

# The Great Dispersion of the University of Paris and the Rise of European Universities (1229-1231)

## La gran dispersión de la Universidad de Paris y el surgimiento de las universidades europeas (1229-1231)

Nathalie Gorochov  
*Université Paris-Est Créteil*  
*Centre de Recherche en Histoire Européenne Comparée (CRHEC)*

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20318/cian.2018.4192>

Recibido: 01/02/2018  
Aceptado: 13/04/2018

*Abstract:* After a violent “town and gown” conflict, the masters and students of Paris left the capetian capital during two years, between 1229 and 1231. Prosopographical data enable us to know that they had been dispersed to the Loire Valley, Picardy, Champagne, England, Italy and Spain. In these places, most of them continued to teach or to study, and their arrival fostered the development of scholarly centers such as Orléans or Palencia. The recent universities such as Oxford or Toulouse saw their populations increase suddenly with the arrival of Parisian clerks. Manuscripts and institutional models travelled with masters and students through Europe so that we can say that the Great dispersion of the University of Paris had important consequences on the rise of European universities.

*Keywords:* University, Paris, Oxford, Orléans, Bologne, dispersion.

*Resumen:* Después de un violento conflicto de “pueblo y toga”, los maestros y estudiantes de París abandonaron la capital de los Capetos durante dos años, entre 1229 y 1231. Los datos prosopográficos nos permiten saber que se dispersaron por el Valle del Loira, Picardía, Champaña, Inglaterra, Italia y España. En estos lugares, la mayoría de ellos continuó enseñando o estudiando, y su llegada fomentó el desarrollo de centros académicos como Orleans o Palencia. Universidades recientes como Oxford o Toulouse vieron su población aumentar repentinamente con la llegada de empleados parisinos. Manuscritos y modelos institucionales viajaron con maestros y estudiantes a través de Europa por lo que podemos decir que la gran dispersión de la Universidad de París tuvo importantes consecuencias en el surgimiento de las universidades europeas.

*Palabras clave:* Universidad, Paris, Oxford, Orleans, Bolonia, dispersion.

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\* gorochov@u-pec.fr

In volume V of his *Chronica Majora*, Matthew Paris, monk of Saint Albans, gives a detailed account of the great strike at the University of Paris in the spring of 1229<sup>1</sup>. The violent ‘town and gown’ conflict and the summary execution of several students by the Provost of Paris and his sergeants occurred on 27 February 1229. That same day or the next day, the strike began: the masters halted their classes. Three weeks later, Eudes de Châteauroux, master of theology, gave a sermon to the University of Paris; André Callebaut would later describe this sermon as ‘historic’<sup>2</sup>. Taking the side of the masters demanding justice, Eudes de Châteauroux called for the pope to arbitrate. This speech did not produce the intended effect, and the masters’ visit to the queen, Blanche of Castile, was also a failure. Consequently, on 27 March 1229, twenty-one elected representatives of the University of Paris drafted a brief decree in which they announced that if the University did not obtain reparation for the harm done, it was prepared to leave the Capetian capital for six years, and to prohibit its masters and students from living, studying or teaching there for the full duration of that period<sup>3</sup>. This laconic charter elicited no response. In April 1229, the masters and students left Paris until the conflict was resolved two years later, in the spring of 1231.

This incident is well known. Even more famous is the way it was settled, through the frequently-commented papal bull *Parens scientiarum* (13 April 1231)<sup>4</sup>. However, many questions remain unanswered regarding this event

<sup>1</sup> Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, vol. III (London : Longman, 1876), 166-169.

<sup>2</sup> André Callebaut, “Le sermon historique d’Eudes de Châteauroux à Paris le 18 mars 1229. Autour de l’origine de la grève universitaire et de l’enseignement des mendiants”, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 28 (1935) : 81-114.

<sup>3</sup> Heinrich Denifle et Emile Châtelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, t. 1 (Paris : Delalain, 1889), 118 : “In nomine Patris, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Nos dati provisoires ab Universitate communi assensu et voluntate, ordinamus et ordinando decernimus, quod nisi infra mensem a die Pasche competenter fuerit satisfactum universitati magistrorum et scholarium secundum nostrum arbitrium super atrocissimis injuriis a preposito Parisiensi et complicibus suis et quibusdam aliis eis illatis, extunc nulli liceat morari in civitate vel diocesi Parisiensi causa studii, scilicet audiendi vel docendi, infra sex annos a fine predicti mensis numerandos : et pendente termino emende nullus leget publice vel privatim. Nec etiam post sex annos poterit quisquam reverti, nisi super predictis injuriis competenter fuerit satisfactum. Et ut istud firmum permaneat, presentem cartam sigillorum nostrorum appositione fecimus communiri. Actum anno Domini MCCvicesimo octavo, mense Martio, die martis post Annunciationem Domini”.

<sup>4</sup> Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1 (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1936), 338-343 ; Jacques Verger, “A propos de la naissance de l’université de Paris : contexte social, enjeu politique, portée intellectuelle”, *Les universités françaises au Moyen Age* (Leyde : Brill, 1995), 1-35; Charles Vulliez, “Un texte fondateur de l’université de Paris au Moyen Age : la bulle *Parens scientiarum* du pape Grégoire IX (13 avril 1231)”, *Cahiers de l’Insti-*

that marked the end of the institutional formation of the University of Paris<sup>5</sup>. Who were the masters and students who did not hesitate to express their discontent with an action as radical as *migratio*, following in the footsteps of scholars in Italy and England? Whereas at that time, the masters and students in Paris hailed from all of Europe, where did these hundreds of clerics go to continue their work? In this paper, we will examine this ‘dispersion’ of the University of Paris in a broad context that casts light on its consequences for the history of the universities and scholastic centres of Europe in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. After two short years away, the masters and students returned to Paris – but the map of Europe’s universities had changed.

*From the town and gown conflict (February 1229) to the dispersion (April 1229)*

On 26 February, a small group of theology students left town to go to the village of Saint-Marcel. They entered a tavern, but when it was time to pay, they refused the exorbitant price that was asked of them. Perhaps emboldened by the wine they had drunk, they became violent with the tavernkeeper and his servants, who quickly received help from neighbours. Facing this group of angry townsfolk, the students fled. The following day, a group of ‘Picards’ armed with swords and clubs returned to Saint-Marcel to avenge the students battered the previous night, terrorising the village. The prior of Saint-Marcel complained to the bishop and the legate. The queen immediately sent the provost and his sergeants, who meted out punishment blindly, striking and even killing some innocent students that they saw playing in the street. According to Matthew Paris, the only person responsible for the clerics’ death was the queen, who gave the terrible order to spare nobody and who held supreme power. For just over two years, since the death of Louis VIII, the Kingdom of France had indeed been governed by Blanche of Castile as regent on behalf of her young son Louis.<sup>6</sup> Faced with strong opposition from the nobility, she meticulously followed the advice of the papal legate Romano

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*tut de Recherches Pédagogiques* 20 (1992) : 50-72 ; Spencer Young, “Consilio hominum nostrorum: A comparative Study of Royal Responses to Crisis at the University of Paris 1200-1231”, *History of Universities* 22 (2007) : 1-20 ; Nathalie Gorochov, *Naissance de l’université. Les écoles de Paris d’Innocent III à Thomas d’Aquin (v. 1200-v. 1245)* (Paris : Champion, 2012), 397-459.

<sup>5</sup> Verger, “A propos de la naissance de l’université”, 10.

<sup>6</sup> Gérard Sivéry, *Blanche de Castille* (Paris : Fayard, 1990).

Bonaventura. He apparently influenced most of her decisions<sup>7</sup>, and Blanche of Castile even had to fight off persistent rumours, spread by the barons and scholars, that she was having an affair with the legate<sup>8</sup>. Matthew Paris repeated these rumours in his account of the great strike. Since the destruction of the University seal in late 1225, the masters and students of the University of Paris were probably quite resentful towards the papal legate<sup>9</sup>, and must have been displeased by his political influence over the king and regent.

Indeed, if we lend credence to Matthew Paris's account, the deadly and blind repression carried out by the provost resulted in an immediate interruption of classes. This was the first action by the masters who perhaps hoped to obtain reparation. Matthew Paris adds that they visited the queen, and this second action was very spectacular. We can assume that a large delegation went to meet with the queen and the legate. Unfortunately, no other chronicler provides more details on this episode than Matthew Paris, who does not mention Eudes de Châteauroux's stance in favour of the University in the sermon on 18 March 1229<sup>10</sup>. In an 'indictment of extraordinary verbal violence'<sup>11</sup>, Eudes de Châteauroux, master of theology, proclaimed to the people of Paris – to whom he addressed this sermon – that the authorities had trampled on the clerical privileges that the masters and students should theoretically enjoy, and that the secular powers had betrayed their obligations to the University.

Failing to receive any response, the striking masters gathered to decide together on other actions. Soon after Eudes de Châteauroux's sermon, sometime between 18 and 26 March 1229, they elected representatives who drafted a decree (currently held in the University of Paris Archives). In the name of the University alone, these representatives announced that if the corporation did not quickly receive reparation for the harm done to several clerics by the provost and his accomplices, the University might leave the Capetian capital<sup>12</sup>. This is a remarkable text because it shows the full sovereignty of the University of Paris. At the same period, official provisions han-

<sup>7</sup> Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Etude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII, 1187-1226* (Paris : Bouillon, 1894).

<sup>8</sup> Leroux de Lincy, *Recueil de chants historiques français* (Paris : Gosselin, 1841), 165-173.

<sup>9</sup> Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université*, 358-361.

<sup>10</sup> Callebaut, "Le sermon historique d'Eudes de Châteauroux".

<sup>11</sup> Alexis Charansonnet, *L'Université, l'Eglise, l'Etat dans les sermons du cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux (1190 ?-1273)*, thèse inédite (Université de Lyon II: 2001), 47-53.

<sup>12</sup> See note 3.

ded down by other universities – be it Bologna or Oxford – were very rare<sup>13</sup>. While the autonomy of the Paris *universitas* surpassed that of the other *studia* organised at that time, the masters and students of Paris were not the inventors of *migratio*. They were imitating a strategy previously used by the scholars of Bologna who left for Vicenza (1204-1209), Padua (1222) and Vercelli (1228), and by the masters and students of Oxford who sought exile in Cambridge and other cities in England (late 1209-1214). The history of these migrations, disseminated by English and Italian clerics, was probably well known in the Paris university milieu.

Thus, after the strike, the masters and students decided on their final weapon for obtaining reparation for the provost's deadly repression: exile for the entire *studium*. Although this decree was probably actually sent to the relevant authorities, it elicited no response. In April 1229, the masters and students left Paris for two long years.

### *The entire University of Paris in exile?*

If we rely on Matthew Paris's account, the entire university, without exception, left the city in spring 1229. Less categorical accounts were given by other chroniclers, such as Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, who nevertheless described the deadly encounter as a 'war'<sup>14</sup>. According to him, a few masters remained in Paris, whereas the majority – including the most renowned masters – left the city. Some of them decided to return to their native regions. On this point, his account is similar to the one given by the monk of St Albans.

Matthew Paris and Alberic of Trois-Fontaines are rather vague on the exiled clerics' destination. Some English clerics (Matthew Paris provides a valuable list of their names) returned to the Kingdom of England, and many masters went to Angers. According to Alberic, they left the city and in some cases returned to their homelands. The Englishman Ralph of Coggeshall, a Cistercian monk, was no clearer in his indications<sup>15</sup>. We should note that the students of each school generally followed their master – hence the massive scale of the university migration. A brief reference in the Limoges chronicle

<sup>13</sup> Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Universitas. Expressions du mouvement communautaire dans le Moyen Âge latin* (Paris : Vrin, 1970), 265-266.

<sup>14</sup> Aubri des Trois-Fontaines, *Chronique universelle*, ed. Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*, t. XXIII (Leipzig : Hiersemann, 1925), 923.

<sup>15</sup> *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (Londres: Longman, 1875), 192.

reveals some unique information: the masters and students of Paris were dispersed to Reims, Angers, Orléans and England, according to the chronicler<sup>16</sup>. And nearly a century later, the very scrupulous Bernard Gui, in *Flores chronicorum*<sup>17</sup>, partly repeated the Limousine chronicler and was more precise than his predecessors, stating that the masters and students left Paris *en masse* and were dispersed to the four corners of the kingdom, from Reims to Angers, from Orléans to Toulouse, and also abroad, to England, Italy and Spain<sup>18</sup>. The next question is who left and who remained, for manuscript 338 of new Latin acquisitions held in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France contains a record of university sermons for the year 1230-1231. That year, sixteen masters (nine secular and seven mendicant friars) preached 84 sermons to an audience of clerics and students who were apparently in Paris, in most cases<sup>19</sup>. Prosopographical data enable us to know a bit more about what became of the masters and students during the dispersion that lasted two years, from April 1229 to April 1231.

### *The departure of English masters and rise of the University of Oxford*

Most theologians quit teaching, notably English masters Ralph de Maidstone, the treasurer of Lichfield<sup>20</sup>, John Blund<sup>21</sup>, William of Durham<sup>22</sup> and mostly likely John de Barastre, whose presence was no longer recorded after 1229<sup>23</sup>. They left Paris at the start of the great strike, along with some of their students. For example, the Franciscan Henry de Reresby, who was studying in Paris, joined the convent of Oxford, where he became custodian<sup>24</sup>. Likewise,

<sup>16</sup> *Majus Chronicon Lemovicense, Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, t. 21 (Paris : Imprimerie nationale, 1855), 764.

<sup>17</sup> Bernard Guenée, *Entre l'Eglise et l'Etat. Quatre vies de prélats français à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris : Gallimard, 1987), 49-85.

<sup>18</sup> Bernard Gui, *Flores chronicorum, Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, t. 21 (Paris : Imprimerie nationale, 1855), 695.

<sup>19</sup> Marie-Madeleine Davy, *Les sermons universitaires parisiens de 1230-1231. Contribution à l'histoire de la prédication médiévale* (Paris : Vrin, 1931). See also Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la parole*, vol. 1 (Paris : Institut d'Etudes Augustiniennes, 1998), 157-165.

<sup>20</sup> Alfred Brotherston Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500* (London : Clarendon Press, 1957), 1203-1204.

<sup>21</sup> *Johannes Blund, Tractatus de anima*, ed. Daniel A. Callus et Robert W. Hunt (London: British Academy, 1970), *Introduction* ; Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université*, 418-419.

<sup>22</sup> Emden, *A Biographical Register*, 612-613 ; Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université*, 418-419.

<sup>23</sup> Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université*, 401.

<sup>24</sup> Emden, *A Biographical Register*, 1567.

the Franciscan Henry de Burford<sup>25</sup>, who had converted in the early 1220s, left Paris for Oxford in 1229.

Some of these Parisian theologians who returned to England joined the University of Oxford, at least initially. Thus, Ralph de Maidstone (†1243)<sup>26</sup>, master of theology, became the chancellor of the University of Oxford on 22 June 1231. John Blund, moreover, moved to Oxford in 1229<sup>27</sup>, William of Durham (†1249) went back to his curia of Wearmouth but returned to Paris after the dispersion. Becoming the chaplain of the pope in the 1240s, upon his death, he bequeathed considerable wealth to the University of Oxford, intended to fund fellowships for theology students<sup>28</sup>.

These four English masters of theology left Paris with many of their compatriots, students and masters of arts, including Alan de Beccles and Nicholas de Farnham. Alan de Beccles enjoyed a remarkable longevity; he taught in Paris for around two decades after studying in Oxford, where he returned in 1229<sup>29</sup>.

Beginning in 1200, Nicholas de Farnham studied, then taught, the liberal arts in Paris. Thereafter, he studied theology. He travelled to Bologna twice to learn medicine. While we do not know the exact dates of his stays in Bologna, the first was definitely before 1220, because he received pay as a physician for King Henry III in 1223<sup>30</sup>. Later, in 1229, he was back in Paris and was therefore a member of this group of masters who supposedly returned to England at the start of the great strike. He went to Oxford, where he received his master of theology<sup>31</sup>.

As all teaching in the schools of the University was prohibited, we can easily imagine that many clerics, unable to teach or study, returned to their native lands, especially if they held one or more ecclesiastical benefices there. Like William of Durham, John Blund, Ralph de Maidstone, Nicholas de Farnham, Alan de Beccles, Henry de Burford and Henry de Resesby, other masters

<sup>25</sup> Josiah Cox Russell, *Dictionary of Writers of the thirteenth Century England* (London : Longman, 1936), 44; Gorochoy, *Naissance de l'université*, 418.

<sup>26</sup> Emden, *A Biographical Register*, 1203-1204.

<sup>27</sup> Emden, *A Biographical Register*, 206.

<sup>28</sup> Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, t. 3, 176-177.

<sup>29</sup> Emden, *A biographical Register*, 145.

<sup>30</sup> Tiziana Pesenti, "Arti e medicina : la formazione del curriculum medico", *Luoghi e metodi di insegnamento nell'Italia Medievale*, ed. Luciano Gargan (Galatina : Congedo, 1989), 155-177 (166) ; Gorochoy, *Naissance de l'université*, 420.

<sup>31</sup> Emden, *A Biographical Register*, 669; Russell, *Dictionary of Writers*, 87-89; Charles H. Talbot et Eugene A. Hammond, *The Medical Practitioners in Medieval England. A biographical Register* (London: Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 1965), 223-225.



and students (probably a large number, but we cannot know precisely how many) returned to England. Alexander of Hales, master of theology in Paris, may have joined the chapter of St Paul's of London, where he held a stipend in 1229, before coming back to Paris in 1231<sup>32</sup>. By the same token, the dispersion mostly likely ended Robert Somercotes' stay in Paris permanently<sup>33</sup>. The same uncertainty pertains to Robert Kilwardby; he studied and may have taught the liberal arts in Paris before 1229, and forced into exile, apparently began to teach in Oxford before returning to Paris sometime between 1237 and 1245<sup>34</sup>. Similar chronological issues arise for Richard Rufus of Cornwall<sup>35</sup>.

Available records do not allow us to determine whether these numerous departures for England occurred immediately, in April 1229, or gathered pace following the brief letter by King Henry III of England, dated 16 July 1229 and held in the Patent Rolls, whereby the king invited the University of Paris to move to England<sup>36</sup>. Regardless, this document shows the political significance of the strike of the University of Paris and the prestige attached to this *studium*, which the King of England would have gladly welcomed to his kingdom.

While he was unable to accomplish the impossible feat of bringing the entire University of Paris to Oxford, in the spring of 1229<sup>37</sup>, Henry III could nevertheless relish the return of a large number of English masters and students. Many undoubtedly went to Oxford, where the university had hardly expanded since 1214. R. Southern and M.B. Hackett agree that in the course of 1229, the situation at Oxford changed entirely. The university suddenly began to grow in 1229-1230 with the arrivals from Paris. In the following months, the influx of students caused tensions between the townsfolk and the univer-

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<sup>32</sup> Russell, *Dictionary of Writers*, 13-15; Emden, *A Biographical Register*, 2180; Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout : Brepols, 2001), 49-51 ; *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises*, ed. Michel Zink et Geneviève Hase-nohr (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 45 ; Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université*, 421.

<sup>33</sup> Emden, *A Biographical Register*, 2216-2217.

<sup>34</sup> Ellen Sommer-Seckendorff, *Studies in the Life of Robert Kilwardby* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1937), 1-22.

<sup>35</sup> Emden, *A biographical Register*, 1604-1605; Timothy. B. Noone, "Richard Rufus of Cornwall and the Authorship of the scriptum super Metaphysicam", *Franciscan Studies* 49 (1989): 55-91; Rega Wood, "Richard Rufus: Physics at Paris before 1240", *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale V* (1994): 87-128; Rega Wood, *Richard Rufus of Cornwall, In physica Aristotelis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université*, 329-330, n. 58.

<sup>36</sup> Denifle et Châtelain, *Chartularium*, t. 1, 119; Henry E. Salter, *Medieval Archives of the University of Oxford* (Oxford: Boydell and Brewer, 1920), 17-18.

<sup>37</sup> Benedikt Hackett, "The University as a Corporate Body", in *The History of the University of Oxford. The Early Oxford Schools*, ed. Jeremy Catto (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 52.



sity population in Oxford and Cambridge, with rents demanded by landlords rising so much that the masters and students complained to the king. On 3 May 1231, in the oldest extant royal document related to the English university, King Henri III – residing at the time at Beaumont Palace, just outside Oxford – addressed a severe warning to the mayors and bailiffs of both Oxford and Cambridge<sup>38</sup>. He referred to the ‘the many English and foreign clerics arriving in Oxford and Cambridge’, and he complained of numerous ‘rebellious’ and ‘incorrigible’ students who did not submit to the authority of the masters and the chancellor. Were these students who had recently arrived from Paris, and who, more or less attached to a master, had become idle in the two English university towns? Henry III recommended that in the future, no student should be allowed to remain in Oxford without being placed under the authority (*tuitio*) of a master, as laid out in the Paris Statutes of 1215.

Among the university men who came from Paris, there were several experienced and renowned masters, listed above, including Ralph de Maidstone, who became the chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1231, William of Durham, John Blund, Alan de Beccles and Nicholas de Farnham (two close friends of Robert Grosseteste), and Robert Kilwardby. Armed with their experience from the University of Paris, they suggested organisational models that were quickly applied to Oxford. These men, and more specifically the chancellor Ralph de Maidstone, were the ones to suggest that each student should be registered with a master, as was the case in Paris since 1215. Moreover, according to M.B. Hackett, the statutes of the University of Oxford, drafted beginning in the 1230s, are a simple transplant of the Paris statutes<sup>39</sup>. In the 1220s, the faculty of arts of Paris comprised different ‘nations’, just as a slightly different configuration took shape in Oxford in the 1230s. In both Oxford and Paris, the masters of arts, who were the most numerous, started to claim that they should govern the university. In the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, the chancellor of Oxford did not come into opposition with the masters, unlike his counterpart in Paris; he issued the bachelor’s degree in the name of the university and with the consent of the masters. He had a right to visit and correct scholars, he presided a tribunal, but his role was more that of a rector when he attended the *inceptiones* of new masters. On this point, the two systems were somewhat different<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Alfred Brotherston Emden, *An Oxford Hall in Medieval Times* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), 13.

<sup>39</sup> Hackett, “The University as a Corporate Body”, 54.

<sup>40</sup> Richard W. Southern, “From schools to University”, in *The History of the University of Oxford. The Early Oxford Schools*, 1-36; Hackett, “The University as a Corporate Body”, 52-54.

### *Parisian masters in Italy and Spain*

The dispersion therefore prompted many masters to return temporarily or permanently to England, and also to Italy. Ardengus of Pavia, a student of Guillaume d'Auxerre<sup>41</sup>, was elected bishop of Florence before 1231 and governed that church until his death in 1249<sup>42</sup>. After 1230, the Parisian theologian Alberic of Opreno, from the diocese of Milan, continued his ecclesiastical career in Italy<sup>43</sup>. Perhaps both men taught after their return to Italy. As for Federico Visconti, he went back to the chapter of Pisa Cathedral for a few years before returning to Paris after 1235<sup>44</sup>. These travels facilitated the dissemination of texts and cultural models. For example, when Federico Visconti preached to the faithful in Pisa, he quoted lengthy passages of a sermon by Jean de la Rochelle, which he may have heard in Paris circa 1229-1230<sup>45</sup>.

Forced to leave Paris, French masters were tempted to travel to Bologna. Thus, we can assume that Robert de Domfront, scholaster of Paris and canon of Le Mans in the 1220s, then left Paris for Italy, stayed in Bologna for a few years before returning to Paris, then to Le Mans, where he became the dean of the cathedral chapter in 1234<sup>46</sup>. According to Jordan of Saxony, precisely in the summer of 1229, Walter of Germany (a famous master of arts in Paris) was at the University of Vercelli, where Jordan converted him and two of his bachelors. Jordan was sending a report to the provincial of Lombardy, Stephen, of the many conversions he had made in Vercelli in summer 1229, notably among university men recently arrived, whereas the clerics of Vercelli had been reticent towards his preaching up until then:

“At first, I found the students quite unreceptive and hardened. I had almost bid farewell and I was about to leave when suddenly the hand of God, always generous towards us, brought me Walter of Germany, a regent of logic, consumed by his art, who was considered to be one of the best masters of the University of Paris. He was followed by his two best bachelors, both of whom were ready, if I so wanted, to profess logic; one was a Provençal, the other a Lombard. Next came an excellent German student of canon law, the canon of Speyer, and rector at Vercelli for the students of his nation; another

<sup>41</sup> Denifle et Châtelain, *Chartularium*, 117 ; Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université*, 403.

<sup>42</sup> Palémon Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIIIe siècle*, (Paris : Vrin, 1933), 284.

<sup>43</sup> Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université*, 402-403, 424.

<sup>44</sup> *Les sermons et la visite pastorale de Federico Visconti archevêque de Pise (1253-1277)*, ed. Nicole Bériou et Isabelle le Masne de Chermon (Rome : Ecole Française de Rome, 2001), 40-42.

<sup>45</sup> Sermon 48 : *Les sermons et la visite pastorale de Federico Visconti*, 40-42.

<sup>46</sup> Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université*, 424.

German, very erudite and highly esteemed, Master Godescalc, the canon of Maastricht; two Provençal men full of talent, both deputies to the titular master, to teach canon law for one, and civil law for the other. Soon, several – also of great merit – would follow them; such that, in the span of a few days, we received twelve or thirteen [...]. Among the novices remaining in Genoa, there is one from Cremona of good repute, fairly schooled in logic, of noble birth according to what they say and quite gifted, named Peregrinus"<sup>47</sup>.

The strike of the University of Paris prompted Walter of Germany and his two bachelors (from Provence and Lombardy, respectively) to leave for Vercelli, where the new university was seeking masters and students. Recently settled and perhaps feeling isolated in their exile, they were probably more susceptible than others to the preaching of Jordan, who called on them to enter the Order of Preachers. It is possible that the other masters that Jordan mentioned and who converted in Vercelli in summer 1229 had also arrived from Paris that spring: the legal scholar and canon of Speyer, Master Godescalc; the two Provençal legal scholars; and the other students. Jordan appears to have found an unexpected wellspring of converts, perhaps comprising exiles from Paris. The founding of the University of Vercelli was perfectly timed to benefit, at least for a few months, from the Paris strike and dispersion.

A few masters chose the Iberian Peninsula. Bernard Gui is the only chronicler to mention these departures for Spain<sup>48</sup>. In fact, a few masters of arts, Aristotelian philosophers, were denounced as 'heretics' in Leon, Burgos

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<sup>47</sup> This letter has been studied and translated into french by Bernard Hodel, *Edifier par la parole. La predication de Jourdain de Saxe, maître de l'ordre des Prêcheurs (1222-1237)*, thèse inédite (Université de Lyon II, 2002), 117. The latin edition is Angelus Walz, *Jordani de Saxonia Epistulae* (Rome : Institutum historicum Fratrum Predicatorum, 1951), 57 : "Primo scholares Vercellis inveni durissimos et quasi accepta licentia iam in procinctu fueram recedenti. Tunc ecce subito secundum manum Dei bonam, nobiscum primus introivit magister Walterus Teutonicus regens in logica, peritissimus artis suae, qui etiam inter maiores magistros Parisiis habebatur. Secuti sunt eum duo baccalarii probissimi, quos habebat, parati ambo, si voluissem, protinus ad regendum, unus Provincialis, alter Lombardus. Secutus est item quidam probus studens in iure canonico Teutonicus, Spirensis canonicus, qui rector erat Teutonicorum scholarium Vercellis. Secutus est item quidam optimus et probus Teutonicus magister Godescalcus, canonicus Traiectensis. Secuti sunt item duo Provinciales probissimi, quorum alter in decretis, alter in legibus legebat in cathedra pro magistris ita, ut predictas personas videmus quasi ex omnibus scholaribus elegisse. Secuti sunt et alii plures utique bene probi ita, ut numero sint duodecim vel tredecim universi, qui in tempore brevissimo intraverunt... Inter novicios, qui Janue remanserunt, est quidam Cremonensis bene probus, in logica versatus, homo nobilis, ut dicitur, et ad proficiendum bene dispositus, nomine Peregrinus".

<sup>48</sup> See note 18.

and Palencia, between 1230 and 1236. In Palencia in particular, the *studium* had been restored by Ferdinand III and Bishop Tello Téllez in 1220; the liberal arts and theology were taught there, and former Parisian masters were there in the 1230s, including Eudes de Cheriton, Hermann d'Allemand and Gonzalo de Berceo<sup>49</sup>. These men, accompanied by their disciples, crossed the Pyrenees in 1229. Likewise, Peter of Spain (still a student or perhaps already a master) left Paris in 1229 to return to his homeland: he taught logic in Leon and between 1230 and 1235, he wrote his *Tractatus*, a manual of logic later known as *Summulae Logicales*. This famous master's exile from Paris was definitive. He later taught in Toulouse, in Montpellier (where he studied medicine), in Siena (where he taught medicine) and finally in Lisbon<sup>50</sup>.

### *Dispersion in the northern half of the Kingdom of France*

In 1229, all or nearly all Parisian university men were forced to leave to go study, teach or continue their ecclesiastic careers elsewhere. This meant a return to their homelands, a chance to discover other *studia* or the opportunity for a promotion within the Church. This may have been a temporary or definitive exile to a region where a cleric already held one or more ecclesiastical benefices. For example, Simon d'Authie, a student of theology who was canon of Amiens, did not go far. Circa 1230, three partimens (*trouvère* lyric poems) that he composed in Arras with the *trouvères* Gilles le Vinier, Guillaume le Vinier and Adam Givenchy (all from Arras) revealed Simon d'Authie's literary talent and vibrant, visual style. His skill was also evident in four *chansons d'amour*, a *pastourelle* and a *chanson contre les femmes*<sup>51</sup>. For this canon of Amiens, the dispersion was an event that marked a very sharp break in his career and intellectual activity. Note the example of Nicolas de Cannis, the archdeacon of Chartres, master of arts and legal scholar, whose free time due to the strike was dedicated to serving young King Louis. He became the king's chaplain, councillor and chancellor circa 1230<sup>52</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> Adeline Rucquoi, "La double vie de l'université de Palencia v. 1180-v.1250", *Studia Gratiana* XXIX (1998) : 723-748.

<sup>50</sup> Lambertus Marie de Rijk, "On the Life of Peter of Spain, the Author of the Tractatus called afterwards *Summulae Logicales*", *Vivarium* 8 (1970): 123-154 (150).

<sup>51</sup> *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises*, 1392 ; *Recueil général des jeux partis français*, ed. Arthur Langfors, Alfred Jeanroy et Louis Brandin (Paris : Champion, 1926), 122-133 ; Friedrich Gennrich, "Simon d'Authie, ein Pikardischer Sänger des XIII. Jahrhunderts", *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 67 (1951) : 49-104 ; Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université*, 427.

<sup>52</sup> Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université*, 428.

Among the other places where exiles from Paris converged, there were the towns of Orléans and Angers, where schools had been active for a long time. Philippe, the chancellor of Paris, came to preach to the exiles of Orléans on 6 April 1230, on the eve of Easter, and this trip indicated that a large portion of the University of Paris had moved to Orléans.

Later, in 1236, as a large scholarly community was still present in Orléans, a violent town and gown conflict broke out. We can wonder whether this was not due simply to the massive, disorderly arrival of masters and students from Paris in 1229. A certain number of these appear to have remained in Orléans after 1231 without enjoying the privileges and laws that protected them and governed their relations with the townsfolk. We can read an account of this conflict in the chronicle of Matthew Paris<sup>53</sup>. In this case, the town of Orléans endured the effects of the Paris strike and extended exile of a portion of the University of Paris –with some delay. The legal schools of Orléans also grew thanks to the arrival of Parisian university men. In fact, in 1235, Pope Gregory IX authorised Parisian university students to study Roman law in Orléans<sup>54</sup>.

Some exiled masters and students chose to move to Reims and Amiens, perhaps even to Beauvais, where unrest similar to Orléans broke out in 1236. Matthew Paris mentions this unrest in a few sentences at the end of his account of the Orléans town and gown conflict, and he apparently connects the settling of these conflicts with the re-establishment of the University of Paris?<sup>55</sup> He alludes to similar conflicts that arose in all the towns where masters and students went during the strike and in the following years: Orléans, Beauvais, Reims and Amiens. We can assume that in precisely these towns, the clerics (including exiled masters and students), in conflict with the townspeople, received systematic support from the episcopal power, whose use of censure and prohibition did not please the royal authorities. The account given by Matthew Paris coincides with the content of a brief bull issued by Pope Gregory IX, who, on 18 April 1231, a few days after the publication of *Parens scientiarum*, recommended that the Archbishop of Reims and the Bishop of Amiens should ensure respect of the clerical immunity of the masters and students who had come to these towns after the great strike<sup>56</sup>. If we are to believe Matthew Paris, and if we can rely on the chronology

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<sup>53</sup> Matthaei Parisiensis, *Chronica majora*, 370-371.

<sup>54</sup> Denifle et Châtelain, *Chartularium*, 156-157.

<sup>55</sup> Matthaei Parisiensis, *Chronica majora*, 371.

<sup>56</sup> Denifle et Châtelain, *Chartularium*, 142.

of his account, the majority of the exiled masters and students scholars did not return to Paris until after 1236, once they had unwittingly set off town and gown conflicts in the cities that had welcomed them until then. The conflict in Reims is fairly well documented and was not (at least initially) related to the presence of exiles, because as early as 1228, the archbishop had intervened in a conflict between the townspeople and the chapter of Reims. The archbishop had required ritual penance from the townspeople. In the period 1235-1237, a larger disagreement –perhaps aggravated by the presence of *scolares*, it is impossible to say for sure– led sixty townspeople to appear in front of the chapter, barefoot and wearing *braies* (breeches) and shirts, in accordance with the terms laid out in an arbitration by the archbishop, and Pope Gregory IX then intervened to lift the excommunications pronounced against dozens of these townspeople<sup>57</sup>.

### *The beginnings of the University of Toulouse*

Among the destinations of university masters and students from Paris, the *studium* of Toulouse is the one we know the most about. The creation of the University of Toulouse was the direct consequence of the Treaty of Paris signed in April 1229<sup>58</sup>. The legate Romano Bonaventura regarded faith in this region as not being sufficiently well established, so he decided to create a place for learning in Toulouse. A clause of the Treaty of Paris, addressing this creation, required Raymond VII, the Count of Toulouse, to agree to pay the professors' wages for a period of ten years (four masters of theology, two of decree, six of the liberal arts and two of grammar). The legate appointed the Abbot of Grandselve, Elie Guérin, then in Paris, to help him to hire the new masters for Toulouse<sup>59</sup>. In these conditions (which are very poorly documented), an already famous master of arts, John of Garland, as well as Hélinand, a Cistercian, and other masters decided to leave for Toulouse. On Ascension Day, 24 May 1229, Hélinand gave a sermon in the church of St James of Toulouse; this had all the features of a university sermon. Roland of Cremona did not arrive in Toulouse until summer 1229.

<sup>57</sup> Jean-Marie Moeglin, "Pénitence publique et amende honorable au Moyen Age", *Revue historique* 298 (1997) : 225-269 ; Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université*, 431.

<sup>58</sup> Yves Dossat, "L'université de Toulouse, Raymond VII, les capitouls et le roi", *Les universités du Languedoc au XIIIe siècle. Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 5 (1970) : 58-91.

<sup>59</sup> Marcel Fournier, *Les statuts et privilèges des universités françaises depuis leur fondation jusqu'en 1789*, vol. 1 (Paris : Larose et Forcel, 1890), 442.

For John of Garland, exile was motivated by the fight against heretics – a sort of peaceful crusade, in his view<sup>60</sup>. In Paris, he had already written his *Dictionarius*, which he completed in Toulouse, and he began to work on his *De triumphis ecclesie*, more specifically the books IV, V, VI that covered the Cathars, the Albigensian Crusade and the university. This treatise includes a circular letter addressed to all the universities to define the situation of the *studium* of Toulouse and to encourage those who were interested to go there. This document has always been attributed to John of Garland. It shows his sometimes emphatic style and a bit of rhetorical bravura<sup>61</sup>. Yet what is more doubtful is the dissemination of this circular letter, of which no traces are found apart from *De triumphis ecclesie*. In this letter, John of Garland uses all sorts of arguments to show that in Toulouse, everything is suitable for those who would like to go there. According to L.J. Paetow<sup>62</sup>, this circular letter is first and foremost a scholarly exercise, written at the beginning of John of Garland's stay in Toulouse, and we cannot be certain whether it was not intended initially for circulation in order to attract his fellow scholars to Toulouse. John of Garland gives an idyllic view of the new University of Toulouse, which – according to him – enjoyed all the corporative and intellectual freedoms, the benevolence of the secular authorities and the townspeople. The masters of arts there were even about to comment on Aristotle's natural philosophy, which had been censured in Paris, just as Roman law was prohibited in Paris but was destined to spread in Toulouse. In addition to these remarkable intellectual conditions John of Garland mentions excellent material ones: in Toulouse, living is cheap and the climate is temperate.

However, this initial enthusiasm fairly quickly turned to fear for John of Garland. Early on, the hunt for heretics in the city pleased him, and he retold with satisfaction how he took an active part in the public exhumation and cremation of the Cathar A. Peyre and the Waldensian Gauban in 1231 – an event that was much talked about in Toulouse. This climate of political and religious struggle, fairly similar to the atmosphere in the Italian communes of the same period, nevertheless began to worry him. Heretics even came into the schools to provoke the masters<sup>63</sup>. John of Garland decided to flee Toulouse in early 1232, returning to Paris, where the strike was over.

<sup>60</sup> Yves Dossat, "Les premiers maîtres à l'université de Toulouse: Jean de Garlande, Hélinand", *Les universités du Languedoc au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 5 (1970): 179-203.

<sup>61</sup> Denifle et Châtelain, *Chartularium*, 129-131.

<sup>62</sup> John of Garland, *Morale scholarium*, ed. Louis J. Paetow (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1927), *Introduction*.

<sup>63</sup> Dossat, "Les premiers maîtres à l'université de Toulouse: Jean de Garlande, Hélinand".



The second master to have attempted the Toulouse adventure was not, in true terms, a Parisian master, but instead a former master who had left the schools long before: Hélinand of Froidmont, who was in his 70s in 1229. Originally from Flanders, Hélinand came to Paris to study and teach the liberal arts before 1200. A well-known *trouvère* (minstrel), appreciated by the court of Philippe Auguste, he wanted to join the orders to convert<sup>64</sup>, and like many Parisian masters circa 1200, he chose to join the Cistercians, entering the cloister of Froidmont, not far from Beauvais. He became a renowned preacher who often left his monastery to teach the faith. Likewise, it was his determination to preach the faith that prompted him to leave Froidmont for Toulouse in 1229. Hélinand wrote, circa 1200, a book that was rather successful, *Les Vers de la Mort*, in which he proclaimed the fragility of human life and the omnipresence of death for the mighty and the weak alike. He was also the author of a universal chronicle and of brief treatises on ethics, where he plagiarised, *inter alia*, the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury. Hélinand left twenty-eight sermons, several of which from the Toulouse period, but this collection is not a full reflection of the abundant sermons by this Cistercian who came to Toulouse to eradicate heresy from the pulpit.

The third and final master who is known to have gone to Toulouse, the Dominican Roland of Cremona, had a fairly similar profile<sup>65</sup>. What we know about him comes from a few fragmented sources and anecdotes: Guillaume Pelhisson's *Chronicon* (1244-1268), Gérard de Frachet's *Vitae Fratrum* (1260-1262) and Humbert de Romans's *Expositio Regulae*. Guillaume Pelhisson praises this master who he claims was an adversary of the Cathars and Waldensians, whereas Gerald of Frachet presents him as a saint. He recounts the spectacular conversion of this master of the liberal arts from Bologna: Roland stormed into the convent of St Nicholas in Bologna whilst the friars were holding a chapter meeting. He threw himself on the ground, asking for mercy and the monk's habit. Renaud d'Orléans then gave him his own scapular. Receiving his bachelor's of theology in 1229 in Paris, Roland of Cremona did not go to Toulouse until 1230, and he taught there until summer 1233<sup>66</sup>. His *Summa super quatuor libros sententiarum*, written in 1234 soon after his stay in Toulouse ended, probably reflects what he taught there. In that work, Roland of Cremona makes remarkable use of philosophical texts, which he

<sup>64</sup> *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises*, 666-668.

<sup>65</sup> Marie-Henri Vicaire, "Roland de Crémone ou la position de la théologie à l'université de Toulouse", *Les universités du Languedoc au Moyen Age. Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 5 (1970): 145-178.

<sup>66</sup> Vicaire, "Roland de Crémone ou la position", 170.

knew well after having commented on them in Bologna when he was a master of arts. His knowledge was immense, and he was the first to quote Maimonides, who died in Cairo in 1204, and also the first to quote *Liber de causis*. Naturally, he quoted the authors translated in Toledo and Aristotle first and foremost. The *Summa* contains 800 quotes from Aristotle. In Toulouse, Roland of Cremona's aim was not to fight the Cathars, but to train competent students in theology who could preach the faith<sup>67</sup>. In 1233, he returned permanently to the convent in Bologna, where he died in 1259.

### *Conclusion*

The great strike and dispersion of 1229-1231 was the first serious crisis of the University of Paris since its inception around 1200. Granted, outside the corporation, two categories of clerics ignored the strike and remained in Paris: the theologians of the chapter of Notre-Dame and the two mendicant convents. However, the departure of the majority of masters and students threatened the Paris corporation with extinction. After two years of efforts, Pope Gregory IX managed to end this crisis by publishing the papal bull *Parrens scientiarum* in April 1231, as well as other supplementary bulls. These documents ensured that the Paris university men would keep their past privileges and granted them several new ones, such as the right to strike, protection from being excommunicated for seven years, obtaining licences for those who taught outside Paris, and absolution for all those who were convicted due to doctrinal issues. By setting up a commission to examine forbidden books, the pope suggested to the masters that there was hope for doctrinal openness. The pope could do no more to encourage the members of the University of Paris to return. In spring 1231, the University of Paris was restored, with its privileges and freedoms strengthened.

For two years, hundreds of masters and students from Paris had been dispersed to the Loire Valley, Picardy, Champagne, England, Italy and Spain. Their arrival fostered the development of scholarly centres such as Orléans and Angers that would become universities a few decades later. For recently-established universities such as Oxford and Toulouse, the Paris strike was an unprecedented chance to see their populations increase suddenly. A few dozen masters and students exiled from Paris also seized this opportunity to discover the schools of Bologna. Others, as we have seen, crossed the Pyre-

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<sup>67</sup> Vicaire, "Roland de Crémone ou la position", 170.

nees and joined small *studia* such as Palencia or Leon, which may have been re-energised by these new arrivals. The manuscripts and texts travelled with the men, from Paris to the Iberian Peninsula, or to Oxford, or to Bologna.

Institutional models also travelled with the striking clerics, and the English masters returning to their homeland copied the Paris statutes almost verbatim as they wrote the regulations for the University of Oxford – a university that was in full expansion, thanks to the Paris dispersion<sup>68</sup>.

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<sup>68</sup> This text has been translated by Christopher Mobley.

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