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Pupils and Sources in Late Medieval Lyon

Alunni e fonti documentali nella Lione del tardo Medio Evo

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Abstract: The medieval elementary and grammar-school pupil is a partially-hidden figure in the documentary sources of the period. Their existence, and their existence in abundance, is clear from the fact that so many schools and teachers were operating in the later Middle Ages. Evidence specific to the schoolchild, however, is lacking and the researcher has to explore documents in lateral way in order to find information on their everyday experiences. Even identifying individual pupils by name can be difficult. This article will explore the archival sources available in French cities, in this case the city of Lyon, in an effort to identity possible sources of data on the medieval schoolchild. It will look at sources that name pupils, either as groups or as individuals, and it will discuss what evidence for their daily lives can be extrapolated from a selection of documents. The documents examined in the article include the proceedings of ecclesiastical chapters, school statutes, obituaries, wills, proceedings of the municipal council, and pedagogical literature. Some of these must be closely read in order to find the children and pupils within their pages but they are there, often in surprising circumstances, such as the illegitimate children who received legacies from the parents and other family members in order to pursue their education and the pupils who had early-printed works dedicated to them. This article will serve as a map for other scholars seeking to study pre-modern school children.

Keywords: medieval education; pupils; sources; France.

Riassunto: Durante il Medio Evo gli alunni delle scuole elementari e delle *grammar schools* paiono figure parzialmente nascoste nelle fonti documentali del periodo, sebbene la loro presenza – e in quantità notevoli – sia ampiamente evidente se si considera il numero sia delle istituzioni scolastiche che dei docenti che erano al lavoro nell'ultima parte del Medio Evo. Non sembra tuttavia possibile rilevare prove certe sulle dimensioni del fenomeno tanto che i ricercatori si trovano nella condizione di dover esplorare documenti riferiti a diversi ambiti per trovare informazioni sulle esperienze quotidiane degli scolari. Perfino l'identificazione dei nomi delle singole individualità risulta oltremodo difficoltosa. L'articolo intende esplorare le fonti d'archivio presenti nelle città francesi – in questo caso la città presa in esame è Lione – nel tentativo di identificare possibili nuclei di fonti relative alla figura dello scolaro. Ruolo prioritario viene attribuito alle fonti che riportano i nomi degli alunni, sia come appartenenti ad un gruppo che come singoli individui, e si argomentano le prove e le testimonianze che possono essere desunte da un'idonea selezione di documenti. Si fa riferimento in particolare ai verbali dei capitoli ecclesiastici, agli statuti delle istituzioni scolastiche, ai necrologi, ai testamenti, ai verbali dei consigli municipali e alla letteratura pedagogica. Alcune di tali fonti necessitano di un'attenta lettura al fine di reperire al loro interno le figure di bambini e di scolari, spesso presenti in circostanze sorprendenti come, per esempio, i bambini illegittimi che ricevono un'eredità dai loro genitori o dai loro parenti finalizzata a sostentare economicamente i percorsi di istruzione, oppure quei fanciulli ai quali sono dedicate le prime edizioni di opere a stampa. L'articolo può essere proficuamente utilizzato come mappa per altri studiosi che intendono approfondire il ruolo dei bambini e la loro presenza nelle scuole dell'epoca premoderna.

Parole chiave: educazione medievale; scolari; fonti documentali; Francia.

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The history of education is a field dominated by the history of the institution of the school or the university, especially before the XIX century. It focuses on the administration of the institution and policies dictated by it, or by a supervisory body such as a government or a church. This approach to educational history is of great value and cannot and should not be ignored. This article, however, will examine the information available regarding elementary and grammar schooling in a specific place during a specific period wherein the pupil or student is the subject – or principal object – of the historical document. In other words, this article will explore the nature of sources which provide information about the children engaging in education as pupils and students and how such sources can be used for historical inquiry even when they lack volume and detail. We find ourselves pulled towards the histories of institutions, with their statutes and teaching contracts and, occasionally, their physical presence in the landscape[1]. The histories of individual teachers are also attractive, especially those educators who wrote about teaching and their experiences thereof[2]. The experiences of pupils, however, are more difficult to trace through medieval documents. This problem is acknowledged by other historians of medieval childhood. Shulamith Shahar (1990) freely admitted that she used prescriptive literature in order to complete her seminal work, *Childhood in the Middle Ages.* While prescriptive literature, such as educational advice and child-rearing guides, is a valuable resource, it is constrained by its aspirational, rather than descriptive, nature. Barbara Hanawalt's *Growing Up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History* (1993) also heavily relies on books of courtesy (another form of prescriptive literature) in order to discuss medieval education, albeit in conjunction with London's excellent surviving records that revolve around medieval children: coroners' reports, guardianship arrangements, and contracts of apprenticeship to name a few[3]. It is necessary, therefore, to explore documentary sources that can inform the researcher of the history of education about the medieval schoolchild.

[1] The medieval façade of the *manecanterie* or song school at the cathedral of Saint-Jean in Lyon is extant while the site of the *Collège de la Trinité* in Lyon, founded at the end of the 1510s, is currently occupied by the Lycée Ampère.

[2] In Lyon, the case study of Jose Badius Ascensius (1462–1535) dominates the personal narratives of teachers during the medieval period. Beginning his life (and education) in Flanders, he travelled to Italy to study under Battista Guarino, teacher, theorist, and son of the famed Renaissance educational theorist, Guarino da Verona. He spent a lengthy sojourn in Lyon in the 1490s, collaborating with the early printers based along the Rue Mercière and teaching at a school associated with the urban elite. Badius will be mentioned later in this article since he dedicated some of the prefaces that he wrote while in Lyon to his pupils there. For more on Badius, see Renouard (1967), specifically the biographical information in the first volume.

[3] A particular boon to those studying children and schooling in late medieval England is the existence of poems written by the pupils themselves. For example, Hanawalt quotes a poem written by a schoolboy in around 1500 discussing his hatred of Monday mornings, his repeated lateness on that day of the week, and the inevitable thrashing doled out by his teacher (Hanawalt, 1993, p. 84).

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The medieval pupil, as a matter of course, was frequently present in medieval sources relating to schools and teachers. Without a certain number of children, the institution of the school could not have existed nor could the schoolmaster or schoolmistress have earned their livelihood. A given pupil's actual identity or experience of school life, however, is rarely discussed or even mentioned[4]. While tax rolls and surveys of property (a particularly valuable resource for the study of late medieval Lyon) allow for the reconstruction of the socio-economic status of a teacher, it is almost impossible to do likewise for the children in their classroom. This pursuit for information is complicated by the ages of the children in question. These were not university students, over the age of fourteen and treated as adults. The children discussed in this article were those between the ages of approximately seven and fourteen who attended some form of elementary or grammar school in the city of Lyon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries[5]. It is this relatively silent group that requires attention. But where can one find relevant historical material regarding schoolchildren in the Middle Ages? Which documents have the potentiality to shed light on who went to school and perhaps what may have happened to them or what they may have done there? The researcher is also constrained by the availability and variety of local resources. For example, the texts possessed and used and sometimes written by schoolboys that survive from late medieval and Renaissance Tuscany are not present in the libraries and archives of Lyon. So far, I have not found apprenticeship contracts that describe the formal education to be provided to apprentices in Lyon, though these were common elsewhere in medieval France and in other western cultural hegemonies. Instead, we must look beyond these, at documents that specifically identify individual children and youths as pupils and students and give further information on their socio-economic position and their experiences of late medieval education.

This article will focus on six types of historical documents that can be utilized as «child-centered» sources. While not an exhaustive selection, it demonstrates that schoolchildren feature – as named individuals or groups – in such documents. Certain pupils and groups of pupils will be more prominent, of course. There is far more information regarding the boys attached to the chapter schools of the city of Lyon than there is for the children who attended independent,

[4] Only the proceedings of the ecclesiastical chapters in Lyon (Saint-Jean, Saint-Paul, Saint-Nizier) name individual choirboys, but not consistently. As for the municipal records of Lyon, there are several references to taxes being reduced or waved because individuals were at university elsewhere, at Toulouse or at Paris, but not for those who attended local elementary and grammar schools: Archives municipales de Lyon (henceforth A.M.L), CC 0082 1 & CC 0342.

[5] This corresponds with boyhood or *pueritia* that formed the second «age» of the ages of man defined by many medieval authors and philosophers, most notably and influentially by Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologiae* (1991), II, 11.2.2.

semi-itinerant teachers that were a common element of the medieval educational landscape[6]. Certain pupils can be traced because they came from aristocratic families or were the sons of the consuls of the city of Lyon. References to the educations of girls do not appear in the following source types, though it is clear that there were opportunities for them to receive instruction in fifteenth-century Lyon[7]. Absence from these sources does not mean that poor children or girls were not educated or that the only schools in Lyon were those that belonged to the Church. It simply means that these pupils were less likely to be named in documents that would connect them to schools and teachers. The sources where we find such specific references, where the child itself plays an active role, are as follows: the proceedings of ecclesiastical chapters, school statutes, obituaries, wills, proceedings of the municipal council, and pedagogical literature. Each of these sources will be discussed in turn and evaluated for the quantity and depth of detail it offers the researcher in pursuit of a history of the medieval schoolchild.

1. Proceedings of Ecclesiastical Chapters

Medieval Lyon, like most medieval cities, was filled with churches, chapels, monasteries, friaries, and convents. It had a cathedral which was (and still is) the see of the primate of France. Many of these had schools attached to them, either in the guise of schools open to their parishioners or private schools limited to the children within such institutions[8]. Not all of them, however, kept records of their schools, their teachers, or their pupils. Only three maintained suitably-detailed records of their chapter meetings that contain information on the children that they instructed. These where the cathedral of Saint-Jean, the chapter of Saint-Paul, and the chapter of Saint-Nizier, and each of them had a school for the choirboys who performed the liturgical music that was so important in the late-medieval Church. As such, the «pupils» in these schools had a dual purpose: they came to learn but they also came to work. They were very much part of the religious community in question and were referred to in the documents as *clericuli* or «little clerics». Therefore, they appeared as named individuals with relative frequency throughout the proceedings of the respective chapters as minor players in the daily life of these places.

[6] For an excellent discussion of the nature of itinerant masters in later medieval France see: Guilbert (1982).

[7] Tax records and surveys of property show that Lyon had schoolmistresses during the fifteenth century, such as Germaine *maistresse de l'ecole* (c. 1409) and the unnamed mistress «of a school of girls» who rented a single room in 1493: A.M.L., CC 0003, f. 53 and A.M.L., CC 0004, f. 31 v.–f. 32.

[8] The convent of Saint-Pierre certainly had a school for the daughters of aristocratic families who were raised there in relative seclusion. One of its schoolmistresses has been identified as Guicharde de Mont d'Or, who was named as teacher there in 1298 and 1299 (Picot, 1970, p. 83).

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The proceedings are exceptionally valuable as they often recorded the names of boys accepted into the choir and of those who left. For example, at Saint-Jean, Pierre Socieu was to be allowed to enter the choir in 1361 «if he were deemed able», that is, if he could prove that he had the necessary musical skill[9]. Beyond their names, however, it is usually difficult to say who these boys were. Were they poor but talented boys or were they the children of important people? In March 1363, the next available space amongst the choirboys was reserved for Pierre Barbier, son of Jean Barbier[10]. It is likely that Jean Barbier was a physician associated with the archbishop of Lyon (Guigue & Guigue, 1886, I, p. 167). On 27th June, 1459, Pierre Bellièvre was given a place in the choir[11]. It is almost certain that he was a member of the noted consular family of the same name, several of whom also served as advisors to the archbishop of Lyon during the fifteenth century (Péricaud, 1838, pp. 30-31). Many of these boys, therefore, were members of the nascent bourgeoisie with ties to the episcopal administration and ideal candidates for positions in the choir school. It is clear, however, that some boys were not from illustrious or comfortable backgrounds and this is best illustrated by the stories of Jean de Pont and Ogier.

Ogier, the son of a mason, entered the choir in 1378 but was almost immediately removed owing to the lack of interest that he displayed in his lessons and duties (Forest, 1885, pp. 47-49). His case was made all the more unusual since his mother, the widow of the aforementioned mason, had sent with him – in the nature of a «dowry» – a valuable bowl. On Ogier's departure from the cathedral, she wrote (or had written on her behalf) a letter stating that she wished the cathedral to keep the bowl, apparently in the hope that her son would return to the choir school. He did not return. The chapter instead had found a place for him as an apprentice to a goldsmith in Vienne, just south of Lyon (Forest, 1885, pp. 47-49). During Lent in 1379, she was forced to request that the bowl be returned to her owing to her poverty and the chapter readily complied[12]. While Ogier was not a success, another boy, reputably the son of a fisherman but more probably the son of cleric, was able to use the opportunities provided by a clerical education to become a cardinal[13]. Jean de Pont (or de Font), a native of the village

[9] Archives départementales du Rhône (henceforth A.D.R.), 10 G 76, f. 2.

[10] A.D.R. 10 G 76, f. 31.

[11] A.D.R. 10 G 94, f. 7 v.

[12] «Supplie humblement votre petite creature poure vesve femme Johanne jadis mullier de maistre Jehan de Vaucouleurs, masson.' She stated that he had nothing to live on except the income 'de sa filloure et des aumosnes des bonnes dames de la ville qui la cognoissent et qui scavent quelle est femme de bonne vie et de bonne conversation, si a este tout le temps de sa vie. Qu'il vous plaise de vostre benigne grace faire render a ladite suppliante son dit bacin garni, afin quelle peust aider […] vous saures la verite de cest chose par messier Matthieu de Villenove» (Forest, 1885, pp. 48-49).

[13] For a full discussion of the cardinal's possible background, see Beyssac (1907, pp. 7-8).

of Rochetaillée, began his career as a choirboy at Saint-Jean[14]. At some point he attended university as he is recorded as being one of the bachelors in decretals (canon law) present in the cathedral in November 1397[15]. He later became a cardinal-legate under the name Cardinal de Rochetaillée and was buried at Saint-Jean after his death in 1437[16]. It can be assumed, then, that the boys who entered the cathedral school were in a good position to capitalize on the experience. Ogier found his apprenticeship thanks to the efforts of the chapter while Rochetaillée became a great prelate. Some may have continued in the service of Saint-Jean or even in the service of the school itself, like Pierre Sorrel, who held the posts of both *manicantant* (song master) and *vicemagister* (principal teacher)[17]. The proceedings of the chapter, therefore, can be used to establish limited prosopographies for a small number of pupils. We can see that many of them came from families with pre-existing connections to the chapter or to the court of the archbishop but we can also see that some boys came from less exalted backgrounds and that forging a link with the chapter through its school was of great benefit.

The proceedings of the chapter also allow the researcher a glimpse at the everyday experiences the pupils in the cathedral's school. While the statutes of the choir school give us information regarding the structure of the children's day, the proceedings point to another area of concern: the space allocated to the choirboys. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the chapter of Saint-Jean was deeply involved in establishing a distinct and exclusive area within the precincts of the cathedral where the choirboys could live and be instructed. Before the 1390s, the choirboys of Saint-Jean led an itinerant existence[18]. As in many cathedrals, including Notre Dame in Paris, the boys were housed in the homes of canons and other clerics of the chapter and their residence was rotated on a yearly basis[19]. In November 1373, Guillaume Bardoti – who does not appear to have had a role in the school – was given money and grain so that he could care for the choirboys

[14] In a meeting of the chapter of Saint-Jean on 7 July 1413, Rochetaillée attested that he had been a «child in the cathedral»: (Forest, 1885, p. 191). See also A.D.R., 10 G 82.

[15] « […] Johannis de Ponto aliter Rochitallia bacillarii [sic] in decretis […] »: A.D.R., 10 G 79, f. 143 v. It should be noted that Jean de la Pont was not a canon at this time, nor does he ever appear to have become a canon at Saint-Jean. Since a «canon-count» of Lyon had to be a noble, this lack of office confirms, at the very least, that the future cardinal was not a noble. See Forest (1885, p. 28) regarding the stipulations of nobility for canons.

[16] Forest relates that a note on the anniversaries celebrated in Saint-Jean, written around 1520, also states that Rochetaillée received his first lessons there. Forest also records that the cardinal's tomb was decorated with the figures of twelve kneeling choirboys in reference to his time spent at Saint-Jean. Unfortunately, no proper references or images are used to back-up these claims: Forest (1885, pp. 192-193).

[17] A.D.R. 10 G 86, f. 15 v.

[18] For a full discussion of choirboys and space at Saint-Jean and other French cathedrals, see Lynch, 2013, pp. 44-61.

[19] The *domus puerorum* at Paris was only established in 1455 (Wright, 1989, p. 169).

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in his own house[20]. This state of affairs would have been deemed unacceptable for the cathedral authorities. They had two principal concerns. Firstly, the cloister of Saint-Jean was, in effect, an open cloister during the day, and was full of strangers who presented a danger to the boys. The chapter, since they were *in loco parentis*, had to protect the children in their charge[21]. Secondly, the boys were being trained for the rigors of ecclesiastical life and a more public space like the main cloister was full of distractions and freely-available bad habits[22]. In order to ensure the safety and privacy of the boys, the chapter of Saint-Jean renovated a twelfth-century building adjoining the cathedral in the early 1390s. This allowed for dedicated living and teaching spaces to be created, with ready access to the cathedral and its auxiliary churches as well as a private cloister for the exclusive use of the choirboys. This reconfiguration of the buildings of the cathedral created a cloister-within-a-cloister and access to the *manecanterie* – as the building became known – and its cloister was strictly limited to the pupils of the school and those involved with its management. In November 1445, the chapter mandated that the song master would be fined the sum of ten *solidi* if anyone but the choirboys entered the little cloister or, as it is described in the proceedings, «into the cloister provided for play». Any interloper would also be fined ten *solidi*[23]. This spatial arrangement tells us a lot about the daily lives of the pupils within the cathedral school. They were not only separated from the world outside of the cathedral but also from the larger community of the cathedral. They lived in a world-within-a-world that was entirely filled with their liturgical and musical duties and their schoolwork (much of which was dominated by their musical training). It is clear from the care that the chapter took to keep their little cloister intact that the pupils were seen as deserving of protection, not only as the next generation of clerics but also as children. The building of the *manecanterie*

[20] A.D.R., 10 G 76, f. 154. This happened again in November 1381 when Guillaume de Becy was to care for the boys and their masters: A.D.R., 10 G 78, f. 82.

[21] Beyond Saint-Jean, there was a real concern that choirboys might be abused and steps were taken to limit their unsupervised contact with people not of the direct «household» of the choir school. Jean Gerson advised against unlimited access to strangers or even to clerics not immediately concerned with the school. He even objected to external pupils, «lest our boys get bad habits from intimacy with others, for a single bad sheep corrupts every sheep» (Gerson, 1960-1973, IX, p. 688). It should be noted that, at Paris, statutes issued in 1435 banned the choirboys from receiving any gifts whatsoever from anyone, including parents and canons «or worse, from someone from the outside». This would suggest that there was a fear of the boys being groomed for nefarious reasons (Wright, 1989, pp. 168-69).

[22] According to Gerson, «the society of boys surrendered to divine service is the most beautiful and most flourishing portion of the Church» and they «should maintain internally the angelic service that they exhibit externally» (Gerson, 1960-1973, IX, p. 686).

[23] «Eadem die prenominati domini perunt [sic] manecantanti sub pena decem solidorum ne aliquos cuius cumque status permittant intrare in claustro proviso pro ludendo vel alia faciendo peteo [sic] clericulos et si a casu in dicto claustro aliqui ultra eius voluntatem ineunt comiserunt dicto manecantanti quod illos pignorare possit et valeat usque ad consimilem summam decem solidi» (A.D.R., 10 G 90, f. 200).

and the policies designed for it demonstrate clearly the pastoral care that pupils could experience in a well-run institution such as the cathedral of Lyon.

The career of a choirboys was a finite thing. Their roles as singers in ecclesiastical choirs ended when they reached adolescence and their voices broke (very roughly around the age of fourteen). Many appear to have stayed within the cathedral, working their way up the hierarchy but many were given fresh pedagogical opportunities outside of the cathedral. In November 1445, two *clericuli* or choirboys who had lost their voices were given permission by the chapter to leave the cathedral in order to attend school[24]. In November 1495, an unnamed choirboy was not only given permission to leave the cathedral and attend a grammar school elsewhere but was also given a grant of six florins[25]. The pupils, therefore, were not cast aside once their initial usefulness had passed. While it can certainly be argued that the cathedral chapter was made up of human beings unwilling to cut loose boys whom they had cared for and interacted with for years, neither did the cathedral canons wish to lose the expertise that this pupils possessed after years of learning and practice. These children would have known intimately how the cathedral worked and could serve as invaluable parts of its administration. By offering certain pupils additional training in external schools that concentrated on the acquisition and perfection of Latin grammar rather than on liturgical music, the chapter could ensure that it had a number of young clerics ready to take on positions of authority in the cathedral. If the boys in question were aristocratic, they could even become canons. If the youths chose to pursue careers outside of the cathedral of Saint-Jean, they often remained connected to it. This is best demonstrated by Cardinal de Rochetaillée who, though acceding to very high ecclesiastical office and playing a leading role in the pontificate of Pope Martin V, was ultimately buried in the cathedral of Lyon[26]. Attending a choir school, especially one attached to an important cathedral such as Saint-Jean in Lyon, was a first step in an ecclesiastic career. Indeed it could end quickly, like in the case of Ogier, but more often the education and experiences that these pupils acquired could allow them to rise very high in the hierarchy of the cathedral and the medieval Church.

Proceedings of chapters in Lyon also contain information on what books the pupils in their schools used. While we have concentrated on the evidence from the cathedral of Saint-Jean so far, the proceedings of the chapter of Saint-Paul contain a rare inventory of the texts used for the instruction of the choirboys there. In May 1461, the chapter ordered the *magister clericulorum* («master of the

[24] A.D.R. 10 G 90, f. 122.

[25] A.D.R. 10 G 102, f. 297 v.

[26] He actually died in Bologna (or possibly Boulogne-Sur-Mer) and his remains transferred to Lyon in 1447 (Beyssac, 1907, pp. 47–50, 57).

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choirboys») Leonard Charmeta, to record the books that were being used «for the learning of the choirboys»[27]. A list of six books followed, all liturgical in nature.

> […] a new book of the Offices in two volumes, […] a new responsorial in two volumes, […] a new white quarto […] finishing with the *Agnus Dei*, a new red quarto, […] an old responsorial, […] a Psalter […] with the vigil for the dead[28].

This inventory of books serves to emphasis the type of reading to which choirboys were exposed. Since they were to participate in services and since perfection was expected, much of their class time was limited to such texts. There is no mention of grammar books of any kind. In other words, choirboys did not learn their Latin through the traditional schools texts of the Middle Ages, such as Donatus (a textbook loosely based on the grammatical works of Aelius Donatus) or the Distichs Catonis (a list of proverbs used as a reader at the very beginning of Latin instruction). Psalters, however, were widely used as a tool for teaching reading and elementary grammar, especially if they were bound with additional pedagogical information such as alphabet and syllable pages, the *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Credo*, and penitential psalms[29]. The choirboys of Saint-Paul, as in other churches, almost certainly knew a great deal of Latin and conversed in the language on a daily basis, but they were not seen as having been given a proper grammar education. Only in certain choir schools did they have dedicated grammar teachers – and sufficient time – to cover the standard Latin grammar curriculum up and including elementary logic and dialectics. Even then, not all the pupils in a choir school might receive instruction in grammar[30]. That is why so many boys left these schools in order to attend grammar schools where they could complete their education. (This was especially necessary if they wished to attend university.) Choirboys could be very well versed in Latin as a language but, in smaller churches without a range of specialized teachers, Latin instruction could fall by the wayside. Happily, the list of books in the proceedings of the chapter of Saint-Paul allows us to see exactly what texts the pupils there were using in the classroom.

[27] A.D.R., 13 G 7 f. 24 v.–f. 25.

[28] A.D.R., 13 G 7 f. 24 v.–f. 25. The details that have been left out are descriptions of the individual codices including number of folios and colors of ink used.

[29] For descriptions of some of these 'A,b,c,d des Psaumes, see: Groag, 1988, p. 163.

[30] At the cathedral of Cambrai between June 1411 and June 1412, the chapter bought a *Doctrinale* (Alexander of Villedieu's versified Latin grammar) for the use of a single pupil: Guillaume Dufay, the future composer (Planchart, 1993, p. 341).

2. School Statutes

The cathedral school of Saint-Jean again presents us with a documentary source with information regarding the experiences of their pupils. School statutes are invaluable to the historian of medieval education because they serve as an operational manual for a given school. They provide a range of practical details about schooling, such as what teachers were to teach which subjects (music, grammar, et cetera) and what was supposed to happen when. The statutes of the school at Saint-Jean are particularly informative regarding the structure of the school day. The statutes were drawn up in 1394 and represent an agreement between the chapter of Saint-Jean and Jean Chalendati, the newly-appointed schoolmaster (*magister scolarum*) (Forest, 1885, pp. 343-344)[31]. The document concentrated on outlining the expected level of care that Chalendat was to provide to the choirboys, which also included instructions on when they should eat.

> Likewise the said master Jean must furnish provisions to the said twelve choirboys of the said church, namely whatever sufficiently and suitably good broth and food by day, and bread abundantly, and of course wine moderately with water three times at lunch and three times at dinner. But regarding early in the morning he must give them bread suitably, and likewise in the summer after sleep, and this of wheaten bread[32].

The boys were to be given three meals each day, meaning that they would have had to break from classes and musical practice in order to partake. It also indicates that in the summer, the boys would also have been allowed a nap or siesta, probably in the early to mid-afternoon. Just as meals would have interrupted lessons, so too would attendance and performance at masses and other services[33]. This document demonstrates the kind of daily timetable pupils could have expected at a cathedral school. They were not to be starved nor were they to be over-worked despite their heavy schedules of practice and performance. While this was a strict structure, their intrinsic value as human beings as well as the dangers of over-exerting young voices was recognized by the cathedral authorities. The only explicit reference to a named daily activity in the statutes of the choir

[31] See also A.D.R., 10 G 79 f. 80 v.

[32] A.D.R., 10 G 79 f. 80 v.

[33] As early as 1175, cathedral statutes at Lyon described how choirboys should enter services and their place in the precedence of exiting the same services (at the head of the procession): Forest, *L'École cathédrale*, pp. 109–10. It is known that the boys participated in the office of Matins. It appears that only on high feast days did the entire complement of choirboys attend and sing at this early office, while a rota was established for ordinary days. Unfortunately, it is unclear if the boys returned to bed after Matins and there is no statement as to when boys were supposed to begin their morning classes (Pourrat, 1899, p. 47 and Forest, 1885, p. 109). Furthermore, the choirboys also participated in processions and services relating to funerals and memorials. For example, Henri de Villars, archbishop of Lyon (died 1355), set aside money for the clerks and choirboys who participated in his memorial Vespers (Guigue, 1867, pp. 159-162).

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school at Saint-Jean comes from the statutes drawn up in 1352 (Forest, 1885, pp. 102-103). It was not a class, either in singing or grammar, but the *recordation*, which took place at *terce* or nine o'clock in the morning (Forest, 1885, pp. 102-103)[34]. This was a daily examination where the boys recited and sang what they had learned in front of the *vicemagister* who, in turn, corrected or praised each pupil in turn. This was also when the *vicemagister* doled out punishment for transgressions[35].

These references that allow us to reconstruct a pupil's day provide a rare glimpse into the medieval classroom. These were not places where children were metaphorically chained to their desks for hours on end, where violence erupted at every illicit whisper or wrong answer. Instead, the medieval classroom was supposed to be a carefully managed environment with set times for rest and refreshment. Punishment delayed to a later time, and even transferred to another master, had the potential to diffuse difficult situations between teachers and pupils. It also may have had a powerful psychological effect on the offending child as they waited for punishment until the pre-ordained time. Furthermore, such a correctional structure meant that instructional time was neither interrupted nor wasted. Of course corporal punishment was part of a child's experience of education in the Middle Ages but it was not necessarily something thrown about recklessly. According to these statutes at Lyon, the pupils at the cathedral schools could expect some level of physical and emotional care[36]. While structure and discipline featured strongly in the medieval church-school experience, the fact that these *clericuli* were children does not appear to have been forgotten by those who were in charge of them. Though the environment was supposed to be strict and even austere, it was not supposed to be inhumane.

[34] When Petrus de Buenc was appointed *vicemagister* on 18 January 1410, he swore to continue the *recordationes* as his predecessors had: A.D.R., 10 G 82 f. 15.

[35] Medieval schools that had statutes usually did not permit teachers to corporally punish pupils at the time of the wrong-doing. It was felt that the anger of teachers could lead to them beating a child too much to the detriment of the child's health and the teacher's reputation. Instead, a record was taken of the transgression and the punishment happened later, away from the eyes of the child's classmates. For more information on this approach to punishment in the medieval classroom, see Gerson, (1960-1973, IX, p. 688).

[36] The proceedings of the chapter also show the cathedral authorities' concern with the physical and emotional wellbeing. On several occasions, inspectors were dispatched to the living-quarters of the *clericuli* in order to ascertain that the bedding, clothing, and food being provided was of a sufficient standard. This concern is further underlined by an entry from 1400 where the *magistri* of the school are directed to treat the choirboys with greater tenderness since there the city was in the middle of an outbreak of the plague. A.D.R., 10 G 80, f. 12 v.

3. Obituaries

The obituaries of the churches of Lyon tell us more about the daily experiences of the choir pupils, specifically their ability to earn money. We know that choirboys were often brought out to perform at private and public gatherings where they and their teachers could expect to receive payment of some kind (Wright, 1989, pp. 192-195). While we have no evidence of such performances taking place in Lyon, but it is clear that pupils attached to churches in the city made money by participating in certain ceremonies. This is both surprising and unsurprising. These children, through their rigorous training and musical education, were professionals. While they were bound by a mutually-beneficial contract with church authorities – where they received an education as well as board and lodgings in return for their services as singers and servers; demands to participate in and sing at extra services were paired with financial incentives for the pupils and their teachers.

At Lyon, several obituaries list major legacies by prominent individuals and are mainly concerned with bequests and gifts to the church in question. But like many such bequests, the departed wished to have some form of memorialization in return for their generosity and they often stipulated in great detail what form that would take. In many examples, elaborate ceremonies including processions and services on the anniversary of the benefactor's death or on the feast day of their preferred saint were to be organized in order to preserve the memory of the dead and to act as a magnificent intercession for the salvation of their soul. No such observance could be complete without the presence of the *clericuli* and other members of the choir, providing suitable liturgical music. Furthermore, the prayers of such innocents were deemed particularly efficacious. Happily, the boys were usually rewarded for these additional duties in their already onerous schedule. One particularly good example of this type of arrangement is that surrounding the legacy and final wishes of Henri de Villars, archbishop of Lyon, who died in December 1355 and whose obituary was recorded in detail in the obituary book held by the cathedral of Saint-Jean[37]. De Villars was clearly a devotee of Mary Magdalene and left money to ensure that her feast day would be celebrated as a double feast, with ringing of bells and processions and special services on the vigil of the day itself. Fifty *solidi viennensis* was to be divided between the participants based on their standing within the hierarchy of the cathedral. Each chaplains was to receive half of what a canon received, while each clerk or choirboy was to receive a quarter of what each canon received. Though this almost certainly caused a substantial computational headache for the *vicemagister*

[37] O.L.E., pp. 159-62.

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(who was the person tasked with dividing and distributing the money), it demonstrates that choirboys were paid for partaking in certain extra services. At the church of Saint-Pierre, Pierre Bessoni founded a special commemoration for his favorite feast day, the martyrdom of Saint Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins[38]. Amongst the various payments to be made to the participants in this service, which included one florin for the sacristan for ringing the bells and two *gros* for the treasurer in return for overseeing all the payments, each choirboy received five *deniers*. Beyond earning money from such extra duties, choirboys were the occasional recipients of simple bequests by ecclesiastics, usually by those who had themselves being involved with the church school and choirboys in life. In the late fourteenth century, Guillaume Forris (or Foreis), the late *scolasticus* of the cathedral of Saint-Jean, left each choirboy two *deniers*[39].

These were not large amounts of money. The pupils at these schools did not receive payment or legacies on an everyday basis. Such amounts, however, represent the ability of choirboys in church schools to earn a kind of living that could either assist their families or allow them to save for their future careers. In many ways these amounts compare well with the wages of others associated with church schools in Lyon. For example, Master Simon was engaged by the cathedral of Saint-Jean to teach Latin grammar in 1445[40]. The cathedral chapter agreed to pay him twelve florins in his first year, which roughly translates into about one *solidus* a day or twelve *deniers*. The five *deniers* that the choirboys of Saint-Paul were to receive on the feast of Saint Ursula does not look entirely paltry in contrast. If a choirboy could get and retain money like this, then placing a boy in a church school was of immense value to a family. For wealthier families, a son who was a choirboy could amass savings that could be used for further education or to advance and enhance his ecclesiastical career in other ways. For poorer families, a son as choirboy could alleviate financial need at home. They would not have to provide him with food and clothes and they might receive some of his earnings from special performances and liturgies and bequests. As discussed above, choirboys from both high- and low-income backgrounds were present in the cathedral school of Saint-Jean and the potential for relatively immediate monetary gains added a luster to sending a child to a church school[41]. The pupil

[38] A.D.R, 13 G 99 f.54 v. Pierre Bessoni is possibly the same Petrus Bessoni who was a teacher at the University of Avignon during the 1440s (Fournier, 1970, pp. 417, 428).

[39] O.L.E., p. 157.

[40] A.D.R., 10 G 90, f. 122.

[41] One of the drawbacks to the sources is that none of them mention if the money that choirboys received was handed directly to the children, if it was placed under the protection of one of the teachers or the church's treasurer, or if it was dispatched to their families. Since the choirboys would have been very young, between the ages of seven and fourteen, it is likely that an income that they had generated over their years of service must have been placed in some sort of trust.

who was a choirboy, therefore, was in a unique position. He was learning and training while simultaneously earning at least a partial living. This was likely to have changed the pupil's experience of schooling as he would have seen a direct correlation between what he was learning and the income which that expertise could garner for him.

4. Wills

As noted in the introduction to this article, much of the information regarding who pupils were and how they experienced education comes from ecclesiastical documents and so church schools and the children who attended them have dominated our discussion so far. We can now begin to look at the more slender offerings from documentary sources that are not proceedings of church chapters or the statutes of church schools. It must remembered, however, that there is no absolute division between «secular» and «ecclesiastical» records and there is much overlap between these supposedly differentiated spheres.

Wills are relatively underappreciated sources for information about later medieval French pupils. These documents, however, enable the researcher to examine the realities of financing education in the Middle Ages. For many would-be pupils, a bequest from a departed relative was the only way that they could acquire the money to attend school. In 1390, Guillaume de Musella left his son, Pierre, ten silver francs, part of which was to finance Pierre's education «at the schools of grammar and logic» for two years[42]. In 1490, Jean de Peyrat left sufficient money to hire servants to care for his children and, when they were ready to go to school, to hire a schoolmaster to tutor them (Gonon, 1968, p. 488)[43]. These are standard educational bequests, demonstrating that even if their parents and guardians died, the formal instruction of their children was ensured. These wills allow for the identification by name of individual pupils, such as Pierre de Musella and the de Peyrat family who were prominent members of the municipal council of Lyon and soldiers during the sixteenth century[44]. For many, it suggests a relatively comfortable mercantile background were attendance at school was becoming more frequent and more expected.

The wills preserved from Lyon and its surrounding areas, however, hold a surprise for the researcher. Many of the children and young people who received money from departing relatives in order to pursue their education were illegitimate and were explicitly mentioned in the wills as illegitimate. For example, in

[42] «[…] Scilicet quod heres suus ipsum P. tenere in sculis (sic) grammaticalibus et lugicalibus (sic)…» (Gonon, 1968, p. 277). See also: A.D.R., 4 G 53, f. 87.

[43] See also A.D.R., 4 G 77 f. 38.

[44] Adolphe Vachet, *A travers les rues de Lyon* (Lyon: Bernoux, Cumin & Masson, 1902) p. 359.

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1364, Jeanette, daughter of Humbert de Boy and wife of Michelet Logeri, stipulated that her heir should provide board and lodging at school to one Leonard until he was eighteen years of age. Leonard was the illegitimate son of Jeanette's late brother, Christian de Boy – «Lionnardum, donatum Cristini de Boy, quondam eius fratris […]» (Gonon, 1968, pp. 256-257)[45]. Likewise, in 1347, Etienne de Montbrison left his illegitimate son, Michelet – *Micheleto, donato suo* – four golden florins a year for eight years for his instruction at any sort of school (Gonon, 1968, p. 186). In 1369, Jean de Poyet, bachelor in decretals, deacon, canon and one-time dean of Notre-Dame de Montbrison (a town close to Lyon) was particularly careful to remember his own illegitimate son, also called Jean de Poyet, in his will[46]. The younger Jean was to receive a sizeable portion of his father's goods in order to follow in his father's footsteps by attending schools of grammar and logic and then onwards to study law. The younger Jean also received his father's books, including a copy of the *Corpus iuris civilis*. These types of legacies demonstrate that, to the fourteenth-century testator, the nature of their children's birth should be no impediment to a good education. What is even more intriguing is the fact that the illegitimate children of clerics, such as Jean de Poyet, could expect to become clerics themselves. The studies that the senior de Poyet had in mind for his son and the expected career as a jurist was still very much the preserve of clerics in fourteenth-century France[47].

All these educational bequests allow for another view on pupils and schooling in late medieval France. It was not restricted to legitimate or aristocratic children. Indeed, for the nascent *bourgeoisie*, attendance at school was becoming *de rigueur*. Furthermore, education was seen as extremely useful for illegitimate children who could not inherit lands, houses, and other familial property because of the 'irregular' nature of their birth. Instead, we see these children inheriting money and (usually movable) property that would enable them to become educated and make their own place in the world. They were not abandoned or forgot or even disguised as distant cousins or nieces and nephews. These examples demonstrate that illegitimacy was not the handicap that it became much later and any medieval attempts to restrict school attendance to those of legitimate birth strongly suggest that many children, even in church schools and preparing for clerical careers, were not the products of regularly recognized unions[48]. Wills, therefore, serve

[45] The word *donatus* (or *donata* for a daughter) was used in legal documentation during this period to show that the person in question was illegitimate.

[46] «… filio meo et donato…» (Gonon, 1968, p. 249).

[47] Illegitimacy, while a *de jure* impediment to careers in the Church, was rarely an issue for people with connections. Guillaume Dufay, the fifteenth-century composer, was a cleric and also the illegitimate cousin of a canon at Chartres cathedral (Planchart, 1993, pp. 40-41). Jean de Pont, cardinal de Rochetaillee, may also have been illegitimate, a son of a cleric (Beyssac, 1907, pp. 7-8).

[48] From 1485, parents had to swear on the head of Saint Anne at Chartres that their children were

as indispensable sources of information on the family backgrounds of would-be pupils and students.

5. Proceedings of Municipal Councils

Lyon, like many cities in the later Middle Ages, had developed its own apparatus of government during the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This process was mirrored, to a greater or lesser extent, in other French towns and cities of the period. In Lyon, however, there were jurisdictional tensions between the municipal council and the archbishop of Lyon, who had once ruled the city and its environs as a prince of the Holy Roman Empire[49]. Conflict occasionally occurred between these two authorities and the question of who had the right to license schools and schoolmasters was not excluded from such clashes. Information explicitly regarding the children to attended these debated schools or were taught by masters who were appointed by the municipal council is lacking in the records of the municipal council. In general, the remaining proceedings of the meetings of the council focus on the teachers, their letters of appointment and their receipt of payments and payments-in-kind[50]. The exact nature of their pupils is generally ignored. It is likely, however, that the children educated by teachers employed, directly and indirectly, by the *consuls* of Lyon were part of the circles and families of the very same men. This is very stated explicitly and the pupils who attended… are shrouded in anonymity.

There is, happily, one incident that is recorded in the minutes of the municipal council that does reveal something of the daily life of a schoolboy in Lyon at the very end of the Middle Ages. After grappling once again with the cathedral chapter of Saint-Jean, the city fathers founded, along with the confraternity of the Trinity, the *Collège de la Trinité* in 1527. According to the document that recorded the foundation of this school, it was to be located «in barns belonging to the confraternity situated on the Rhône, on the rue Neuve, those which were and are occupied by the artillery of the King» (Charvet, 1872-73, p. 212). It was the first school completely controlled by the municipal government of Lyon without having to pay lip-service to the cathedral. Unfortunately, the school had a difficult

legitimate and were therefore «qualified» to enter the choir school there. Since it was felt necessary to impose this oath, it is highly likely that many illegitimate children had passed through the school (Clerval, 1899, pp. 45-46).

[49] For a full discussion of the development of the council's rule and the decline of ecclesiastical power in Lyon see: Fédou (1988, pp. 93-109).

[50] Municipal records also include large amounts of information relating to the taxes paid by schoolmasters and mistresses. There are also records of the property owned or rented by the citizens of Lyon, including that held by teachers. Elementary and grammar pupils, however, are not mentioned in these documents.

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first few years. In August 1528, the rector of the school, Jean Canape, noted that the roof was leaking in several places[51]. In November 1529, Canape complained that the noise from the adjacent factories, namely the factory producing artillery for the King, had driven all the pupils away from the college (Charvet, 1872-73, p. 215). The municipal government was forced to invest substantial sums of money in the fabric of the college[52]. The primary interest for us in Canape's complaints is the idea of young boys, aged between seven and fourteen, being taught in less-than-comfortable conditions. It is quite amusing to imagine these pupils continuing their lessons under a leaking roof but eventually leaving because they could no longer hear their teachers. This interlude reminds the researcher that these schools, with their teachers and pupils laid at the heart of the medieval and Renaissance city which was full of the sounds of industry and commerce and the general susurration of thousands of people living and working in close quarters. It also reminds us that schoolchildren rarely had customized classrooms, built for the purpose of education. Usually classes were held in the homes of the respective schoolmaster or school mistress. A building or room set aside for a period longer than the rental agreement of an individual teacher was rare. In Lyon, the *manecanterie* of Saint-Jean was the exception and even then, like the barns used by the *Collège de la Trinité*, it had had a prior use. The *manecanterie*, however, had been renovated with the pupils of the choir school in mind: the barns of the municipal school do not appear to have had much work done on them until after the school had moved into the premises and the principal teacher began to protest to the municipal council. The medieval schoolchild, therefore, was expected to learn wherever their teacher situated themselves, whether that be the teacher's own front room, a corner of their local church, or a barn.

6. Pedagogical Literature

As discussed above, references to individual outside the cathedral school are less common. Some names of pupils have been recorded, mainly in memoires and similar literature. It is from his own memoires that we know that Claude Bellièvre was given his first lessons by a laborer called Ragot[53]. According to a biography of the sixteenth-century *lyonnais* counsellor, Pierre Sala, his brother

[51] «[…] il pleust en plusieurs lieux en ladicte grange […]» (Charvet, 1872-73, p. 215).

[52] A.M.L., CC 0776, pieces 27 & 29 and CC 0788, pieces 12 & 13. The *Collège de la Trinité* continued in different guises. It came under the authority of the Society of Jesus in 1565 and was controlled by the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri from 1762 to 1792. It eventually became the *Lycée Ampère* and still operates as a school in the French public education system.

[53] «Ung bon homme laboreur, nommé Ragot, qui sçavoir lire» (Fédou, 1964, p. 17). Other children of the Bellièvre family attended the school of Saint-Jean: A.D.R., 10 G 94, f. 7 v.

attended 'the schools attached to Saint-Nizier' around 1490[54]. In François Garin's *Complainte*, written in Lyon in 1460, he expects that his son will attend school and learn the skills considered necessary for a merchant of the city[55]. These were all boys associated with merchants and councilors and were numbered among the urban elite of Lyon. This picture of municipal education being associated with the children –specifically the sons– of the influential and the wealthy appears to be confirmed by pedagogical literature produced by a well-connected teacher in Lyon in the 1490s.

Pedagogical literature in the Middle Ages was not a discreet genre. Many different people wrote about education in many different formats and often disagreed with each other's advice, from the moralizing letters of Jerome to Laeta and Pacatula at the turn of the fifth century to the classicizing treatises penned by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and Battista Guarino in the fifteenth century[56]. Jean Gerson, one-time chancellor of the University of Paris who spent his final years at the church of Saint-Paul in Lyon, wrote several works giving educational advice, including letters to the Dauphin's tutor, school statutes for the choirboys of Notre-Dame de Paris, and various rhyming poems and short texts in middle French (Gerson, 1960-1973, especially volume IX). Some examples of pedagogical literature carried dedications, usually to an aristocratic or royal patron or student, and often these were one and the same thing. Piccolomini's *On the Education of Boys* was written for, and dedicated to, King Ladislas of Hungary, in 1450 (Kallendorf, 2002, pp. 126-127). All of this brings us to a set of books published in Lyon in the 1490s by one of the first printing presses established in the kingdom of France. Edited by the noted Renaissance printer, Jose Badius Ascensius (1462–1535), they appear to compilations of texts (with commentaries) which were often used in elementary and grammar education during the Middle Ages. Badius, a native of Flanders, had travelled to Italy in the 1480s, where he studied under Battista Guarino at Ferrara and Filippo Beroaldo at Mantua (Renouard, 1967, I, pp. 5-6). At some point before 1492, possibly after teaching at the University of Avignon, he came to Lyon. There, he developed a professional relationship with a German printer, Jean Trechsel, and began teaching in a school ran by Henri Valluphin, who himself was closely associated with the municipal council (Renouard, 1967, I, pp. 9-10, II, p. 67)[57].

[54] A.M.L. BB 19, f. 176. See also Fabia (1934, p. 14).

[55] «Quant tu auras a l'escole aprins / choisir te couvient part y [sic] prendre / alors ne soyes entreprins: / avec marchans te vueilles render, / combine premier tu dois aprendre / a bien nombrer, car c'est la voye / pour plus tost savoir et ententre / le compte d'or et de monnoy» (Garin, 1978, pp. 94-95).

[56] For Jerome's letters see: Jerome (1933). For an excellent translation of a selection of humanist educational works see: Kallendorf (2002).

[57] Henri Valluphin is mentioned three times in the municipal archives, twice in 1499 and once in 1514: A.M.L., CC 107, f. 135; CC 538, f. 45 v.–f. 46 and CC 254 f. 111.

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In 1492, Badius published, with Trechsel, one of his compilations of medieval texts used for elementary and grammar instruction. Entitled *Sylvae morales*, the volume included excerpts from Horace's *Odes* (reflecting the fashion for this particular text in Italian schoolbooks), Virgil, Persius, Juvenal, Battista Mantovano, Giovanni Sulpizio Verulano, the *moralia Catonis* and Alain de Lille (Renouard, 1967, I, pp. 9-10, II, p. 67)[58]. It is unclear if the book itself was intended as a textbook to be used by Badius' pupils in Lyon since it would have been a costly object. Even marketed to the sons of the wealthy merchants and councilors of the city, it is perhaps better to suggest that the book was designed as a piece of promotion, demonstrating both Trechsel and Badius' work as publishers and editors, and advertising Badius' own work as a teacher. *Sylvae morlaes* is a valuable document for the researcher of medieval schoolchildren in Lyon as it contains several dedications to Badius' own pupils. The boys and adolescents that he dedicates books to in his volume all appear to come from aristocratic and «bourgeois» backgrounds. Giovanni Sulpizio da Veroli's treatise on table manners was dedicated to Clement d'Aurillac, probably a member of a noble family originally from the Auvergne[59]. The *Disticha Catonis* were dedicated to Humbert Fournier and François «Pascheto»[60]. While «Pascheto» cannot be identified, Fournier was likely the same Humbert Fournier who was a contemporary of Symphorien Champier and active in intellectual circles in Lyon in the early sixteenth centuries (Copenhaver, 1979, p. 88). It is unclear who the Pierre Guillaume de Calmont (or Calmon) referred to in the preface for the *Liber parabolarum* was but his father, Claude, and his brother, François, are noted as being noble[61].

Badius' dedicatory introductions to educational texts give us the names of pupils and students give us the names of boys who were being instructed by Badius. It is clear from other prefaces in other books that Badius worked as a teacher for Henri Valluphin for a period in the 1490s, a teacher favored by the municipal council of Lyon (Renouard, 1967, II, pp. 535-36). These boys who he mentioned in his writing were very much part of the city's elite. They were either from noble families or the sons of members of the *consulat* of Lyon. The evidence provided by Badius tells the researcher two things. Firstly, the shift from

[58] For a discussion of the popularity of Horace in the Italian classroom, see: Black (2001, p. 246).

[59] «Clementi de Auriliaco discipulo suo dilectissimo» (Renouard, 1967, II, pp. 67, 70–71). See also Aubert (1876, XI, p. 656).

[60] «Humberto Fornerio et Francisco Pascheto studiosis adolescentibus discipulis suis» (Renouard, 1967, II, pp. 67, 71–72). Humbert Fournier was the brother of Hughues Fournier, lord of Grinats, professor of law at Orléans and eventually president of the parliament of Burgundy. Humbert corresponded with Symphorien Champier and was probably a member of the exclusive circle of humanists who gathered in a house and garden on the slopes of Notre Dame de Fourvier in Lyon (Pins, 2007, p. 350, n. 16).

[61] «Petro Guilhelmo Calomontensi adolescent studiosissimo» (Renouard, 1967, II, pp. 68, 72-73). It is unclear if Badius' use of the term noble was descriptive or rhetorical.

private tutor to attendance at socially-acceptable and intellectually-stimulating schools had begun. While instruction at home continued, going to school and socializing with peers increasingly came to be seen as appropriate preparation for a young aristocrat or future leading citizen. Schooling, therefore, became a group activity for those who traditionally were educated in splendid isolation. This shift was no doubt influenced by the re-emergence of classical trends, its *gymnasia* and emphasis on friendly competition within the classroom. Secondly, Badius concentration on pupils from elevated socio-economic backgrounds shows that the schools patronized by the municipal council of Lyon were frequented, if not dominated, by boys from the rural and urban elites. It is strongly suggestive of a certain amount of social segregation in the schools of late-medieval Lyon and that the schoolmasters so energetically recruited by the councilors in the face of the cathedral's jurisdictional objections were there to teach the children of the very same councilors. Public money was spent to ensure a quality education for a small sub-section of Lyon's children and it is unclear if the sons of lesser merchants, artisans, and laborers could have attended such a school. Of course, the evidence is skewed. It is unlikely that Badius would have dedicated works to children without connections, whose relatives could not have bought his editions or advanced his career. This is precisely the situation that shows how difficult it is to research pupils and students in medieval sources, when they lacked a voice of their own in the surviving documentary sources.

7. Conclusions

This article has sought to establish that information on medieval pupils and their experiences at school can indeed be found. The names of individual pupils have to be discovered in places beyond the registration and attendance rolls available to modern historians of education. Piece by piece, trawling through the proceedings of ecclesiastical chapters, school statutes, obituaries, wills, proceedings of the municipal council, and pedagogical literature, we find the names of children who went to school in the Middle Ages. By extending the search to genealogies and secondary literature, we can occasionally deduce their socio-economic backgrounds or their future careers. Of even greater value is the information available regarding the nature of medieval schooling, the daily experiences of pupils within the classroom and at the hands of their teachers. Through an exploration of documentary sources, the everyday schedule of a schoolchild can be glimpsed, including the kinds of texts that they were being taught from, when they had their breaks and naps, when and how they were punished, and even who they were supposed to come into contact with during the course of their day. These documents can indicate the kinds of children who were most likely to attend formal instruction outside of the home.

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For example, in Lyon, it appears that poorer boys had a better chance of going to the choir schools of the churches of the city rather than learning from the grammar masters supported by the municipal council. The sources show that illegitimacy was not necessarily an impediment to getting an education. They even allow the researcher to see a little of pupils' physical surroundings at school, from the carefully managed and constructed *manecanterie* and little cloister for the boys of Saint-Jean to the less salubrious barns of the *Collège de la Trinité*. The conclusion, therefore, is a simple one: no «type» of documentary source can be discounted from the attentions of the scholar of the history of education in the pre-modern era. The intriguing vignettes and unexpected details about the medieval pupil can be found in most surprising of sources.

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