The Holy Bureaucrat

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Eudes Rigaud and Religious Reform in Thirteenth-Century Normandy

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For Alexandra

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Abbreviations

AD	Archives départementales (followed by département name)
AFH	*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*
BEC	*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*
BM	Bibliothèque municipale (followed by city)
BnF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des manuscrits (lat.: manuscrits latins)
CN	*Cartulaire normand de Philippe-Auguste, Louis VIII, Saint-Louis, et Philippe le Hardi.* Edited by Léopold Delisle. Caen, 1882; reprint, Geneva: Mégariotis, 1978.
CR	*Concilia Rotomagensis provinciae.* 2 vols. Edited by Guillaume Bessin. Rouen: Franciscum Vaultier, 1717.
GC	*Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa.* 16 vols. Paris: Ex Typographia Regia, 1715–1865.
HF	*Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France.* 24 vols. Edited by M. Bouquet and others. Paris: Aux dépens des librairies, 1738–1904.
LTC	*Layettes du trésor des chartes.* 5 vols. Edited by A. Teulet, J. de Laborde, E. Berger, and H. F. Delaborde. Paris: H. Plon, 1863–1909.
PL	*Patrologia cursus completus . . . Series latina.* 221 vols. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. Paris, 1844–64.
RER	*The Register of Eudes of Rouen.* Translated by Sydney M. Brown. Edited by Jeremiah O'Sullivan. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964.
RLS	*Repertorium der Lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350.* 11 vols. Edited by J.-B. Schneyer. Münster-Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969–90.
RV	*Regestrum visitationum Archiepiscopi Rothomagensis.* Edited by Th. Bonnin. Rouen: A. Le Brument, 1852.

Editorial Note

Medieval monies are given in *livres tournois* (l.t. or l.) unless *livres parisis* (l.p.) is indicated. The internal rate of exchange during the thirteenth century was 4 *livres parisis* for every 5 *livres tournois*. 1 *livre* (l.) was worth 20 *sous* (s.), and 1 *sous* was worth 12 *denarios* (den.).

Eudes Rigaud's *Register* used the medieval Paris calendar, which marked a new year at Easter rather than January 1. All dates in this book, however, are in modern standard dating, with January 1 marking the start of a new year.

Where no edition of an English translation is cited in a note, the translation is my own. I have provided references to both the Latin edition of Eudes's *Register* (*RV*) and the English translation (*RER*), except for the sections of the Latin edition that did not appear in the translated edition.

The Holy Bureaucrat

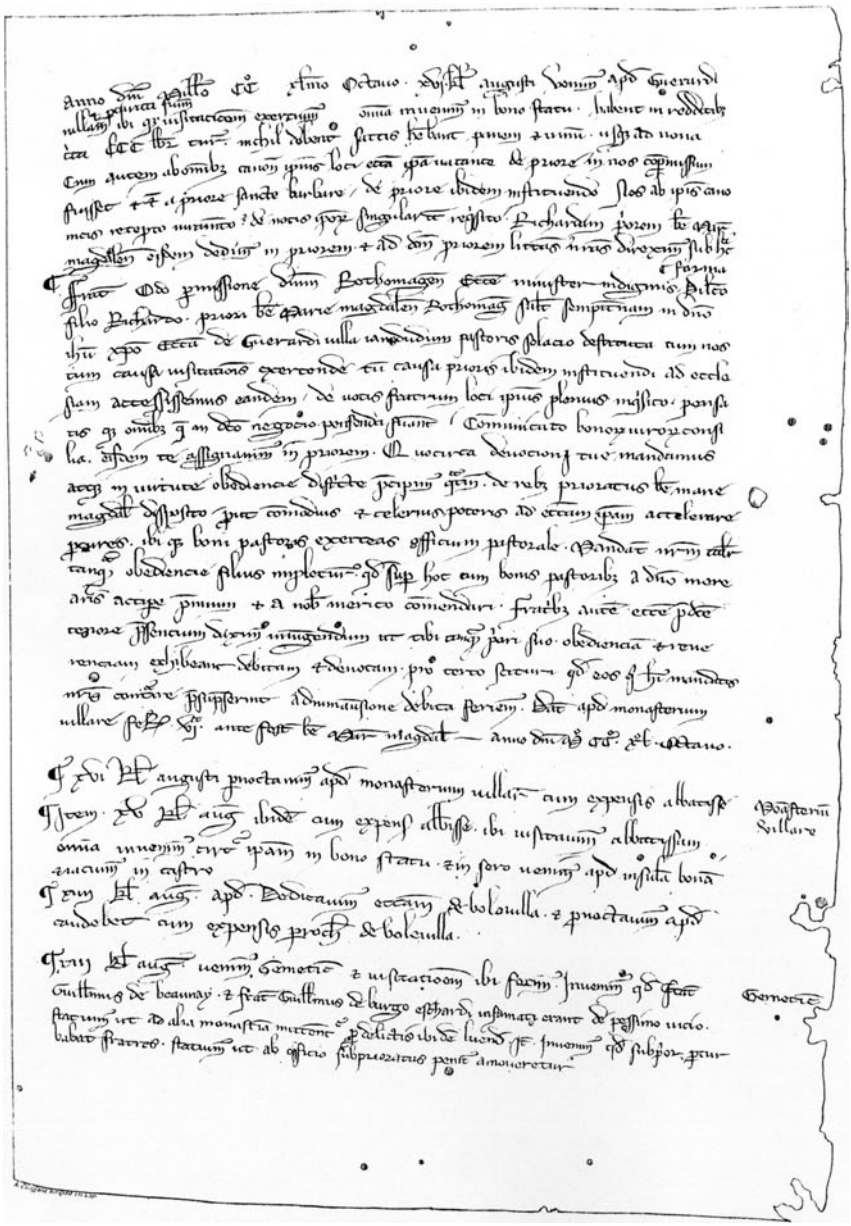
Introduction

Its small and relatively compact size was essential for an itinerant archbishop. Measuring six by nine inches, the size of a fairly small book, it was not difficult to carry. Except for the last few folios, which are charred, and an occasional hole, it is in remarkably good condition for a document seven hundred and fifty years old.[1] At 387 folios (774 pages), it is by no means short, but it has a long and detailed story to tell. From August 1248 through December 1269, it records the daily activities of Eudes Rigaud, the first Franciscan archbishop of Rouen. The archbishop's *Register* paints a vivid picture of day-to-day ecclesiastical life in thirteenth-century Normandy from the perspective of an administrator in search of problems needing correction.[2] Reading the *Register*, we eavesdrop on the archbishop's hundreds of visitations to monasteries, nunneries, houses of regular canons, hospitals, cathedral chapters, and country parishes. We follow the archbishop as he finds clerics who are unchaste, who gamble, and who get drunk; we hear about monasteries that are financially mismanaged; we meet parish priests who still have to be taught how to conjugate simple Latin verbs; we learn of priests who do not attend their local church councils; and there are even the exceptional reports of two monks thought to have had sexual relations with each other.

The *Register* is not a self-conscious document. Its author seems to have had no desire to project a particular image of himself or his times. He intended it solely for his own use and that of subsequent archbishops of Rouen. The *Register* functioned as both a calendar and an archive. While inspecting a monastery, for example, Eudes could turn to his *Register* to review his previous visitations. Had he collected a procuration fee at his last visitation? Had he warned the abbot about the need to impose greater moral discipline? In many ways, the *Register* functioned like the notes of a modern

physician. Just as doctors' notes follow patients' medical histories, the *Register* tracked the spiritual and financial health of religious establishments. At the top of each folio appeared the year, week, and diocese under visitation. For quick and easy reference, headings in the margins provided the names of places visited and the procuration fees collected (*summa procurationis*). During subsequent visitations of the same religious house, if the archbishop encountered any resistance to his collection of a procuration, he could turn to his *Register* for a record of exactly how much he had collected during previous visitations. Eudes was an assiduous collector of procurations, and they represented a major source of revenue. In a typical year, he collected over 200 *livres tournois* in procurations from monastic houses. Thus it was extremely useful to have a record of every procuration collected, and in cases where he collected no procuration, a note indicated that he had paid for his own expenses (*cum nostris expensis*). Eudes's lists of the procurations he collected resembled the roll lists found in royal and municipal receipt rolls beginning in the early thirteenth century.[3]

In addition to recording the past, the *Register* served as a kind of working calendar. Places that the archbishop intended to visit were entered next to the appropriate dates. If the archbishop's secretary later found that not enough space had been left for a particular date, he used arrows and carets to squeeze additional information into the margins and corners.[4] At times, too much space was allotted for a particular day, and a large blank space was left.[5] When the archbishop changed his plans, his secretary had to cross out scheduled trips and move them to different dates.[6] Perhaps at the archbishop's insistence, the *Register* was constantly being amended and updated. Errors in page numbering and dating were crossed out and corrected.[7] In a section dealing with the crimes of priests (*diffamationes*), several priests' records were crossed out and replaced by simple explanations in the margins: "he resigned," "he was incarcerated," "he was deprived [of his benefice]." It was almost as though Eudes excised these priests' existence from the record. When the archbishop admitted men to orders, his secretary created a chart with four columns, one with the names of those ordained as acolytes, one for those promoted as subdeacons, one for deacons, and one for priests. Eudes could thus keep careful track of who had been admitted to which orders and when. Letters from the king or the pope, statutes from Eudes's provincial councils, the financial receipts of monastic houses, the French text of the peace treaty of 1259 between England and France (which Eudes helped broker)—all these were copied into the *Register*. At times, incoming documents, written in an urgent cursive, were directly inserted into the *Register* rather than copied, and some outgoing documents were copied in a more formal cursive. Papal bulls copied into the *Register* were sometimes even accompanied by short synopses in the margins, indicating an expectation that future readers would rapidly flip



The first folio of Archbishop Eudes Rigaud's *Register*, BnF ms. lat. 1245

through the pages.[8] Although much of the *Register* is written in a professional, business hand, indicative of the training and experience of the archbishop's secretaries, in general, little attention was paid to appearance: the layout of the pages is fairly cramped, and the script is not what one would consider book hand. For twenty-one years, day in and day out, the *Register* traveled wherever the archbishop did, and in it, he recorded, reviewed, and revised a vast amount of information.

Keeping an episcopal register was perhaps a natural outgrowth of Eudes's university training in theology. His university lectures at Paris on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, the standard theological textbook, had required him to digest and compartmentalize enormous quantities of information. By the time Eudes ascended to the archiepiscopal see in 1248, he was used to applying systematic, Aristotelian logic to philosophical and theological issues. It may have been the habit of organizing information in coherent ways that led him to keep a detailed record of his episcopal activities.

Eudes's *Register* also illustrates a new administrative mentality and confidence in the written record among some churchmen in the thirteenth century. Eudes used written tools such as his *Register* and a polyptych (a kind of census book with information on the population of every parish in the Rouen archdiocese) not only to strengthen his authority and that of his office but to hold others accountable for their conduct. Just as monks in twelfth-century France began to manage their patrimony in new ways, especially by keeping more explicit written instruments that permitted them to manage their lands more effectively and hold others accountable, so too did bishops begin to use written records of administration, not only for fiscal and juridical purposes but also to monitor and discipline moral-religious behavior, whether in the context of an inquisition bent on destroying heresy or a bishop trying to keep the everyday abuses found in his diocese in check.[9] An episcopal register like Eudes's was a disciplinary tool that was both descriptive and prescriptive, permitting the archbishop (and his successors) to trace change over time, to compare what was real and what was ideal. In this connection, it is worth noting that the Franciscans and Dominicans took a leading role in using written records in new ways, cataloging library collections, indexing the subjects covered in the writings of the church fathers, and creating the first alphabetical biblical concordances.[10] Moreover, it was not just that the friars had a reputation for piety, making them attractive candidates to serve as inquisitors, *enquêteurs* (investigators), university masters, and bishops; they were also known for being smart, efficient, practical, and conscientious.

The archbishop's *Register* thus reflected larger historical developments in thirteenth-century ecclesiastical administration. In many parts of Europe, this was a period that witnessed the growth of more sophisticated local ecclesiastical government, part of what one French historian has called "une

révolution pastorale."[11] It was only in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries that bishops and archbishops began keeping registers.[12] In addition, from Pisa to Trier to Canterbury, thirteenth-century bishops and archbishops conducted systematic visitations of religious houses, examined candidates for clerical ordination, and held regular diocesan synods, which had been made obligatory by the sixth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215.[13] In dioceses across Europe, the thirteenth century saw a remarkable increase in the volume of *acta* (administrative documents) coming out of episcopal chanceries.[14] In Rouen, an archiepiscopal *familia*, or entourage, made up of loyal archdeacons, deans, canons, and friars, accompanied the archbishop and served as his associates. Eudes's traveling staff also included secretaries, a confessor, and personal physicians, the latter needed to treat the archbishop's chronic rheumatism. In judicial and financial matters, the archbishop was represented by an "official" (*officialis*), often a former member of his *familia*, who was generally stationed at the cathedral in Rouen.[15] Local ecclesiastical bureaucracies in the thirteenth century such as the one at Rouen paralleled, albeit on a much smaller scale, developments in papal and French royal administration, where officials made chanceries more active, extended their jurisdiction, created new administrative offices, and instituted new systems of accountability and better mechanisms for collecting revenue.[16]

Although the ecclesiastical administration of Rouen during the thirteenth century was fairly representative of developments in other dioceses in northern France, no thirteenth-century episcopal register quite compares with Eudes's in its length or detail.[17] As Benoît-Michel Tock notes, the kinds of administrative documents emanating from a medieval episcopal chancery could reflect aspects of the bishop's personality.[18] And though a wide range of types of documents emanated from bishops' chanceries, as Michael Clanchy observes, episcopal registers are the "best measure of the rate of episcopal record-making because they are summaries of other documents, deliberately made for future references."[19] In the *Register*'s pages we feel the Franciscan archbishop's unflagging discipline, his desire for meticulous organization, and his obsession with accurate and systematic record keeping and data collection, all characteristics associated with Max Weber's "Protestant ethic." As Robert Brentano comments, "Record sources are notoriously unsatisfactory aids to the delineation of character; but occasionally . . . they tell so exactly what a man did that they intimate, at least, what he was."[20] Eudes's *Register* provides a window into the life of a thirteenth-century archbishop, informing us what a medieval archbishop did, what he cared most about, and what he struggled against. In the archbishop's *Register*, in other words, we observe ecclesiastical reform in action, including how it was implemented and how it was contested.

Making historical sense of an episcopal register involves certain perils,

above all the temptation to draw hasty conclusions about the state of the medieval clergy based on a bishop's private record of the problems he found among its members. The archbishop's *Register*, one must remember, is virtually silent about the many clerics who behaved well. Indeed, several scholars have compared episcopal registers to police blotters, pointing out that a study of a society based solely on police blotters would present a highly warped picture.[21] "Cases of priestly ignorance, when recorded in detail in bishops' registers," one historian rightly argues, "indicate not that priests were generally ignorant but that reformers were requiring higher standards."[22] Yet early studies of Eudes Rigaud's *Register*, such as an article published in 1846 by the prolific and erudite French scholar Léopold Delisle, used the *Register* to illustrate the abuses committed by the medieval Norman clergy.[23] In the early twentieth century, the British historian G. G. Coulton embraced Eudes's *Register* as proof that the medieval church was steeped in immorality, decay, and scandal. Coulton, who viewed himself as defending "the moderate Anglican position," was deeply disturbed by what he regarded as some modern Catholics' romanticization of the medieval past.[24] Any rational modern person who knew something about the Middle Ages, Coulton maintained, would not dream of being transported back to that cruel and nasty world.[25] Assuring his readers that his scholarly works were "written entirely from orthodox pre-Reformation sources" and were therefore objective and historical, Coulton celebrated Eudes Rigaud as a proto-reformer who battled a church that was as corrupt in 1250 as it was alleged to be in 1500. Coulton exploited Eudes's *Register* in a narrow, polemical, and misleading way. Far more balanced and scholarly was Pierre Andrieu-Guitrancourt's 1938 monograph, but it too focused primarily on what the *Register* revealed about monastic and parish life in the thirteenth century.[26] Surprisingly few other studies have since appeared.[27] Until now, there has been no effort to study the Franciscan's career as a whole—his years at the university, his ties to the mendicant orders, and his involvement in secular politics—with all the insights it provides into ecclesiastical reform and the interplay between the university, the church, and the state in thirteenth-century France.

The present book is interested above all in the man behind the *Register*, in connecting the Eudes of the *Register* with the Eudes who was a Franciscan preacher, university theologian, judge, financial manager, and royal councillor. It is a rare and fortunate occurrence when a wide range of sources—from university sermons, to theological disputed questions, to synodal sermons, to financial records, to judicial records—exists, documenting such different facets of an individual from the thirteenth century. Eudes's career spanned the three major centers of power in the thirteenth century: the *studium* (center of intellectual power), the *sacerdotium* (center of sacral power), and the *regnum* (center of lay power).[28] He was also among the first

generation of both Franciscan university theologians and Franciscans to become bishops. His career thus provides a window into the complex relationship between thirteenth-century institutional power and evangelical devotion, in the guise, in his case, of Franciscan piety. The career of Eudes Rigaud illuminates how the church functioned in an age of reform and how at times it compromised and adapted its principles.

Did Eudes (along with the other early Franciscan bishops) compromise the values of the Franciscan order by accepting a powerful church office? According to the Franciscan chronicler Salimbene de Adam, when Eudes was traveling to Rome with a retinue of some eighty horsemen, and an Italian bishop offered to pay his expenses, Eudes declined, acknowledging that he could live in splendor on only half his income.[29] From a close reading of Eudes's *Register*, one might also reasonably conclude that the archbishop was a fussy and oppressive disciplinarian who admonished illiterate priests, meddled in the affairs of his suffragans, and exacted steep procuration fees even from some of the most impoverished priories and abbeys he visited.

Yet while Eudes was surely authoritarian, he was also a tireless reformer. Williell Thomson, who has studied the careers of thirteenth-century Franciscan bishops as a whole, argues that unlike Eudes, the typical thirteenth-century friar-bishop was rather lazy, perhaps conducting a visitation, endowing a chapel, or mediating in a dispute only once or twice every decade: "the onerous business of visitation, with all its concomitant unpleasantness, he would shun, trusting his archdeacon to see that the churches, priories and other physical establishments within his jurisdiction ran on an even keel."[30] Eudes, in contrast, did not shirk his duties, nor was he afraid to get his hands dirty in the messy business of personally correcting abuses in the hinterlands of Normandy. He showed an unusual concern for the plight of the sick and the poor, conducting frequent visitations to hospitals and leprosaria. According to Salimbene, every time Eudes was to eat a particular dish, he made sure that two large silver serving bowls of the same food were presented to the poor.[31] Bernard of Bessa, who served as secretary to Bonaventure, commented that Eudes Rigaud, though distinguished by the family he was born into, was even more distinguished for his morals and was "the most famous preacher."[32] Drawing attention to the Franciscan's humility, Bernard added that Eudes's "life and learning were such that before being in holy orders, he was dragged and forced to the *curia*, and he shined so excellently in the administration of his church, that his example as bishop was highly esteemed."[33] Eudes's alleged reluctance to accept the archiepiscopal dignity may of course merely have been a Franciscan trope invoked by Bernard to excuse Eudes's acceptance of a high church office.[34] Yet even the historian R. W. Southern, who viewed Eudes as something of a grandee, acknowledged that Eudes was "a model archbishop in the most peaceful and best adjusted society of western Europe." Of the Norman

church under Eudes's administration, Southern wrote: "This is the secular medieval church at its modest best. Disturbed by no serious dissensions, moderate in action, orderly in procedure, every part fitly conjoined to every other; no heretics, no desperate disorders, no impossible standards of behaviour. Church life did not long nor often appear in this peaceful passivity. It is usual to find currents more violent than the gentle ripples which disturbed the placid surface of Odo's administration."[35]

Both in the way he conducted his own life and in the way he governed the faithful in Normandy, Eudes Rigaud embodied the thirteenth-century "discipline of the minute." While medieval monks and nuns lived according to a particularly demanding set of rules, they were not the only ones expected to exhibit *disciplina Christiana*. The secular clergy were also trained to conduct themselves in a prescribed manner, as were lay Christians. As the Catholic liturgy made plain, there were important parallels between the spiritual and moral discipline needed to win the battle against Satan and the military discipline that armies had used for centuries to defeat their adversaries. The word *disciplina* had several connotations during the Middle Ages.[36] It could refer, as it did in the Rule of Saint Benedict, to a specific form of punishment, including corporal punishment. It could also denote the authority that a superior, such as a bishop, exercised over his subordinates. But the Middle Ages inherited the classical meaning of *disciplina* as teaching or instruction as well. In contrast to *doctrina*, *disciplina* tended to refer more to the moral (as opposed to purely intellectual) side of education, to the rules and prescriptions for leading a moral life. It was precisely this type of education, with its orientation toward pastoral activism, that characterized instruction at the Franciscan *studium generale* at Paris, where Eudes Rigaud had taught.

When Eudes arrived on the scene in Rouen, he was accustomed to being surrounded by highly educated university students. Graduates of the university knew their theology and their Bible, they knew how to preach good sermons, and they certainly knew their Latin. Eudes came to Rouen with a clear notion of how the clergy ought to conduct itself. This included everything from how a cleric should behave in public, to how he should dress, how he should chant, and how well he should know the liturgy. In other words, the Franciscan archbishop had a certain moral-religious aesthetic about the way things ought to be. As his *Register* illustrates, however, Eudes's values collided sharply with the realities he sometimes found. In some sense, then, this book is about the collision between the world as it was and the world as Eudes Rigaud thought it ought to be.

This book is also a study of how the archbishop sought to transform the world he found. What could Eudes do about the abbot known in his community to be a sloth, or the priest who was a slob? How did he deal with the nun who was addicted to sex with her community's gardener? Was there

anything that could be done about the parishioner whose terrifying seizures disrupted the celebration of the mass? Eudes believed that a certain Christian bodily discipline and a discipline in the way things were allowed to appear were just as vital as moral discipline. Appearances, after all, could make a difference in the way people conducted themselves. When a priest rode into town with his outer gown open, he created the potential for scandal by blurring the lines that distinguished the clergy from the laity. Dressed more like a layman, the priest might feel free to act like a layman, frequenting taverns, playing games of chance, and becoming involved in a sexual relationship. Laypeople around him might also act differently toward him. Other priests might begin taking greater license in their own dress and conduct. What began as the relatively minor issue of a priest's open gown could have a ripple effect, disrupting order within the church and town. The archbishop thus strictly enforced the prohibition against priests wearing their gowns open.

In some ways, Eudes's style of governance was similar to the "broken windows" philosophy that guided the New York City Police Department's "revolution" during the 1990s, when it was argued that the police's neglect of minor offenses, such as graffiti, littering, public urination, and the playing of loud boom boxes on the subways, created the appearance of lawlessness and invariably led to more serious offenses. If a window were broken on a city street, it needed to be fixed before New Yorkers began thinking that "anything goes." By personally inspecting hundreds of churches and monasteries, by using archdeacons and deans as his eyes and ears, and by keeping meticulous records of the information he and his clerical agents gathered, Eudes worked to locate the Norman church's "broken windows" and fix them promptly. He worried, for instance, about whether a church in Rouen used the liturgy customary in Paris instead of the preferred liturgy of Rouen. Whichever liturgy was used, he insisted, had to be chanted with proper intonation and with every syllable clearly enunciated. The archbishop questioned clerical candidates on their knowledge of whether the Latin verb *patere* had a supine. Altar cloths in Norman churches had to be clean and unwrinkled if priests wished to avoid the archbishop's displeasure. Eudes expected his own secretary to be able to tell him at a moment's notice the precise number of parishioners in any given parish, using a recently begun census book that contained information about each of the more than one thousand parishes in the archdiocese. Centuries of the highly regulated and regimented monastic tradition had left their imprint on both the church and its laws. From dress to food, from language to liturgy, salvation, it was believed, depended in large part on Christian discipline.

Although there are very few known cases where Eudes combated heresy, his meticulous collection of data and his rigorous examination of the clergy

during his visitations of parishes and monasteries had parallels in the techniques that had been used a few decades earlier against the Albigensian heresy in the great inquisition in the south of France, a project largely executed by members of the mendicant orders. Eudes's visitations also bore certain similarities to the visitations of the *enquêteurs* appointed by the French king, Louis IX (Saint Louis), to clean up the alleged corruption of royal officials in the provinces. Franciscans and Dominicans were also overrepresented in this undertaking, and it is possible that before his election as archbishop Eudes worked for a short time as one of the king's *enquêteurs*. As archbishop, Eudes made his own attempt at creating such a system, appointing investigators whose job it was to observe and report back on the work of other investigators. In creating a more complex and sophisticated ecclesiastical bureaucracy, which included a system of surveillance, data collection, and mechanisms for correction and reform, the medieval church resembled contemporary developments in French royal administration.[37]

But the church's bureaucratization did not represent a movement toward secularization. The avowed aim of the church was, as it always had been, securing the salvation of souls, and this awesome aspiration required at the very minimum that the clergy be well trained and their conduct be regularly supervised and corrected. The constantly repeated rituals of *correctio*—the archbishop's almost daily visitation and inspection of the clergy, his instructions on what needed correction, his secretary's transcriptions of the newest information into the episcopal register, and his assigning other church officials the responsibility of following up on the corrections he had made—these rituals were themselves manifestations of the archbishop's own discipline and religious devotion.

Was there a connection between Eudes's university background and his commitment to ecclesiastical reform? Many of the better-known thirteenth-century episcopal reformers, such as Robert Grosseteste, John Pecham, Stephen Langton, Guillaume d'Auvergne, and Boniface of Savoy, received university educations.[38] University graduates not only possessed an impressive knowledge of the Bible, theology, and canon law but often were also skilled preachers, since preaching was a standard part of the university curriculum. In addition, Eudes clearly had an interest in questions of moral philosophy while at the university. In both his theological writings and his sermons, he gave serious thought to the problems of sin, free will, the relationship between divine grace and human merit, and the degree to which ignorance lessens a person's culpability. He was particularly fascinated by the nexus between ideas and actions, between knowing and doing. It seems to have been at the university, in other words, that Eudes first began considering humans' capacity for reform. As regent master of the Franciscan *studium*, he was essentially dean of students and therefore dealt on an almost daily basis with questions about discipline, reform, and the avoidance

of sin (and not merely as academic subjects). Although it is impossible to establish a clear cause-and-effect relationship, the university no doubt planted some of the seeds for Eudes's later episcopal reforms.

As I have noted, Eudes's episcopal career had certain parallels in the reforms of French royal administration. The Franciscan archbishop was involved in royal administration in a number of capacities, acting as a judge in the Norman Exchequer, holding a seat in the Parlement of Paris, and serving as councillor to Louis IX. Eudes apparently first became involved in secular politics after Louis IX returned from crusade in 1254. By that time, the Franciscan had been archbishop for six years and had already shown himself to be a reformer. There is no reason to think, in other words, that the impetus for episcopal reform came from the king. But the two men clearly had common values and enjoyed each other's company. Both men loved charity, both showed an interest in helping hospitals and mendicant convents, both favored a hands-on approach to government, and both appointed special investigators (*inquisitores*, *enquêteurs*) to monitor local problems and complaints. Although both men recognized the possible corrupting influences of power, they also believed that power, properly used, could be put to holy ends.

Did the bureaucratization of the church, however, come at a cost? Could administrative strategies used by the state be applied with equal success by the church? Even on a local level, it was extremely difficult for a large centralized institution, such as the medieval Roman Catholic Church, to exert control over something as complex and intangible as the spirituality and moral behavior of human beings. Let us now see why this was so.

1

The Formation of a Reformer at the Franciscan *Studium* in Paris

In his 1957 book *Les intellectuels au moyen âge*, Jacques Le Goff suggested that the thirteenth-century intellectual was in danger of completely removing himself from the larger medieval society. According to Le Goff, the scholastic's language—Latin—and his abstract and technical ideas distanced him from the masses of laymen, their problems and their psychology. "Attached to abstract and eternal truths, the scholastic risked losing contact with history, with what was contingent, moving, evolving. . . . One of the great pitfalls of the scholastic intellectuals was that of forming an intellectual technocracy."[1] That Le Goff's critique of medieval intellectuals is jarring to us today is testimony to how much our knowledge of the medieval university has expanded during the past forty years, in part because of the work of social and cultural historians like Le Goff himself. We know much more now about exchanges between the medieval university and larger society and about how the medieval university functioned as a society and culture in its own right. The experience of studying and teaching at a medieval university involved a great deal more than the production of technical commentaries on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Nicole Bériou and David d'Avray, for instance, have studied how model sermon collections, produced at the University of Paris, were disseminated around Europe and then preached (albeit in somewhat different form) to laymen and women.[2] Michèle Mulchahey has shown that the primary responsibility of Dominican university masters was training teachers for the order's provincial *scholae*, where most Dominican preachers and confessors received their education and training.[3] We are beginning to learn more, in short, about the university's impact outside its walls.[4]

There is still much more work to be done, however, particularly in exploring how the university served as a training ground for talented ecclesi-

astical and secular administrators.[5] During the thirteenth century, members of the new, mendicant, evangelical orders—the Franciscans and Dominicans—entered universities in large numbers. The mendicant *studia* attached to a university such as Paris trained students, most of whom, after graduating, dispersed into the provinces and growing urban centers as preachers and confessors, as well as teachers in provincial *studia*. A few student friars remained at the university, rising through the ranks to become distinguished university masters. Of these masters, 25 percent left the university for high ecclesiastical position, such as bishop, archbishop, cardinal, and pope.[6]

This was the trajectory followed by Eudes Rigaud, Franciscan regent master at the University of Paris, who was elected archbishop of Rouen and consecrated by Innocent IV in Lyon in March 1248. During his tenure as archbishop, Eudes became a close friend and councillor to the king of France, Louis IX. He held a seat in the Parlement of Paris, served as a master or judge at the royal court of the Exchequer in Normandy, and was instrumental in negotiating a peace treaty in 1259 between the kings of England and France, ending more than fifty years of war. From the detailed episcopal register he kept over a twenty-one-year period, we know that Eudes was an extraordinarily hardworking and meticulous episcopal administrator and reformer. Before being elected archbishop, however, Eudes had a distinguished career in theology at the Franciscan *studium* in Paris. The scholarly attention that has been paid to Eudes's career has focused on either his university career or his administrative career, reflecting the modern divide between intellectual and social historians. Yet one must ask whether teaching theology in a university and working as an ecclesiastical administrator were absolutely distinct careers. How did a career as a university theologian prepare someone for a career as an ecclesiastical administrator?

Not much is known about Eudes Rigaud's university career. There is no edition of his commentary on Lombard's *Sentences*, and few of his other theological works have been published.[7] Although there have been some recent studies of Eudes's philosophy and more speculative theology based on his unpublished *Sentences* commentary,[8] there remains a need to illuminate the continuities and discontinuities between Eudes's university and episcopal careers.

Several unpublished manuscripts of sermons Eudes preached at the University of Paris in the mid-1240s, shortly before he was elected archbishop, present a fuller picture of his university career.[9] In the sermons, we hear not only Eudes the teacher but also Eudes the rhetorician, using various strategies to persuade his students of the value of leading an evangelical, mendicant life. Rather than invoke Aristotelian philosophy, as he did in his lectures on theology, he calls on biblical-moral themes, applying them to practical problems. In short, the sermons are less about theological and