt “not only when she expresses it, but also as often as by signs it appears” that she desires sex.⁴ Discussions of sexuality were sometimes couched in such terms as “women’s secrets.”⁵ A major medical treatise on the subject of gynecology attributed to a woman named Trotula claims to redress the problems that arise because women “dare not reveal the difficulties of their sicknesses to a male doctor.”⁶ Women did practice as midwives and healers, and a few even wrote

² A.B. Cobban, *The Medieval Universities: Their Development and Organization* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1975), 1-20, 75-80. See also John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1986), 183, ff.

³ Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition*, 268.

⁴ William of Pagula, *Summa Summarum* 4.1, cited in James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 427.

⁵ Claude Thomasset, “The Nature of Woman” in *Silences of the Middle Ages*, ed. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, vol. 2 of *A History of Women in the West*, gen. eds. Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), 61.

⁶ Beryl Rowland, *Medieval Woman’s Guide to Health: The First English Gynecological Handbook* (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1981), 3; the most recent translation is Monica Helen

academic medical treatises, such as the alleged Trotula and Hildegard of Bingen, but the vast majority of medical writing at the time was done by males.⁷ To scholars, then, the woman was an unknown “other” to be explained and decoded by men.

While scholars did pursue knowledge for its own sake, there were also clear uses for knowledge; academic study was not without purpose or application. The Church certainly attempted to exert cultural control over the behavior of individuals. As John Baldwin points out in his study of discourses on sexuality between 1180 and 1200, “since churchmen sought to bring all matters pertaining to sexuality and marriage under their exclusive jurisdiction, they promulgated their doctrines through preaching and the confessional and applied them with spiritual sanctions in the courts.”⁸ This does not mean that the Church wholly succeeded in imposing an ideological hegemony on everyday culture; even clerics regularly deviated from the norms advanced by the Church, not to mention the laity. Nor does it mean that the Church was monolithic; popes, councils, various religious orders, and theologians of different stripes debated throughout the medieval period, using varying degrees of reason, invective, violence, and subversion. Nor does it mean that the Church was a purely opportunistic organization, greedy for power, but simply that the leaders of the Church desired to produce widespread observance of the specific behaviors and beliefs it prescribed. Nonetheless, attempts to impose views articulated by scholars upon resistant aristocrats, commoners and even clerics will be strongly evident in what follows and must be taken into account when reading the encyclopedists’ views

Green, *The Trotula: A Medieval Compendium of Women’s Medicine* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

⁷ Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science and Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 5.

⁸ John W. Baldwin, *The Language of Sex: Five Voices from Northern France around 1200* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), xvii-xviii.

on fatherhood. Scholarly discourse on fatherhood was largely prescriptive.

Dealing with received knowledge was the basic endeavor of medieval academic life. Early medieval scholars relied heavily on compendia and other collections of ancient sources, but the twelfth century saw a new interest in returning to classical texts.⁹ In his *Didascalion*, Hugh of St. Victor argued against the use of *florilegia* and other forms of collecting excerpts from authorities, and advocated instead the study of ancient works in their entirety.¹⁰ The development of universities led to the development of new intellectual approaches. Dialectic, or the practice of listing opposing solutions to a problem and then giving a settlement, had been a part of the liberal arts from the classical period onward for many branches of knowledge, and continued in the universities. The basic format of university instruction was the lecture, in which a professor expounded on a specific text, explaining previous interpretations and arguing for his own. Lectures were supplemented by drill sessions in which the students, too, were expected to rehearse both sides of the arguments presented in the lectures.¹¹ In the mid-twelfth century, a new form of dialectic, the disputation, emerged.¹² In these more formal debates, a participant attempted to show that his opponents' arguments were illogical or used authorities inappropriately. The records of these debates, the *quaestiones disputatae*, became a new genre of academic writing in their own right.¹³ Participation in university life, then, included understanding and navigating between many different views, "diverse but not adverse," as the twelfth-century maxim put it.¹⁴ The practice of evaluating and

⁹ Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition*, 175.

¹⁰ Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition*, 175.

¹¹ Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition*, 272.

¹² Anthony Kenny and Jan Pinborg, "Medieval Philosophical Literature" in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, eds. Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, and Jan Pinborg (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 21-29.

¹³ Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition*, 272; Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages*, 115.

¹⁴ Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition*, 265.

harmonizing potentially contradictory authorities was thus the basic method of inquiry in which all three encyclopedists were immersed during their studies at the university in Paris.

Indeed, thirteenth-century academics had a great deal of opportunity to work at reconciling discordant ideas, due to the rediscovery of Aristotle and other texts. During the early medieval era, European scholars had only a few of Aristotle's works, translated by Boethius in the sixth century: the *Categories* and *On Interpretation*. These works constituted the corpus known as *logica vetus*, "the old logic."¹⁵ During the twelfth century, however, a great number of new translations appeared, mostly made from Greek texts (not Arabic, as has sometimes been thought). However, they were not widely read during the twelfth century.¹⁶ These translations included a group of texts called *logica nova*, "the new logic," and all of the Aristotelian logical texts circulated in a collection called the *Organon* from the early thirteenth century.

Almost all of the natural history texts were also translated. Michael Scot, a scholar working in Toledo and Bologna, translated part of *On Animals* (which is one of the most significant for purposes of this thesis) from Arabic, as well as a large number of Averroes' commentaries, between 1220 and 1236. A large collection of Aristotle's natural philosophy texts, the *corpus vetustius*, circulated together beginning in the mid-thirteenth century. Though there were several successive translations of many Aristotelian works, Michael Scot's version of *On Animals* remained popular until well into the fourteenth century.¹⁷ During the mid-thirteenth century, the Dominican scholar Albert the Great believed that many views credited to Aristotle were actually later additions, and set out to produce a purer text of

¹⁵ Dod, "Aristoteles Latinus," in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, eds. Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, and Jan Pinborg (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 46.

¹⁶ Dod, "Aristoteles Latinus," 47-8.

¹⁷ Dod, "Aristoteles Latinus," 50, 59.

Aristotle.¹⁸ A fellow Dominican, William of Moerbeke, aided greatly in this task. Moerbeke, though he joined the Dominican Order at Louvain (incidentally, where Thomas of Cantimpré served for many years), spent most of his career in Greece. He substantially revised or re-translated nearly the entire Aristotelian corpus.¹⁹ One of Albert the Great's students, Thomas of Aquinas, benefited greatly from these new translations.²⁰

The new circulation of Aristotelian texts (as well as pseudo-Aristotelian works and commentaries) caused upheaval in the universities. There were tensions between the old logic and the new logic, between monastic education and professional university scholarship, between the traditional exposition and transmission of texts and the willingness to challenge and even disagree with ancient authorities.²¹ These tensions expressed themselves in many ways, but Aristotle's identification with the new learning was a significant one. In 1210, a Church council at Sens forbade any lectures on Aristotle's natural philosophy in the university at Paris, due to questions of its doctrinal acceptability, though the new logic was still allowed. Though the natural philosophy texts were not the subject of lectures in Paris, academic writers still used them, even theologians like William of Auxerre.²² The ban was renewed in 1215, and again in 1231, but it was gradually relaxed, and by 1255, the new Aristotle was firmly established as a cornerstone of the curriculum.²³ The encyclopedists'

¹⁸ Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition*, 295.

¹⁹ Dod, "Aristoteles Latinus," 49, 63.

²⁰ Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition*, 295.

²¹ M.D. Chenu, "Tradition and Progress," in *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, selected, ed. and trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 310-331; C.H. Lohr, "The Medieval Interpretation of Aristotle," in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, eds. Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, and Jan Pinborg (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 82; Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition*, 272-3.

²² Dod, "Aristoteles Latinus," 72; Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition*, 292.

²³ Dod, "Aristoteles Latinus," 73.

careers coincided with the latter part of this process. They were all at the university during the period when Aristotle's natural philosophy was excluded from lectures, but the encyclopedists were clearly familiar with them, as other scholars were, a fact which will be demonstrated in Chapter Four.

Mendicant Orders

The emergence of the mendicant orders, of which all three encyclopedists were members, was one of the most significant developments in thirteenth-century intellectual and religious life. The Dominicans, or Order of Friars Preacher, developed from the work of St. Dominic, one of a group of itinerant preachers sent to counteract the Albigensian heretics in southern France in 1206. By 1217, the Order had received formal recognition from the Pope, accepting the Augustinian Rule for religious life and a universal mandate "for preaching and the salvation of souls."²⁴ Representatives traveled to Spain, Paris and Italy, and soon after to Germany, England, Poland, Denmark, and Greece. In each place, the Order founded a priory, the only form of property the Order allowed.²⁵

The overarching goal of the Dominicans was to furnish local bishops with a supply of educated, trained preachers, the need for which had been recognized at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Study was an integral part of this task, around which the whole of Dominican life was built.²⁶ Promising students could be exempted from parts of the Augustinian Rule for the sake of study, and the regulations of the Order advised that the holy office be said "briefly and succinctly, in order that...the studies

²⁴ William A. Hinnebusch, "Dominicans," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph Strayer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), 4: 244.

²⁵ William A. Hinnebusch, "Dominicans," 4:244.

²⁶ Thomas W. Grzebien, *Penance, Purgatory, Mysticism and Miracles: The Life, Hagiography, and Spirituality of Thomas of Cantimpr e (1200-1270)* (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1989), 63-4.

of the brothers be impeded as little as possible.”²⁷ All Dominican priories were required to include a professor among the brothers, so that members could be educated at the local level. The Order carefully selected only its most gifted brothers to be sent on for more advanced training to become the elite preachers and representatives of the Order. By 1220, John of St. Albans was teaching theology at the Dominican priory in Paris. By 1229, the Dominicans had a chair of theology at the university there.²⁸ The earliest Dominican groups also established priories at other universities, such as Madrid, Oxford, and Bologna.²⁹ Thus, Thomas of Cantimpré and Vincent of Beauvais were involved in the very beginning of what was already a powerful new force in intellectual life, both in the academic world and in its impact on the laity through preaching. That their writings and sermons were allowed to represent the Order in public establishes them among the finest minds of a highly intellectual organization.

The Franciscan Order, sometimes called the Order of Friars Minor, was originally concerned with preaching as only one part of a lifestyle of radical apostolic poverty, humility, and ministry.³⁰ St. Francis of Assisi, the founder, did not concentrate on refuting heresy specifically, but rather preached in order to advocate religious devotion and repentance. Francis, while not actually anti-intellectual, desired poverty and piety much more than education for his brothers.³¹ After the Order received official papal recognition in 1210, it expanded rapidly, acquiring thousands of members, a formal Rule of its own (finalized in 1223), and an administrative

²⁷ A. H. Thomas, ed., *Constitutiones Antiquae Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, (1215-1237), Kritische Tekst: met Toelichtingen Betreffende Bronnen en Tijd* (Louvain: Dominikanenklooster, 1965), 20; cited in Grzebien, *Penance, Purgatory, Mysticism, and Miracles*, 64.

²⁸ William A. Hinnebusch, “Dominicans,” 4: 245-8.

²⁹ Grzebien, *Penance, Purgatory, Mysticism and Miracles*, 56, 58.

³⁰ Grzebien, *Penance, Purgatory, Mysticism and Miracles*, 55-6.

³¹ John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order From Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968), 15-8, 23-4, 54, 123.

structure.³² According to the chronicle of the early Franciscan Order, the first Franciscan missions into Germany and Hungary in 1219 were disastrous, due to the fact that none of the brothers knew any German except the word “ja,” which was useful for offers of food or shelter, but hazardous when people asked if they were heretics. Germany acquired such a reputation among the brothers that it was thought that “only those inspired by a desire for martyrdom would dare go there.”³³ The conversion of several Germans to the Order in Italy made a second trip more feasible, and some ninety brothers “offered themselves to death.”³⁴ Happily, the second mission was much more successful, and they founded a convent in Augsburg in 1221, and several other places thereafter.³⁵ By 1225, there were Franciscan provinces in Germany, England, Hungary, Italy, France, and Spain, where the Order founded convents and thereby acquired property.³⁶

During this time, the Franciscan Order also developed increasing emphasis on education. This shift was partially due to the influence of Haymo of Faversham, the Englishman who led the Order as Minister General from 1240 to 1244, but it began even before his term of office.³⁷ Soon, Franciscan houses contained *lectors* who trained the brothers under them and prepared some for schooling at the provincial level, while a few went from there to the university.³⁸ The first Franciscans in Paris arrived at almost the same time as the Dominicans and followed their lead in establishing an independent school there. The fact that both of the mendicant orders

³² Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 54-7.

³³ Giordano of Giano, *Chronica Fratris Jordani*, in *Collection D'Études et de Documents sur l'Histoire Religieuse et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, vi, ed. H. Boehmer (Paris, 1908), 5; cited in Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 67-8.

³⁴ Giordano of Giano, *Chronica Fratris Jordani*, 5; cited in Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 67-8.

³⁵ Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 67-8.

³⁶ Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 62-74.

³⁷ Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 107.

³⁸ Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 123-4.

had schools that were independent of the university, sometimes attracting students and masters from other schools, became a point of contention between the university and the orders.³⁹ The highest levels of the mendicant schools were thus operating in the academic context of the university, though not always an integral part of it. Bartholomaeus Anglicus, the third encyclopedist of those examined here, was involved with this young movement.

Encyclopedists

Thomas of Cantimpré was born near present-day Brussels around 1201. He was sent to school after his father, a knight, confessed to a hermit in Syria and was told that “he could never fully expiate his sins unless he should have a son who would become a priest and do penance for him.”⁴⁰ After Thomas’ training, around 1217 he became a canon regular at Cantimpré, an Augustinian abbey near Cambrai, where he began to compile passages from Christian and pagan authorities on subjects from botany to astronomy, either for his own medical studies or as a basic *exemplum* collection for preachers.⁴¹ Thomas served in a pastoral role, probably as an episcopal penitencer, a sort of appellate confessor over the entire diocese who assigned penances in unusually difficult cases. The ardor of this task comprised “the greatest challenge of Thomas’ young life.”⁴² He associated with the charismatic preacher Jacque de Vitry and several mystic women in the diocese of Liège.⁴³ He wrote several hagiographies, including a supplement to Jacques de Vitry’s *Life of Marie D’Oignies* and lives of John of Cantimpré, Christina the Miraculous, Margaret of

³⁹ Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 125-7.

⁴⁰ Thomas de Cantimpré, *Bonum Universale de Apibus*, ed. G. Colevernius, 3rd ed. (Douai: Balthasar Bellari, 1627), 53.32; cited in Grzebien, *Penance, Purgatory, Mysticism and Miracles*, 2.

⁴¹ Grzebien, *Penance, Purgatory, Mysticism and Miracles*, 22-3.

⁴² Grzebien, *Penance, Purgatory, Mysticism and Miracles*, 24-5.

⁴³ Grzebien, *Penance, Purgatory, Mysticism and Miracles*, 30-4.

Ieper, and Lutgard of Aywières.⁴⁴ Around 1232, he joined the Dominican Order at the newly founded priory at Louvain, perhaps as one of the brothers from Liège who established the new site.⁴⁵ Beginning in 1237, he studied at the university in Paris, where he completed his *Liber de Natura Rerum* around 1240. It was the culmination of his fifteen-year project of collecting material during his travels to Germany, England and France. This material included sections of the Hebrew, Greek, Arabic and Latin sources that had been discovered since the eleventh century. His work attempted to update the earlier encyclopedia of Isidore of Seville by integrating this new knowledge, much of it from pagan sources that would otherwise have been forbidden to his fellow Dominicans.⁴⁶ From 1243 to 1248, he was again in Louvain, this time as sub-prior. He studied under Albert the Great at Cologne, and in 1252 became preacher general. He died around 1270.⁴⁷ The international character of the Order clearly had considerable influence on the scope his career.⁴⁸

Thomas, then, was active in the leadership of the Dominican Order, concerned with administration and scholarship as well as popular piety. His involvement with the holy women of Liège may indicate a relatively high degree of sympathy toward female religious expression. Though he compiled his encyclopedia during the early part of his career, his life as a whole indicates an energetic, capable man who demonstrated ability at both local pastoral care and high-level administration.

Bartholomaeus Anglicus was, as the name indicates, an Englishman. He may

⁴⁴ *Vita Mariae Oigniacensis, Supplementum; Vita Ioannis Cantimpratensis; Vita Christinae Mirabilis; Vita Margarete de Ypres; Vita Lugardis Aquiriensis*; cited in Barbara Newman, "Devout Women and Demoniacs in the World of Thomas of Cantimpré," in *New Trends in Feminine Spirituality: The Holy Women of Liège and their Impact*, eds. Juliette Dor, et al. *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts* 2. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 35-36. Many of the *Vitae* written by Jacques de Vitry and Thomas de Cantimpré have been published in translation by Margot King.

⁴⁵ Grzebien, *Penance, Purgatory, Mysticism and Miracles*, 69-70.

⁴⁶ Arjo Vanderjagt, "Thomas of Cantimpré" in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph Strayer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), 12:34.

⁴⁷ Grzebien, *Penance, Purgatory, Mysticism and Miracles*, 98.

⁴⁸ Grzebien, *Penance, Purgatory, Mysticism and Miracles*, 53-4.

have studied at Oxford before traveling to the university at Paris, where he joined the Franciscan Order at St-Denis in 1224 or 1225. In 1231, he was sent as a *lector* in theology to the new Franciscan monastery at Magdeburg, founded in 1223, where his responsibilities were to teach theology to the friars under him and to prepare some for advanced education.⁴⁹ Juris Lidaka has argued that Bartholomaeus may have had his work cut out for him. Magdeburg was the most distant outpost of the Franciscan Order at this time, and the Franciscans recruited heavily from the laity, especially in Germany, producing a relatively ill-educated group of friars at Magdeburg.⁵⁰ Brother Elias' minister-generalship of the Order during the 1230s compounded these difficulties. Elias attempted to prevent the increased intellectualization and clericalization of the Order and promoted an unpopular system of inspections of Franciscan priories to enforce the rule of poverty. Due in part to these, and in part to Brother Elias' own flagrant disregard for the Rule, he was deposed in 1239.⁵¹ Lidaka discusses the possibility that the anti-intellectual climate of Brother Elias' tenure delayed Bartholomaeus' work on his encyclopedia.⁵² His *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, completed at Magdeburg between 1240 and 1245, may have been a response to the general low intellectual standards that he found there. The preface and epilogue both contain frequent references to the "rude" and "simple" people he intended his text to educate.⁵³ Heinz Meyer has pointed out, however, that this is quite likely a literary convention in which the compiler himself is identified with the "simple," who are

⁴⁹ Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 70; M. C. Seymour, et al., *Bartholomaeus Anglicus and His Encyclopedia* (Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate Pub. Co., 1992), 3.

⁵⁰ Juris G. Lidaka, "Bartholomaeus Anglicus in the Thirteenth Century," in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts: Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1-4 July 1996* ed. Peter Binkley (New York: Brill, 1997), 394.

⁵¹ Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 96-101.

⁵² Lidaka, "Bartholomaeus Anglicus in the Thirteenth Century," 395.

⁵³ Lidaka, "Bartholomaeus Anglicus in the Thirteenth Century," 395; Seymour, *Bartholomaeus Anglicus and His Encyclopedia*, 10.

faced with the task of digesting the vast wisdom of the ancients.⁵⁴ Thus, while there seems to be insufficient evidence to label Bartholomaeus' work as remedial, it is certainly clear that Bartholomaeus dealt with a wide range of people, just as the mendicant philosophy envisioned. His encyclopedia, then, is scholarly, but it is not aimed exclusively at the intellectual elite. He later served as provincial of Austria and Bohemia, as a papal legate, and as minister provincial (administrator for the Franciscan Order) of Saxonia. He died in 1272.⁵⁵

Of the three encyclopedists, Bartholomaeus stands out as being essentially an educator. Although he, like Thomas, served at administrative posts, his early work as *lector* distinguishes him as concerned with the dissemination of information. His encyclopedia is outstanding for its organization, which contributed to its widespread popularity.

Little is known about Vincent of Beauvais, the third encyclopedist. He was a Dominican who probably joined the Order around 1220 in Paris, making him one of the first scholars at the Dominican school at the university.⁵⁶ It is believed that he was sent back to his native Beauvais because it was standard practice to place brothers close to their homes.⁵⁷ Beauvais was also close to the Cistercian abbey library at Royaumont, where Vincent's preaching and plans for an encyclopedia attracted the patronage of Louis IX.⁵⁸ He served as *lector* at Royaumont beginning in 1246, where he produced several revisions of his *Speculum Maius*. Several other works are widely

⁵⁴ Heinz Meyer, *Die Enzyklopädie des Bartholomäus Anglicus: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte von 'De Proprietatibus Rerum'* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2000), 26-27.

⁵⁵ Seymour, *Bartholomaeus Anglicus and His Encyclopedia*, 10.

⁵⁶ Gregory Guzman, "Vincent of Beauvais," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph Strayer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), 12:453.

⁵⁷ Gregory Guzman, "Vincent of Beauvais," 12:453.

⁵⁸ E.R. Smits, "Vincent of Beauvais: A Note on the Background of the *Speculum*," in *Vincent of Beauvais and Alexander the Great: Studies on the Speculum Maius and its Translations into Medieval Vernaculars*, eds W. J. Aerts, E. R. Smits, and J. B. Voorbij, *Mediaevalia Groningana* 7 (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1986), 3.

attributed to him, including *De Laudibus Beatae Mariae Virginis*, *De Trinitate*, *Liber Gratiae*, *De Laudibus Sancti Iohannis Evangelistae*, and *De Poenitentia*, all religious treatises, as well as *De Eruditione Filiorum Nobilium* and *De Morali Principis Institutione* on education and *Liber Consolatorius ad Ludovicum Regem de Morte Filii*, dedicated to Louis IX on the death of his children.⁵⁹ Vincent left Royaumont around 1260 and probably died in 1264.⁶⁰

Vincent differs from the other encyclopedists in being nearly a pure academic. While the others went on to administrative posts later in their careers, Vincent served as *lector*—of only Royaumont, in contrast to Bartholomaeus' higher-level position—for decades. He appears to have spent nearly his whole life at Beauvais and Royaumont. While the others wrote their encyclopedias as their careers gathered speed, Vincent's encyclopedia *was* his career. It underwent several revisions and is by far the largest of any medieval encyclopedia.⁶¹

Medieval Encyclopedias

The definition of the encyclopedic genre requires care. The term “encyclopedia” derives from the Greek notion of a “cycle of knowledge” or course of study, but its use as a single word referring to texts such as those examined here dates from the fifteenth century.⁶² Thus, any ancient and medieval works must be included

⁵⁹ Robert J. Schneider, “Vincent of Beauvais, Dominican Author: From *Compilatio* to *Tractatus*” in *Lector et Compiler: Vincent de Beauvais, Frère Prêcheur, un Intellectuel et son Milieu au XIIIe siècle*, eds. Serge Lusignan and Monique Paulmier-Foucart, *Rencontres à Royaumont* 9 (Grâne: Editions Créaphis, 1997), 98.

⁶⁰ J. B. Voorbij, “The *Speculum Historiale*: Some Aspects of its Genesis and Manuscript Tradition,” in *Vincent of Beauvais and Alexander the Great: Studies on the Speculum Maius and its Translations into Medieval Vernaculars*, eds. W. J. Aerts, E. R. Smits, and J. B. Voorbij, *Mediaevalia Groningana* 7 (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1986), 13.

⁶¹ Gregory Guzman, “Vincent of Beauvais,” 12:453.

⁶² Robert Fowler, “Encyclopedias: Definitions and Theoretical Problems,” in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts: Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1-4 July 1996* ed. Peter Binkley (New York: Brill, 1997), 14-5, 27-9.

in the genre by virtue of shared characteristics rather than self-definition.

Comprehensiveness is perhaps the most obvious criterion in modern usage, but the underlying philosophy by which the encyclopedist selected and arranged (and excluded) material is equally important in pre-modern encyclopedias.⁶³ One useful consideration is that encyclopedias are predominantly concerned with the phenomenal world, that is, with describing what is “out there,” often in an attempt to create an intellectual construct “in here” that encapsulates and orders the external world.⁶⁴ The goal of collecting disparate authors into a single collection is also important to the genre, and medieval encyclopedists do describe their texts using such terms as *compilatio* or *summa brevis*, thus demonstrating “a clear consciousness of the existence of a genre” even if they do not use the word “encyclopedia.”⁶⁵ The genre’s concern for offering a meaningful arrangement of the world and its emphasis on making knowledge accessible to a wider audience means that the idea of education is an important part of the genre.⁶⁶ Indeed, encyclopedias are sometimes understood as innately basic, rather than advanced, though this is not always the case.⁶⁷

In any case, pre-modern encyclopedias are essentially propaedeutic: they provide basic information for an extrinsic purpose, whether preparing the reader to practice polished rhetoric, wise government, or robust theology. The reader is expected to accept this “didactic contract”; that is, to read with the same goal as the

⁶³ Fowler, “Encyclopedias: Definitions and Theoretical Problems,” 9; Bernhard Ribemont, “On the Definition of an Encyclopaedic Genre in the Middle Ages” in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts: Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1-4 July 1996* ed. Peter Binkley (New York: Brill, 1997), 51.

⁶⁴ Fowler, “Encyclopaedias: Definitions and Theoretical Problems,” 10; Ribemont, “On the Definition of an Encyclopaedic Genre in the Middle Ages,” 53.

⁶⁵ Ribemont, “On the Definition of an Encyclopaedic Genre in the Middle Ages,” 51, 59-60.

⁶⁶ In modern encyclopedias, the underlying purpose is much more subtle. One interesting analogue to the medieval propaedeutic encyclopedia is R. Banks and P. Stevens, *The Complete Book of Everyday Christianity* (Downer’s Grove, Ill.: Intervarsity Press, 1997), which contains articles that address such prosaic subjects as taxes or workplace dress codes from an explicitly Christian viewpoint.

⁶⁷ Fowler, “Encyclopedias: Definitions and Theoretical Problems,” 15.

writer. The essential pre-modern encyclopedic task, then, is to compile passages from various authors for the purpose of synthesizing or digesting the natural world into a systematic form for a pedagogical purpose. This focus has led to what Bernhard Ribemont has dubbed an “encyclopedic style” of writing, distinguished by explicit references to the cited authors and an emphasis on definition rather than argument.⁶⁸

Of course, such a definition leaves room for many works that can be considered “encyclopedic,” from the *Iliad* to the essays of Montaigne, though they are not encyclopedias *per se*.⁶⁹ The medieval encyclopedic genre, like many abstract categories, has blurred boundaries. The thirteenth century was the heyday of the medieval encyclopedic ambition. The *Romance of the Rose* and Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, both written in this century, display tendencies towards including broad surveys of human knowledge. Though they are not compilations in a formal sense, they do draw on various sources in constructing their narrative worlds. Thomas of Aquinas’ *Summa Theologica*, produced later in this same century by another Dominican, is in some sense a microcosm of the entire medieval universe.⁷⁰ In addition, Helinand of Froidmont’s *Chronicon* has recently emerged as a major source for Vincent’s *Naturale* as well as his *Historiale*, though it has usually been considered a chronicle as opposed to an “encyclopedia.”⁷¹ At any rate, all three of the texts examined here fall well within the bounds of the genre described above. Though none of the encyclopedists use such terms as *summa* or *compilatio* of their works,

⁶⁸ Ribemont, “On the Definition of an Encyclopaedic Genre in the Middle Ages,” 51-2.

⁶⁹ Fowler, “Encyclopedias: Definitions and Theoretical Problems,” 3; E. C. Ronquist, “Patient and Impatient Encyclopaedism,” in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts: Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1-4 July 1996* ed. Peter Binkley (New York: Brill, 1997), 33-4.

⁷⁰ Traugott Lawler, “Encyclopedias and Dictionaries, Western European,” in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph Strayer (Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1985), 4:448.

⁷¹ Marinus M. Woesthuis, “Vincent of Beauvais and Helinand of Froidmont” In *Lector et Compilator: Vincent de Beauvais, Frère Prêcheur, un Intellectuel et son Milieu au XIIIe Siècle*, eds. Serge Lusignan and Monique Paulmier-Foucart, *Rencontres à Royaumont 9* (Grâne: Editions Créaphis, 1997), 234.

Bartholomaeus, for example, does describe his work as a compendium.⁷² All three encyclopedias certainly share this same scope and intent.

The classical roots of the encyclopedic genre are two-fold. Pliny's *Natural History*, written in the first century, is the oldest extant Western encyclopedia.⁷³ Despite the emphasis on systematic education explained above, Pliny's work confines itself specifically to describing the natural world and is likely the root of the genre's concern with the external world. The other trait, the pedagogical emphasis, seems to be a product of Martianus Capella's fifth-century *Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, which concentrates on the curriculum of the liberal arts.⁷⁴

Isidore, a Visigothic archbishop of the early seventh century, compiled the *Etymologies*, the first Christian encyclopedia, integrating natural material from Pliny with divine subjects described by Cassiodorus' *Institutions of Divine and Human Readings*, and adding sections on such subjects as cities, tools, and food. Isidore was fascinated with origins, and his text often uses etymologies (many of them erroneous) to explain the nature of a subject. The *Etymologies* provide both the model and much of substance of later medieval encyclopedias, such as Hrabanus Maurus' *De rerum naturis* of the ninth century, for example, and Honorius Augustodunensis' *Imago Mundi* of the early twelfth century, as well as all three encyclopedias examined here, which continued to adapt Isidore.⁷⁵

In the twelfth century, however, academic attitudes shifted towards a desire for a return to original texts, discussed in the previous chapter. Scholars still

⁷² Anglicus, *De Rerum Proprietatibus*, *Praefatio*. "hoc compendio."

⁷³ Traugott Lawler, "Encyclopedias and Dictionaries, Western European," 4:448; Robert Collision, *Encyclopaedias: Their History Throughout the Ages* (New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1966), 25.

⁷⁴ Collision, *Encyclopaedias*, 27.

⁷⁵ Collision, *Encyclopaedias*, 33-4; Traugott Lawler, "Encyclopedias and Dictionaries, Western European," 4:448; Gregory Guzman, "Encyclopedias," in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, eds. F. A. C. Mantello, and A. G. Rigg (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1996).

excerpted and quoted authoritative texts extensively, but Cistercians, mendicants, and university scholars developed a range of new research tools and finding aids. Such tools as systems of pagination, including the earliest uses of Arabic numerals for page numbers, and alphabetized indexes for both original texts and collections of excerpts all date from this century.⁷⁶

The three encyclopedias examined here took shape in the midst of this change. They are in a sense the culmination of the medieval encyclopedic tradition in that they follow the old practice of excerpting classical authorities in a logical arrangement rather than using contemporary innovations in finding aids for original sources. They are some of the latest examples of the old scholarly model before the rise in a new method of scholarship. In the progression towards inclusivity, they are not an alphabetized collection of contributed articles, as with modern encyclopedias, but rather are compendia of collated passages from classical authorities encapsulating a system of knowledge. The only exception to this is that Bartholomaeus alphabetized the headings within larger sections on geography or animals, which contributed to his work being the most widely used by later readers.⁷⁷ Indeed, each of the three texts examined here has its own scheme of organization, which will be discussed in Chapter Four, but all of them proceed along essentially thematic lines. The main contribution of these thirteenth-century encyclopedists was the incorporation of new information, rather than a new format.

It is significant that after centuries of relatively little production of such projects, mendicants produced three encyclopedias between 1240 and 1260. Not only were scholars inventing new research tools, but canon lawyers and theologians were

⁷⁶ R. H. Rouse, "Cistercian Aids to Study in the Thirteenth Century," *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History* 2 (1976): 123-34.

⁷⁷ Guzman, "Encyclopedias," in *Medieval Latin*. Although the edition of Beauvais consulted for this study includes a topical index, this is a feature of the seventeenth-century edition, not the original text.

reformulating the definition of marriage, and universities were rising to prominence, where the re-introduction of Aristotle's works to the West prompted a reevaluation of scholarly knowledge.⁷⁸ It was a pivotal time in the intellectual history of Europe, as the project of scholasticism neared its apex before being replaced by new developments, and these three encyclopedias took shape in the center of it all, providing a window into the mentality of scholars of the era.

⁷⁸ Baldwin, *The Language of Sex*, 5-6.

CHAPTER THREE

GENEALOGY OF IDEAS: MEDIEVAL SCHOLARLY VIEWS ON FATHERHOOD

This chapter examines the scholarly traditions upon which the authors drew as they compiled their encyclopedias. Fatherhood appears in a variety of contexts in medieval scholarly discussion, which John Baldwin has treated in an able study of five different discourses on sexuality in France around 1200.¹ Of the discourses he examines, canonical-legal, theological and medical discourse were certainly a part of the scholarly traditions upon which the encyclopedists drew; romances, fabliaux, and Ovidian love manuals are less so, and thus will not be treated in detail here. Instead, this chapter will focus on the development of scholarly views of fatherhood up through the mid-thirteenth century and the broader social context in which these views developed.

As discussed in the previous chapter, intellectual exchange between universities and the Church in general produced a highly international academic culture, though not without geographical variation. As noted, Bartholomaeus, for example, was an Englishman, possibly educated at Oxford. He then traveled to Paris to study at the university there. Having completed his studies, he joined the Franciscan Order, which still had a large number of Italians in it, and served in Germany. Vincent and Thomas, though they were probably from northern France and the present-day Netherlands respectively, also attended the university in Paris, and Thomas traveled throughout Europe during his career. Thus, I have included works

¹ John W. Baldwin, *The Language of Sex: Five Voices from Northern France around 1200* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

from a variety of places in this discussion.

Medieval Scholarly Discourses on Fatherhood

The encyclopedists drew on material from theology, canon law, and medicine, which were in fact the only areas of advanced study in the medieval academy.² As discussed in the previous chapter, medieval scholarly inquiry was highly derivative; the main goal was to reconcile various classical and ecclesiastical authorities. Thus, the encyclopedists and other scholars used ideas and writings that had been passed down for centuries.

Because the academy was so closely allied with the Church in the medieval period, theology formed the groundwork for medieval scholarly endeavor. The foundations laid in the theological treatises, scripture commentaries and sermons discussed below had inescapable implications for all other forms of thought. All three encyclopedists were closely concerned with the study of theology, and all were trained at Paris, which was the center for theological learning in thirteenth-century Europe.

The formulation of canon law was closely allied to theology. Canon law was the body of laws that “described and were intended to direct the activities of the Church,” including the moral conduct of the laity.³ The earliest canons are the decisions of Church councils on specific issues. As these decisions accreted, scholars gradually gathered them into collections beginning in the fifth century. Canon law remained an inchoate body until much later, however. For the early medieval period penitential handbooks, designed as guides to confessors in assigning penances for

² Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition, 400-1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 268.

³ Michael Sheehan, “The European Family and Canon Law,” in *Marriage, Family and Law in Medieval Europe*, ed. James K. Farge (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 248.

various sins, are the closest analogues.⁴ During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Church gathered the vast mass of canon law into compilations as a part of its effort to establish greater control over ecclesiastical administration and greater jurisdiction for Church courts.⁵ Beginning with Gratian's *Decretum*, the seminal compilation and synthesis of canon law produced in 1140 that revolutionized it as an academic discipline, extant sources for canon law include compilations, commentaries on compilations, and the formulation of new canons in papal bulls and the decrees of Church councils.⁶ Gratian's association with the university at Bologna meant that that city became the center for the study of canon law. The passages of the encyclopedias examined here are not preeminently concerned with canon law, but they do demonstrate a basic knowledge of the field.

Another part of academic discourse was the study of medicine. In the eleventh century, Constantine the African, a Benedictine monk and former Muslim, began translating Arabic medical treatises into Latin, which were largely derived from Galen, the medical writer of the second century.⁷ The town of Salerno, Italy, where Constantine worked, became the preeminent center for medical study in Europe. The writings of Hippocrates, Galen, and their Arabic commentators such as Avicenna were the authority on medicine in the medieval period. Medical works also drew on the newly translated Aristotelian teachings, though tensions between Galenic and Aristotelian ideas soon became evident. By the early thirteenth century, the *Isagoge* of Johannitius (Hunain ibn Ishaq), a brief introduction to Galenic medicine, and the *Prose Salernitan Questions*, a collection of medical questions and answers originating

⁴ James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 153.

⁵ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 177-8.

⁶ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 235.

⁷ Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science and Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 57, 107.

from Salerno but largely circulated in Northern France and England, were the basic sources for medical knowledge as northern universities expanded their medical curricula.⁸ All three encyclopedists demonstrated familiarity with not only the classical texts but also more recent developments in the field, as was appropriate for men who had attended elite universities.

Academic Views of Fatherhood

What, then, did the various scholarly discourses have to say about fatherhood? Much of the material discussed below is not directly related to fatherhood, but it is essential to it. In addition, the encyclopedists do not explicitly mention several of the topics discussed below. Nonetheless, sexuality, marriage, childhood, and government are all intertwined with fatherhood to such an extent that at least some examination of those topics is inescapable. Although in most cases a single discipline provides the most information on a topic, I shall approach them by topic rather than by academic discipline in order to bring out interconnections between disciplines. Within each topic, I shall try to trace developments over time, as well as debated issues within the topic. We shall begin by discussing the most basic topic relevant to fatherhood, sex, approached via the most fundamental medieval academic discourse, theology.

A profound ambiguity marked medieval academic views of sexuality, marriage, and women. Sexual pleasure was distrusted, celibacy was a prized virtue, and misogyny abounded. At the same time, pleasure was thought necessary for conception, the Church did not denounce marriage entirely, and women were praised as well as castigated. Thus, a prominent commentary on the *Liber Extra* states with

⁸ Baldwin, *Language of Sex*, 10, 12; Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages*, 89; M. C. Seymour et al., *Bartholomaeus Anglicus and his Encyclopedia* (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, 1992), 24.

widespread agreement that “woman ought to be subject to man” since “she is not made in the image of God; rather man is.”⁹ At the same time, the *Summa Theologica* and many other scriptural commentaries, including one of our encyclopedias, hold that the fact that Eve was created from Adam’s rib showed her essential partnership with him, rather than her dominance (if she had been taken from his head) or subjugation (if she had been taken from his feet).¹⁰ Furthermore, it was not the case that canon law was against women’s equality and theology was for it, as the preceding examples happen to be. The lines were not nearly so neatly drawn. Thus, a strong current of ideas drawn both from Scripture and elsewhere promoted a negative view of sexuality and marriage. At the same time, another current of ideas, again drawn partially from Scripture, tempered and challenged misogynist and pessimistic ideas. The two currents need not be diametrically opposed. The main concern does not seem to be to eradicate sex completely, but rather to argue for caution and self-control, an idea which will be explored more fully later. Nonetheless, the point here is not to resolve the tension, but rather to highlight it, since it will be visible repeatedly throughout the course of the thesis.

Medieval theologians were uneasy about sex, and only the good of procreation did anything to assuage their fears. In the medieval period, sexuality and sin were so closely intertwined as to be almost inseparable. Many held that in the Garden of Eden, there was no sex, or no sexual pleasure. John Chrysostom maintained that mankind could have reproduced asexually if sin had not made marriage a necessary cure for sexual desire.¹¹ Augustine argued that before the Fall, Adam and Eve’s genitals were

⁹ Bernard of Parma, *Glossa Ordinaria* on the *Liber Extra*, X 1.33.12 v; cited in Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 426.

¹⁰ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* I, q. 93, art. 4; cited in Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages*, 193. The same text appears, attributed to Hugh of St. Victor, in Beauvais, *Naturale*, XXX.36.

¹¹ Dyan Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 85.

under conscious control. Involuntary sexual desire was a sign of their bodies rebelling against them, just as they rebelled against God. Concupiscence, then, did not just coincide with original sin; concupiscence was *the* symptom of original sin.¹² These views persisted throughout the medieval period, taken up by such theologians as Peter Damian and Anselm of Canterbury.¹³ Only for the purpose of procreation, and only within marriage, could sex ever possibly be acceptable, and hardly ever even then. Here we see the concern to limit sexuality, however severely, rather than eliminate it. Fatherhood, or parenthood at any rate, was thus the necessary context for any form of acceptable sexual activity.

The New Testament scriptural material regarding marriage is patchy at best. The Gospels record Christ's very brief teaching that marriage is indissoluble (except perhaps for adultery), and a cryptic remark that seems to endorse celibacy for at least some of his followers.¹⁴ St. Paul's writings, with their combination of an apocalyptic mindset and a pessimistic view of the physical world sometimes threaten to sweep away society altogether, marriage included.¹⁵ Elsewhere, however, Paul seemed more concerned to maintain the gender order and marriage as a part of a stable society. In the epistles, sexual abstinence is portrayed as a good thing, but one that is not always possible, requiring marriage as a safe sexual outlet.¹⁶ Paul's epistles also contain the first articulation of the principle of conjugal debt.¹⁷

¹² Jerome, Augustine, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa are only some of the patristic fathers who stated this view; cited in Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 80-84; see also Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages*, 191-2.

¹³ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 185-6.

¹⁴ Matthew 19:3-12: "Anyone who divorces his wife, except for marital unfaithfulness, and marries another woman commits adultery....others have renounced marriage because of the kingdom of heaven."

¹⁵ 1 Cor. 7:29-31: "From now on, those who have wives should live as if they had none...those who buy something as if it were not theirs to keep...for this world in its present form is passing away."

¹⁶ 1 Cor. 7:9: "But if they cannot control themselves, they should marry, for it is better to marry than to burn with passion."

¹⁷ 1 Cor. 7:4: "The wife's body does not belong to her alone but also to her husband. In the same way, the husband's body does not belong to him alone but also to his wife." The Pauline examples here are

Beginning from these texts, early Christian ascetics, heretic and orthodox alike, came to value sexual continence and self-control, even within marriage.¹⁸ Marriage itself occupied an ambiguous place in the early Church period. The theologians were uneasy about sex, but they did not dismiss it out of hand. They sometimes gave marriage second-class status, but they never wholly renounced it. As the Church struggled to urge self-control and sexual continence without denying the goodness of marriage altogether, the clergy came to be defenders of sexuality within the structured, controllable institution of marriage. Conversely, unstructured sexuality and “dangerous familiarity between the sexes” came to be associated with heresy of many varieties throughout Church history.¹⁹ The high value placed on abstinence persisted into the medieval period.²⁰

In addition to theological misgivings, there was a tradition of scholarly invective against marriage in any form. A classical treatise entitled “On Marriage,” and attributed to Theophrastus, Aristotle’s immediate successor, warns against the burdens of marriage: in-laws, the sharing of property, and so forth.²¹ Jerome’s fourth-century treatise “Against Jovinian” argues in refutation of the heretic that virginity is superior to matrimony, citing St. Paul and examples of classical figures who eschewed marriage.²² His arguments were often excerpted out of their original context through the centuries, and his name was invoked as an authority against marriage,

all drawn from a single chapter, but a similar range of ideas appears elsewhere in the epistles. The vexing range of Paul’s comments has been noted by such scholars as Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 19, ff and Alain Boureau, *The Lord’s First Night: The Myth of the Droit de Cuissage*, trans. Lydia G Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 178.

¹⁸ Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 30.

¹⁹ Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 32.

²⁰ Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages*, 260-277.

²¹ Robert A. Pratt, “Jankyn’s Book of Wikked Wyves: Medieval Antimatrimonial Propaganda in the Universities,” *Annuaire Medievale* 3 (1962): 7; “De nuptiis” is in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 23, 3rd ed. cols. 313-315.

²² Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 23, cols. 237-320.

especially in support of clerical celibacy.²³ Peter Abelard quoted these authorities in his *Theologia Christiana* in 1124, offering Adam, Samson, David and Solomon as examples of what happens to married men.²⁴ John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, written around 1159, contains much of the same material.²⁵

The culmination of the tradition was a letter by Walter Map, written to further the goal of clerical celibacy espoused (again) at the Third Lateran Council in 1179.²⁶ The pseudonymous and witty letter is entitled "A Dissuasion from Valerius to Ruffinus in Order that He may not Take a Wife."²⁷ It marshals "not only Jerome, Theophrastus and John of Salisbury...but also such writers as Horace, Ovid, Martial, Juvenal, Aulus Gellious, and Martianus Capella, citing numerous examples of men and gods made miserable by wives."²⁸ The letter was eventually included in Map's *The Courtier's Trifles*, but was widely attributed to various classical authors, enhancing its prestige. Theophrastus', Jerome's and Map's works often appeared together in manuscripts, forming the core of an anti-matrimonial corpus.²⁹ It is these three texts that form the core of *The Book of Wikked Wyves*, the favorite reading of Jankyn in Chaucer's Tale of the Wife of Bath of the fourteenth century.³⁰ Of the encyclopedists examined here, Vincent in particular quoted extensively from this misogynistic tradition.

Beginning in the twelfth century, however, there was also a growing trend of positive sexuality, an influence of the troubadours and of the rise of "Nature" as a

²³ Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 103; Pratt, "Jankyn's Book of Wikked Wyves," 8.

²⁴ Pratt, "Jankyn's Book of Wikked Wyves," 9.

²⁵ Pratt, "Jankyn's Book of Wikked Wyves," 9.

²⁶ Pratt, "Jankyn's Book of Wikked Wyves," 10.

²⁷ Pratt, "Jankyn's Book of Wikked Wyves," 6.

²⁸ M.R. James, ed. *Walter Map: De Nugis Curialium*, Anecdota Oxoniensia; Medieval and Modern Series XIV (Oxford, 1914); cited in Pratt, "Jankyn's Book of Wikked Wyves," 10.

²⁹ Pratt, "Jankyn's Book of Wikked Wyves," 13.

³⁰ Pratt, "Jankyn's Book of Wikked Wyves," 5.

literary persona.³¹ This sexual optimism made its way into scholarly discourse. Another impetus towards a more positive view of sexuality was the appearance in the twelfth century of anti-marital and anti-material heretical groups such as the Cathars.³² Orthodox theologians were galvanized to the defense of marriage; Peter the Chanter and his student Robert of Courson argued that marriage was instituted by God and therefore good, while Peter Lombard added marriage to the list of sacraments.³³ Hugh of St. Victor extolled marriage in his *On the Sacraments*.³⁴ Although Peter Abelard had warned of the dangers of marriage in his *Theologia Christiana*, he and his followers were also among the very first theologians to argue that sexual desire and pleasure were natural and therefore not evil.³⁵ By the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, orthodox theologians were agreed that marital sex without sin was at least possible. Among the circumstances that justified or lessened the sinfulness of sex, the desire to produce children was universally acknowledged. Also common were the motivations of paying the conjugal debt and avoiding fornication.³⁶ This optimism is especially notable among Dominican writers of the period. Albert the Great and his student Thomas Aquinas both went so far as to say that sex was more pleasurable before the Fall.³⁷ The fact that Thomas studied under Albert the Great connects him to this development, though the encyclopedias examined here precede the work of Thomas Aquinas. Our three encyclopedists clearly exhibited this growingly positive view of sexuality, as well as the concern to refute heretics.

Marriage in the thirteenth century, then, although still for the ultimate purpose

³¹ Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 132-3.

³² Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 134.

³³ Baldwin, *Language of Sex*, 4, 63.

³⁴ Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition*, 282.

³⁵ Abelard's *Ethica*, cited in Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 187, 203.

³⁶ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 448-9.

³⁷ Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 136-7.

of fatherhood (or parenthood), was increasing in its positive value among theologians. However, sexual activity, even for the sake of procreation, was still prescribed within wedlock, which came under perhaps the most definitive, authoritative capacity of scholarly views on sexuality in the Church: canon law. As canon law coalesced into a cohesive body in the eleventh century, there were two great debates regarding marriage. The first was the competition between what Georges Duby dubbed the ecclesiastical model of marriage, characterized by individual choice, exogamy, and indissolubility, and the lay model, marked by familial control, greater endogamy, and the possibility of divorce. Although it is, of course, a simplification, the tension between the Church's desire for moral rigor and theological correctness and the aristocracy's desire for political and economic opportunities is visible throughout the centuries that follow.³⁸ Nor was the competition restricted only to the aristocracy; laypeople of lower social status had similar strategic concerns, though on a lesser scale.³⁹

The second debate—this one among the canon lawyers—revolved around the question of what constituted a valid marriage. Gratian advanced one widespread model in his *Decretum*, where he maintained that marriage was contracted in two parts. The exchange of consent initiated the marriage, while sexual consummation completed the bond. Both were necessary for marriage to be binding.⁴⁰ The leader of Gratian's main opposition in the debate over marriage was Peter Lombard, a highly influential scholar at the university in Paris, where the encyclopedists studied. His

³⁸ Georges Duby, *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-century France*, trans. Elborg Forster (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), 3-22; cited in Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 194.

³⁹ David Herlihy, "The Making of the Medieval Family: Symmetry, Structure and Sentiment," *Journal of Family History* 3 (1983): 116-130; Georges Duby, *L'Economie Rurale et la Vie des Campagnes dans l'Occident Medieval*, 2 vols. (Paris: Aubier, Editions Montaigne, 1962), vol. 1, 215-216; Shulamit Shahar, *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages*, trans. Chaya Galai (New York: Methuen, 1983), 233-236; cited in Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages*, 265-6.

⁴⁰ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 235.

view, sometimes called ‘the French model’ was that the exchange of consent alone produced a binding marriage, even without consummation. He added the stipulation that the consent be phrased in the present tense (“I do marry you”), rather than the future (“I will marry you”), which denoted betrothal, not marriage.⁴¹ When this view was stridently echoed by the influential canonist Huguccio and accepted in the important decretals of Pope Alexander III (1159-81), the model that required present consent alone to produce a binding marriage triumphed throughout Europe.⁴² Though the three encyclopedists do not devote much attention to this issue, Vincent took care to define marriage as contracted by words of consent in the present, showing at least a basic understanding of the law.

There were two more developments that had a significant impact on canon law in the first third of the thirteenth century. The first was the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Pope Innocent III called a general Church council, summoning representatives from both the clergy and the laity with several purposes. The Council called for a new Crusade to reclaim the Holy Land, defined the responsibilities of both lay and ecclesiastical rulers to fight heresy, and forbade the establishment of new religious orders.⁴³ It mandated various matters regarding Church administration, clerical conduct, vernacular preaching and lay religious practice.⁴⁴ In addition to its broad impact on the medieval Church, the Fourth Lateran council relaxed the definition of incest. Formerly, marriage had been forbidden between anyone within seven degrees of blood relation, and anyone within four degrees of affinity—that is, relationship

⁴¹ Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition*, 282; Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 264.

⁴² Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 268.

⁴³ Jane Sayers, *Innocent III: Leader of Europe, 1198-1216* (New York: Longman, 1994), 99-101.

⁴⁴ Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council, in H. J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1937), 236-296.

through marriage or godparenthood.⁴⁵ The question of defining incest was one of the most prominent points of interaction regarding marriage between the Church and the laity, especially the aristocracy, and this redefinition thus had a far-reaching impact on European society.

The importance of the Fourth Lateran Council was cemented by the second significant event, the composition of the *Liber Extra*. It is sometimes called the Decretals of Gregory IX, because he was the Pope who commissioned the preparation of a new collection of canon law that would contain only canons currently in force and synthesize them for easier use.⁴⁶ The Dominican Raymond of Peñafort completed the work, which incorporated the decretals of Innocent III and the decisions of the Fourth Lateran Council as well as drawing upon previous collections of canon law.⁴⁷ Gregory IX officially promulgated the new work in 1234, and it governed the Catholic Church until 1917.⁴⁸

The legal status of women with regard to marriage exhibits the same ambiguity that appears in other medieval views on issues of gender and sexuality. Both theologians and canonists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries agreed that “woman ought to be subject to man” since “she is not made in the image of God; rather man is.”⁴⁹ On the other hand, they also held to the principle of conjugal debt advanced by Paul, which maintained that husbands and wives had exactly equal rights to sex, and that “sexual relations constituted a special and privileged realm of gender

⁴⁵ Fourth Lateran Council, Canon 50 in Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils*; Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 356.

⁴⁶ Constant Van de Wiel, *History of Canon Law*, Louvain Theological and Pastoral Monographs 5 (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1991), 106-107.

⁴⁷ Stephan Kuttner, “Raymond of Peñafort as Editor: The ‘Decretales’ and ‘Constitutiones’ of Gregory IX,” in *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 12 (1982): 65-80; reprinted with original pagination in Stephan Kuttner, *Studies in the History of Medieval Canon Law* (Brookfield, Vt.: Gower, 1990).

⁴⁸ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 327.

⁴⁹ Bernard of Parma, *Glossa Ordinaria* on the *Liber Extra*, X 1.33.12 v; cited in Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 426.

equality.”⁵⁰ In addition, the wife’s free consent, as well as the husband’s, was required to form a binding marriage. In this way, medieval academics considered women to be inferior to men in some ways, while equal to them in others.

The acceptance of the consensual model of marriage meant that marriages contracted secretly, with only the two spouses present, without the benefit of clerical or legal supervision, sometimes called clandestine marriages, were technically valid. They were sometimes legally penalized, they were repeatedly discouraged, and they were hard to prove the existence of, but they were valid nonetheless. Thus, for example, the Fourth Lateran Council forbade clandestine marriages, declared that the offspring of marriages within the prohibited degrees of affinity (whether clandestine or not) were illegitimate, and prescribed that they be punished, but said nothing about an otherwise valid marriage being invalidated.⁵¹ Here the academy made a distinction between its own convenience and what it considered the universal, sacramental nature of marriage.⁵² Such decisions about what constituted a valid marriage, and the responsibilities contained therein, formed the context in which any experience of fatherhood theoretically functioned, making fatherhood, like marriage, a form of identity that could exist apart from formal legal status.

It is true that marriage was only the *theoretical* context of all fatherhood; there were many unmarried fathers, and the canonists were forced to acknowledge that fact. One significant exception to the limitation of sexuality to monogamous, indissoluble marriage was the practice of concubinage; that is, of long-term, semi-committed sexual liaisons that nonetheless did not bother with the institution of marriage. Such practices had existed and been distinguished from marriage since ancient times. In

⁵⁰ Baldwin, *Language of Sex*, 232. See also Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 358-9.

⁵¹ Fourth Lateran Council, Canon 51, in H. J. Schroeder, ed. and trans., “Decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215,” in *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary*, 236-296 (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1937).

⁵² Shanar, *The Fourth Estate*, 83-84.

compiling his *Decretum*, Gratian found a great deal of ambiguity regarding concubinage, and ended up treating it as a sort of informal marriage.⁵³ Later canonists, too, bowed to the widespread practice of concubinage at all levels of society as a way of avoiding the expense or inconvenience of a formal union.⁵⁴ Again, concubinage was distinguishable from clandestine marriage, although the authorities were not involved in either arrangement; one was a marriage, one was not, but both were allowed to stand. Concubinage was not universally outlawed for the laity until the Fifth Lateran Council in 1514, though it was outlawed in some cities by 1387.⁵⁵

Apart from lay concubinage was the problem of clerical concubinage. The Church had attempted since the fourth century to prevent clergy from marrying.⁵⁶ These attempts were only partially successful throughout the early medieval period, and what success they had was in preventing clerics from *marrying*, as opposed to having families. A huge number of clerics kept concubines, and though this was vehemently denounced, virtually nothing was done to prevent it.⁵⁷ In the twelfth century, the First and Second Lateran Councils made clerical marriage a canonical crime, but the clergy responded with both eloquence and physical violence.⁵⁸ Clerics periodically protested the notion of clerical celibacy, since Scripture did not prescribe it and since Eastern clerics were not celibate, but the policy remained the same—increasingly divergent from practice. Clerical concubinage persisted and even increased throughout the late medieval period.⁵⁹ The experience of medieval fatherhood, then, included a considerable number of men who had concubines instead of wives, including clerics, who were theoretically discouraged from having families.

⁵³ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 245.

⁵⁴ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 297.

⁵⁵ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 514.

⁵⁶ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 69.

⁵⁷ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 150.

⁵⁸ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 220-2.

⁵⁹ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 567-8.

In this instance, popular practice exercised influence on scholarly models in that canon lawyers, despite their protests, were forced to integrate into their models a behavior that was in fundamental opposition to both the idea of committed, indissoluble monogamy and the principle of clerical celibacy. The passages of the encyclopedias examined for this project do not contain overt references to concubinage, though there is mention of competition between wives and slave women for the affection of their husbands.⁶⁰ Despite the significant absence of concubinage from the encyclopedias, its importance is its presence in the cultural context, even the scholarly context, in which these texts were composed.

Thus, it was only within marriage that sexual activity was fully prescribed, and then only for the conception of children. Thus, questions of marriage were closely linked to biological fatherhood. The medieval understanding of conception, arguably the most essential definition of fatherhood, was philosophical and theological as well as anatomical. Medieval anatomy, following Hippocratic teachings, understood the body in terms of four “principal members”: brain and nerves, heart and arteries, liver and veins, and genitals. Physiology was governed by four humors, which corresponded to the various combinations of hot-cold and moist-dry. Two overarching principles determined the system of sexual anatomy. First, the male body was understood as normative, while a female was a modified or inverted male.⁶¹ Second, the male was seen as hot and dry, while the female was less hot and moist. Thus, the male’s organs were pushed outward by the heat, while the female’s were turned inward. Female organs were understood to correspond to male organs. Some writers equated the uterus to the scrotum, others to the penis, but all referred to ovaries as

⁶⁰ Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.6.

⁶¹ Claude Thomasset, “The Nature of Woman,” in *Silences of the Middle Ages*, ed. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, vol. 2 of *A History of Women in the West*, gen. eds. Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), 46-7.

testicles.⁶²

Classical writers taught that both males and females produced sperm, either in the brain (according to Plato) or the body as a whole (a theory known as *pangenesi*s), then stored it in the testicles and ejaculated it to produce children.⁶³ After the appearance of new texts in the twelfth century (discussed in Chapter Two), this ‘two-seed theory’ was challenged by the Aristotelian ‘one-seed theory’—namely, that the male contributed sperm, while the female contributed only menstrual blood. Even the two-seed theory in its most nuanced versions attributed greater strength and influence to the male sperm than the female, but the one-seed theory made the distinction even sharper. Thus, one-seed theory held that the male sperm imposed form on the passive female sperm (or menstrual blood).

Medieval writers linked the sexual act anatomically with pleasure, the fulfillment of appetite, which was understood in spiritual rather than material terms. The eyes (which were understood to emit spirit and communicate to the soul) and previous accounts one has heard of sex stirred the spirit and desire in the body. Blood passed through the body, generating heat and being transformed into sperm. It was then expelled by spirit. Due to the release of “superfluities” and the fact that the sperm passed over the concentrated nerves in the penis, great pleasure followed, forcing the whole mind and body to focus there.⁶⁴ Again, procreation was assumed to be the goal of all acceptable sexual activity.⁶⁵ Since, according to the two-seed theory, both male and female must ejaculate sperm in order to conceive a child, mutual delight was therefore a requirement.⁶⁶ The female, however, was thought to

⁶² Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 25-27; Baldwin, *Language of Sex*, 89-90.

⁶³ Cadden, *The Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages*, 14.

⁶⁴ Baldwin, *Language of Sex*, 127-9.

⁶⁵ Baldwin, *Language of Sex*, 206.

⁶⁶ Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 38; Baldwin, *Language of Sex*, 134.

experience desire that was greater in both intensity and duration; the male, being hot and dry, responded to the fire of desire more quickly, like straw, while the female was more like iron or wet wood, once her desire was kindled by the friction and heat of intercourse.⁶⁷

The debate between the two theories of conception had many implications. Physicians tended to advocate the two-seed theory, which implied a greater role for women in conception, as opposed to the one-seed theory, which discounted the need for women to orgasm in order for conception to occur. According to John Baldwin, the prominence of two-seed theory among medical writers “rendered the years around 1200 as a privileged moment of gender symmetry in Western thought before the deluge of Aristotelianism.”⁶⁸ This is perhaps stating the development too strongly; Albert the Great, for example, in the late thirteenth century, harmonized the two by stating that the female seed was a necessary *material* cause for conception, if not a *formative* cause.⁶⁹ Then, too, the debate over whether the female must experience orgasm for conception to occur was a live question well into the eighteenth century.⁷⁰ Nonetheless, Aristotelian single-seed theory enjoyed great favor among theologians, due to its apparent consistency with scripture and patristic writings.⁷¹ Augustine, for example, argued that original sin was transmitted through Adam’s (that is, male) seed.⁷² Thus, even on an anatomical level, fatherhood meant not only imparting form to one’s children, but also being the agent of transmitting concupiscence to them: the first sexually transmitted disease.⁷³ The father, then, in his role in the formation of the

⁶⁷ Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages*, 97-98; Baldwin, *Language of Sex*, 134, 176.

⁶⁸ Baldwin, *Language of Sex*, 231-4.

⁶⁹ Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages*, 126-7.

⁷⁰ Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 1-4.

⁷¹ Baldwin, *Language of Sex*, 90-95.

⁷² During his debate with Julian of Eclanum; cited in Baldwin, *Language of Sex*, 95.

⁷³ Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 38.

child, passed on not only the form of humanity, but its fallen nature at the same time. All three of the encyclopedias examined here devote considerable space to the anatomy of conception, and all three take a stance on the debate over the competing theories of conception.

Canon law mandated certain aspects of sexual technique and proscribed others. Again, the goal of strict self-control seems to be the organizing principle. In the penitentials, non-marital sex is forbidden. Homoerotic sexual activity was strictly forbidden across all forms of scholarly discourse in this era.⁷⁴ The penitential writers also prescribed extensive periods of sexual abstinence within marriage; spouses were ordered to abstain on feast days, Fridays, and Sundays (and occasionally other days of the week as well), during advent, and when the wife was pregnant, nursing or menstruating.⁷⁵ Any sort of indulgence, such as alternate positions, non-vaginal intercourse, and masturbation, were discouraged.⁷⁶ It is doubtful that these strictures were ever widely practiced, and it appears that they were less emphasized in the late medieval period.

Once conception was accomplished, what further responsibilities did a father have towards his offspring? Fathers were not as a rule even present during childbirth. They were encouraged to help by symbolic actions of release or beginning, such as opening a box lid, or alternatively by praying.⁷⁷ Once the child was delivered, however, what roles was the father expected to play? It is here that we take our first step into fatherhood apart from sexuality, into the complex other layers of meaning that scholarly writers imputed, often implicitly, to fatherhood. It is here, too, that

⁷⁴ Baldwin, *Language of Sex*, 46.

⁷⁵ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 154-61.

⁷⁶ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 161-3.

⁷⁷ Beryl Rowland, ed. *Medieval Women's Guide to Health: The first English Gynecological Handbook* (Kent, Ohio: 1981), 22-3; cited in Barbara Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 42.

fatherhood overlaps with many other social categories, including king, master, godparent, teacher, and provider.

Medieval writers saw the father as a leader of his family. Explicit comparison between the head of a household and the head of state appears in documents as early and theoretical as the writings of Aristotle and as late and pragmatic as an English parliamentary decree against cardplaying in 1461.⁷⁸ The word “economy” has its roots in Aristotle’s concept of a “house” or *oikos*, consisting of a man, wife, and their household, a self-sustaining unit.⁷⁹ Thus, a father exercised authority over not only his children, but also his servants and his wife. Classical Roman writers also used the comparison between fatherhood and kingship, but it did not enjoy wide circulation in the West until the reintroduction of Aristotle’s political works in the twelfth century. Aristotle’s *Oeconomica* was not translated into Latin until the late thirteenth century, so the encyclopedists were probably not aware of its existence, but the other classical economic authors like Xenophon were available to them.⁸⁰ Beauvais, and to a lesser extent Anglicus, displays this same classical understanding of “economics” as household and family management.

The many English economic manuals written in French for lay nobles around this time, such as that by Walter of Henley, do not appear to follow this tradition explicitly.⁸¹ They are more logistical than theoretical, and may have more in common

⁷⁸ Felicity Riddy, “Looking Closely: Authority and Intimacy in the Late Medieval Urban Home,” in *Gendering the Master Narrative*, eds. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 212.

⁷⁹ Marion W. Gray, *Productive Men, Reproductive Women: The Agrarian Household and the Emergence of Separate Spheres in the German Enlightenment* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 50. Gray also points out that for Aristotle, economics did not necessarily mean the amassing of wealth, but rather sustaining a high quality of life.

⁸⁰ Bernard G. Dod, “Aristotle in the Middle Ages,” in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, eds. Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, and Jan Pinborg (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 79; Xenophon is explicitly referred to in Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.1.

⁸¹ Dorothea Oschinsky, ed. and trans., *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1971).

with the *Capitulary de villis* attributed to the time of Charlemagne than to works like Aristotle or the “Mirrors for Princes” genre describing the ideal education of an aristocrat.⁸² They do not, therefore, provide as much speculation on the nature of fatherhood as more theoretical sources.

Felicity Riddy has argued, however, that the realities of intertwined living mitigated theories of hierarchical dominance in medieval concepts of fatherhood. Details of eating, sleeping, and caring for the infirm in the family—what Riddy has termed “the everyday body”—contributed to a more intimate, vulnerable understanding.⁸³ It was not a symmetrical arrangement; it was the woman, not the man, who prepared food, whose role was subservient.⁸⁴ Nonetheless, a variety of texts, including scholarly sources, acknowledge the home as a place of care and intimacy even as they promote ideals of hierarchy.

The concept is encapsulated in the word “homely,” which is used in late medieval English texts to describe intimacy, love, directness, and sometimes even inelegance.⁸⁵ Advice texts counsel lords against being “homely” with their inferiors,⁸⁶ but other heads, including God himself, are positively described as “homely.”⁸⁷ Nor was this merely a colloquialism; the meaning made its way back into scholarly sources, including sermons and translations from such texts as the *Orologium Sapientiae* and Trevisa’s translation of Anglicus, *On the Properties of Things*.⁸⁸ Though the word Trevisa rendered as a “homely” hairstyle is actually “well-arranged

⁸² The *Capitulary de villis* is in H. R. Loyn and John Percival, *The Reign of Charlemagne: Documents on Carolingian Government and Administration* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1976).

⁸³ Riddy, “Looking Closely,” 222.

⁸⁴ Riddy, “Looking Closely,” 220.

⁸⁵ Riddy, “Looking Closely,” 217-18.

⁸⁶ *Secreta Secretorum*, cited in Riddy, “Looking Closely,” 227.

⁸⁷ W.N. Francis, ed. *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, EETS o.s., 217 (London, 1942); Michael G. Sargent, ed., *Nicholas Love’s Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* (New York, 1992); Julian of Norwich; cited in Riddy, “Looking Closely,” 217.

⁸⁸ Riddy, “Looking Closely,” 217-8.

habits” in the Latin, the chapter in Anglicus is highly affective as well.⁸⁹ In fact, it includes the stipulation that a wife ought to be “pleasant with her husband,” a phrase which indicates much of the same familiarity and intimacy as the idea of homeliness.⁹⁰

“Homely” is an English word, not a Latin one, and Riddy’s argument focuses on the fifteenth century rather than the thirteenth, but other sources seem to acknowledge nearly the same idea of a father exercising benevolent, loving authority rather than arbitrary autocracy. In a letter to a monk he fears he has alienated through harsh treatment, Bernard of Clairvaux wrote that he wished “to help you as a loving father because if you have many masters in Christ, yet you have few fathers.”⁹¹ Here, the father is contrasted to the master in that, while both are responsible for discipline, the father is interested in the welfare of the child. The monk has many masters (discipliners), but few fathers (discipliners who also love him). Here, again, popular practice and lived experience affected the theories posited among scholars.

In exercising a benevolent authority over his household, the father’s expected role was that of instilling morality and education in his children, a role that was largely deferred until the child was around seven years old, for reasons which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five.⁹² Ideally, children learned virtue and prayer by imitating their parents.⁹³ The aspect of fatherhood as discipliner overlapped with the didactic function of godparenthood, which served as a form of fictive or spiritual kinship. As early as the eighth century, Church liturgy considered the one who

⁸⁹ Anglicus VI.13. “compositis moribus.”

⁹⁰ Anglicus VI.13. “iucunda cum marito.”

⁹¹ C. W. Bynum, “Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother: Some Themes in Twelfth-century Cistercian Writings,” *Harvard Theological Review* 70 (1977): 262. The passage is an allusion to 1 Corinthians 4:15, where St. Paul says almost the same thing.

⁹² Beatrice Gottlieb, *The Family in the Western World from the Black Death to the Industrial Age* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1993), 140.

⁹³ Gottlieb, *The Family in the Western World*, 256.

sponsored the “baptizee” a spiritual parent and designated such sponsors in the liturgy with the neologisms *patrinus* or *matrina*—that is, godfather or godmother.⁹⁴ The Council of Mainz in 813 forbade the natural parent to serve as the spiritual parent.⁹⁵ Medieval godparenthood was so strongly identified with literal parenthood that families of godparents counted as kin for the purpose of defining incest prohibitions, and even after the Fourth Lateran Council reduced the number of prohibited degrees from seven to four in 1215, the prohibitions against marrying godparents remained until the sixteenth century.⁹⁶ Godparenthood was also a means of establishing social bonds, sometimes with peers, sometimes with locally eminent personages.⁹⁷ One significant difference from biological parenthood is that, at least by the late medieval period, children normally had three godparents; one of each sex plus an extra parent of their own sex.⁹⁸ In short, godparenthood was a firmly established institution that played a vital role in social life in a variety of ways, even if it did not undergo much debate or change as an institution during the high medieval period.

In addition to its status as a social bond between families, godparenthood was a didactic role. The *Ordo romanus L*, the reformed liturgy produced by the council of Mainz under the leadership of Charlemagne and Alcuin, requires godparents to recite the Lord’s Prayer and the Apostles’ Creed during the baptismal ceremony “in order that they do the same to those whom they are going to receive from the font.”⁹⁹ These two prayers formed the backbone of the Carolingian Church’s effort to promote religious education among the laity, and the godparents were a central part of that

⁹⁴ The *Ordo romanus xi*, cited in Joseph H. Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 170-1.

⁹⁵ Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe*, 172.

⁹⁶ Gottlieb, *The Family in the Western World*, 57. After the Fourth Lateran Council, only the first degree of affinity (i.e. the godparents themselves) was still prohibited.

⁹⁷ Gottlieb, *The Family in the Western World*, 190-1.

⁹⁸ Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval London*, 45.

⁹⁹ Amalar of Metz, *Epistula ad Carolum imperatorum de scrutinio et baptismo*, cited in Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe*, 300.

strategy, as they were repeatedly reminded of their responsibility to teach the prayers to their godchildren.¹⁰⁰ In this way, fictive fathers (and mothers) were expected to teach their spiritual children, just as literal fathers were to teach their own children. The encyclopedias do not mention godparenthood, but it, too, formed a part of the cultural context in which fatherhood was experienced during this period.

The father exercised authority over his ‘children’, but the end of childhood was a somewhat vague boundary, with several gradations. Many writers placed the “age of discretion,” at which a person could make certain decisions and theoretically be taught, at seven, but this boundary was clearly drawn from the model of the seven ages of man, used in classical times and by such writers as Augustine, strongly promulgated by Isidore, and accepted by all three of the encyclopedists. In practice, apprenticeship or servanthood often perpetuated one’s dependent status on one’s master, who was something of a surrogate father. One of the clearest marks of adulthood was marriage.¹⁰¹ In this way, a man was subject to his father until he became a father himself since, as we have seen, children were the main, explicit goal of marriage during this period. The father’s authority, however, was not wholly negated at marriage; it lasted, to some degree, for as long as he lived.¹⁰²

Along with the responsibility to train and lead the child until marriage, medieval academics saw the father as having a responsibility to provide for the child, sometimes by arranging a marriage. If one’s father died, one entered the wardship of, significantly, his seigneurial overlord, who would provide for one’s care, administer one’s inheritance, and sometimes arrange for eventual marriage.¹⁰³ In addition to providing for marriage, inheritance was a part of a father’s relationship with and

¹⁰⁰ Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe*, 325-32.

¹⁰¹ Gottlieb, *The Family in Western Europe*, 157.

¹⁰² Gottlieb, *The Family in Western Europe*, 157.

¹⁰³ Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 317, 325-7.

continuing effect on his children. Thus, being an heir was to some degree related to being a child of someone. This connection is visible in the dual nature of adoption as creating a parent-like bond and an expectation of inheritance. Although Jack Goody has stated that the Christian Church forbade adoption, Michael Sheehan maintains that it was known among theologians, taken “for granted” in canon law, and practiced across southern Europe.¹⁰⁴ In this way, fatherhood was further conflated with mastery over apprentices, the concept of the head of household, and political and financial authority.¹⁰⁵

Although wedlock was the only officially prescribed context for the conception of children, or indeed any sexual activity, canon law did make some attempt to regulate the relationships between fathers and their children born outside of marriage. Two issues were at stake here: the question of defining legitimacy, and the issue of whether fathers had any responsibility to support the children they fathered outside of marriage. The consequences of illegitimacy ranged from ineligibility for holy orders to exclusion from inheritance. Pope Alexander III insisted that children born out of wedlock could be made legitimate by the subsequent marriage of their parents, a legal concept known since the fifth century but not always used.¹⁰⁶ He also stated that children of clandestine marriages were legitimate.¹⁰⁷ The Church’s attempt to establish jurisdiction over defining which children were legitimate met with some resistance from secular courts, who had long had jurisdiction in such matters, especially when issues of inheritance were at stake.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Jack Goody, *The European Family: An Historico-anthropological Essay* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, Inc., 2000), 35-6; Sheehan, “The European Family and Canon Law,” 258-9. One work on the subject that has caused much controversy is John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988).

¹⁰⁵ Gottlieb, *The Family in Western Europe*, 164, 234-6.

¹⁰⁶ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 103.

¹⁰⁷ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 344.

¹⁰⁸ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 408-9.

With regard to supporting one's children, Gratian cited the fourth-century Council of Gangra to require that fathers who were absent or separated from their families should provide for the support of their children, both legitimate and illegitimate.¹⁰⁹ By the turn of the thirteenth century, ecclesiastical courts required fathers to provide even for their illegitimate children. However, the amount of money courts ordered for child support tended to be small.¹¹⁰ Thirteenth-century canonists were still hostile to the illegitimate children of clerics, but penalized them less harshly than the canonists of the mid-twelfth century had.¹¹¹

In addition to the many layers of overlapping meaning surrounding literal and fictive fatherhood, writers could also use fatherhood purely as a symbol. In her examination of the use of maternal imagery to describe God, Christ, apostles, and even abbots, Caroline Walker Bynum casts light on the distinction the authors made between father and mother.¹¹² Anselm voiced uneasiness about the idea of the motherhood of God for two reasons. First, he argued, male is the appropriate symbol for God, since it is stronger than female. Second, the father has greater influence over the formation of the child (an influence of the anatomical theories discussed above).¹¹³ In sermons, scripture commentaries and even personal letters, Bernard of Clairvaux used maternal imagery repeatedly to portray nurturing love, particularly through breast feeding.¹¹⁴ He saw mother-love as self-sacrificial, and sometimes contrasted it with *magister* or *dominus*, implying a more authoritative aspect in fatherhood.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁹ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 102, 245.

¹¹⁰ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 480.

¹¹¹ Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, 318, 409.

¹¹² C. W. Bynum, "Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother: Some Themes in Twelfth-century Cistercian Writings," *Harvard Theological Review* 70 (1977): 257-84; also discussed in Cadden, *The Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages*, 206-7.

¹¹³ Bynum, "Jesus as Mother," 259-60.

¹¹⁴ Bynum, "Jesus as Mother," 261-3.

¹¹⁵ Bynum, "Jesus as Mother," 261.

A sermon by Gueric, abbot of Igny, maintains that “the Bridegroom [Christ]...has breasts, lest he should be lacking any one of all the duties and titles of loving kindness. He is a father in virtue of natural creation...and also in virtue of the authority with which he instructs. He is a mother, too, in the mildness of his affection, and a nurse.”¹¹⁶ The writers Bynum explores consistently defined discipline as a fatherly trait and nurture as a motherly one, while begetting was an aspect of both.¹¹⁷ As Bynum argues, the significance of such writing is not that it casts light on contemporary practice of parenthood. Instead, the writers began with literal parenthood and reasoned towards the more abstract.¹¹⁸ Father and mother were both rich concepts that could be adapted to serve metaphorical purposes, to the extent that a single abbot could describe himself as mother and father. Such imagery is a testament to the meaning-laden categories of mother and fatherhood.

What, then, was the shape of the theory of fatherhood, that academics constructed in the centuries before the 1230s and the encyclopedists inherited? Fatherhood was of a complex and multi-faceted shape. Biologically, the father imparted human form to his child. Theologically, he imparted human sinfulness. Socially, father was identified with king, master, and other forms of authority. Yet his authority was, ideally at any rate, benevolent and loving, concerned with the welfare of the child in instilling moral character and providing for the child’s future well-being. Canon law mandated that fatherhood was only acceptable within, and was a required part of, an indissoluble marriage formed by the free consent of a layman and a laywoman. Nonetheless, the same legal structure made allowances for both lay and clerical concubinage, the legitimization of children born out of wedlock, and even the

¹¹⁶ *Sermons* 2, second sermon for SS. Peter and Paul, chap. 2, 384-6, trans. by the monks of Mount St. Bernard abbey, *Liturgical Sermons* 2, 155; cited in Bynum, “Jesus as Mother,” 266.

¹¹⁷ Bynum, “Jesus as Mother,” 270-1.

¹¹⁸ Bynum, “Jesus as Mother,” 269.

father's continued responsibility to provide for his illegitimate children. Godparents, masters, and legal guardians shared overlapping roles with the father in training and providing for the child. Fatherhood even functioned as a metaphor for loving authority, apart from any concrete biological or social situation. Thus, in the thirteenth-century academy and in the larger cultural context in which our encyclopedists functioned, fatherhood partook of a somewhat bewildering variety of meanings. Was there any underlying continuity that linked all these roles together? Close examination of the encyclopedias will suggest an answer, but first we must examine the nature of the encyclopedias themselves.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION OF THE TEXTS

This chapter examines the three encyclopedias at a structural level, approaching the texts to see how they are constructed as opposed to analyzing the content of the texts, which will occupy the next chapter. The current chapter describes the specific passages relevant to fatherhood studied here, places them in context with regard to the structure of the works as a whole, examines how the encyclopedists compiled their texts from other authors, and shows the encyclopedists' efforts to harmonize their sources and assert their own views. It illustrates some of the differences between the encyclopedias with regard to structure and emphasis, but it also shows that these three encyclopedists drew upon a common scholarly mindset, body of knowledge, and set of strategies. The texts overlap a great deal and can therefore be read together, forming one composite discourse. The next chapter will explore the underlying cultural understanding of fatherhood that all three encyclopedists largely shared because of their common traditions and methods.

The Structure of the Texts

The structure of these texts is significant, as well as the content of the texts themselves. Where in the overall structure of these texts does material relevant to fatherhood occur? Where does fatherhood fit into the mental schema by which these texts were shaped? Despite the fact that each encyclopedist structured his work differently and covered material on fatherhood in a slightly different place within the text, the structures of the three encyclopedias exhibit overlapping understandings of

fatherhood.

Cantimpré has perhaps the simplest structure of the three. The *Liber de Natura Rerum* begins with humanity, then moves outward into other forms of life, then inanimate objects, then cosmology.¹ It is the shortest work overall, beginning with anatomy in the first book. It then moves to Augustine's doctrine of the soul in the second, and then to quadrupeds, birds, and so forth. Thus, all of the relevant material is contained in the first book, which treats human anatomy from head to toe, in that order. Thus, the chapter "On the penis of the genitals" falls between the chapters on the bladder and the kidneys.² After the chapter on the soles of the feet, Cantimpré moves on to a separate section on conception. For the current project, the chapters, "On the seed of generation," "On conception," and "On the infusing of the rational soul, and whence the soul" were consulted. From here, Cantimpré includes material on obstetrics and a letter supposedly from Aristotle to Alexander the Great on the health of the body. It ends with chapters on the ages of man, which will be treated in depth for this project: "On the seven estates of man, first of which is infancy," "On boyhood," "On adolescence," "On vigor," "On old age," and "On decrepitude."³ Cantimpré's structure, then, indicates the treatment of sexuality as a part of anatomy, with conception and the ages of man at the end of the anatomical section. This placement is not surprising, considering that the second book deals exclusively with the nature of the soul, and all of the later books venture increasingly farther from

¹ Robert Collison, *Encyclopaedias: Their History Throughout the Ages* (New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1966), 59.

² I will cite the texts by their original divisions rather than page numbers, to aid in the use of multiple versions. Roman numerals indicate the Book number within the larger text. Arabic numerals represent the chapter number (though chapters are sometimes only one paragraph). I have intentionally preserved the gendered language of the originals. Cantimpré, I.61 De virga genitali.

³ Cantimpré, I.71 De semine generationis, I.72 De impregnatione mulieris, I.73 De infusione anime rationalis et unde anima, I.78 Sequitur de septem etatibus hominis, et primo de prima etate, que est infantia, I.79 Secunda etas pueritia, I.80 Tertia etas adolescentia, I.81 Quarta etas robur, I.82 Quinta etas senectus, I.83 Sexta etas decrepita. The seventh state, death, did not seem relevant.

human life.

Anglicus' structure is different from Cantimpré's. *De Proprietatibus Rerum* begins with God, then proceeds down the hierarchy of creation to the angels, the soul, human anatomy, animals, plants, and elements, and ends with such properties as color and odor. The section on humankind first examines the soul, then human anatomy, then the ages of man. In the anatomical section, which again proceeds from head to toe, only the chapter "On the genitals" is directly related to fatherhood.⁴ This chapter in Anglicus is much longer than its analogue in Cantimpré, because it contains most of the material on conception. The next several chapters, all examined for this project are "On the estates [of life]," "On the creation of infants" (which covers the remaining aspects of conception), "On infancy," and "On boyhood."⁵ Instead of proceeding from here with the usual ages of man, Anglicus proceeds with chapters on "the girl," "the mother," "the daughter," "the nurse," "the midwife," "the slave woman," "the male," "the man," "the father," "the slave," "evil and wicked slaves," "the condition of good slaves," "the good master or rule," and "the evil master or rule."⁶ These chapters are unlike any in the other two encyclopedias, though some material is related to the section on economics in Beauvais. It also treats the genders separately to a greater degree than in the other texts.

The inclusion of what I will call "estates" in addition to the usual "ages" indicates a link between the categories in Anglicus' schema. At the end of the chapter on evil masters, Anglicus writes:

⁴ Anglicus V.48 De genitalibus.

⁵ Anglicus VI.1 De etate. VI.3 De creacione infantis, VI.4 De infantulo, VI.5. De Puero. Michael Goodich, "Bartholomaeus Anglicus on Child-Rearing," *History of Childhood Quarterly* 3 (1975): 75-84 includes VI.4-7, VI.9-10, VI.14. I have relied heavily on his translations where possible, in addition to consulting the Latin.

⁶ Anglicus VI.6 De puellis, VI.7 De matre, VI.8 De filia, VI.9 De nutrice, VI.10 De obstetrice, VI.11 De ancilla, VI.12 De masculis, VI.13 De viro, VI.14 De patre, VI.15 De servis, VI.16 De servo malo et nequam, VI.17 De conditionibus boni servi, VI.18 De bono Domino sive dominio, VI.19 De malo Domino sive dominio. See also Michael Goodich, "Bartholomaeus Anglicus on Child-Rearing."

These things concerning the properties of man, the difference of his members, and his estates [*aetate*], and the difference between the sexes and other qualities are now sufficient. Now concerning certain accidents which befall around man, and according to nature, and to some extent the law of nature with the help of God, are decreed, and first concerning food, then concerning drink, third concerning waking and sleeping, then concerning exercise.⁷

In treating the accidental qualities of man, Anglicus is clearly making a transition.

Though the text distinguishes between gender, anatomy, estates, and so forth, it lists them together as being a part of the same set of characteristics, namely innate “qualities.”⁸ There is no comparable structural note anywhere else in the section; it is only here, at the divide between innate and accidental qualities, that the distinction is this strong. Thus, in Bartholomaeus’ mental schema, the age, gender and estate in life of a person all had a certain similarity in the way that they influence the situation of the person. Family roles are thus linked to more general societal roles, suggesting a link between the nuclear family and the household or society at large, which will be more fully explored below.

If the first two texts are easy to navigate, Beauvais makes up for it. The voluminous *Speculum Maius* began as three volumes; it treats “all things” in the *Naturale*, “all arts” in the *Doctrinale*, and “all times” in the *Historiale*. A subsequent continuator added a *Morale* in the late thirteenth century, but that will not be examined here. The *Naturale* follows a loosely hexameral scheme, that is, based on the six days of creation, with many digressions, while the *Doctrinale* is arranged in

⁷ Anglicus VI.19; “Haec de proprietatibus hominis, quo ad membrorum diversitatem, et quo ad aetatem, et quo ad sexus discretionem et variam qualitatem nunc sufficiant. Nunc de quibusdam accidentibus quae contingunt circa hominem, et secundum naturam, et praeter naturam aliqua, Dei adiutorio, sunt dicenda, et primo de cibo: deinde de potu: tertio de vigilia et somno: deinde de exercitio.”

⁸ Seymour has also noticed this strong distinction, and calls those in the former section *res naturalis* as opposed to *res non naturales*. I have chosen to retain estates vs. accidents as closer to Anglicus’ terms. M. C. Seymour, *Bartholomaeus Anglicus and his Encyclopedia* (Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate Pub. Co., 1992), 77.

the categories of linguistic and mechanical arts and practical and theoretical sciences, and the *Historiale* proceeds chronologically. Each volume contains scores of books with dozens of chapters each. Its structure, however, is thus more instructive.

Beauvais, like the others, includes material on the anatomy of conception and on the estates of man. It is a part of the volume *Naturale*, which treats “all things” in a sprawling, lengthy exploration of the created world treated loosely in the order of the six days of creation and from theological as well as medical points of view. The section on the sixth day includes vast amounts of material on mankind and on the interaction between God and man. It is into this last section that a theological discussion of the institution of marriage in Book 30 falls, followed by the anatomical section on sexuality in Book 31, though other body parts are treated in the earlier sections on man.⁹ Given the prodigious size of Beauvais’ text, only the most germane chapters will be examined in detail here. The most relevant chapters in Book 30 are “On the multi-fold divine command given to them,” “On the other [command] that was given for the multiplication of their kind,” “In what way marriage is taught in the law of nature,” “In what way only one [wife] is to be [understood] from the natural law,” “On the marital contract,” “On the choice of a wife,” “On the mutual delight of marriage” (and the next chapter, “More on the same”), “On the three goods of matrimony, and on the first, faithfulness,” and “On offspring and the pious education of them.”¹⁰

Book 31 contains an anatomical discussion of conception, continuing the more theological section in Book 30. From Book 31, the following were examined closely:

⁹ Robert Collision, *Encyclopaedias: Their History Throughout the Ages* (New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1966) 60-1; Beauvais, *Naturale* XXX, XXXI.

¹⁰ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXX.28. De multiplici praecepto divinitus illi dato, XXX.30 De alio quod datum est ad sui generis multiplicationem, XXX.31 Qualiter coniugum esse dicatur in praeceptis naturae, XXX.32 Q[u]aliter unicum unius esse sit de naturali iure, XXX.36 De coniugali foedere, XXX.37 De coniugis electione, XXX.38 De mutua coniugum dilectione, XXX.39 Adhuc de eodem, XXX.40 De tribus matrimonii bonis, et primo de fide, XXX.41 De prole ac religiosa ipsius educatione.

“The undertaking of females and coagulation,” “On the impregnation of a woman,” “On the mixture of the two seeds,” “How the sex is discerned in the womb by its conception” and “On the causes and signs of the preceding discernment.”¹¹ Several chapters on the estates of man were also examined: “On infancy and the misery of it,” “On boyhood and the misery of it,” “On the regulation of boys in diet and morals,” “On adolescence and youth and the inconstancy of it,” “On the regulation of the previous state,” and “On old age.”¹²

Besides the *Naturale*, another of Beauvais’ volumes is the *Doctrinale*, in which he treats “all arts.” Material relevant to fatherhood appears in the section on economics, and its placement in the outline of the *Doctrinale* is significant. Its introduction describes a structure which bears strong resemblance to *The Division of Philosophy* of Dominicus Gundissalinus, possibly via Michael Scot, the scholar who brought the works of Aristotle to Paris in 1230.¹³ The introduction begins by dividing philosophy into theory and practice. Theory, it says, deals with things outside of man’s control, while practice deals with man-made things. Theory is comprised of the branches of physics, mathematics, and theology. Practice can be divided two different ways: first, into the civil sciences as opposed to the “vulgar” sciences, and second, into three branches that mirror the three theoretical branches. Such sciences as optics, alchemy and medicine correspond to physics, while arithmetic and carpentry correspond to mathematics. The introduction spends the most time on practical

¹¹ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXXI.31 De susceptione feminis et coagulatione, XXXI.32. De mulieris imprægnatione, XXXI.33 De duorum spermatum commixtione, XXXI.36 Qualiter in matrice discernitur sexus ad ipsa conceptione, XXXI.37 De causis et signis discretionis predicta.

¹² Beauvais, *Naturale* XXXI.76 De infantia et eius miseria, XXXI.79 De regimine infantium in dieta et moribus, XXXI.80 De pueritia et eius miseria, XXXI.81 De regimine puerorum in dieta et moribus, XXXI.82 De adolescentia et iuventute et earum lubricitate, XXXI.83 De predictarum aetatum regimine, XXXI.87 De senectute.

¹³ Charles Burnett, “Vincent of Beauvais, Michael Scot and the ‘New Aristotle,’” in *Lector et Compiler*, 189-213. The article’s appendix includes the Latin text of the *Doctrinale*’s preface along with a full English translation.

parallels to theology, and the subjects that are included are relevant to our current concern. There are two groups: moral philosophy, including “how rulers should behave, how citizens should behave towards each other, the management of the family, and the ordering of one’s personal life,” and religion, including correct belief and practice.¹⁴ In this scheme, the management of the family, or economics, as well as what we might call political science and civics, all fall into the category of practical theology. Thus, both fatherly power as head of household and royal power as head of state derive from the moral, practical working out of theological knowledge. This connection will be evident in the examination of the content of the text in the next chapter.

Beauvais treats economics in Book 6 of the *Doctrinale*, with other books on ethics and politics surrounding it. The chapters examined here are “On economic science,” “That a good wife is to be cherished, and a bad one avoided,” “Whether it is advised by the wise to marry,” “On the disadvantages of marriage,” “More on the same,” “On immoderate love for a wife,” “On the mutual display of parents and of sons,” “On the education of sons,” “On the benefits and the correction of relatives,” “On the mutual interchange of lords and slaves,” “On the regulation of slaves,” and “On preserving the peace of the house.”¹⁵

Clearly, the encyclopedists structured their texts in quite different ways. Cantimpré’s pragmatic anatomical approach is the most straightforward, and appropriate to the modest ambition of his encyclopedia. Anglicus treats conception, the estates and ages of life in a separate section from the purely anatomical treatment

¹⁴ Burnett, “Vincent of Beauvais, Michael Scot and the ‘New Aristotle,’” 190.

¹⁵ Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.1 De scientia oeconomica, VI.3 De bona uxore amplectenda, malaque cavenda, VI.4 Utrum sapienti expediat nubere VI.5 De incommotis nuptiarum, VI.6 Adhuc de eodem, VI.7 De immoderatis uxoris amore VI.8 De mutua parentum et filiorum exhibitione, VI.9 De educatione filiorum, VI.10 De beneficiis et emendatione propinquorum, VI.11 De mutua vicissitudine dominorum atque servorum, VI.12 De regimine servorum, VI.13 De servanda pace domesticorum.

of the genitals, and at greater length than Cantimpré does. Beauvais' vast text covers fatherhood on several levels and from several angles: theologically and anatomically as a part of the description of the created world, and economically as a human endeavor in applied theology. Nonetheless, all three encyclopedias share similar approaches in that they cover fatherhood from both anatomical and social points of view, and Anglicus and Beauvais place fatherhood in a web of concepts including gender, relations between slaves and masters, and government.

The Composition of the Texts

The encyclopedias examined here consist largely of assembled quotations from previous authorities. What specific types of authors did the compilers use in the passages under examination here? The three encyclopedists drew from a largely shared pool of authors, although each of them also cites authors that the others do not.

My intention is not to argue for delicate distinctions as to the relative importance of a single source, but to examine more closely than in the previous chapter what types of sources and intellectual traditions went into the relevant passages of these specific texts. In addition, the citation of an author does not mean that the encyclopedist had direct access to the work cited. Medieval scholars used earlier encyclopedias, *florilegia*, and other compendia extensively, and they sometimes used ideas and even large sections of texts without acknowledgement.¹⁶ The appearance of an author's name, then, does not mean that the idea cited originated with that author, nor that the encyclopedist had his work, but rather that the encyclopedist received that author's name in connection with a part of the body of accumulated knowledge he accessed regarding fatherhood. Like an enameled mosaic,

¹⁶ Seymour, *Bartholomaeus Anglicus and His Encyclopedia*, 17-18.

it is impossible to separate the pieces of these encyclopedias fully from one another, though many disparate bits are clearly visible.

In all three encyclopedists, the scholarly discourse of which a specific passage is a part exerts the strongest influence on what authorities are cited. All three texts share many authorities in common for each section—medical, theological, and so forth—while the authorities vary by section. Beauvais cites substantially the same medical authorities, for example, that Anglicus does, while Beauvais' medical authorities do not overlap much with Beauvais' economic authorities.

All three texts deal with medical aspects of fatherhood. For these sections, all three texts cite Aristotle and Galen. Both Anglicus and Beauvais cite Constantine and Hippocrates. Cantimpré gives isolated references to Macrobius, John's *Book of the Flowers of Philosophy*, and Augustine.¹⁷ Anglicus cites Isidore, as well as sections from Augustine's *Commentary on John* and *On the Trinity* dealing with the conception and gestation of Christ.¹⁸ Beauvais cites Avicenna extensively, and occasionally cites Guillaume de Conchis, Solinus, and Haly Abbas' *Book of Royal Arrangement*.¹⁹ It is also here that Beauvais refers to Cantimpré.²⁰

The prevalence of such sources as Aristotle and Avicenna shows the increasing emphasis on Aristotle beginning in the thirteenth century, in addition to the earlier learning encapsulated in the *Prose Salernitan Questions* discussed in a previous chapter, which Galen, Hippocrates, Constantine, Johannicus and Guillaume

¹⁷ Cantimpré I.72, "Macrobius," I.72, and I.73, "Iohannes philosophus in libro florum philosophie." The last work is almost certainly the *Isagogue* of Iohannicus, "the standard introduction of Salernitan medicine throughout the Latin West." John Baldwin, *The Language of Sex: Five Voices from Northern France around 1200* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 12.

¹⁸ Anglicus VI.1, "Augustinus...super Iohannem 6 et Lib. 4 de Trinitate cap.5."

¹⁹ Beauvais *Naturale* XXXI.31, "Guil. de conchis"; Beauvais XXXI.32, "Solinus"; Beauvais XXXI.33, also 36, 37, "Hali. in libro regalis dispositionis sermone tertio." 'Hali' is Haly Abbas, an Arabic compiler of medical treatises. Seymour, *Bartholomaeus Anglicus and His Encyclopedia*, 23.

²⁰ Beauvais *Naturale* XXXI.36, "Ex libro de natura rerum." The material, on predicting the gender of a fetus, appears to be drawn from Cantimpré I.72.

de Conchis represent.²¹ They also illustrate the difficulty of attempting to isolate specific influences in these encyclopedias. Avicenna was mainly a commentator on Aristotle, and Constantine was the main transmitter of Galen to the West, as well as a translator of Arabic medical treatises.²² An idea cited as Galen, therefore, may well have been accessible only through Constantine, while something attributed to Constantine may be only a quotation from Galen.

The authorities that the different encyclopedias cite regarding the ages of man vary more widely than those on any other subject. All three cite Aristotle extensively, as well as Isidore. The texts diverge thereafter, however. Cantimpré cites Pliny, a rare occurrence in these passages.²³ Anglicus' passages on the conventional ages of man (infancy, boyhood, and so forth) are substantially drawn from Isidore, Aristotle and Constantine, and a unique reference to Remigius.²⁴ Beauvais includes brief axioms from classical authors, such as Seneca's *Declamations*, Salust's *The Cataline Conspiracy*, and Virgil's *Georgics*.²⁵ For Beauvais, each age also contains an extensive section from Augustine's *City of God*, and a corroborating passage from the *Confessions*.²⁶ This is significant because medieval sources sometimes seem to be impersonal descriptions that provide no access to the emotional realities of the writers. Yet Beauvais illustrates each stage of human life from one of the most deeply personal narratives written before the early modern era. It is true that it is the personal experience of an ancient writer, and the account is one that Augustine took care to fit into his formal model of human development. Nonetheless, this encyclopedia

²¹ Baldwin, *The Language of Sex*, 11, ff.

²² Baldwin, *The Language of Sex*, 11, ff.

²³ Cantimpré I.82, "Plinium."

²⁴ Anglicus VI.1, "Remigius." Probably Remigius of Auxerre, a Benedictine monk of the tenth century who wrote glosses on classical philosophical texts.

²⁵ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXXI.82, "Seneca in declamationibus lib. 1...Salustius in Catalinario"; Beauvais, *Naturale* XXXI.83, "Virgilius in georgicis lib.3."

²⁶ Beauvais *Naturale* XXXI.76, "Aug. de civit. Dei lib. 21...idem in libro confessio. 1." Similar in 80, 82.

acknowledges, albeit vicariously, the inescapably subjective nature of childhood as something that all people experience by the inclusion of passages from Augustine's *Confessions*.

In addition to the usual progression of the ages of man, Anglicus includes several chapters on the various estates of humanity, which will be treated separately. Many chapters cite relatively few references, giving the impression that Bartholomaeus himself was at the very least synthesizing a wide variety of sources, if not composing his own text. This is further corroborated by the statement that a man wooing his bride "exposes himself to many games and spectacles, he frequents *tyrocinia*," a word for a joust at a tournament.²⁷ Although *tyrocinium* or *tirocinium* as a term for the state of knighthood appears earlier, it first appears in the sense of a joust during the reign of Philip Augustus, a scant few decades or so before this text.²⁸ This indicates that the chapter was at the very least substantially modified by someone in Bartholomaeus' generation, if not composed from scratch. It is highly probable that Bartholomaeus himself composed the bulk of this passage, with occasional references to other sources. This means that this passage, at least, is not merely received information about family life, but is Bartholomaeus' own perception of contemporary courtship practices. His chapters "On the man" and "On the father" appear in their entirety in the Appendix in both Latin and English, since they are especially useful to the focus of this thesis, and will also be discussed in detail.

Many of the passages on family relations seem tender and emotive. Anglicus' chapter "On the man" primarily consists of material on the service of husbandhood, highly sentimental descriptions of marriage, and a glowing description of a virtuous

²⁷ Anglicus, VI.13, "ludis et spectaculis se exponit, frequentat tyrocinia."

²⁸ Charles Du Fresne Du Cange, ed. *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (Graz: Akademische Druck u. Verlagsanstalt; Chicago: Argonaut, 1967), "tyrocinium"; see also Jan Frederik Niermeyer, ed. *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), "tyrocinium."

wife. Anglicus attributes a part of it to a sermon of Fulgentius on the wedding at Cana, but it is unclear how much. Furthermore, no extant writing of Fulgentius is on Cana, nor are any of the pseudo-Fulgentian sermons.²⁹

The chapters on male slaves are unlike any other passages examined. They consist of extremely dense lists of virtues or vices illustrated thickly with phrases drawn directly from Biblical passages of the patriarchs, wisdom literature, parables from the Gospels, epistles and so forth. Seymour points out that all of the categories throughout Anglicus are categories used in the Bible.³⁰ While this may explain the density of the quotations regarding slaves, it does not explain why this format is unique to the chapters on slaves, unless there was a dearth of other material. The chapters on masters, too, list virtues and vices, but they include more explanation and theory than the passages on slaves.

Cantimpré has nothing comparable to the section on estates in Anglicus, but Beauvais' economic and theological sections bear some resemblance. At the beginning of the book on economics, Beauvais defines economics from Isidore and Richard's *Book of Exceptions*, then writes:

Concerning this science, no special volume has been wholly edited by anyone that I was able to discover, although the most illustrious economic book of Xenophon the Socratic...was collected by Hieronymus for translation. But since it is not possible at this point always to bring this book to our hand, it pleased all concerned to collect a few chapters from the books of other authors concerning these things which pertain to the same science.³¹

²⁹ D. G. Morin, "Notes sur un MS. des Homelies du Pseudo-Fulgence," *Revue Benedictine* 26 no. 2 (1909): 223-28. They are also included in the *Patrologia Latina*. The Fulgentian sermon is not extant according to Seymour, *Bartholomaeus Anglicus and His Encyclopedia*, 81.

³⁰ Seymour, too, has noted their uniqueness. Seymour, *Bartholomaeus Anglicus and His Encyclopedia*, 77.

³¹ Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.1, "De hac quidem scientia nullum speciale volumen a quoquam editum usquequaque potui reperire, quamquam pulcherrimum Xenofontis Socratici librum oeconomicum...legatur Hieronymus transtulisse. Sed quoniam is liber ad manus nostras huc usque pervenire non potuit, ex caeteris authorum libris pauca capitula de his quae ad eandem spectant scientiam, utrinque colligere placuit."

Vincent, then, was aware of the existence of Xenophon's *Oeconomica*, and although he did not cite it directly, the structure of it may have influenced his composition of the book. Economy, according to Beauvais, is:

The art and science by which the order of domestic things is wisely disposed; just as politics or civics is that by which the advantage of all the state is administered...[it is] bipartite: and indeed the first part of it, which cares for the particular family or family members, includes four subdivisions. Of these the first concerns mutual society and the love of spouses. Second on the education of sons. Third on the regulation of slaves. Fourth on the cultivation of friends.³²

Economics, then, is fundamentally concerned with the regulation of the family and household, and it is explicitly linked to higher levels of government, as was evident in the overall structure of the *Doctrinale*. Such a definition clearly derives from classical writers like Xenophon and Aristotle.³³

The ensuing chapters detail the considerations of marriage and children. They contain citations from a greater variety of classical authors than almost any other section examined here, including Martial, Valerius Maximus, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Seneca's *Letters to Lucilius*, Cato, and Suetonius.³⁴ Early Christian writers like Quintillian and Cassiodorus are also included.³⁵ Again, many of these references may have been drawn from earlier compilations and not accessed directly, but whatever their means of transmission, they appear in Beauvais. Most of these citations bemoan

³² Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.1, "est ars vel scientia, qua[e] domesticarum rerum sapienter ordo disponitur; sicut politica sive civilis est, quae totius civitatis utilitas administratur...bipartita: et illa quidem eius pars, quae propriam familiam sive personas familiares respicit, quatuor particulas comprehendit. Quarum prima est de mutua societate, et amore coniugum. Secunda de educatione filiorum. Tertia de regimine servorum. Quarta de cultu amicorum." The second division of economics deals with the acquiring and keeping of material goods.

³³ Aristotle's *Oeconomica* was not translated into Latin until the late thirteenth century, so Beauvais was probably not aware of its existence; Bernard G. Dod, "Aristotle in the Middle Ages" in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, eds. Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, and Jan Pinborg (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 79.

³⁴ Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.3, "Martialis coquus"; VI.4, "Valerius Maximus libro. 7"; VI.6, "Ovidius...in lib. Metamor.1"; VI.9 "Sueto, lib. 2, de 12 Caesaribus"; VI.12, "Seneca ad Lucill. Epist. 47...Cato."

³⁵ Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.9, "Quintil. lib.1"; VI.12. "Cassiodorus epistola 33."

the inconveniences of marriage or the inconstancy of youth. In addition, Beauvais frequently cites Theophrastus' well-known anti-matrimonial treatise, *On Marriage*, as well as Jerome's *Against Jovinian*, the expression of anti-matrimonial sentiment *par excellence*, both mentioned previously and frequently reused throughout the middle ages. All of this amounts to a gloomy picture of marriage and childrearing. It is only in the last chapter of the section that Beauvais draws on Augustine to explore the idea of maintaining peace in a Christian home.

The economic section also contains most of the few references to legal writers or canon law to be found in the passages examined in this project, including the *Summa* of Azo and Gratian's *Decretum*.³⁶ These passages discuss basic issues of inheritance and the question of the father's authority over his household. Elsewhere, Beauvais defines marriage as created by words of consent in the present tense, but cites Vincent, "the author" as the only authority, indicating his own familiarity with the basics of canon law.³⁷ The relatively small amount of attention devoted to legal material is understandable in light of the encyclopedias' function as an aid for preaching. Hypothetical readers of this text would not be using it as a legal authority, nor would they be expected to deliver legal decisions or adjudicate cases. All that was needed was to provide sufficient information so that preachers could treat marriage in a manner consistent with canon law, not so that they could give legal advice from the pulpit.

Beauvais' theological section is parallel to the economic section in that it, too, deals with family life, but it is largely positive, in contrast to the mostly gloomy economic section. It derives mostly from Church fathers (understandably, since it is a

³⁶ Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.8, 10; see Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*, 329.

³⁷ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXX.36, "Auctor."

section on theology). The chapters on the selection of a wife and to a lesser extent, on the education of children, however, are drawn substantially from the corresponding chapters on the inconveniences of marriage and the education of offspring in the *Doctrinale*.³⁸ Ironically, the chapter “On the mutual delight of marriage” begins with Jerome’s stricture that “the wise man ought to love his spouse by reason, not with emotion, lest the attack of delight may rule [him],” carried over from the previous chapter, drawn from “On the inconveniences of marriage” in the *Doctrinale*.³⁹ Thus, the same quotation appears in two chapters with opposite titles, making the statement that a man ought to love his wife according to reason serve as a reference both for “the mutual delight of marriage” and “the inconveniences of marriage.” This is yet another indication of the profound ambiguity surrounding medieval scholarly attitudes towards sexuality and marriage. The section begins with commentary on the establishment of marriage in Genesis, substantially attributed to Vincent himself, citations of biblical epistles and Hugh of St. Victor’s *On the Christian Sacraments*.⁴⁰ Augustine also influenced the structure of this section in his statement that “the good of matrimony is threefold: certainly faithfulness, offspring, and sacrament,” each of which form the basis of a chapter.⁴¹ John Chrysostom, Ambrose, and commentaries on passages of scripture from the Old Testament and the Epistles appear extensively and in relatively large sections.

Thus, the three encyclopedists cited many of the same authors in compiling their works, and they shared different subsets of authors for different discourses on

³⁸ That is, Beauvais, *Naturale* XXX.37 is virtually identical to Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.5 and Beauvais, *Naturale* XXX.41 is largely drawn from Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.9.

³⁹ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXX.38, “Sapiens autem vir iudicio debet amare coniugem non affectu, ne regat voluptatis impetus”; also Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.5.

⁴⁰ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXX.30, 36.

⁴¹ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXX.40, “Tripartitum est autem matrimonii bonum scilicet fides, proles, sacramentum.” The quotation is from Augustine’s *Literal Commentary on Genesis* IX.7. *Patrologia Latina* 34 col. 397.

fatherhood; Aristotle and Galen for medical knowledge, Augustine for theology, Isidore for the ages of man, and so forth. However, each encyclopedist also drew upon other authors in compiling his own encyclopedia, producing a mosaic of texts that overlaps from one encyclopedia to another, but is not duplicated.

The Question of Synthesis: Did the Encyclopedists Harmonize?

As the encyclopedists assembled their texts from the various sources they used, were they attempting to produce coherent texts, or were they simply collating available sources, regardless of what they said? Were the authors aware of tensions or contradictions between various parts of their texts? There is also a separate, though related issue: Did the encyclopedists attempt to produce texts that reflected their own views, or were they simply transmitting received knowledge? There are several indications that the encyclopedists did reflect upon their sources and make some attempt to harmonize them and furthermore, to interpret the sources in accordance with their own opinions. The encyclopedists thus were intent on producing a coherent text that interpreted the world according to a certain underlying system of knowledge, a system that accorded with the encyclopedists' own views. Here again we see a substantial degree of similarity between the three encyclopedias, though there are variations in emphasis.

First, it must be conceded that the encyclopedists did sometimes report multiple variations on the same issue, which is consistent with their scholastic academic training in dialectic, discussed in Chapter Two. Cantimpré, for example, says that the state of old age “runs according to moderns all the way until the seventieth year, according to the ancients indeed all the way to the eightieth year.”⁴²

⁴² Cantimpré I.82, “currit secundum modernos usque ad septua gesimum annum, secundum antiquos vero usque ad octogesimum annum.”

Beauvais, in the section on slaves, quotes the *Summa* of Azo which says that “of old, the lord was able to kill his slave with impunity: but today things are different.”⁴³

Again, on the question of what determines the sex of a fetus, Beauvais reports that “certain men say that on the right [side of the womb] only males, and on the left only females are conceived...others propose that...any sex is able to be conceived” on either side.⁴⁴ But these variations are hardly contradictory; indeed, the encyclopedists took care to explain the differences, whether by the passage of time or difference of opinion, thus showing attention to reconciling apparent contradictions.

The attempts of the encyclopedists to reconcile their sources are clearest in the places where they explicitly voiced their own stance on an issue. Cantimpré reports the one-seed theory of conception, that “certain men say that a single male seed is enough for conception, nor [is] female seed necessary. They clearly lie who say this.”⁴⁵ He thus strongly favors two-seed theory. Anglicus, on the other hand, discusses the contribution of both male and female to conception and quotes Aristotle that the principle of generation is two-fold, but refrains from actually calling the female’s part a “seed,” using instead terms like “material” or “menstrual blood.”⁴⁶ This is either an implicit acceptance of the two-seed theory or an attempt to skirt the issue. Beauvais quotes Cantimpré almost exactly in his chapter on the same subject.⁴⁷ Cantimpré does not appear to be quoting another authority; the chapter jumps from one subject to another quickly, and the nearest citation is of Hippocrates, with regard to a different topic, the sealing of the womb after conception. Thus, Cantimpré, at least, is taking a stance on a debated issue. Beauvais, if the stance is not in Vincent’s

⁴³ Beauvais *Doctrinale* VI.12. “Olim dominus impune servum suum occidere poterat: sed hodie distinguunt;”

⁴⁴ Beauvais *Naturale* XXXI.36, “Alii referunt...quod quilibet sexus potest...concupi.”

⁴⁵ Cantimpré I.72, “dicunt quidam solum virile semen sufficere ad conceptum nec necessarium semen femineum. Mentiuntur plane qui hoc dicunt.”

⁴⁶ Anglicus V.48, “materia”; Anglicus VI.1, “substantia feminis ortas et sanguini me[n]struali.”

⁴⁷ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXXI.32.

own words, at least quotes Cantimpré's strong opinion, implying that he agrees with it. Cantimpré also states that the fetus is nourished via the umbilicus while in the womb and that "they lie, therefore, who say that the child takes food in through its mouth in the uterus of the mother,"⁴⁸ It also more gently corrects the terms a source uses: "we say that certain veins, which John calls nerves..." thus showing further critical attention to the sources.⁴⁹

In addition, Cantimpré and Beauvais each refute heresy explicitly. Cantimpré says that God creates each soul and infuses it into the body, "and not, as the heretics say, [that] soul is produced from soul as body from body."⁵⁰ This is a part of Cantimpré's apparent focus on the soul. The entire second book of Cantimpré is dedicated to exploring the soul, and it relies mostly on Augustine, just as this passage does.⁵¹ Beauvais mentions "certain heretics [who must] be suppressed, who say that intercourse is not able to be done without sin. But we say, according to universal opinion, that marriage was instituted in paradise."⁵²

In refuting these heretics, the encyclopedists attempted to cite authoritative sources. However, the sources were not always entirely clear or helpful, causing the encyclopedists to work extremely hard to interpret them in accordance with their own views. For example, Cantimpré, in refuting traducianism (the belief in soul begetting soul), says that "Aristotle seems most evidently to say in the book *On Souls*..."⁵³ Cantimpré takes the statement of Aristotle that the soul "is divine, since...it has no communication with the operation of other types of body," to mean that God makes

⁴⁸ Cantimpré I.73, "Mentiuntur ergo qui dicunt puerum per os in matris utero capere alimentum."

⁴⁹ Cantimpré I.73, "Dicimus quod quedam vena, quam nervum vocat Iohannes."

⁵⁰ Cantimpré I.73, "et non, sicut dicunt heretici, anima ab anima gignitur ut corpus a corpore."

⁵¹ Cantimpré II: "De Anima et eius virtutibus naturalibus secundum beatum Augustinum."

⁵² Beauvais *Naturale* XXX.30. "quosdam haereticos confutari, qui concubitus dicunt sine peccato non posse fieri. Nos autem secundum opinionem communem dicimus, quod in paradiso coniugium institutum est."

⁵³ Cantimpré I.73, "videtur evidentissime Aristotiles dicere in libro De animalibus."

the soul, which is not necessarily the point of Aristotle's statement.⁵⁴ Beauvais, having said that marriage was instituted in the Garden, later tackles the statement of Gregory the Great that coitus is impossible without sin, which is uncomfortably identical to the stance denounced earlier in the text.⁵⁵ Beauvais examines the four reasons that a man may have coitus with his wife, three of which (offspring, rendering the marital debt, and avoiding fornication) are meritorious, and the fourth of which (desire) may be venial or mortal, depending upon the situation. Beauvais concludes, "Therefore that [saying] of Gregory, 'The union of spouses is not able to be done without guilt', is explained thus: that is, it is scarcely possible."⁵⁶ Vincent thus worked strenuously to fit his authoritative sources into the mental framework of his own situation.

The choice of issues to address explicitly is completely understandable. The encyclopedists, as mendicants, were focused on the need to refute Cathars and other forms of heresy of their own times. The received tradition of the Church had been ambiguous in many areas, especially sexuality, and previous statements now needed to be interpreted in the light of new threats to the faith.⁵⁷ In the same way, as discussed in Chapter Three, the debate between one-seed or two-seed theory was a fiercely contested topic in the universities at the time; Galenic two-seed theory was firmly established, but some maintained that Aristotelian one-seed theory was more congruent with Scripture.⁵⁸

Separate from the polemic stances of the encyclopedists on a few points is the

⁵⁴ Cantimpré I.73, "est divinus, quoniam...non habet communicationem cum operatione aliqui modo corporali."

⁵⁵ The statement is in the *Responsa Gregorii*, a collection of texts attributed to Gregory the Great, but some of which are apocryphal. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*, 140.

⁵⁶ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXX.40, "Illud ergo Gregorii, concubitus coniugalīs, sine culpa fieri non potest, sic exponitur, id est, vix potest."

⁵⁷ Dyan Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 134; Baldwin, *The Language of Sex*, 4, 63.

⁵⁸ Baldwin, *The Language of Sex*, 94-5.

question of a more subtle form of coherence. The next chapter will examine in detail the views of fatherhood constructed by these texts as a group, and its validity hinges on the contention that not only did these encyclopedists have an underlying concept of the nature of fatherhood that they attempted to make consistent within each encyclopedia, but their underlying concept was largely shared among all three. This is a much harder thing to show point by point, since the question is whether the various parts of each text are consistent with all the other parts. Nonetheless, the texts, on the whole, exhibit many attempts to achieve consistency, not only within themselves but even with each other.

The overall coherence of the texts may be illustrated by examining their treatment of the apparent contradiction between positive and negative views of sexuality and marriage, one of the great tensions of the encyclopedists' body of received tradition. As stated above, the texts incorporate a great deal of material that is misogynistic, anti-marriage, and anti-sexual, from both classical and Christian sources, while at the same time including material on the goodness of marriage, its establishment by God before the Fall, and its status as a symbol of Christ's union with the Church. How could a single text incorporating such divergent views (or the medieval culture that produced it) be coherent? Although the next chapter will analyze the view of marriage and sexuality at a more detailed level, it is clear even from the construction and arrangement of the texts that the encyclopedists were aware of this tension and made some attempt to reconcile it.

Cantimpré's treatment of sexuality is mostly merely descriptive, with one exception. When noting that human women desire coitus after conception, unlike any other female animal, the text remarks that "in this human nature is greatly to be

blamed,” a relatively subdued rebuke.⁵⁹ Beauvais’ and Anglicus’ treatments of the subject are much more in-depth. Beauvais, as stated above, describes the woes of marriage at length, quoting classical authors and Jerome’s *Against Jovinian*, beginning in the economics section with the chapter “That a good wife is to be cherished, and a bad one avoided.”⁶⁰ It is this very juxtaposition of the good with the bad that Beauvais follows with remarkable consistency throughout the subsequent chapters. Many of the chapters contain both positive and negative statements. Thus, Beauvais quotes Valerius Maximus quoting Socrates that whether he marries or not “he will be driven to punishment. For in one case,’ he said ‘solitude [grips] you, in the other, childlessness, in one case, ruin of the lineage, in which case another heir will follow; in that case constant worry, interwoven with arguments, reproach arising from the dowry,” and so on.⁶¹ The trials of singleness appear to counterbalance the dangers of marriage. Again, Theophrastus judged that marriage was worthwhile “if she is beautiful, if well cared for, and from honest parents, if he himself is healthy and rich...but these all together agree seldom in marriage. Therefore a wife must not be taken by the wise man.”⁶² The passage lists positive and negative attributes close together, even if the final judgment is in the negative. Even the two chapters “On the inconveniences of marriage,” complain that “even if she is a good and elegant wife (which, however, is a rare bird),” the husband will be subjected to worry when she gives birth.⁶³ Later in the same chapter, Beauvais notes that “in this way [I.e. in his anti-matrimonial sentiment] Theophrastus differs [from that] which issues from the

⁵⁹ Cantimpré I.72, “in hoc multum culpanda est humana natura.”

⁶⁰ Beauvais *Doctrinale* VI.3. De bona uxore amplectenda, malaque cavenda.

⁶¹ Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.4, “acturum poenitentiam. Nam hi te inquit solitudo, ibi te orbitas, hic generis interitus, illic heres alienus excipiet; illic perptua sollicitudo, contextus querelarum, dotis exprobratio.”

⁶² Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.4, “si pulchra esset, si bene morigerata, et honestis parentibus; si ipse sanus ac dives...h[a]ec autem raro in nuptiis universa concordat. No est igitur uxor ducenda sapienti.”

⁶³ Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.6, “At si bona fuerit, et suavis uxor (quae tamen rara avis est) cum parturiente bemimus, cum perclitante torquemur.”

mouth of Christians, the conduct of whom is in heaven,” thus attempting to differentiate between the worries about earthly inheritance that concerned the classical philosopher and the Christian life.⁶⁴ This same juxtaposition persists in the theological section on the nature of marriage, when Beauvais quotes Hugh of St. Victor’s *On the Christian Sacraments* that “the institution of marriage is twofold: One, clearly, before sin for duty, the other after sin for a remedy...but now it is more for a remedy than for a duty.”⁶⁵ Thus, through the close juxtaposition of positive and negative aspects of marriage and sexuality, Beauvais attempts to hold in tension the various opinions of it.

It is significant that *Anglicus* contains very little overt harmonization, polemic or otherwise. There are no significant mentions of opposition, nor even any mentions of multiple opinions. This does not represent less coherence on *Anglicus*’ part, but rather more. Of the three encyclopedias, *Anglicus* has the most streamlined prose, because more of it was composed by Bartholomaeus; he used scripture more directly and quoted his authorities less extensively. His work is the most unabashedly pro-matrimony, pro-sexuality, and affective of the three, and he seems to feel less compunction to incorporate disparate stances.

Nonetheless, *Anglicus* does harmonize textual authorities on the good of marriage, following something of the same strategy as Beauvais. The long paean to the wonders of courtship and the bliss of marriage in his chapter “On men” concludes by cautioning that “no one is happier than the man having a good woman. Truly, he who has a wife [who is] clamorous, evil, quarrelsome, addicted to drink, luxurious, of many desires, contrary to him, expensive, fussy, envious, idle, tedious, wandering,

⁶⁴ Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.6, “huiusmodi Theophrastus differit quae ora suffundant Christianorum quorum conversatio in caelis est.”

⁶⁵ Beauvais *Naturale* XXX.30-31, “Hugo de Sacramentis libro secundo. Institutio itaque coniugii duplex est. Una scil[icet] ante peccatum ad officium, alia post peccatum ad remedium...Nunc autem magis est ad remedium quam ad officium.”

bitter, suspicious, hateful, no one is more miserable and unhappy than such a man.”⁶⁶

A bountiful list of all the virtues a good wife has follows immediately and occupies the rest of the chapter. Even in the midst of his extremely optimistic view of marriage, Bartholomaeus inserted cautions against the dangers of a bad marriage.

The same thing happens in the chapter on the genitals. After beginning on a wildly pro-sexual stance, stating that God himself not only made the genitals, but placed desire within them, “lest perhaps due to loathing of coitus, generation should be avoided by living things,”⁶⁷ the discussion breaks off to say, “these members are misused by many, because they are not used for the fruit of generation...but rather...for shame and desire.”⁶⁸ Bartholomaeus states that he will refrain from any further discussion, “lest perhaps I seem by explaining the origin, progress, and finish of sperm, to present opportunity of thinking fleshly things of the flesh.”⁶⁹ Thus, Anglicus, too, holds the positive and negative aspects of sexuality in tension by their close juxtaposition, showing that Bartholomaeus, along with Vincent, was attempting to construct a coherent text, and that furthermore he used the same strategy in order to achieve that goal. This strategy exhibits the same desire to limit sex via self-control that seems to be the overall goal of medieval scholarly writing on the subject.

Thus, all three encyclopedists were intent on harmonizing authorities and producing a coherent text. Just as all authors select among the words available to them in the language, the encyclopedists chose larger pieces of language: that is, passages and even whole chapters from classical and Christian authorities, and even

⁶⁶ Anglicus VI.13, “Viro autem bonam mulierem habente nullus est felicius. Qui vero habet uxorem clamorosam, malam, rixosam, ebriosam, luxuriosam, multivolam, sibi contrariam, sumptuosam, curiosam, invidiosam, desidiosam, taediosam, vagam, amaram, suspiciosam, odiosam, nullus tali viro miserabilior est et infelicius.” See Appendix.

⁶⁷ Anglicus V.48, “ne forte abominato coitu ab animalibus generatio evitaretur.”

⁶⁸ Anglicus V.48, “Sed certe his memberis plurimi abutuntur, quoniam ipsis ad generationis fructum non utuntur...sed potius turpitudini ac libidini.”

⁶⁹ Anglicus V.48, “ne forte spermatis explanando originem, prgressum vel finem videar carnalibus occasionem cogitandi carnalia exhibere.”

from their fellow encyclopedists. In doing so, they interpreted and shaped their sources in order to produce their own texts, each following a distinctive structure in his encyclopedia. That they included a large amount of “unoriginal” material does not indicate that the texts do not reflect their own views, but rather, that their own views included a large amount of received knowledge. It is this common corpus of learning that all three authors drew upon in composing their discussions of the nature of fatherhood.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MEANINGS OF FATHERHOOD

After analyzing the intellectual context of the sources and examining the process by which the texts were composed in the previous chapter, this chapter examines the meanings of the texts. As they compiled their texts, the encyclopedists were trying to produce a work that fitted the external world to a system of knowledge. What can we learn about the underlying attitudes and ideas about fatherhood from the texts examined here?

The views outlined in this chapter are drawn exclusively from the encyclopedias, and thus I shall refer to them as “the encyclopedists’ views,” a practice which has several implications that must be made explicit. First, it conflates the views of the encyclopedists with the encyclopedias themselves. This is acceptable for my current purpose because, as I argued in the previous chapter, the encyclopedists did not merely repeat received material, but took steps to assert their own views as well as producing a coherent text. Second, it treats the encyclopedists as a unified group. This is because, again as seen in the previous chapter, although there are variations between them, all three encyclopedists shared a large portion of their sources, rhetorical concerns, and underlying concepts. Third, despite the narrow focus of this thesis on these three sources, I do not see the encyclopedists’ views as unusual or at odds with contemporaries or even with most of their authorities. The encyclopedias do express opinions, to be sure. They engage in rhetoric in an attempt to persuade the reader on points that must therefore be open to debate. Nonetheless, their opinions are cautious ones. They are in some places on the cutting edge of contemporary

knowledge, but they are not outside or beyond thirteenth century scholarly discourse. Although there is ample evidence of debates on some topics, the encyclopedists' views are essentially representative of medieval scholarly views on fatherhood. They were a part of their culture and received traditions, not iconoclastic rebels trying to construct a radically new understanding of the world. Thus, though I refer to them as "the encyclopedists' views," they are also the expressions of "medieval scholarly views" that form the broader subject of this thesis.

Chapter Three dealt with medieval scholarly views on fatherhood on a more general level. It argued that thirteenth-century scholars interacted with fatherhood through the discourses of theology, canon law, and anatomy, and saw fatherhood as embracing several different aspects. In addition to the father's role in conception, fathers were expected to provide for and educate their children. Fatherhood was linked to concepts of the household and government, including kingship, the role of master, and godfatherhood, and could even be used in a metaphorical sense. Yet it remained to be seen whether there was some underlying principle that linked these roles together. By closely examining these encyclopedias, the essential unity of these seemingly disparate concepts becomes clear. In the encyclopedias, the anatomical concept of heat turns out to be the governing idea that links multiple aspects of fatherhood together, identifying masculinity with concepts of begetting, teaching, protecting, and governing. In examining the encyclopedias more closely, I hope to bring together the separate topics that have been analyzed throughout this study, to show the overlapping, mutually dependent aspects of fatherhood in thirteenth-century academic discourse.

Anatomy: The Importance of Heat

Scholars have long been aware of medieval anatomy's foundation of the four humors, as well as the link between the humors and personality type, diet, and other forms of behavior. Joan Cadden has drawn attention to the specific significance of heat to masculine traits.¹ I intend here to examine in greater detail the link between the concept of heat and specifically fatherly roles.

The encyclopedias themselves attest to the belief that the humors have wide-ranging influence on human behavior and personality. In Beauvais, the ages of infancy, boyhood and adolescence all have chapters dedicated to the "regulation in diet and morals" of the age-group in question.² All of these chapters deal with the development of the child by regulating the complexion through proper diet, as well as his or her behavioral formation. Medieval concepts of gender, as well, can be traced to the balance of the humors. As discussed in Chapter Three, each of the four humors corresponds to one combination of the wet-dry and hot-cool variables. Here the distinction we are most concerned with is not a specific humor, but rather that "man or the masculine is warm and dry with respect to the feminine, while she herself is the reverse."³ The encyclopedists were adamant in the distinction, stating that "every woman is cold. Of course, the warmest woman is colder than the coldest man."⁴

The principle that men contained greater heat than women was the foundation for nearly all medieval scholarly explanations of gender roles in sexuality and conception, including the encyclopedists' notions of fatherhood. Within the body, heat turned blood into sperm. "According to Constantine, the substance of [the

¹ Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 171-173.

² Beauvais, *Naturale* XXXI.79 "De regimine infantium in dieta et moribus", XXXI.81 "De regimine puerorum in dieta et moribus", XXXI.83 "De predictarum aetatum regimine."

³ Anglicus VI.12, "vir sive masculus respectu foeminae calidus est et siccus, ipsa vero e[st] converso."

⁴ Cantimpré I.72, "omnis mulier frigida est. Calidissima quippe mulier frigidissimo viro frigidior est."

testicles] is composed from the flesh...because of the action of heat and the changing of the blood into white [fluid], which is boiling the blood through fierce heat in its substance, and changing [it] into whiteness.”⁵

Heat was also thought to determine the sex of the child in several different ways. First, the texts associate the right side of the womb with male children, “because the liver is close to the right part of the womb, and therefore the fetus is nourished by better and warmer blood, which is the peculiar [trait] of males.”⁶ Note the value-added language; the blood is not only warmer, but also *meliori*, “better,” and better is identified with maleness. Not only the woman’s liver, but also the man’s liver also influences gender because “the right testicle from which the seed drains into the womb, is warmer for the same reason...therefore when the seed is warm and dry and thick, the baby will be male.”⁷ Thus, for the encyclopedists, heat tended to produce masculinity, whether in the male or the female body.

It is significant, however, that the heat of the male seed, the father’s contribution, was considered preeminent. Beauvais reports:

it also happens many times that the strength of the hot seed conquers. Indeed, certain of the doctors say: if the seed which proceeds from the right part of the testicles falls in the left part of the womb, an effeminate male is produced. And if that which proceeds from the left part should fall on the right, a masculine female is produced.⁸

This is one variant among several explanations of what I might call deviant

⁵ Anglicus V.48, “Secundum Constantinum substantia eorum composita est de carne...propter caloris observationem, et sanguinis immutationem in albedinem, quod sit per vehementem calorem in ipsorum substantia sanguinem decoquentem, et in albedinem commutantem.”

⁶ Cantimpré I.72, “quia epar est in dextra parte matrici vicinum, et ideo meliori et calidiori sanguine fetus nutritur, qui est proprius masculorum.”

⁷ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXXI.36, “Testiculus dexter a quo sperma defluit in matricem, eadem causa calidior est...cum ergo sperma calidius et siccus atque crassius, foetus erit masculus.”

⁸ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXXI.37, “Evenit etiam aliquotiens, ut virtus caloris seminis vincat: Quidam enim medicorum dixerunt: si seme quod processerit de dextra parte testiculi, ceciderit in sinistram partem matricum efficit masculinum efoeminatum. Et si illud quod processerit ex sinistra parte ceciderit ad dextram, efficit foeminam masculinam.”

conception; that is, where either unusual circumstances surround conception or unusual offspring result. The fact that it is one variant among several leads Beauvais to caution that “certain” doctors say this. But in this model, sperm from the right testicle still produces a biological male, even if the left part of the womb influences conception toward the feminine. It is therefore the male’s heat that has the greater power, though the female’s heat also contributes. This is consonant with the more general principle that “the aim of the sperm of the male is to shape [the child] to its [own] likeness,” while “the aim of the seed of the woman is to begin the form according to the likeness” it receives.⁹ Thus, it is specifically the father’s heat and seed that play the most important role in conception.

The encyclopedists used gendered language that subtly defined the male as normative. According to Cantimpré, if the seed “*remains* on the right side of the womb, a male will be produced,”¹⁰ while “if the seed *settles* in the left part of the womb, a female will be produced.”¹¹ The slight difference in the meaning of the verbs implies that the intention is to reach the right side of the womb. The seed somehow falls short if it only reaches the left side. This is continued in Cantimpré’s stance on deviant conception, which is different than Beauvais’ discussed above. Cantimpré says that “if the semen *went*, not well into the right part, but somewhat into the left side, but nevertheless across in the direction of the right side, an effeminate man is made. If indeed the seed *is distributed* in the left part so that it is somewhat in the direction of the right, a manly woman will be produced.”¹² Cantimpré, then, attributes deviant conception not to a mix of hot sperm with the cold side of the

⁹ Cantimpré I.71, “Intentio enim spermatis masculi est informare ad similitudinem eius a quo separatum est...intentio spermatis mulieris est incipere formam secundum similitudinem eius a quo separatum est.”

¹⁰ Cantimpré I.72, “si in dextra parte matricis *remaneat*, masculus efficitur,”

¹¹ Cantimpré I.72, “si autem in parte matricis sinistra sperma *resederit*, femina efficitur,”

¹² Cantimpré I.72, “Si vero non bene in dextra parte, sed aliquantulum versus sin[i]stram partem, plus tamen versus dextram locatum *fuert* semen, vir effeminatus generatur. Si vero in sinistra parte ita quod aliquantulum versus dextram semen *disponitur*, mulier virilis efficitur.”

womb or vice-versa, but to the sperm being near the middle of the womb. Nonetheless, the verb for producing a male, albeit an effeminate male, *fuert*, connotes more intention than the corresponding verb for a female, *disponitur*. In addition to the nuances of definition, *disponitur* appears here in the passive voice, while *fuert* is in the active, again betokening greater intentionality.

This gendered language is visible throughout the text. The encyclopedias routinely refer to a generic child in the womb as a boy by default.¹³ The sections on the ages of man are just that: the ages of *man*. Anglicus is the one exception to this in that it includes separate chapters on “the girl”, “the daughter”, and so forth, but in the introductory chapter on the estates Anglicus, like the other encyclopedias, uses Isidore’s model tracing human development from infancy to boyhood to youth to manhood to old age; that is, through a male lifecycle.¹⁴ Even at the most nuanced level of diction, then, the encyclopedists considered the conception of a male as opposed to a female to be normative.

In the encyclopedias, heat continues to play a vital role beyond determining the sex of the child. According to Cantimpré, “the human body is produced from thickened blood, as heat and dryness coagulate [it].”¹⁵ The male seed catalyzes the formation when it encounters the coolness of the female contribution, which, whether it is ‘seed’ or menstrual blood, is passive material. After the male seed is implanted, “the digestive potency begins to work, which by heat thickens the seed of the mother.”¹⁶ Thus, the male seed “holds the place of maker,” in contrast to “the seed of the woman and menstrual blood, which holds the place of material.”¹⁷ Anglicus states

¹³ Cantimpré I.72-73, 78-79; Beauvais *Doctrinale* VI.8-9; Beauvais *Naturale* XXX.39, XXXI.76, 80; Anglicus VI.17.

¹⁴ Anglicus VI.6, De puellis; Anglicus VI.8, De filia; Anglicus VI.1.

¹⁵ Cantimpré I.71, “Caro ex sanguine generantur spisso, quam caliditas et siccitas coagulant.”

¹⁶ Cantimpré I.72, “incipit virtus digestiva operari, qu[a]e calore matris semen inspissat.”

¹⁷ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXXI.31, “sperma viri, quod tenet locum factoris...sperma mulieris...qui locum tenet materiei.”

that the father “produces a child similar to himself in species and appearance, especially when the virtue in the seed of the father conquers the virtue in the seed of the mother.”¹⁸ Thus, the encyclopedists saw the father’s maleness, in the form of heat, as providing the catalyst, the impetus, and the form for the process of conception.

In their understanding, children did not have much heat immediately after birth. Anglicus refers to “boys in whom [the blood] is not yet warm.”¹⁹ There is, however, some heat in children. In fact, “the limbs...grow by virtue of the ruling heat in them all the way to the perfection of completion.”²⁰ Heat is thus responsible for human growth and increasing physical strength outside of the womb, as well as inside it. Again, male growth is normative; presumably, females were thought to have enough heat to cause them to grow, though less than men, but this is never stated in the texts, thus reinforcing the normative status of males.

In the encyclopedias, a boy’s heat is thought to increase to the level of a grown man’s during “adolescence...which begins at the fourteenth year. From here man becomes fitted for begetting, and the potency of nature fortifies the seed in him...Alas: from here restraint is loosened, with the body having been dominated by indulgence and desire.”²¹ Thus, the increase of heat at puberty causes two things: the ability to procreate (and thereby become a father), and the desire to do so. It is also at adolescence, however, that “he receives instruction, is placed under the commands of the law and says farewell [to childhood, and] it must be undertaken to wage war sharply against vice, lest his inborn vice lead him to damnable sin.”²² This newfound

¹⁸ Anglicus VI.14, “Generat autem filium sibi similem in specie et etiam in effigie, maxime, quando virtus in semine patris, vincit virtutem in semine matris.”; cf. Goodich 81. See Appendix.

¹⁹ Anglicus VI.1, “pueri, in quibus nondum calet”

²⁰ Anglicus VI.1, “crescunt virtute caloris dominantis in eis usque ad complementi perfectionem.”

²¹ Cantimpré I.80, “Adolescentia...que a quartodecimo anno incipit. Hinc habilis homo sit ad generationem, et seminalem in eo virtutem natura confortat...heu: hinc frena laxantur luxurie et libido dominata corporibus.”

²² Beauvais, *Naturale* XXXI.82, “praeceptum iam capti, et legis imperio subdi valet, suscipendum est contra vitia bellum et acriter gerendum, ne ad damnabilia peccata vitium innatum perducatur.”

responsibility to control desire is produced by the heat of desire, but significantly, the encyclopedists understood the ability to combat it as also derived from that same heat.

In the medieval understanding visible in these encyclopedias, heat is not only a physical force, but is linked to several parts of the personality. Heat is linked to prudence: “men of cold blood are stupid, just as those are prudent in whom warm blood rules. Because of this, old men, in whom now the blood cools, and boys in whom it is not yet warm, understand less.”²³ Nor is it only intelligence. According to Anglicus, “there is more power in [men], and therefore ‘man’ (*vir*) comes from ‘excelling in strength’ (*virium eminentia*), as Isidore says...the muscles of men...[are] suited for stronger actions...because of abundant air and hot blood, naturally the mind of men is more daring than of women.”²⁴ The chapter concludes, “men are warmer and drier than women, of stronger powers, more bold, more clever, more constant, [and] love women more ardently, because of which [male] animals fight for their mates, as Aristotle says.”²⁵ Not only intelligence, but such disparate traits as physical strength, ardor of feeling, and the ability to dominate are listed as male, and explicitly linked to the heat of the male complexion. It is important to note that all these traits are portrayed as positive. While women are characterized as “more envious, more loving, and more malicious...than men,” men’s heat makes them “ardent.”²⁶ All of these traits, also, represent the idea of activity; Anglicus summarizes the masculine as having “the active and forming powers,” the ability to exert influence on the world, an

²³ Anglicus VI.1, “homines frigidi sanguinis stultos esse, sicut prudentes esse, in quibus sanguis calidus dominatur. Unde et senes, in quibus iam sanguis friget, et pueri, in quibus nondum calet, sapiunt minus.”

²⁴ Anglicus VI.12, “in eo enim maior est virtus, et ideo vir a virium eminentia est dictus, ut dicit Isid. ...lacerti maiori robori sunt,...et ideo fortioribus actionibus erunt apti...propter abundantiam spirituum et calidi sanguinis audacior est naturaliter men viri quam mulieris.”

²⁵ Anglicus VI.12, “Sunt igitur viri foeminis calidiores et sicciores...viribus fortiores, animosiores, ingeniosiores constantiores, mulierum zelatores, unde et animalia pugnant pro mulieribus suis, ut dicit Aristot.”

²⁶ Anglicus VI.6, “magis est invida, et magis diligit, et malicia animae magis est in muliere quam in viro.”; cf. Goodich 80.

idea with many implications for defining fatherly responsibilities.

In addition to the idea of heat as an active power in a general sense, the encyclopedias impute sexual significance to heat, as might be imagined from the earlier discussion of heat's role in conception. Not only proximity to the liver, but also the overall heat of a man influences his sexual powers. "If the nature of the testicles should be warm, the desire for indulgence is great, and more males are begotten...if cool, the men are effeminate, and appetite is lacking."²⁷ Sexual desire and the production of male offspring—that is, ability to achieve biological fatherhood—thus comprised a sort of measure of masculinity for the encyclopedists.

Heat also had far-reaching anatomical significance in explaining secondary sex differences. "The suffering of menstruation happens to no man, as it is accustomed to happen to women. Whatever superfluity is brought forth in the body of masculine [ones], is either consumed through intense heat, or released in the whiskers, or purged through exercise."²⁸ Men's exemption from menstruation, then, is linked to their greater heat, as is their ability to produce whiskers. Indeed, the passage from Beauvais quoted above, "if the nature of the testicles should be warm, the desire for indulgence is great, and more males are begotten," continues, "and the whiskers originate opportunely,"²⁹ making the ability to grow whiskers another measure of one's manliness.

Not only was heat thought to grow as the boy reached manhood, it decreased as he passed his prime. Although Anglicus acknowledges that during old age, "wisdom thrives in many," it is also the case that "old men, in whom now the blood

²⁷ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXXI.37, "Si vero natura testiculorum multus erit appetitus luxuriae, et plures gignuntur masculi,...si vero frigida, effoeminati erunt homines, et appetitus deest."

²⁸ Anglicus VI.12, "Nulli viro accidit passio menstrualis, sicut mulieribus accidere consuevit. Quicquid in masculorum corporibus superfluitatis gignitur, aut per intensum calorem consumitur, aut in pilos resolvitur, aut per exercitium evacuator."

²⁹ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXXI.37, "et tempestivem pili oriuntur."

cools...understand less.”³⁰ Old age also “imposes the end of desire.”³¹ Cantimpré, citing Aristotle, agrees that during old age, “there is only a little bit of blood...[and] indulgence is cooled.”³² Heat thus exercised influence even at the end of the male life-cycle by its waning.

In all this, it is apparent that in addition to preferring males over females in their discussions of anatomy and conception, the encyclopedists also exhibited several other instances of hierarchy. To the encyclopedists, the normative human was an adult male in the prime of life, what Cantimpré calls *robor* or “vigor” and Anglicus calls “youth” as opposed to adolescence. Beauvais, too, states that “thirty years is the perfect age in man.”³³ Women have less heat than, specifically, an adult male. Boys lack the heat they will later acquire; old men are losing the heat they once had. With regard to differences in heat and complexion between adult males, the encyclopedists preferred greater heat, but only implicitly. It must be remembered that in medieval scholarly context, having a great deal of sexual desire was not entirely a good thing, since celibacy was a prized virtue. Ironically, though, a man with a great deal of heat was thought more likely to be the father of male children, which were implicitly and explicitly preferred, and more heat implied many other virtues as well, such as intelligence, strength, and ardor. The only limitation on how much heat was desirable was that if male seed is “too hot or cold or dry or moist,” conception is not possible.³⁴ Only the balance necessary for life itself, then, limited the potential amount of heat. Thus, the encyclopedists defined masculinity in opposition to femininity, childhood

³⁰ Anglicus VI.1, “viget sapientia in multis.” “senes, in quibus iam sanguis friget...sapiunt minus.”

³¹ Anglicus VI.1, “imponit etiam finem libidinis.”

³² Cantimpré I.82, “non est nisi paucitas sanguinis...et luxuria refrigescit,”

³³ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXXI.82, “Sicut autem tricesimus annus perfectae aetatis est in hominibus,”

³⁴ Cantimpré I.72, “nimis sit calidum vel frigidum vel siccum vel humidum.”

and old age.³⁵ In addition, heat served as a sort of index of masculinity, an index which could even serve to differentiate between adult males with regard to who is more masculine. This heat played a part in the father's role in conception, but as we shall see, also defined other fatherly roles.

Fighting Sin: The Function of Authority

The importance of heat casts light on aspects of fatherhood that are much less anatomical, as a result of the encyclopedists' correlation of heat with intelligence, strength, and activity, the ability to exert influence on the world. In the encyclopedias, because "the man surpasses the feminine also in reasoning and in clearness of mind...the male surpasses [the female] in authority and power. Indeed, authority of teaching and supervising is conceded to men."³⁶ Men, then, as holders of power due to their greater heat, were thought to have responsibility for administration and instruction. Thus, the same heat that produced desire, closely identified with sin, also was thought to provide the power and intelligence to combat sin.

Again, the link between heat, desire, and intelligence and, therefore, culpability in the encyclopedias is visible throughout the life-cycle. Babies are born sinful, but as Beauvais points out, they are not held to the same standards as adults. He quotes Augustine, who writes that if he cried for food now, as he did when he was a baby, he "would justly be derided and reprehended." However, as a baby, "reason did not allow me to be reprehended, because I was not able to understand reprehension. Therefore the weakness of the members of infants is innocent, not the

³⁵ This same idea is argued much more comprehensively and for a slightly later period in England by Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe*, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

³⁶ Anglicus VI.12, "vir praecedat foeminam, etiam ratione intellectusque perspicuitate...praecellit masculus in autoritate et potestate. Autoritas enim docendi et praesidendi viris conceditur."

mind of infants.”³⁷ Babies, who as we have seen are still lacking in heat, are also lacking in intelligence, and thus are less accountable for their actions.

The encyclopedists thought, however, that as children grew, they became responsive to discipline. The point at which children are able to learn is one of the points where the encyclopedias differ. Anglicus says that a boy “is susceptible to discipline...[his] spirit is easily trained,” but the same chapter states that they live “without care or thought...[they are] excitable and unstable...refusing to concern themselves with what is profitable and useful.”³⁸ It is understandable that a boy could be theoretically capable of learning virtue, but not yet have actually learned much. Beauvais, however, is more ambiguous. On the one hand, it states that “in the regulation of the boy when he emerges from infancy, the whole intention should be towards moderating and making [him] better in his habits,” thus placing the beginning of education in boyhood, as Anglicus does.³⁹ On the other hand, Beauvais says that a boy “because of infirmity of mind [is] not yet capable of instruction,” until “the state of adolescence, in which now he receives instruction,”⁴⁰ which seems to place the beginning of education later. What is clear, however, is that neither text imputes either full-fledged concupiscence—that is, sinful desire motivated by sexuality and heat—or full responsibility to the child. In Anglicus’ view, and to some extent in Beauvais, children lack virtue, but only by accident, as it were. They are seen as more bestial than carnal, more ignorant and inattentive than malicious.

It is during adolescence, in the encyclopedists’ view, that desire was kindled,

³⁷ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXXI.76, “iustissime deridebor ac reprehendat...nec ratio me sinebat reprehendi, quia reprehendentem intelligere non poteram. Imbecillitas ergo membrorum infantilium innocens est, non animus infantium.”

³⁸ Anglicus VI.5, “disciplinae susceptibilis reperitur...animo dociles,” “sine cura et sollicitudine...mobiles et instabiles...utilitatibus intendere recusant”; cf. Goodich 78-79.

³⁹ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXXI.81, “In regimine pueri cum ab infantia emergit, intentio tota sit in eius mores moderando ac meliorando.”

⁴⁰ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXXI.82, “propter infirmitatem mentis nondum praecepti capax...ad aetatem adolescentiae, quae praeceptum iam capit.”

making a person more ready to sin, but also accountable to fight against it. Thus, during boyhood “because of the infirmity of [his] mind, he is not yet capable of instruction, nor is he susceptible to fight against the flesh. But when he will have come to the state of adolescence, in which now he receives instruction, he is placed under the commands of the law and says farewell [to childhood, and] it must be undertaken to wage war sharply against vice, lest his inborn vice lead him to damnable sin.”⁴¹

This war against sin was to be waged through discipline. Although “a very few are of such great blessedness, that from entering adolescence they commit no damnable sin....but with great abundance of spirit overwhelm whatever delights of the flesh are able to be dominated by them,” most people are not so fortunate, and must struggle.⁴² Beauvais quotes from Augustine the principle that “law and instruction keep guard against the darkness of the ignorance with which we are born, and oppose the assaults of desire.”⁴³

It is noteworthy that much of the material on education speaks of boys, not adolescents. By the time the boy reaches maturity, the principles must already be established, or it will be too late. Thus Beauvais, quoting the first-century rhetorician Quintillian, states that “the habits of man actually must be formed at that time when he is unaware of imitation, and submits easily to teaching.”⁴⁴ This is where fatherhood comes in. Children, the encyclopedists thought, needed to learn discipline,

⁴¹ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXXI.82, “propter infirmitatem mentis nondum praecepti capax, nec pugnae contra carnem susceptibilis est. Cum autem ventum fuerit ad aetatem adolescentiae, quae praeceptum iam capit, et legis imperio subdi valet, suscipiendum est contra vitia bellum et acriter gerendum, ne ad damnabilia peccata vitium innatum perducatur.”

⁴² Beauvais, *Naturale* XXXI.82, “Paucissimi vero tantae felicitatis sunt, ut ab ipsa ineunte adolescentia nulla peccata damnabilia...committant, sed magna largitate spiritus quicquid in eis carnali delectatione dominari possit, opprimant.”

⁴³ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXXI.80, “prohibitio et eruditio contra tenebras ignorantie invigilant, cum quibus nascimur et contra cupiditatis impetus opponuntur.”

⁴⁴ Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.9, “Aetas igitur hominis tunc vel maxime formanda est, cum simulandi nescia est, et praecipientibus facillime cedit.”

but did not have the heat to understand that they did. The father, having the culpability of adulthood and ability at administration derived from his masculine heat, must exert his own power on behalf of his children, in order that they might learn discipline for the future, when they become culpable and full of desire.

The encyclopedists' concept of the role of discipline as countering sin stretched across several levels of authority. The education of one's children is important in the texts. Anglicus gives strong significance to the father's role in education in the chapter "on the father." "In youth, [the father] educates [his son] with words, but does not hesitate to correct him with beatings; he places him under the care of tutors, and lest [the son] become proud, he does not show the son a cheerful countenance...The more [the son] is loved by the father, the more diligently he is instructed by him...the greatest care of the parents should be directed toward the education of the sons."⁴⁵ Anglicus sees discipline and correction, then, are seen as essentially loving activities for the sake of preventing vice, not as cruel punishments. This is echoed by Beauvais, which says that "in rebuking the son with whatever harshness, surely paternal love is never lost."⁴⁶ Beauvais also compares those "who do not instruct their sons in the discipline of the Lord, or who do not chastise sinners" to those who neglect their parental duty through abortion or infanticide.⁴⁷

There is, however, a limit to proper parental authority:

It is a sin for the parents to provoke their sons and nursing children to anger, or certainly now to rule over adolescents and those of more mature estates, those who are serious. Therefore, just as submission is

⁴⁵ Anglicus VI.14; Goodich, 82, "in juventute verbis erudit, et verberib[us] corrigere non desistit; sub custodia tutorum ipsum constituit, et ne praesumat, vultum hilarem filio non ostendit...Quanto plus a patre diligitur, tanto ab eo diligentius instruitur...Circa filiorum autem educationem maxima parentum cura dirigitur."

⁴⁶ Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.10, "in corripiendo filium quemlibet asperem, nunquam profecto paternus amor amittitur."

⁴⁷ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXX.41, "qui filios in disciplina Domini non erudiunt, aut peccatores non corripiunt."

ordered in sons, so in parents moderate command [is ordered], so that they may know that they are in charge of them not like slaves, but like sons.⁴⁸

Parents, then, should not cruelly punish their young children, and once the child reaches both a mature “estate” and a maturity of character, a seriousness, the parents’ authority has served its purpose. Parental authority, then, was explicitly compared to authority over slaves or other members of the household, but simultaneously differentiated from it.

Although they are different from sons, the encyclopedias advocate that slaves, too, should take correction from paternal authority willingly. The existence of vice is once again the reason for the exercise of authority. Anglicus notes that “it is characteristic of slave women and of servile personalities, as Rabanus says, to grow proud against their mistresses or masters. And as much as fear does not hold them back, they [will have] a prideful, puffed-up mind against the rule of superiors.”⁴⁹ A master’s authority, then, prevents rebellion and chaos. However, authority does not only have a negative use, as appears in the chapters on slave women and the chapter dedicated specifically to bad slaves. The notion of discipline also appears in the chapter devoted entirely to *good* slaves. Anglicus lists many traits of a good slave—obedience, dedication to the master’s well-being, and so forth—then adds, “The same good slave, having been corrected by his master, does not grumble against his correction, nor complain; indeed, he knows that the good master justly convicts his

⁴⁸ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXX.41, “Peccatum parentum filios atque lactentes ad iracundiam provocare, aut certe iam adolescentibus et maturioris aetatis, ea quae gravia sunt, imperare. Sicut ergo in filiis obsequium, sic in parentibus moderatum iubetur imperium, ut non quasi servis sed quasi filiis praeesse se noverint.”

⁴⁹ Anglicus VI.11, “Est autem proprium ancillarum et servilium personarum, ut dicit Rabanus, contra suas dominas vel dominos inolescere. et quando metus eos non preprimit, contra superiorum imperium tumido animo superbite.”

slave. And this kind of conviction he accepts towards perfection.”⁵⁰ The same role of disciplining in order to instill virtue that fathers as custodians of heat and active power had toward their children, then, a master had toward his slaves, even his good slaves.

Did the encyclopedists consider women to be subject to this same authority? The encyclopedias exhibit much less emphasis on a man disciplining his wife. Indeed, women sometimes appear as discipliners in their own right, as when Anglicus says that “the more the mother suffers during the birth of the child, the more she enjoys it and loves to teach it.”⁵¹ Again, it states that a nurse “instructs the ignorant boy in speaking.”⁵² The fact that the woman is teaching the infant to speak, however, is also significant, because this establishes that the child is still an infant, and thus not yet involved with the moral instruction described for older children. It also shows that the words for the stages of life were not rigorously technical terms: a child who is unable to talk is by definition an *infans*, according to Anglicus itself, not a *puer* as it is called in this passage. Anglicus does make one reference, however, to the idea that in a husband’s care of his wife “from love and also zeal he corrects her.”⁵³ This occurs in the midst of an extremely pro-marital passage, which will be discussed in more detail below. Here, it is sufficient to note that once again, the encyclopedists saw the husband’s patriarchal discipline as a loving action, not a repressive one.

The encyclopedias also link the father’s active powers to other aspects of managing the household besides regulating the behavior of its members. As we have

⁵⁰ Anglicus VI.17, “Item servus bonus a domino correptus, contra corripientem se, non est murmurans, neq[ue] querulosus, scit enim quod bonus dominus iuste arguit servum suum. Et talis quidem arguitio sibi accidit ad profectum.”

⁵¹ Anglicus VI.7, “foetum suum tenerrime diligit, amplectitur, osculatur, solícite nutrit et fovet...quanto autem mater pro puero dolores patitur graviores, tanto plus natum puerum diligit, et diligentius nutrit atque instruit”; cf. Goodich, *Bartholomaeus Anglicus on Child-Rearing*, 80.

⁵² Anglicus VI.9, “ad loquendum instruit puerum nescientem.”

⁵³ Anglicus VI.13, “ex amore et etiam zelo ipsam corrigit.” See Appendix.

seen already, in the understanding of the encyclopedias, “the male prevails with respect to natural activity, because natural activity thrives more in the male generally than in the female; indeed there is more power in him.”⁵⁴ One manifestation of this ability to do work is the father’s ability to promote prosperity and increase the wealth of the household, which is linked to his responsibility to provide for his sons.

Anglicus’ chapter “on the father” states that the father “does not fail to acquire for the sons and to augment the inheritance, he improves his acquisitions, and he leaves the improvements to his sons, his heirs. Truly, “father” (*pater*) is called from “feeding” (*pascendo*), who feeds the sons in their youth,” attributing to the father the responsibility to provide for his children.⁵⁵ The chapter devotes considerable attention to questions of inheritance. In addition, Beauvais includes material on inheritance in the book on economics, in the chapter “on the mutual display of parents and sons.”⁵⁶ This chapter cites the *Summa* of Azo, one of the very few explicit references to canon law in the passages examined here. The father’s responsibility to exert authority in order to produce virtue in one’s subordinates was thus paired with his responsibility to exert effort in order to provide inheritance for them.

This emphasis on authority as a tool with which to combat vice and chaos was linked, not only to family relations or the establishment of a household, but to the nature of government itself on a higher level. Both Beauvais and Anglicus state that human authority is a result of sin, that originally God “willed rational things having been made in his image, to rule over irrational things; not that men [should rule] over men, but over cattle. Thence, the first laws were established, more as herdsmen of

⁵⁴ Anglicus VI.12, “prevalet masculus quoad naturalem operationem, quia naturalis operatio plus viget in masculo generaliter quam in foemina, in eo enim maior est virtus.”

⁵⁵ Anglicus VI.14, “pro filiis acquirere et hereditatem autere non desistit, acquisitam excolit, et excultam filiis heredibus derelinquit. Pater vero qui ab pascendo est dictus, qui pascit filios in eorum iuventute.” See Appendix.

⁵⁶ Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.8.

cattle than kings of men.”⁵⁷ Augustine, quoted by Beauvais, pointed out that slavery is always “imposed onto a sinner; hence on no occasion do we read in the Scriptures the word “slave,” before Noah, the just, punished the sin of his son.”⁵⁸ Servitude is thus linked to discipline, and specifically to fatherly discipline. Anglicus explains further the nature of authority: “nature makes all men equals, but the stewardship prefers some to others for different merits, by the justice of God, in order that humans may fear to sin from fear [of punishment], who do not fear divine justice.”⁵⁹ Human authority on the basis of merit (or power), then, serves to restrict sin even where divine authority would not.

The patriarchal authority given by masculine heat extends beyond even one’s household to ever wider levels of government. Anglicus’ chapters on the master use the word *dominus*, which means not only the master of slaves, but also the seigneurial lord. The traits the chapter “on the good master (or lord) or rule” imputes to the *dominus* are typical of a lord, not merely a master, such as defending followers from enemies, dispensing justice, and so on.⁶⁰ The analogy between paternal power and governmental power’ purpose to impose peace and order is summed up in Beauvais’ chapter “on preserving the peace of the house,” drawn again from Augustine. The chapter argues that even robbers desire peace at home, and explicitly states that peace is the goal of a man given the governance “of a city, or of a nation...just as he wanted

⁵⁷ Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.11, “Rationalem factum ad imaginem suam voluit nisi irrationabilibus dominari; non hominem homini, sed hominem pecori. Inde primi iusti, pastores pecorum magis, quam reges hominum constituti sunt.” The quotation is from Augustine, *City of God* 51.19. It is repeated almost verbatim in Anglicus VI.18, who attributes it to Gregory, *Super Genesim* on Genesis 9:2.

⁵⁸ Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.11, “imposita peccatori; proinde nusquam scripturarum legimus (servuum) antequam hoc vocabulum Noe iustus, peccatum filii vindicaret.”

⁵⁹ Anglicus VI.18, “Omnes enim homines natura aequales generavit, se provariis meritis, aliis alios iusta Dei dispensatio praeponit, ut humana formidine peccare metuant, qui divinam iustitiam non formidant.”

⁶⁰ Anglicus VI.18, “De bono Domino sive dominio.”

those of his house to serve him.”⁶¹ Political and domestic peace are thus a part of the same function of power to limit sin. The source of this power, this ability to exert influence, is the masculine power drawn from the heat of complexion, examined above. The anatomical nature of fatherhood as its role in conception, in catalyzing and forming the child, was thus seen as continuous with the father’s later responsibility to discipline his child towards virtue, and the normative, active man’s responsibility to supervise his servants and household, as well as a lord or ruler’s responsibility to punish wrongdoers.

The Good of Marriage and Family: More Than a Remedy

If such is the view of masculinity and more specifically fatherhood in the encyclopedias, what of affection or tenderness? Was the encyclopedists’ view of family life merely governmental, patriarchal and cold? Was family merely a duty? Was it merely a remedy for concupiscence? There is quite clear evidence that this was not the case. Instead, the medieval ambiguity toward sex discussed earlier is visible here, along with the encyclopedists’ attempts to balance that tension. Although attitudes towards sexuality and marriage are not identical to views on fatherhood, they are certainly related, and thus we will first examine the chauvinistic and anti-marital material and then move on to evidence for positive views of sexuality, marriage, and finally, familial relationships, including fatherhood.

Were women seen simply as another group to be disciplined? Were the encyclopedists given to the misogynistic, anti-marital tradition of some parts of earlier Church history? From what has been discussed above, it is already eminently clear that the encyclopedists were chauvinistic, considering men normative and women

⁶¹ Beauvais, *Doctrinale* VI.13, “vel civitatis, vel gentis, ita ut sic ei servirent, quemadmodum sibi domi suae serviri volebat.” The quotation is from Augustine, *City of God*, 19.12.

inferior. But several important qualifications are also evident. The large anti-marital sections in Beauvais describe having to guard one's wife against adulterers, and the trials of in-laws. But even in the sections about quarrelling with one's wife and lists of wifely vices there is no mention of attempting to discipline one's wife. Instead, there are mentions of having to cajole her. The only mention of discipline is the phrase in Anglicus, "from love and also zeal he corrects her."⁶² This single phrase receives nothing close to the amount of attention devoted to training children. The encyclopedias may sometimes be chauvinist and hostile to women, but they do not emphasize a need to punish them.

Despite the presence of anti-matrimonial material and their misogynistic slant, the encyclopedists also bestowed a positive value on marriage as a part of the growing positive sexuality of the thirteenth century, and especially in reaction to the anti-marital teaching of the Cathars. Beauvais, in fact, specifically alludes to

certain heretics who ought to be suppressed, who say that intercourse is not able to be done without sin. But we say, according to universal opinion, that marriage was instituted in paradise, when it was said to the man, *having been ravished by ecstasy*: Because of this man will abandon his father and mother and will cling to his wife, and the two will be one flesh [my emphasis].⁶³

In alleging that marriage was instituted in paradise, Vincent was already aligning himself with the growingly positive sexuality of the thirteenth century—the "universal opinion" to which he refers, though it was actually a quite recent development, as shown in Chapter Three. He then went even further. The phrase in italics does not appear in the text of Genesis, which he is quoting directly, and it uses two very strong words: *extasim*, or ecstasy, and *rapto*, the word for seizing or grabbing, but also

⁶² Anglicus VI.13, "ex amore et etiam zelo ipsam corrigit." See Appendix.

⁶³ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXX.30, "quosdam haeretics confutari, qui concubitum dicunt sine peccato non posse fieri. Nos autem secundum opinionem communem dicimus, quod in paradise coniugium institutum est, cum viro *in extasim rapto* dictum est: 'Propter hoc relinquet homo patrem suum et matrem, et adhaerebit uxori sua, et erunt duo in carne una.'"

abduction and even rape. It thus represents a view of intense delight in sexuality that is positive in the extreme. Later in the chapter, Beauvais writes that “the delight with which male and female unite their souls in the sanctity of marriage is a sign (or sacrament) and signal of the delight with which God is united to the rational soul within [us], through the infusion of his grace and sharing his spirit.”⁶⁴ The allegorical nature of marriage, as representing the soul’s union with Christ, then, served to bolster a more positive view of marriage, and specifically marital delight.

There is also a passage in which Beauvais avoids the usual gendered language that prefers males to females. In discussing the permanence of marriage, it mandates “*ut coniugium non separetur, et dimissus, aut dimissa;*” that is, “that the spouse not be divided and he be sent away or she be sent away, nor be joined to another.”⁶⁵ In Latin, the word “spouse,” *coniugium*, is neuter. The unit rendered “be sent away,” *dimissus*, is a gendered adjective, and the passage in Beauvais explicitly includes two adjectives: one masculine, *dimissus*, and one feminine, *dimissa*, thus highlighting the fact that wives have a right to retain their husbands as well as the reverse. This is an example of the ambiguity surrounding marriage, in which women were considered inferior in some ways, but equal to men in other ways.

Again, in discussing the relative sinfulness of intercourse, Beauvais displays a positive evaluation of sexuality. Of the four reasons for intercourse, three of them (offspring, rendering the marital debt, and avoiding fornication) are meritorious. The fourth is desire or concupiscence, the impulse that was regarded with such deep suspicion for much of the medieval period. Simple lust is a mortal sin, but Beauvais writes that marital sex “is venial if the man knows her with spousal affection, nor

⁶⁴ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXX.30, “dilectio qua masculus et foemina in sanctitate coniugii animis uniuntur, sacramentum est, et signum dilectionis, qua Deus rationale animae intus per infusionem gratiae suae et spiritus sui participatione coniungitur.”

⁶⁵ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXX.40,

would [want to] know the woman unless she were herself.”⁶⁶ That is, desire specifically for one’s spouse is not as sinful as simple desire. Hence, “a holy man meritoriously knows his wife, and is pleasing to her with delight.”⁶⁷ Sexual delight, according to Beauvais, could be experienced by a holy man and his wife. This certainly sets Beauvais apart from the anti-marital stances of the Cathars and some previous medieval academic views on the subject.

Anglicus, too, paints a picture of positive sexuality. Virtually the entirety of the chapter “on the man” is given over to an amazingly affective description of courtship and marriage.⁶⁸ Anglicus describes the husband as a man who by his pledge “holds an inseparable familiarity of life with the wife, pays the debt to her, guards the faith of her bed, and does not dismiss her for another.”⁶⁹ It is the man’s responsibilities to the woman, and not vice-versa that are highlighted here. During courtship, the man whom Anglicus describes

wins over his chosen bride to his love by gifts and presents...exposes himself to many games and spectacles...whatever he is asked to do or make for her love, he does immediately with vigor; he denies nothing [to anyone], who asks him to do anything in the name of his bride...he addresses her flatteringly...with ardent eyes.⁷⁰

He is thus given to affection, to romantic love even at the expense of his dignity.

Anglicus continues:

At last, finally agreeing with her...he takes her into marriage...he leads his bride in, and he undertakes and receives [her] to the secrets of marriage, establishes her as his companion of table and bed, [and]

⁶⁶ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXX.40, “Veniale siquidem est, si vir eam affectu coniugali cognoscat, nec illam cognosceret, nisi sua esset.”

⁶⁷ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXX.40, “Sic etiam vir sanctus meritorie cognoscit uxorem, et ei placet delectatio.”

⁶⁸ A complete text of the chapter, with translation, appears in the Appendix.

⁶⁹ Anglicus VI.13, “ut individuum cum uxore vitae consuetudinem teneat, ut debitum ei reddat, et fidem thori sui custodiat, et eam pro altera non dimittat.”

⁷⁰ Anglicus VI.13, “muneribus et donis ad sui amoris amplexum sponsam allicit...ludis et spectaculis se exponit...quicquid etiam rogatur dare vel facere pro eius amore, pro viribus statim facit, nulli denegat aliquid, qui sub nomine sponsae rem aliquam sibi fieri petit. Blandae eam alloquitur...ardenti oculo,”

makes her mistress of his property and household; henceforth he manages responsibility or care of his wife not less than of he himself. From love and zeal he corrects her, and also he summons and places protection around her.⁷¹

Not only does the man seek the woman's consent in this passage, he makes her the companion, not only of his bed, but of his table, an indication of a companionate relationship, what the encyclopedists call a "single habit of life" as well as sexual union. Making her "mistress of his property and household," too, seems to indicate a high degree of partnership. Anglicus remarks that "no one is happier than the man having a good woman"—a far cry from the anti-marital tracts of Theophrastus and Jerome.⁷²

It is at this point that Anglicus inserts the list of the vices of an evil wife: "quarrelsome, addicted to drink, luxurious, of many desires, contrary to him" and so forth.⁷³ As discussed in a previous chapter, the point of this strategy seems to be to temper the optimism, lest the text be thought *too* pro-marital. It finishes, however, with a list of wifely virtues. The list of virtues is itself chauvinist. The woman is expected to be "humble and submissive, by which she is in obedience to her husband...cautious in speech, pure in appearance...shy in public, pleasant with her husband, [a woman] who by well-arranged habits more than curly hair, by virtues more than beautiful clothes desires to please her man," all virtues which imply her inferiority and submission.⁷⁴ There are, however, also more independent virtues. She is to be "affable and benign to her servants...circumspect and prudent in caution,

⁷¹ Anglicus VI.13, "Tandem in eandem finaliter consentiens... in coniugem eam ducit...sponsam introducit, et ad secreta thalami recipit et admittit, sociam mensae et thori eam statuit, eam dominam pecuniae suae et familiae facit, deinde non minus uxoris suae quam suiipsius causam vel etiam curam gerit, ex amore et etiam zelo ipsam corrigit, et etiam custodiam circa eam adhibet et apponit."

⁷² Anglicus VI.13, "Viro autem bonam mulierem habente nullus est felicior."

⁷³ Anglicus VI.13, "rixosam, ebriosam, luxuriosam, multivolam, sibi contrariam."

⁷⁴ Anglicus VI.13, "humilis et subdita, quo ad obsequium mariti...cauta in affatu, pudica in aspectu...verecunda in publico, iucunda cum marito...quae plus compositis moribus quam tortis crinibus, plus virtutibus quam pulcris vestibus studet placere viro suo."

strong and patient in supporting, attentive and careful in her tasks...honest in deeds, mature in reproach,” and so on.⁷⁵ Even the phrase “pleasant to her husband,” suggests a level of familiarity and intimacy that is at odds with the idea of the husband as an autocratic ruler. Thus, although it is still somewhat chauvinist and condescending regarding gender roles, the passage depicts a great deal of affection between spouses.

What is visible in all these passages is not an outright denial of delight, but a cautious, almost desperate concern to keep it in check. Delight may be acceptable, but unmitigated delight is still not something to be trusted. Thus, marital affection can be practiced by the holy, but “the fierce lover of his wife is an adulterer.”⁷⁶ Thus, “the wise man ought to love his spouse by reason, not with emotion, lest the attack of delight may rule [him].”⁷⁷ Thus the strategy, discussed in Chapter Four, of juxtaposing pro-marital with anti-marital material. The concern in all these cases is not to exclude delight, but to make sure it stays under the control of reason, a trait which, again, is associated with heat and masculinity. In this way, the cautiously positive sexuality of the encyclopedists connected to the struggle against disorder and sin elsewhere. The man was expected not only to regulate his children, but to regulate himself.

The encyclopedias also clearly describe love and affection between parents and their children. Beauvais uses an analogy to explain why parents love their children more than the reverse:

Because in plants and in trees there is fluid, which is love in men, that same fluid ascends from the roots in plants, but does not return from the plant to the roots, but conversely is transmitted in the seed. Thus, love ascends from the parents to the sons, but does not return from the

⁷⁵ Anglicus VI.13, “affabilis et benigna, quo ad domesticos...circumspecta et prudens in praecavendis, fortis et patiens in sustinendis, sedula et diligens in agendis...honestas in gestus matura in incessu.”

⁷⁶ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXX.40, “vehemens amator uxoris adulter est.”

⁷⁷ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXX.38, “Sapiens autem vir iudicio debet amare coniugem non affectu, ne regat voluptatis impetus.”

children to the parents. Indeed, parents love their sons, but not as they are loved by their children; in fact rather those children transmit the emotion to their own sons having been created.⁷⁸

Familial love, then, not only exists, but parental love continues, even though it is to some degree thankless. That is, the encyclopedists saw it as being passed on to future generations rather than simply returned from the children to their parents.

Anglicus, too, describes a great deal of family affection. The word “‘daughter’ (*filia*), just as ‘son’ (*filius*) is called from ‘cherishing’ (*fovendo*), because the mother cherishes her.”⁷⁹ Though fathers have been the focus of this thesis, Anglicus also writes that the mother “loves her infant very much, embraces, kisses, and lovingly nurses and feeds it...the more the mother suffers during the birth of the child, the more she enjoys it and loves to teach it.”⁸⁰ However, just as the household means more than biological family, affection exists between more than biological family members. Anglicus notes that “Like a mother, the nurse is happy when the child is happy.”⁸¹ Nor is affection merely a female emotion, as shown in his highly affective chapter on the father.⁸² The father “loves his offspring so much that he even takes food from himself in order to feed it...lest [the son] be prideful, [he] does not show his son a cheerful countenance. He loves him as much as himself, and customarily fastens his gaze upon him.”⁸³ Thus, the father in the passage feels he ought to present a stern face

⁷⁸ Beauvais, *Naturale* XXX.39, “Quod in herbis, et in arboribus est humor, hoc est in hominibus amor, humor quidem de radicibus ascendit in herbam, de herba autem ad radices non revertitur; sed rursus in semen transmittitur. Sic et charitas de parentibus ascendit ad filios, de filiis autem non revertitur ad parentes. Parentes enim filios suos diligunt, sed non sic a filiis diliguntur, quin potius illi filii ad filios sibi procreandos affectum transmittunt.”

⁷⁹ Anglicus VI.8, “Filia sicut et filius a fovendo est dicta, eo quod mater eam fovet,”

⁸⁰ Anglicus VI.7, “foetum suum tenerrime diligit, amplectitur, osculatur, solícite nutrit et fovet...quanto autem mater pro puero dolores patitur graviore, tanto plus natum puerum diligit, et diligentius nutrit atque instruit.”; cf. Goodich, *Bartholomaeus Anglicus on Child-Rearing*, 80.

⁸¹ Anglicus VI.9, “Unde nutrix ad modum matris congaudet puero gaudenti”; cf. Goodich, 81.

⁸² The chapter is translated in its entirety in the Appendix.

⁸³ Anglicus VI.14, “foetum suum diligit in tantum, ut etiam nutrimentum sibi subtrahat, ut nutriat foetum suum...ne praesumat, vultum hilarem filio non ostendit, filium sibi similem magis diligit, et in ipsum oculum consuevit sigere”; cf. Goodich, 82.

specifically to prevent the child from falling into the vice of pride. Nonetheless, despite the stern face of patriarchal discipline, Anglicus depicts him as full of deep-seated emotional attachment to his children.

In exploring the many sections dealing with fatherhood in the encyclopedias, a coherent, if complicated picture has emerged. The encyclopedists saw fatherhood as a man's responsibility to use his innate heat and active power to impart form and order to his offspring. This took place during conception through the male seed and during childhood through discipline in the interest of cultivating virtue. This active power represented the man's ability and responsibility to war against sin once he reached maturity, and it took many forms. The rational power of administration in the household and teaching was one part. The discipline of biological children and servants was another part. At higher levels, it might take the form of exercising power to govern and punish evil in order to produce peace and order. But these responsibilities were not only duties to be exercised autocratically. The encyclopedists saw both sexuality and marriage through increasingly positive eyes, allowing for delight, although delight should always be disciplined in order to prevent desire from running unchecked. Throughout, an affectionate and heart-felt desire for the welfare of subordinates at least theoretically motivated the regulatory actions of the ideal father depicted by the encyclopedists.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

Following the examination of the texts, the final chapter will explore the reception history of the texts, summarize the findings, and make some speculations about their applicability. Not only were the texts used by mendicants; they were also translated and printed in various vernaculars well into the early modern period. This means that the concept of fatherhood as an expression of anatomical heat, implying a responsibility to promote order in the world, may be applicable in the intellectual sector of society for centuries both before and after the lifetimes of the encyclopedists.

The Reception History of the Texts

Once these encyclopedias were produced, how were they used, and by whom? The texts were used not only by near-contemporaries of the encyclopedists, but by succeeding generations of readers. Here we must return to treating the texts separately, though one encyclopedia may exemplify what happened to the others.

The stated intention of the encyclopedists was that their works be used as preaching aids. Peter Binkley, however, has pointed out some potential problems with this use of the encyclopedias.¹ Medieval preachers, Binkley argues, were concerned to portray a chaotic, broken world in order to emphasize the need for repentance. In that respect, the discourse of preaching sometimes bore more resemblance to canon law,

¹ Peter Binkley, "Preachers Response to Thirteenth-Century Encyclopaedism," in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts: Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1-4 July 1996*, ed. Peter Binkley (New York: Brill, 1997), 75-88.

which, as far as the canonists were concerned, existed in order to curb disorder, than to encyclopedias, with their serene, ordered schema of the world. This fact is illustrated by John Bromyard's *Tractatus juris civilis et canonici*, a Dominican preaching aid compiled entirely from canon and civil law texts.² In addition, encyclopedias tend to focus on the natural world and leave the moralization to the preacher, whereas many other preaching aids do just the reverse.³ For the mendicants, however, there was a continuum between study and preaching, and the encyclopedias certainly fell somewhere along this, though their use may not always have been purely preaching.⁴ Thus, monastic library catalogs sometimes list copies of the encyclopedias under "philosophy," and sometimes under "sermons and sermon material."⁵

Michael Twomey has argued that in the medieval period encyclopedias, including Cantimpré, Anglicus and Beauvais, had three main uses. First, they were used as texts in schools beginning in the seventh century and continuing throughout the medieval period. Although the three encyclopedias examined here were not listed as standard required texts in later medieval universities, they were used there on a more informal basis.⁶ Second, encyclopedias' function as preaching aids began around the turn of the thirteenth century, placing these three encyclopedias at the forefront of that development. Third, they appeared in private libraries beginning in the fourteenth century.⁷ Furthermore, all three works were widely used for centuries

² John Bromyard, *Tractatus juris civilis et canonici (Opus trivium)*, London British Library MS Royal 10.C.x; cited in Binkley, "Preachers Response to Thirteenth-Century Encyclopaedism," 75, 83-4;

³ Binkley, "Preachers Response to Thirteenth-Century Encyclopaedism," 84.

⁴ Binkley, "Preachers Response to Thirteenth-Century Encyclopaedism," 87.

⁵ Michael Twomey, "Towards a Reception History of Western Medieval Encyclopedias in England before 1500" in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts: Proceedings of the second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1-4 July 1996*, ed. Peter Binkley (New York: Brill, 1997), 350.

⁶ Twomey, "Towards a Reception History," 329-332; Michael C. Seymour, "Some Medieval French Readers of *De Proprietatibus Rerum*," *Scriptorium: Revue Internationale des Études Relatives aux Manuscrits* 28 no. 1 (1974): 103.

⁷ Twomey, "Towards a Reception History," 329, 358; Michael C. Seymour, "Some Medieval French Readers of *De Proprietatibus Rerum*," 102.

after their original composition, although in different ways. When printing began, all three went through several printed editions, as well as being translated into and printed in various vernaculars.

Thomas' work achieved early circulation, as shown by the fact that Beauvais used *Liber de Natura Rerum* in his own work. Cantimpré was translated into French, German and Dutch throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.⁸ In fact, "in German-speaking regions, the 'Liber de Natura Rerum' of Thomas of Cantimpré played the role that the encyclopedia of Bartholomaeus filled in France and England."⁹

In the same way, it is clear that Beauvais enjoyed considerable circulation in the medieval period, though it was used more for its historical than for its scientific sections.¹⁰ Manuscripts of Beauvais are found in Cistercian and Benedictine libraries as well as Dominican libraries. A fellow Dominican, Adam of Clermont, prepared an abbreviated version of the *Historiale* shortly after Beauvais' death as a more convenient handbook for preaching.¹¹ Dominican texts from as far away as Germany, Siena, and Spain demonstrate knowledge of Beauvais' text.¹² The *Speculum Maius* appears in Dominican library catalogues from Italy, Prague, and Germany through the fifteenth century in manuscript form as well as in incunabula.¹³ Beauvais thus had a

⁸ Twomey, "Towards a Reception History," 196-8.

⁹ Heinz Meyer, *Die Enzyklopädie des Bartholomeus Anglicus: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte von 'De Proprietatibus Rerum'* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag: 2000), 393.

¹⁰ J. B. Voorbij, "The *Speculum Historiale*: Some Aspects of its Genesis and Manuscript Tradition," in *Vincent of Beauvais and Alexander the Great: Studies on the Speculum Maius and its Translations into Medieval Vernaculars*, eds. W. J. Aerts, E. R. Smits, and J. B. Voorbij, Mediaevalia Groningana 7 (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1986), 10.

¹¹ Gregory G. Guzman, "The Testimony of Medieval Dominicans Concerning Vincent of Beauvais," in *Lector et Compilator: Vincent de Beauvais, Frère Prêcheur, un Intellectuel et son Milieu au XIIIe Siècle*, eds. Serge Lusignan and Monique Paulmier-Foucart, Rencontres à Royaumont 9 (Grâne: Editions Créaphis, 1997), 303-5.

¹² Guzman, "The Testimony of Medieval Dominicans," 308-310.

¹³ Guzman, "The Testimony of Medieval Dominicans," 317.

continuing circulation, despite the fact that “any one part of the large *Speculum*, let alone the whole quadrupartite version, would have been very expensive; thus one could expect to find copies only in the larger and more important houses of the begging friars.”¹⁴

Heinz Meyer has used marginal notes in early manuscripts of Anglicus to argue that it was indeed used as a handbook for preachers.¹⁵ Gerald E. Se Boyar’s “Bartholomaeus Anglicus and his Encyclopaedia” traces the historiography surrounding Anglicus’ mistaken identity with the Glanville family and erroneous dating of his encyclopedia to the fourteenth century.¹⁶ Anglicus was widespread in France and Italy even in manuscript form.¹⁷ John Trevisa’s translation of Anglicus boasts the precise distinction of being the first English book printed on English-made paper.¹⁸ Many English ecclesiastics and university scholars, as well as a few prominent laymen, owned manuscripts of Anglicus and donated them to various libraries and religious houses.¹⁹ Anglicus also appeared in many editions in both Latin and various vernaculars up through the fifteenth century, though never in German.²⁰ Anglicus is considered to be the most popular medieval encyclopedia, due to its superior organization and possibly its lucid and streamlined style, as opposed to the copious discussions of Beauvais and the brevity of Cantimpré. One scholar has

¹⁴ Guzman, “The Testimony of Medieval Dominicans,” 321.

¹⁵ Heinz Meyer, “Bartholomäus Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*: Selbstverständnis und Rezeption,” *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur: Mit Anzeiger für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur* 117 no. 4(1988), 237-274.

¹⁶ Gerald E. Se Boyar, “Bartholomaeus Anglicus and his Encyclopaedia,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 19 (1920), 168-89.

¹⁷ Michael C. Seymour, “Some Medieval French Readers of *De Proprietatibus Rerum*,” 100-103.

¹⁸ Howell J. Heaney, Lotte Hellinga, and Richard Leslie Hills, *Three Lions and the Cross of Lorraine: Bartholomaeus Anglicus, John of Trevisa, John Tate, Wynkyn de Worde, and De Proprietatibus Rerum: A Leaf Book, with Essays* (Newtown, Penn.: Bird & Bull Press, 1992).

¹⁹ Michael C. Seymour, “Some Medieval English Owners of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*,” *The Bodleian Library Record* 9 no. 3(1974): 156-165.

²⁰ Michael W. Twomey, “Appendix: Medieval Encyclopedias,” in *Medieval Christian Literary Imagery: A Guide to Interpretation*, eds. R. E. Kaske, Arthur Groos, and Michael W. Twomey, Toronto Medieval Bibliographies 11 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 194-6.

concluded that “Bartholomaeus’ work was found in practically every European collection in the fifteenth century.”²¹ It was cited in such places as devotional works, travel literature, treatises on government, historical works, and the *Canterbury Tales*.²²

Anglicus’ popularity is significant due to its differences from the other two encyclopedias. Anglicus is the most pro-marital of the three; it does not quote from the anti-matrimonial tradition of Theophrastus and Jerome, and the chapter “on the man” includes the highly affective description of companionate marriage discussed in the previous chapter. It also discusses the various estates of man at greater length than the other encyclopedias, including female estates like the girl and the nurse. It would be ludicrous to suppose that Anglicus was preferred solely on the basis of its treatment of fatherhood, or to assert that the dissemination of Anglicus somehow single-handedly insured the triumph of companionate marriage in Europe. Nonetheless, the text that most fully embraced the increasingly positive sexuality of the thirteenth century also enjoyed great success in many areas of Europe, both conforming to and bolstering the trend towards more affective sexuality. Thus, the treatments of fatherhood in all three of these works, including their differences, circulated in Europe for centuries and became the background for discussions of the family in the early modern period.

The Findings and Their Relevance

A close examination of the treatment of fatherhood in these three

²¹ P. Kibre, “The Intellectual Interests Reflected in Libraries of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 7(1946): 284-5; cited in Anthony S.G. Edwards, “Bartholomaeus Anglicus’ *De Proprietatibus Rerum* and Medieval English Literature.” *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 222 no. 1(1985): 121.

²² Anthony S.G. Edwards, “Bartholomaeus Anglicus’ *De Proprietatibus Rerum* and Medieval English Literature,” 121-128.

encyclopedias has revealed the complex and multi-valent cultural “shape” given to fatherhood among thirteenth-century academics. Yet disparate as some of the different layers of fatherhood seem, they are actually strongly linked into a chain of related principles impacting various aspects of human life, via the medieval notion of heat as a metaphor for active and formative power. Thus, in the views collected and expressed by the encyclopedists, males, as the normative custodians of heat, imparted physical form to their offspring through the process of conception. They also had a responsibility to discipline their children in order to counteract the chaotic nature with which they were born, in order that their children, specifically their sons, might virtuously and responsibly use the power derived from their own increasing heat as they reached adolescence. The responsibility to discipline sin was seen as a patriarchal task that extended beyond one’s own offspring to other members of the household, such as slaves, and to all people under one’s lordship or government all the way up to the responsibility of sovereigns to their subjects. In this way, medieval scholars linked a variety of ideas about anatomy, sexuality, household economics, government, ethics and personal conduct, theology and the nature of humanity via the concept of fatherhood.

These findings coincide with the studies of medieval conceptions of gender by Thomas Laqueur and Ruth Mazo Karras, both discussed in the introduction. As Laqueur argues, physical sex characteristics were understood in terms of abstract categories of gender. From these encyclopedias, it is not entirely clear that gender was a more fundamental concern than sexuality; rather, gender and sexuality were fused far more closely than they are in modern scientific understandings. Issues of anatomy and personality, sexual characteristics and behavior, were all understood to be part of a continuous structure. Second, as both Laqueur and Karras point out, maleness was

considered normative. Childhood, femininity, and even old age were interpreted as lesser forms of the heat and strength of an adult male. The views in the encyclopedias are thus consistent with other scholarship on medieval understandings of gender and family life.

The broader relevance of the views of fatherhood visible in the encyclopedias warrants serious consideration. There are several key questions to consider. First, how widely influential were these views in their own time? It seems that the ideas described here enjoyed at least some circulation among the lay aristocracy, as they are occasionally evident in chivalric literature. *The Story of Merlin*, for example, tells the reader that Galahad becomes almost unstoppably powerful in battle “for he was hot with anger,” thus linking heat with strength and masculine power, specifically the martial and chivalric virtue of prowess.²³ Again, in *Lancelot do Lac*, we find the theological idea that at first, men did not rule over each other, “but when envy and greed began to grow in the world, and force began to overcome justice...they established protectors and defenders over themselves...to deter the strong from their wrongdoing.”²⁴ The account gives the same justification for power that the encyclopedias do: the need to combat disorder and wrongdoing. A great deal of chivalric literature was written by clerics, it is true, but lay aristocrats were significant consumers of it. I am not arguing that the encyclopedias (or the authorities upon which they drew) were the cause or the sole progenitors of this type of ideas, but rather that these different types of sources partook of and therefore exhibit a largely similar cultural outlook.

²³ Rupert Pickens, trans. *The Story of Merlin*, in *Lancelot-Grail*, I, gen. ed. Norris Lacy (New York, 1993), 336; H. Oskar Sommer, ed. *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances Edited from Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 7 vols. (Washington, D.C. 1909), 2: 307; cited in Richard Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 144.

²⁴ Corin Corley, trans., *Lancelot of the Lake* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 52; Elspeth Kennedy, ed., *Lancelot do Lac*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 1:142-3; cited in Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe*, 201.

Second, how far down the social scale did these views extend? While it is obvious that the average farmer did not have an intimate knowledge of Galenic anatomy or Augustine's theology, medieval scholarly endeavor was not merely speculative. The mendicant orders, via preaching, and canon lawyers, via the courts, were energetically intent on disseminating their views to the rest of society and indeed, procuring conformity to their prescriptive views. While they were not fully successful, it is clear that people further down the social scale were exposed to at least some of these ideas, and furthermore, that they attempted to navigate and negotiate these obstacles by a variety of methods, some of them quite sophisticated. One example of this is the Council of Chalons' decree during the Carolingian era that a woman could not act as godmother to her own child in order to gain an excuse for annulling her marriage to her husband. The Council's decree indicates, of course, that people were using this strategy, much to the consternation of the Church. It is a clear example of laypeople manipulating formal theories of incest and marriage in order to achieve their own ends, and thus of the common people's influence upon intellectual matters like the decrees of Church councils.²⁵ Thus, they were not merely passive recipients of these ideas, but were in a dialogue with them, albeit an often uneven one.

A third question is whether these ideas developed only in the thirteenth century. Although there were some new developments, it is possible that many of the ideas revealed by the study of the encyclopedias would also be germane to studying concepts of fatherhood in earlier periods. Galenic writings came into the West in the eleventh century, Aristotelian writings in the twelfth, so we should not expect to find those ideas in great abundance before then.²⁶ In addition, we have seen that the

²⁵ Jo-Ann McNamara and Suzanne F. Wemple, "Marriage and Divorce in the Frankish Kingdom," in *Women in Medieval Society*, ed. Susan Mosher Stuard (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976), 102.

²⁶ Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science and Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 57, 107; Bernard G. Dod, "Aristoteles Latinus," in *The*

thirteenth century did see an increase in affective sexuality. However, the idea of education as necessary in forming virtue is a classical one, and the specifically Christian conception of authority as limiting or counteracting sin relies heavily on Augustine, who exercised a great deal of influence throughout the medieval era. The ages of man are classical concepts and were disseminated through Isidore throughout most of the medieval West. The anti-matrimonial tradition also derives from both classical and early Christian sources. In the same way, however, Christian theology viewed marriage as a good, though sometimes grudgingly, and the idea of equal entitlement to the marital debt is strongly influenced by the Scriptural epistles themselves. Thus, many of the elements in the encyclopedists' views on fatherhood had been prominent in Western intellectual tradition for centuries.

If the raw material for the encyclopedists' view of fatherhood was largely present before they wrote, how long did their harmonization of the ideas remain important afterwards? Here, too, there seems to be a great deal of continuity. As we have seen, their works were widely disseminated well into the early modern period. The views of anatomy and conception in the encyclopedias lasted well into the early modern period. Indeed, the question of whether female orgasm was required for conception was still debated in the eighteenth century.²⁷ In addition, the economic treatises of Aristotle and Xenophon, with their idea of the household as a small state, were authoritative as theoretical guides well into the eighteenth century, though their ideas were extensively modified by reformers like Martin Luther and Justus Menius as well as early modern economists.²⁸ Indeed, early modern economic treatises often

²⁷ Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 3.

²⁸ Marion W. Gray, *Productive Men, Reproductive Women: The Agrarian Household and the Emergence of Separate Spheres during the German Enlightenment* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 50-58.

emphasized the role of the *Hausvater*, which bears resemblance to the view outlined here in its conception of the patriarch establishing and maintaining order among his dependents.²⁹ Marion Gray has argued that the household remained the basic unit of economic life in Germany, with the husband and father as ‘king’ of it, until the differentiation of public and private spheres in the eighteenth century.³⁰ The need for instruction to instill virtue remained extremely prominent in the early modern period, and perhaps even increased during the Reformation with the idea of the family as the basic unit of religious life and catechetical instruction.³¹ Even John Locke, writing in the seventeenth century, exhibited the same equation of family and political life when he objected that the father’s authority over his wife was not quite as absolute as his authority over his children, since “Conjugal Society is made by a voluntary Compact between Man and Woman” and thus she shared authority with him.³² The multiple aspects of fatherhood visible in the encyclopedias thus form a framework for the scholarly understanding of fatherhood for much of the course of Western European history, and for many generations of fathers and their wives, daughters and sons.

²⁹ Trude Ehlert, ed., *Haushalt und Familie in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1991); Heinrich R. Schmidt, “Hausväter vor Gericht,” in *Hausväter, Priester, Kastraten: Zur Konstruktion von Männlichkeit in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Martin Dinges (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 213-36.

³⁰ Gray, *Productive Men, Reproductive Women*, 7, 28.

³¹ Steven Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 135-140.

³² Beatrice Gottlieb, *The Family in the Western World from the Black Death to the Industrial Age* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1993), 235.

Appendix A

Anglicus VI.13: De Viro (On the Man)

Vir ab virtute virium est dictus, secundum Isido. Nam in viribus vir mulierem praececlit. Caput enim mulieris est vir, ut dicit Apostolus. Unde tenetur regere uxorem suam, sicut caput totius corporis curam gerit. Hic maritus quasi matrem tuens est dictus. Nam uxoris suae, quae mater est filiorum, curam suscipit et tutelam. Hic ab spondendo, id est, obligando et promittendo sponsus dicitur. Nam in contractu coniugali fide intermedia se obligat, ut individuum cum uxore vitae consuetudinem teneat, ut debitum ei reddat, et fidem thori sui custodiat, et eam pro altera non dimittat. Tantus autem est amor viri ad uxorem, ut ipsius causa quaelibet pericula subeat, amorem eius amoris matris praeferat, et ut pro eius cohabitatione patrem, matrem, et patriam derelinquat, sicut dicit Dominus: Propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem suam, et adharebit uxori suae.

Hic sponsus ante sponsalia, muneribus et donis ad sui amoris amplexum sponsam allicit, literis et nunciis, votum suum circa ipsam exprimit, multa largitur, et plurima repromittit, ut ei placeat, ludis et spectaculis se exponit, frequentat tyrocinia, robis et mutatoriis, se ornat et componit. Quicquid etiam rogatur dare vel facere pro eius amore, pro viribus statim facit, nulli denegat aliquid, qui sub nomine sponsae rem aliquam sibi fieri petit. Blandae eam alloquitur, et blando vultu, ac ardenti oculo eam facie ad faciem intuetur.

Tandem in eandem finaliter consentiens, consensum suum coram parentibus verbis exprimit, et annulo eam subarrante in coniugem eam ducit, et in signum ratificationis coniugii iam contracti dona et dotalia ei impendere, et sub chartae vel chirographi testimonio concedere consuevit[;] festa et convivia nuptialia celebrat, munera advenientibus donat, choreis, cantilenis et instrumentis musicalibus praesentes laetificat et exhilarat. His completis sponsam introducit, et ad secreta thalami recipit et admittit, sociam mensae et thori eam statuit, eam dominam pecuniae

suae et familiae facit, deinde non minus uxoris suae quam suiipsius causam vel etiam curam gerit, ex amore et etiam zelo ipsam corrigit, et etiam custodiam circa eam adhibet et apponit, gestus et affatus pariter et aspectus uxoris suae considerat, ingressus et regressus eius trutinat atque pensat.

Viro autem bonam mulierem habente nullus est felicior. Qui vero habet uxorem clamorosam, malam, rixosam, ebriosam, luxuriosam, multivolam, sibi contrariam, sumptuosam, curiosam, invidiosam, desidiosam, taediosam, vagam, amaram, suspiciosam, odiosam, nullus tali viro miserabilior est et infelicior. Haec omnia et superius posita, tangit Fulgent. in sermone quodam de nuptiis in Cana Galilea. Unde comparat Christum sponso, Ecclesiam sponsae bonae, synagogam vero sponsae malae et adulterae.

In sponsa autem et uxore bona exiguntur istae conditiones, scil. ut sit frequens et devota, quo ad Dei ministerium, humilis et subdita, quo ad obsequium mariti, affabilis et benigna, quo ad domesticos, liberalis et larga, quantum ad extraneos, misericors et benigna, quo ad miseros, mansueta et pacifica, quo ad vicinos, circumspecta, et prudens in praecavendis, fortis et patiens in sustinendis, sedula et diligens in agendis, modesta in habitu, et sobria in motu, cauta in affatu, pudica in aspectu, honesta in gestu, matura in incessu, verecunda in publico, iucunda cum marito, continens in occulto. Talis uxor est laude digna, quae plus compositis moribus quam tortis crinibus, plus virtutibus quam pulcris vestibis studet placere viro suo, quae plus causa prolis quam causa libidinis, in bonis matrimonii conversatur, quae ex coniugio potius habere illos gratiae, quam naturae delectatur. Et haec de uxore bona nunc sufficiant.

“Man” (*vir*) is called from “the virtue of strength” (*virtute virium*), according to Isidore. For the man surpasses the woman in strength. Indeed, the head of woman is man, as the Apostle says. From which he is held to rule his wife, just as the head manages the care of the whole body. This “husband” (*maritus*) is called like “protecting the mother” (*matrem tuens*). For he undertakes the care and guardianship of his wife, who is the mother of sons. This “spouse” (*sponsus*) is called from “promising” (*spondendo*), that is, from “having been obliged and promising.” For in the conjugal contract he obliges himself by the faith between [them], that he will hold an inseparable familiarity of life with the wife, that he will pay the debt to her, and guard the faith of her bed, and not dismiss her for another. But so great is the love of man for his wife, that no matter what dangers he endures for her sake, he prefers her love to the love of [his] mother, and that for the sake of their dwelling together, he would forsake father, mother and homeland, as the Lord says: “Because of this the man will relinquish his father and mother, and cling to his wife.”

Before the wedding, this husband wins over his embraced bride to his love by gifts and presents; he expresses his pledge about her by letters and messages; he lavishes many [things on her] and guarantees more, in order that he may please her; he exposes himself to many games and spectacles; he frequents jousts;¹ he dresses himself and arranges with robis and mutatoris (barterers?). Whatever he is asked to do or make for her love, he does immediately with vigor; he denies nothing [to anyone], who asks him to do anything in the name of his bride. He addresses her flatteringly, and with a charming face, and admires her face to face with ardent eyes.

At last, finally agreeing with her, he expresses his consent with words before

¹ Although *tyrocinium* or *tirocinium* as a term for the state of knighthood appears earlier, it first appears in the sense of a joust during the reign of Philip Augustus, a scant few decades or so before this text. Charles Du Fresne Du Cange, ed. *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (Graz: Akademische Druck u. Verlagsanstalt; Chicago: Argonaut, 1967), “tyrocinium”; see also Jan Frederik Niermeyer, ed. *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), “tyrocinium.”

the parents, and with a ring having been pledged to her, he takes her into marriage, and in sign of the ratification of marriage now contracted, he is accustomed to devote gifts and dowry to her, and to commit [it] to the testimony of a charter or chirograph; he celebrates feasts and marriage parties, gives gifts to those who came, [and] cheers and gladdens those present with dances, ditties, and musical instruments. With this having been finished, he leads his bride in, and he undertakes and receives [her] to the secrets of marriage, establishes her as his companion of table and bed, makes her mistress of his property and household; henceforth he manages responsibility or care of his wife not less than of he himself. From love and also zeal he corrects her, and also he summons and places protection around her. He considers the actions and words and appearance of his wife equally; he balances and counterbalances the coming and goings of her.

But no one is happier than the man having a good woman. Truly, he who has a wife [who is] clamorous, evil, quarrelsome, addicted to drink, luxurious, of many desires, contrary to him, expensive, fussy, envious, idle, tedious, wandering, bitter, suspicious, hateful, no one is more miserable and unhappy than such a man. All these and that which was placed above Fulgentius mentions in a certain sermon on the wedding in Cana in Galilee. Thus, he compares Christ to the husband, the church to the good bride, and the synagogue, truly, to the bad and adulterous bride.

But in a good bride and wife these conditions are expected: clearly that she should be frequent and devoted, by which she serves God; humble and submissive, by which she is in obedience to her husband; affable and benign, by which [she acts] to her servants; liberal and lavish to foreigners, merciful and kind to the miserable, tame and peace-making to neighbors, circumspect and prudent in caution, strong and patient in supporting, attentive and careful in her tasks, modest in habits and sober in

manner, cautious in speech, pure in appearance, honest in deeds, mature in reproach, shy in public, pleasant with her husband, moderate in secret. Such a wife is worthy of praise, who desires to please her man more by well-arranged habits than by curly hair, more by virtues than beautiful clothes, who dwells in the good [state] of matrimony more for the sake of offspring than for the sake of desire, who is delighted to have from her marriage children of grace rather than of nature. And these [things] now are enough concerning the good wife.

Appendix B

Anglicus VI.14: De Patre (On the Father)

Pater est principium generationis. Naturaliter enim desiderat pater suam speciem multiplicare in filiis, ut naturam quam non potest servare, in se custodiat in sua prole, ut dicit Constant. Et ideo ad filiorum generationem de sua substantia per generationis officium dividit et transfundit, et tamen propter hanc delectationem, naturae suae diminutionem non recipit. Generat autem filium sibi similem in specie et etiam in effigie, maxime, quando virtus in semine patris vincit virtutem in semine matris, ut dicit Aristot. lib. 8.

Et ideo pater circa filiorum procreationem sollicitus existit, et naturaliter foetum suum diligit in tantum, ut etiam nutrimentum sibi subtrahat, ut nutriat foetum suum, et hoc generaliter est verum in omni genere animalium, exceptis paucis, in quibus natura degenerat, et ideo non multum sollicitantur circa foetus suos, ab se eos eiiciunt, sicut dicit Aristot. lib. 6. de aquila, quae eiicit pullos et alis, et rostro, et unguibus eos fugat. Homo autem puerum suum sive foetum diligit et nutrit, ablactarum suum commensalem facit filium, et in iuventute verbis erudit, et verberib. corrigere non desistit, sub custodia tutorum ipsum constituit, et ne praesumat, vultum hilarem filio non ostendit, filium sibi similem magis diligit, et in ipsum oculum consuevit figere.

Secundum aetatem et primogeniturae dignitatem, vestes et ciborum portiones filiis suis dividit, pro filiis acquirere et hereditatem autere non desistit, acquisitam excolit, et excultam filiis heredibus derelinquit. Pater vero qui ab pascendo est dictus, qui pascit filios in eorum iuventute, in senectute a filiis pascitur, sicut est videre in avibus corvini generis. Nam iuvenes pascunt senes, sicut dicit Aristot. quando prae senio non possunt acquirere victum suum, et ideo vitae longioris promissio honorantium parentes, et sustinantium est remuneratio specialis, ut dicit Ambrosius.

Scriptum est enim: Honora patrem et matrem tuam, ut sis longavus super

terram, Exo. 10. Eccl. 3. Qui honorat patrem, vita vivet longiore. Unde dicit glossa, quod honorare parentes est primum mandatum in promissione, et per consequens magnum est mandatum in remuneratione, et eius transgressio maxima est in punitione. Unde patris maledictio nocet filiis, ut patet in Cham, qui propter paternam offensam, poenam meruit servitutis, Gen. 9. Est itaque pater ex filiis honorandus, sustentandus, supportandus, laetificandus et defensandus, magnificandus et laudandus, exaudiendus et imitandus, ut dicit glossa ibid. Si filii Abrahae estis, opera Abraha facite.

Filius ex parentum substantia originem ducit, et ab eis fomentum recipit, et sine parentum adiutorio neq. proficit neque vivit, quanto plus ab patre diligitur, tanto ab eo diligentius instruitur, frequentius caeditur, et sub disciplinae custodia arctius custoditur, et cum ab patre maxime diligatur, diligi non videtur, quia verbis et verberibus, ne insolescat, saepius lacessitur, tanto affectuosius quidem ab patre diligitur, quanto sua effigies in filio similior et expressior invenitur.

Paterna quoque facies confunditur, quando aliquid turpe de filiis subauditur. Paternus animus graviter offenditur, quando aliqua contumax rebellio in filiis praesentatur. Circa filiorum autem educationem maxima parentum cura dirigitur, et ob spem posteritatis filiis hereditas custoditur, propter paternam offensam et contemptum, saepe secundum leges exheredationis poena filius percutitur et punitur. Nulla prorsus maior est ingratitude, quam perversorum filiorum, quando secundum acceptum beneficium ab parentibus eis non succuritur, nec ab filiis necessitatis tempore subvenitur, pro honorificentia parentum filiis saepe impenditur honor et largitur, primogenito filio deberi maior hereditatis portio ab legibus diffinitur, sed propter patris iniuriam ius primogeniturae praerogativa aliquando ab primogenito tollitur, et alius qui dignior est primogeniturae titulo, investitur, sicut dicit Hieron.

super glo. Gen 49. Ruben primogenitus meus, et c. Tu, inquit, iuxta ordinem
nativitatis tua hereditatem, quam iure primogenitura habere debuisti, regnum scilicet
et etiam sacerdotium perdidisti, et c.

Filii, igitur, qui per naturam deberent esse sicut parentes, nobiles, divites, et
etiam liberi, per culpam efficiuntur viles pauperes, atq. servi. Quaere infra de malo
servo.

The father is the principle of generation.² Indeed, the father naturally desires to multiply his type in sons, in order that he may guard in his offspring the nature which he is not able to preserve in himself, as Constantine says. And thus he divides and transfuses [something] from his substance for the generation of sons through the office of generation, and yet because of this delight, he does not suffer diminution of his nature. But he produces a child similar to himself in species and appearance, especially when the virtue in the seed of the father conquers the virtue in the seed of the mother, as Aristotle says in book 8.

And thus the father becomes concerned about the procreation of sons, and he naturally loves his child so much, that he is accustomed to take from his own food, in order that he may nourish his child, and this is generally true in all types of animals, except a few, the nature of which is degenerate, and thus many are not concerned about their children, and throw them away from themselves, just as Aristotle says in book 6 concerning the eagle, which throws away its chicks, and chases them away with wings, beaks and claws. But man loves and nurtures his boy or child, makes his weaned son his table companion, and in youth, he educates [his son] with words, but does not hesitate to correct him with beatings; he places him under the care of tutors, and lest [the son] become proud, he does not show the son a cheerful countenance; he loves his son as much as himself, and he is accustomed to fasten his gaze upon him.

He divides clothes and portions of food for his sons according to their estate (*aetatem*) and the dignity of primogeniture (*primogeniturae*); he does not fail to acquire for the sons and to augment the inheritance, he improves his acquisitions, and he leaves the improvements to his sons, his heirs. Truly, “father” (*pater*) is called

² In preparing this Appendix, I have consulted Michael Goodich’s translation, but I have provided a more literal translation. Michael Goodich, “Bartholomaeus Anglicus on Child-Rearing,” *History of Childhood Quarterly* 3 (1975): 75-84.

from “feeding” (*pascendo*), who feeds the sons in their youth, and is fed by sons in old age, just as it is to be seen in birds of the raven species. For the young feed the old, just as Aristotle says, when they are not able to get their food because of old age, and thus the promise of long life is the special reward of those who honor and sustain their parents, as Ambrose says.

Indeed, it was written: “Honor your father and mother, in order that you may be long on the earth,” Exodus 10. Ecclesiastes 3. “He who honors his father will live a longer life.” Hence, the gloss says that to honor one’s parents is the first command with a promise, and through following, it is a commandment that is great in reward, and the transgression of it is the greatest in punishment. Thus the curse of the father harms the sons, as is apparent with Ham, who because of the father’s offense, incurred the penalty of slavery, in Genesis 9. Therefore, the father is to be honored, sustained, supported, gladdened and defended, heeded and imitated by sons, as the same gloss says: “If you are sons of Abraham, do the works of Abraham.”

The son takes his original substance from the parents, and receives nourishment from them, and apart from the help of the parents, he would neither begin nor live. The more he is loved by the father, the more diligently he is instructed by him, the more frequently he is struck, and is guarded more closely by the guard of discipline, and when he is loved most greatly by the father, he does not seem to be loved, because he is assailed more often with words and beatings, lest he grow proud. Indeed, he is loved most greatly by the father, when his appearance is discovered more similarly and clearly in the son.

Also, the father’s face is confused when something disgraceful about his sons is overheard. The father’s mind is offended gravely, when some stubborn rebellion is exhibited in his sons. But the greatest care of the parents should be directed toward

the education of the sons, and for the sake of the hope of posterity, the inheritance of the sons is to be preserved. Often, the son is struck and punished according to the laws of disinheritance because of the father's offense and contempt. Absolutely nothing is greater than ingratitude, which is of perverse sons, when the parents are not helped by them according to the benefits the sons have received from their parents, nor are they assisted by their sons in the time of need. Because of the honor of the parents, honor is often devoted and granted to the sons. The greater portion of the inheritance is supposed to be assigned to the firstborn son by law, but sometimes the law of primogeniture is removed by right from the firstborn because of the injury of the father, and another who is more worthy is invested with the title of primogeniture, just as Hieronymus says in the gloss on Genesis 49: "Reuben, my firstborn" and so on. You, he says, by the order of your birth should have had the inheritance, by the law of primogeniture, have lost the kingdom, and indeed the priesthood, and so forth.

Therefore, sons who by nature ought to be noble, wealthy, and also free, just like their parents, may, by guilt, be made lowly, poor, and slaves. Seek below concerning the evil slave.

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