

The Socio-economic Role of Medieval Parisian Colleges Through the 'Studium Parisiense' Database

El papel socioeconómico de las universidades parisinas medievales a través de la base de datos Studium Parisiense

Jean-Philippe Genet, Thierry Kouamé and Stéphane Lamassé*
LaMOP (UMR 8589), CNRS-Universite Paris 1 Pantheon-Sorbonne.
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Abstract: *Studium Parisiense* is a database which intends to identify all the students and masters of Paris university. With nearly 20000 files, it may be half-way. We have tested this results in exploring the impact of the college system in medieval Paris. A chronological trend appears: the development of the college system in the 14th century is a more efficient solution to accommodate the growing academic population than the creation of the Augustinian canons houses (12th century), and of the mendicant convents (13th century). On the other hand, both in terms of international recruitment and of literary outputs, Paris colleges were inferior institutions, with the exception of the Sorbonne. However,

Resumen: *Studium Parisiense* es una base de datos cuyo objetivo es el de identificar a todos los estudiantes y maestros de la Universidad de París. Aún por concluir, cuenta hoy con 20000 fichas. En base a estos datos, se ha intentado medir el impacto del sistema de colegios mayores en el París medieval. El resultado logrado apunta a una tendencia cronológica: el desarrollo del sistema de colegios mayores en el siglo XIV resulta ser una solución más eficaz para acoger a la creciente población académica que la creación de casas de canónigos agustinos (siglo XII) y la de conventos mendicantes (siglo XIII). Por otro lado, tanto en términos de reclutamiento internacional como de producción literaria, salvo la

*jean-philippe.genet@univ-paris1.fr, thierry.kouame@univ-paris1.fr,
stephane.lamasse@univ-paris1.fr

it helped to provide better conditions of study and to discipline the student's population on the left banks of the Seine, and by the end of the fifteenth century, Paris colleges had increased their reputation and attracted again European students.

Keywords: college; university; Paris; mendicant convents; students.

excepción de la Sorbona, los colegios mayores parisinos no dejaban de ser instituciones de segundo nivel. Sin embargo, estas instituciones, situadas en la ribera izquierda del Sena, proporcionaron mejores condiciones de estudio a la población estudiantil y ayudaron a disciplinarla. A finales del siglo XV, los colegios mayores parisinos lograron mejorar su reputación y atraer de nuevo estudiantes europeos.

Palabras clave: colegio; universidad; París; conventos mendicantes; estudiantes.

The aim of the *Studium Parisiense* project is to create for Paris schools and university a bio-bibliographical repertory on the model of Alfred B. Emden's dictionaries for the universities of Oxford and Cambridge¹ while benefitting of the technical advantages of computerisation in terms of data homogenisation, information retrieval, indexation and statistical approach². It is essential to keep in mind the fundamental fact that it is a work in progress: we have so far realised 19 268 individual files for a period starting with the cathedral school and extending to 1500³, but we may expect that the final number of files will be well beyond 40 000. This raises immediately a doubt about our use of statistics: since we are dealing with grossly incomplete data, which value is to be attributed to our results which are obviously provisional? There are two answers to this. The first one is that it will never be possible to consider our population as complete. As Oxford and Cambridge, Paris has not the unified system of matriculation we find in some Italian and in all German universities: matriculations are made at the level of nations (Arts), Faculties (Theology, Canon Law and Medicine) and colleges, but very little of

¹ Alfred Brotherton Emden. *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957-1959), 3 vol.; Id., *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford A.D. 1501 to 1540* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1974) ; Id., *Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1963).

² *Studium Parisiense* is a research program of the Laboratoire de Médiévisiologie Occidentale de Paris (LAMOP). It is funded by Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, the CNRS, the LABEX Hastec and has benefitted from an ERC Advanced Program, SAS: see Jean-Philippe Genet, Hicham Idabal, Thierry Kouamé, Stéphane Lamassé, Claire Priol et Anne Tournieroux, "General introduction to the Studium project", *Medieval Prosopography*, 31 (2016), 155-170; Id., "L'université et les écoles parisiennes au Moyen Âge: un dictionnaire numérique". *Mémoires de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, 68 (2017), 331-354 ; Jean-Philippe Genet, "Studium Parisiense, un répertoire informatisé des écoles et de l'université de Paris". *Annali di Storia delle Università Italiane*, 21 (2017), 25-74.

³ The program will be later extended to the sixteenth century.

the archives kept by these institutions has come down to us. The sources are extremely patchy (10 years for the largest nation, the *Natio Gallica*): there is no reason why the results for 19 268 would differ from results for 40 000 or more, especially if our strategy of exploration is coherent. On this second point, our answer has to be more detailed.

Generally speaking, we have followed an alphabetical strategy. We have created records for all individuals whose Christian name begins by letters A to F (standardised classical Latin form, e.g. “Aegidius” for “Egidius”, “Gilles”, “Gillot” etc.) in our core sources, the so-called *Chartularium* and *Auctarium Universitatis Parisiensis*⁴. We are now working on letter G. The *Chartularium*, t. 1 et 2, and the *Auctarium*, t. 5 have already been entirely dealt with and we are in the middle of *Chartularium*, III. Besides, we have followed the same strategy with a group of publications which are indispensable complements to the core group: repertory of authors for the Faculties of arts⁵, records of the Faculties of medicine⁶ and of canon law⁷, editions of the Parisian *rotuli*⁸, the repertories of Palémon Glorieux⁹ and Thomas Sullivan¹⁰, and the volumes of the *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae*¹¹, to mention but the most important. The alpha-

⁴ Heinrich Denifle; Émile Châtelain. *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris: Delalain, 1889-1897), 4 vol. ; Heinrich Denifle; Émile Châtelain et alii. *Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris: Delalain and H. Didier, 1894-1964), 6 vol.

⁵ Olga Weijers. *Le travail intellectuel à la Faculté des arts de Paris: textes et maîtres (ca.1200-1500)* (Turnhout : Brepols, 1994-2012) 9 vol.

⁶ Ernest Wickersheimer, *Commentaires de la Faculté de médecine de l'Université de Paris (1395-1516)* (Paris : Imprimerie nationale, 1915) ; Id., *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au moyen âge* (Genève: Droz, 1979 [1915]), 2 vol. ; Danielle Jacquart, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au moyen âge. Supplément* (Genève : Droz, 1979).

⁷ Marcel Fournier, Léon Dorez, Émile-Aurèle Van Moé, *La Faculté de décret de l'Université de Paris au XV^e siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1895-1942) 4 vol. : analysis to letter J only.

⁸ William J. Courtenay, *Rotuli Parisienses: supplications to the Pope from the University of Paris, I, 1316-1349* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2002); William J. Courtenay and Eric D. Goddard, *Rotuli Parisienses: supplications to the Pope from the University of Paris, II, 1352-1378* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004) ; Id., *Rotuli Parisienses: supplications to the Pope from the University of Paris, III, 1378-1394* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013) 2 vol. : analysis to letter G only.

⁹ Palémon Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle* (Paris : Vrin, 1933), 2 vol. ; Id., *La Faculté des Arts et ses Maîtres au XIII^e siècle* (Paris : Vrin, 1971).

¹⁰ Thomas Sullivan, *Parisian Licentiates in Theology, A.D. 1373-1500: a Biographical Register. Vol. I, The Religious Orders* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004); Id., *Parisian Licentiates in Theology, A.D. 1373-1500: a Biographical Register. Vol. II, The Secular Clergy* (Leiden-Boston : Brill, 2011).

¹¹ *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae, Répertoire prosopographique des évêques, dignitaires et chanoines des diocèses de France de 1200 à 1500* (Turnhout : Brepols, 1996-2021), 22 volumes published so far.

betical strategy is not exempt of bias, since Christian names have strong regional ties: most Adam are from Picardy, Roger and Richard from Normandy, Hervé and Yves from Brittany. To correct this, we have made a complete (i.e. from A to Z) analysis of some sources containing lists of masters and students which, though seldom complete, provide us with great numbers of names: records of collective payment of taxes for various reasons in 1313¹², 1329-1330¹³ and 1464¹⁴, and the collection of *rotuli* sent in 1403¹⁵ to pope Benoît XIII when French universities returned to the Avignon papacy's obedience.

Secular colleges

However, given the theme chosen for the HELOISE meeting at Lisbon, we have collected specific data about the Paris colleges (both secular and religious). The details of these specific sources is given in each individual bibliography, and it is impossible to list them here in full. But special mention must be made of the new college studies derived from thesis initiated by Jacques Verger: they provide as complete as possible surveys of the scholars of the colleges of Navarre¹⁶, Dormans-Beauvais¹⁷, Laon¹⁸ and of a group of

¹² William J. Courtenay, "Foreign Scholars at Paris in the Early Fourteenth Century: the Crisis of 1313", *History of Universities*, 15 (1997-1999) : 47-74.

¹³ William J. Courtenay, *Parisians Scholars in the Early Fourteenth Century: A Social Portrait* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) for the 1329-1330' *computus*.

¹⁴ Max Ludwig Spingatis, "Personalverzeichnis der Pariser Universität von 1464 und die darin aufgeführten Handschriften-und Pergamenthändler", *Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, I (1888): 1-52 (<http://www.archive.org/>); see Jean-Philippe Genet, "Les membres de l'université de Paris et la collecte de 1464 : quelques remarques", in Pierre Bau-
duin, Pierre et al., éd., *Sur les pas de Lanfranc, du Bec à Caen. Recueil d'études en hommage à Véronique Gazeau* (Caen : Cahier des Annales de Normandie, 2018), 279-289.

¹⁵ Denifle et Châtelain, *Chartularium*, t. 4, n° 1786 à 1799. See Jacques Verger, "Le recrutement géographique des universités françaises au début du XV^e siècle d'après les suppliques de 1403", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome*, 82 (1970), 855-902, reprinted in Id., *Les universités françaises au Moyen Âge* (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1995), 122-173.

¹⁶ Nathalie Gorochov, *Le collège de Navarre de sa fondation (1305) au début du XV^e siècle (1418) : histoire de l'institution, de sa vie intellectuelle et de son recrutement* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997); Jean de Launoy, *Joannis Launoii Constantiensis, Parisiensis theologi, Regii Navarrae gymnasii Parisiensis historia* (Paris: apud viduam Edmundi Martini, 1677) has not been used systematically.

¹⁷ Thierry Kouamé, *Le collège de Dormans-Beauvais à la fin du Moyen Âge. Stratégies politiques et parcours individuels à l'Université de Paris* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005).

¹⁸ Cécile Fabris, *Étudier et vivre à Paris au Moyen Âge : le collège de Laon aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles* (Paris: École des Chartes 2005). For material reasons, this thesis has not been fully

Norman colleges (Harcourt, Maître-Gervais, Justice, Trésorier)¹⁹. All other mentions of college membership come from the *Chartularium* and the *Auctarium*, supplemented by a thesis on the “small” colleges’ libraries²⁰. Unfortunately, *procuratores* and *receptores*’s registers, our main sources for the names of students and masters in *Chartularium* and *Auctarium*, make few references to colleges: an exceptional case is that of the procurator of the Nation of Picardy, Cornelius Adriani de Goes, who mentions the college affiliation of twelve of the 35 bachelors for 1480²¹. The *Chartularium* contains only some 50 colleges’ documents after 1286²².

As a matter of fact, the first college created in Paris, the ‘College des Dix-Huit’, founded by the merchant Jossius of London in 1180 at his return from Jerusalem, was structured on the hospital model to house poor students, and this is also true of the colleges created by some Paris chapters (Saint Thomas and Saint Nicolas du Louvre, Saint Honoré ...) until the middle of the thirteenth century. The college conceived as a specific educational institution appeared more than half a century later with the Sorbonne (see Table 1²³), with students forming a community sharing the same religious and moral values²⁴. By the end of the fourteenth century, these colleges organized lectures, opened as those of the mendicant convents to an external public, and they

analyzed: at the moment, there are only 191 files of Laon scholars in *Studium Parisiense*, while Cécile Fabris has identified 368 scholars, roughly half the theoretical number which she has deduced from the statutes.

¹⁹ Marion Bernard-Schweitzer, *Les collèges normands à Paris à la fin du Moyen Âge. Histoire institutionnelle et étude prosopographique de leur recrutement* (Paris-Sorbonne, doctoral diss. 2018).

²⁰ Karine Klein-Rebmeister, *Les livres des étudiants et des petits collèges à Paris aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles* (Paris1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, doctoral diss., 2005).

²¹ *AUP*, II, col. 236-239.

²² Thierry Kouamé, “L’édition des sources médiévales des collèges parisiens. Bilan et perspectives”, in Andréas Sohn et Jacques Verger, ed., *Die universitären Kollegien im Europa des Mittelalters und der Renaissance/Les collèges universitaires en Europe au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance (Univ. Paris 4/Univ. Paris 13), Décembre 2008* (Bochum: D. Winkler, 2011), 39-56 <hal-00786535>.

²³ The table is based upon Marie-Madeleine Compère, *Les collèges français 16e-18e siècle*, 3, special issue of *Publications de l’Institut national de recherche pédagogique*, 10, no. 3 (2002), and Thierry Kouamé, “Rex fundator. Les interventions royales dans les collèges universitaires de Paris, Oxford, Cambridge (XIV^e-XV^e siècle)”, in Corinne Péneau, dir., *Itinéraires du savoir de l’Italie à la Scandinavie (X^e-XVI^e siècle)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2009), 231-254.

²⁴ Thierry Kouamé, “La Sorbonne médiévale dans l’univers des collèges parisiens”, in Claire Angotti, Gilbert Fournier, Donatella Nebbiai, dir., *Les livres des maîtres de Sorbonne. Histoire et rayonnement du collège et de ses bibliothèques du XIII^e siècle à la Renaissance* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2017) 33-59.

received paying external younger students, such as the so-called “martinets” of the Dormans-Beauvais College²⁵ raising new funds by this system. They added to the scholars holding *bursae* a teaching staff, recruiting masters of arts as regent masters. These appointments were first temporary, but they soon became permanent: in the sixteenth century, the Faculty suppressed its own schools, and the teaching duties were entirely left to the colleges²⁶. This was a very important step in the birth of the modern college system, but it has an important consequence for us: scholars became more and more frequently attached to several colleges, getting *bursae* colleges according to their needs (an artist *bursa* in one college and later a theology *bursa* in another) while serving as regent-masters in other colleges. A good example is Johannes Lantman²⁷, a doctor in theology (1496) who came from Basel – where he had got his B.A. – who resided and taught in the Collège de Bourgogne when he was elected rector by the Faculty of Art in 1489: he also became a *socius* of the Collège de Navarre in 1491 and of the Sorbonne in 1493, and he was also a regent-magister at the *Domus puerum Alemannorum*. It is not surprising that in the fifteenth century, newly elected rectors had to specify publicly to which of the several colleges they had some link with they wanted to be “attached”.

The creation of many new colleges in the fourteenth century led to a rapid increase in the number of *bursae* offered to students, as detailed in the foundation statutes. Later on, many new *bursae* were added to the primitive numbers, generally by rich masters and/or ecclesiastics in their wills. Graph 1 shows this quick rise from 1240 to 1360, followed in the fifteenth century by a certain stability²⁸: less new creations, balanced by the economic depression caused by the consequences of the Hundred Year Wars and the political crisis which led to the creation of potential rivals, Poitiers (1431), Caen (1432), and Bourges (1463). This gives a number of some 750 available *bursae* until the end of the fifteenth century: but all students did not belong to colleges, and a majority was always hiring lodgings from Parisian houses’ owners which makes it impossible to deduce the number of students in Paris

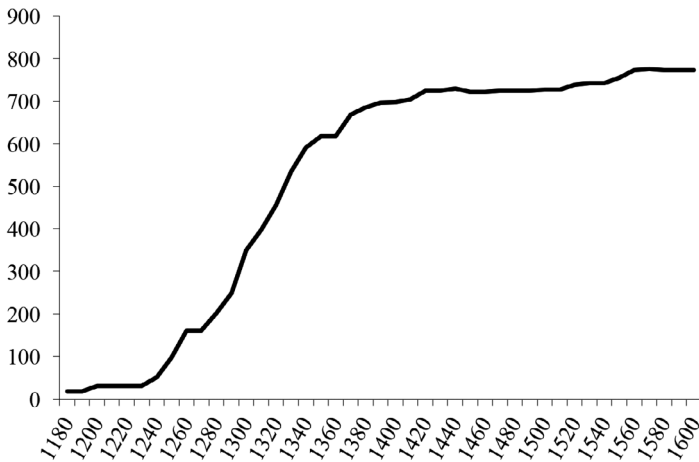
²⁵ Kouamé, *Le collège de Dormans-Beauvais*, 146, note 915: “chascun enfant forain, appelé martinet, qui vient a l’escole oudit college, doit chascun an III s.p.”.

²⁶ Thierry Kouamé, “Les collèges de l’université de Paris : de la charité privée à l’enseignement public (XII^e-XVI^e siècle)”, in Antonio Savini, dir., *Collegiate Learning in the Middle Ages and beyond. 2nd Coimbra Group Birthday Seminar* (Milano: Cisalpino, 2012), 25-34.

²⁷ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/7095-johanneslantman>; see Sullivan, *Parisian Licenciates ... The Secular Clergy*, 315-316.

²⁸ For the making-up of this graph, see Thierry Kouamé, “Les collèges de l’université de Paris”, 30-31.

from the number of *bursae*, though a tendency to reside in hostels or “pédagogies²⁹” grouping students under the aegis of a master rather than in individual lodgings (a solution which was finally forbidden by University statutes) is perceptible: this is for instance the origin of the Collège Sainte-Barbe, a boarding hostel for students which Geoffroy Lenormand, previously master of the students of the Collège de Navarre transformed into a full college³⁰.



Graph 1. The number of bursae according to the Paris colleges' statutes (1180-1600).

The number of *bursae* gives a clear indication on the respective sizes of the colleges. But there is no correlation between the theoretical number of *bursae* in a given college and the number of masters and students who is known to us. There may be some discrepancies between the number of *bursae* and the real number of students, especially in time of crisis, for instance after the Black Death or during the occupation of Paris by the English. But the differences are best explained by the amount of sources left by each college³¹. With Table 1 we may compare the number of bursae (B) with the members of the secular colleges present in *Studium Parisiense* (S).

²⁹ See Simone Roux, *La rive gauche des escoliers (XV^e siècle)* (Paris: Éditions Christian, 1992), 19-21.

³⁰ Compère, *Les collèges français*, 339.

³¹ The LAMOP and the Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de la Sorbonne (BIS) have initiated since 2020 a new project, ORESM, which is developed by Lucie Veillon (BIS) and Stéphane Lamassé (LAMOP) to prepare the digitization of the archives of Paris University in the Archives Nationales, shelfmarks M, S and H³, and in the Sorbonne Library.

Table 1. The secular colleges.

College	Founded	Founders	Suppressed	Bursae	Studium
Allemands	Bef. 1348				7
Arras	1332	Saint-Vaast Abbey, Arras			4
Autun	1341	Cardinal Pierre Bertrand		15	9
Ave Maria Hubant	1336/1339	Jean de Hubant ¹ , president of the chamber of inquiries of the Parliament of Paris, canon of Rouen		6	1
Bayeux	1309	Guillaume Bonnet (Bouvet), bishop of Bayeux		12	6
Boissy	1359	Godefroy of Boissy, clerk of King John		12	2
Boncourt	1357	Pierre Bécoud, knight		8	21
Bons Enfants d'Arras	Bef. 1250	?	1430		
Bons Enfants St.Honoré	1209	Chapter of St. Honoré, Paris		13	18?
Bons Enfants St.Victor	Bef. 1248	?		9	1?
Bourgogne	1332	Queen Joan of Burgundy		20	15
Calvy	Bef. 1271	[controlled by the Sorbonne]			6
Cambrai	1348	Hugues de Pomare, bishop of Langres; Hugues d'Arcy, bishop of Laon then archbishop of Reims; Guillaume d'Auxonne, bishop of Cambrai then Autun		19 (7)	5
Cardinal Lemoine	1302	Cardinal Jean Lemoine		20	15
Cholets	1295	Cardinal Jean Cholet		36	49
Constantinople	1204/1289	?	1362		1
Coquerel	Bef. 1463	Nicolas Coqueret ² , canon of Amiens			7
Cornouaille	1321/1379	Nicolas Galeran, clerk; Jean de Guistry, royal physician			22
Dacie	1284	Petrus Arnfast, canon of Roskilde ³	1429		11
Dainville	1380	Jean de Dainville, steward of the Household		12	1
Dix-Huit	1180	Josse de Londres, merchant returning from Jerusalem		18	19
Donjon	Bef.1412	Bertrand Donyou, Master-Regent of the Faculty of Canon Law			
Dormans	1370	Jean de Dormans ⁴ , chancellor of France		24	642
Écossais	1326/1333	David de Moravia, bishop of Moray		4	

¹ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/8055-johannesdehubanto>

² <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/indaividus/18439-nicolauscoquerel>

³ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/24248-petrusarnfast> (Elisabeth Mornet).

⁴ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/50252-johannesdedormans>

College	Founded	Founders	Suppressed	Bursae	Studium
Fortet	1391	Pierre Fortet, canon of Paris (College placed under the patronage of Notre-Dame)		8	5
Harcourt	1280/1311	Raoul and Robert d'Harcourt, royal councillors		40	93
Justice	1353	Jean de Justice, canon of Paris		12	111
Karembert	Bef. 1421	Éonet de Kérembert			1
La Marche	1362	Jean and Guillaume de La Marche/Beuve de Winville		12	15
Laon	1314/1324	Guy de Laon, Treasurer of the Sainte-Chapelle (royal palace's chapel) and Raoul de Presles, Lord of Lizy, royal legist		16	161 (368)
Linköping	1317	Chapter of Linköping	1449?		8
Lisieux	1336	Guy of Harcourt, bishop of Lisieux		24	12
Lombards	1334	Andrea Ghini, Master of Requests of the Household, François de l'Hôpital, clerk of the Royal Crossbowmen, Renier Jean, apothecary of Queen Joan of Burgundy		11	15
Lyon	?	?			1
Maclou	Bef. 1323	?	1371?		
Maître Clément	1349	Robert Clément, master	1371		
Maître Gervais	1371	Gervais Chrétien ⁵ , royal physician		24	114
Mignon	1343/1353	Jean Mignon, master clerk of the Chamber of Accounts	1584	12	2
Montaigu	1314	Gilles Aycelin de Montaigu ⁶ , Keeper of the Seal		12	20
Narbonne	1317	Bernard de Farges ⁷ , archbishop of Narbonne		9	11
Navarre	1305	Queen Joan of Navarra		70	817
Plessis	1323	Geoffrey du Plessis, councilor of King Philip IV, also founder of the College of Marmoutier		40 (25)	8
Presles	1314/1324	Guy de Laon ⁸ , Treasurer of the Sainte-Chapelle (royal palace's chapel) and Raoul de Presles, Lord of Lizy, royal legist		13	8
Reims	1409	Guy de Roye ⁹ , archbishop of Reims	1444		
Reims and Rethel	1444	King Charles VII			7
Rethel	Bef. 1444	?	1444		

⁵ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/2994-gervasiuschristiani>

⁶ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/50823-aegidiusaycelindemontaigt1>

⁷ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/17272-bernardusdefargis>

⁸ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/3405-guidodelauduno>

⁹ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/50068-guidoderoya>

College	Founded	Founders	Suppressed	Bursae	Studium
St. Barbe	1460	Geoffroy Lenormand ¹⁰ , regent-master of the College of Navarre			17
St. Michel (Chenac)	1338/1348	Guillaume de Chanac ¹¹ , bishop of Paris and Patriarch of Alexandria		12	1
St. Nicolas du L. St. Thomas du L.	1186/1187	Robert I, Count of Dreux, brother of King Louis VII			4
		Robert I, Count of Dreux			19
Sées	1404/1428	Grégoire Langlois, Master of Requests of the Household		6	1
Skara	1292	Magister Hemphastus, canon of Växjö and Skara ¹²			12
Sorbonne	Ca. 1257	Robert de Sorbon ¹³ , royal chaplain		19	456
Tonnerre	Bef. 1406	Abbot Richard de Tonnerre and convent of St. Jean en Vallée		2	
Tou (Thou)	Bef. 1393	?			1
Tournai	1295	?			4
Tours	1334	Étienne de Bourgueil, archbishop of Tours		6	3
Tréguier	1325	Guillaume de Coatmohan ¹⁴ , cantor of Tréguier, canon of Paris	8		6
Trésorier	1268	Guillaume de Saane ¹⁵ , Treasurer of Rouen		24	56
Uppsala	1280	Andreas And, provost of Uppsala ¹⁶	1354	12	6

¹⁰ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/2578-galfredusnormani>

¹¹ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/4197-guillelmusdechanaco1>

¹² <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/15779-hemphastus> (Elisabeth Mornet).

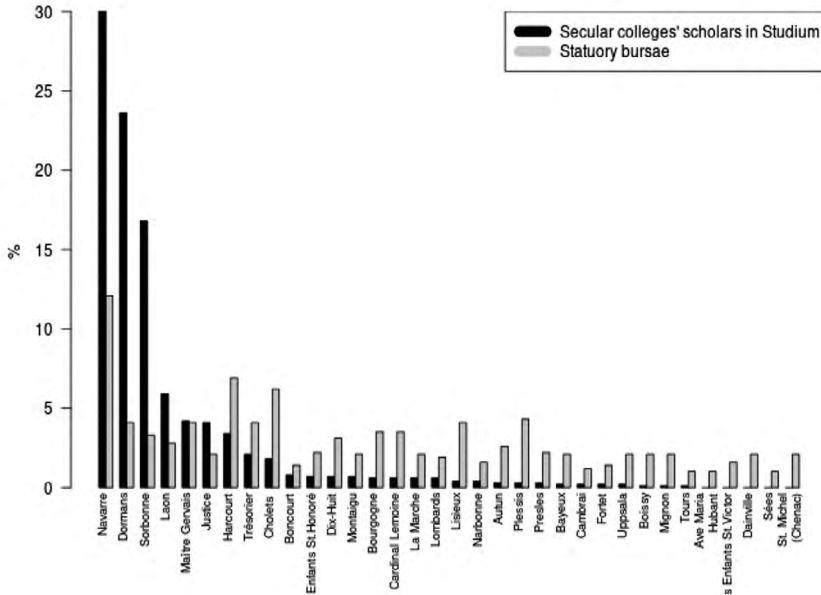
¹³ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/11020-robotusdesorbona>.

¹⁴ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/23221-guillelmusdecoetmohan>.

¹⁵ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/3653-guillelmusdesaana>.

¹⁶ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/611-andreasand> (Elisabeth Mornet).

We have included among the colleges members both *socii* and *hospites*, and even in some cases people who were regularly procurators or auditors of the accounts. Even with such a wide definition, the contrast between the colleges who have the best archival sources (and consequently have been best studied) and those which have left fewer records is striking. True, Navarre has 70 *bursae* and we know the name of 817 scholars (a ratio of 11.7) while we know 647 scholars for Dormans-Beauvais for only 24 *bursae* (a ratio of nearly 27): but the database contains only 93 scholars from Harcourt (40 *bursae*, ratio 2,3), 49 from Cholets (36 *bursae*: ratio 1,4), or 8 from Plessis (40 *bursae*: ratio 0,2) and only one for Dainville and Saint-Michel (12 *bursae* each: ratio 0,08). This gives a good, though alarming, measure of our



Graph 2. statutory bursae and scholars in Studium parisiense.

sources deficiencies. Graph 2 charts these differences. However, the graph presents the data for two religious colleges because they exceptionally had *bursae*, and we must now turn to the religious establishments which operated within the University of Paris or on its fringes.

Convents, religious colleges and communities

The real “invention” of the college as an educational institution has to be credited to the mendicant orders, who were introduced in Paris in 1216-1217 establishing small houses which were converted in due time in vast convents (the “Cordeliers” for the Franciscans, the “Jacobins” for the Dominicans). They attracted many scholars – those having graduated before becoming friars have not been taken into account³². They were later joined by the Carmelites (ca. 1259: they built later their great convent on the Place Mau-

³² On the word ‘college’, and the similarities and differences between Mendicant convents and secular colleges, see Olga Weijers, “Collège, une institution avant la lettre”, *Vivarium*, 21 (1983), 73-82.

bert) and the Austin Friars, also present in Paris since 1259, for whom Giles of Rome³³ got from Philip the Fair buildings and lands to erect the Grands-Augustins in 1293-1295. We have therefore included these four Paris convents, each of which was considered as the *studium generale* of its order, in our survey: nonetheless, it must be kept in mind that many friars are not University scholars. In most convents, there are two courses of study, one for the academic grades, and another one to prepare friars to become lectors (in arts, *naturalia*, or theology) in their order's convents. All these are students, but only the first ones are properly speaking members of the University. The same is true of the many preachers who resided there. But the information at our disposal does not allow a clear distinction between these different groups: all friars have therefore been included in the following tables as students, if they had not graduated. To prepare the present paper, as in the case of the colleges, we have followed the alphabetical strategy, but with the addition of some bibliographical items³⁴ and databases³⁵.

The traditional orders followed the Mendicants' lead, and have been dealt with in a similar fashion, the usual A-F letters, supplemented by the full analysis of an additional bibliography, especially for the Cistercians³⁶ (Saint-Bernard College, or Bernardines College) and for the Benedictines of the Cluny congregation³⁷ (Cluny College). A special mention must be made of a small order which made education one of its chief commitments, the Augustinian canons of the Val des Écoliers, which created a college in Paris, Sainte-Catherine, initially for the order's "écoliers", but managed to hold a chair in the Faculty of Theology for a long time³⁸. Other orders had colleges such as the canons of Prémontré, and several important abbeys had also small colle-

³³ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/50875-aegidiusromanus> : the first convent, in Montmartre, was transferred to Saint-Victor Street in 1288-1289, until Giles, using the money brought by the sale of the suppressed convent of the Brothers of the Sack was able to acquire the site of the Grands-Augustins.

³⁴ For a general approach, William J. Courtenay, "Between Pope and King. The Parisian Letters of Adhesion of 1303", *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 577-605.

³⁵ For instance the invaluable database *Franciscan authors 13th-18th centuries: a catalogue in progress*, a co-production of Maarten Van der Heijden and Bert Roest, now at the Radboud University Nijmegen, see: <https://applejack.science.ru.nl/franciscanauthors/>.

³⁶ Caroline Obert-Piketty, *Les maîtres et étudiants du Collège Saint-Bernard à Paris de 1224 à 1494*, diss. École des chartes, Paris, 1985; "Les lectures et œuvres des pensionnaires du Collège Saint-Bernard", *Cîteaux* (1989), 245-291.

³⁷ Thomas Sullivan, *Benedictine Monks at the University of Paris A.D. 1229-1500. A Biographical Register* (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1995).

³⁸ Catherine Guyon, *Les écoliers du Christ. L'ordre canonial du Val des Écoliers, 1201-1539* (Saint-Étienne : Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1998).

ges for lodging their novices while they were students in Paris. However, we have observed in compiling the biographies of *Studium Parisiense* that some religious communities had among their members so many scholars that they were *de facto* colleges: this is obviously the case of the two great abbeys of Augustinian canons, Saint Victor³⁹ (which had its own school) and Sainte-Geneviève and of the convent of the Trinitarians (called Mathurins in Paris) which was the place where the Faculty of Arts elected the Rector of the University and where the University's congregation frequently met. The small house of the Antonines (Hospitalers of Saint Antoine) has also been included, but we might as well consider the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and the Cluniac priory of Saint-Martin des Champs⁴⁰. Besides, the monks of the order of Grandmont, who were transferred in the Collège Mignon (afterward Collège de Granmont) in 1584, probably resided in the Priory of the Bonshommes of Vincennes: several of them graduated as bachelors of theology in the fifteenth century. Table 2 gives an idea of the spectrum of religious houses associated in one way or another with the University.

There is very little overlap between table 1 and table 2. Donatus de Puteo de Mediolano was an Italian Franciscan who became successively bachelor, "licencié" and doctor in theology from 1432 to 1436, presumably residing in the Cordeliers' convent: he was also from 1447 onwards the principal ("provisor") of the Collège des Lombards in which he founded a chapel with the agreement of pope Nicholas V⁴¹; he is an exception to the rule. There were also some transfers from one order to another. But the case of Gerardus Martelli shows that things might be less clear-cut: this master of arts was a *socius* of the Sorbonne, probably because he was a student even a bachelor in theology, but at some stage he became a canon of Saint-Victor⁴². It is perhaps even more difficult than in the case of the secular colleges to estimate the proportion of those religious members of the university who remain hidden to us. Generally speaking, it seems obvious that the presence of the university led religious houses to increase their size to accommodate novices of

³⁹ Cédric Giraud, "L'école de Saint-Victor dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle, entre école monastique et école cathédrale", in *L'école de Saint-Victor de Paris : influence et rayonnement du moyen âge à l'époque moderne, colloque international CNRS 2008* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010): 101-119.

⁴⁰ The chapter of Cluny wanted that the Priory receives Parisian novices who had too few *bursae* at their disposal: Simone Roux, *La rive gauche des escoliers*, 31.

⁴¹ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/2018-donatusdeputedemediolano>.

⁴² <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/21541-gerardusmartelli>. See Jeanne Viellard and Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol, *Le registre de prêt de la bibliothèque du Collège de Sorbonne* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2000), 595.

Table 2. Convents, religious colleges and communities.

Mendicant convents				
Institution	Founded	Designation and founder	Bursae	Studium
Dominicans	1218	Couvent des Jacobins, or Couvent Saint-Jacques		424
Franciscans	1325	Couvent des Cordeliers, or Grand Couvent		330
Carmelites	Ca. 1259	Couvent of Maubert place		267
Augustinians	1293	Grands Augustins		165
				1186
Religious colleges				
Canons of the Val des Écoliers	1228	Sainte Catherine		34
O.S.B. Saint-Denis	1229	Collège de Saint-Denis		8
Cistercians	1246	Collège du Chardonneret, later des Bernardins, founded by Stephen of Lexington ¹ , abbot of Clairvaux	20	215
Canons of Prémontré	1252	Collège de Prémontré		6
O.S.B. Cluny	1258-1259	Collège de Cluny, founded by Yves de Vergy, abbot of Cluny	40	72
O. Servorum Beatae Virginis Mariae ²	1258/1277	Collège des Servites: convent (Blancs-Manteaux) gift of St. Louis		10
O.S.B. Marmoutier Abbey (Tours)	1329	Collège de Marmoutier, Geoffrey du Plessis, councilor of King Philip IV, also founder of the College du Plessis		17
O.S.A. Saint-Jean des Vignes (Soissons)	Ca. 1335	Collège Saint-Jean des Vignes		
O.S.B., Trinité de Vendôme	Before 1367	Collège de Vendôme (suppressed 1441)		
O.S.B. Cluny	?	Collège de Vézelay		
				362
Religious communities				
Canons O.S.A.	502/1108	Sainte-Geneviève		48
Canons O.S.A.	1108	Saint-Victor, founded by the magister Guillaume de Champeaux ³		52
Trinitarian Brothers	1209	Couvent des Mathurins		11
Hospitalers of St. Anthony (Antonines)	1361-1371	Petit Saint-Antoine, founded by Charles V		4
				115

¹ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/15292-stephanusdelexington>.

² The order was officially approved by the papacy in 1249, but suppressed in 1274, to be restored in 1277.

³ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/50929-guillelmusdecampellis>.

their order from all over the Christian world who flocked to Paris to study. The mendicant convents offer a good example, especially because most of the letters of adhesion required by the king of France in 1303 to support his appeal to the council against pope Boniface VIII have been preserved: from

these letters, William Courtenay⁴³ has reckoned that there were at least 173 Franciscans at the Cordeliers⁴⁴, about the same number of Dominicans⁴⁵ at the Jacobins, while the Austin Friars were around 50 or 60⁴⁶, the Carmelite being still few at that stage (apparently their adhesion was not even required). In any case, the master and students of the convents on the one hand, the religious colleges and the houses of the religious communities on the other, are two groups whose weight may be compared with the population of the secular colleges.

Colleges and religious establishments: a chronology

It is possible to extract chronological information from *Studium Parisiense*. The chief difficulty is that we know very little about the lives of most students and masters: very often one or two dates, for instance when they get a grade or appear on one of the *rotuli* sent to the pope, or when they take part in a money collection. The date of death scarcely appears, and dates of birth are extremely rare. We have therefore taken the decision to attribute a single date to each scholar, the mean date of activity, that is the mean between the first date of appearance in a university context and the last one, eventually his date of death when known. Let us take the case of Giles of Rome, born ca. 1245, died in 1316: the mean between 1265 (1245 + 20) and 1316 (his death) is $51/2 = 26$ (25½ being rounded up to 26), which gives a mean date of 1265 + 26 = 1291. This mean date is automatically produced, and enables us to group the scholars in demographical cohorts. In table 3, the cohorts have been defined on a 25 years basis. The numbers for the three last periods are of decreasing value, since because of the present terminal date for inclusion in the database (1500), we have not yet been able to make a systematic use of the essential works of James K. Farge⁴⁷. The global column

⁴³ William J. Courtenay, "Between Pope and King".

⁴⁴ There were 68 adherents, and 87 nonadherents. The lists are printed and commented upon in William J. Courtenay, "The Parisian Franciscan Community in 1303", *Franciscan Studies*, 53 (1993): 155-173 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41975172>). Very few of them are already present in the *Studium Parisiense* database.

⁴⁵ The list is edited by Antoine Dondaine, "Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la province de France : l'appel au concile (1303)", *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 22 (1952), 381-439.

⁴⁶ See William J. Courtenay, "The Augustinian Community at Paris in the Early Fourteenth Century", *Analecta Augustiniana*, 51 (2001), 219-229 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/44992715>).

⁴⁷ James K. Farge, *Biographical Register of Paris doctors of theology, 1500-1536* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies Subsidia Mediaevalia 10) 1980, and *Students and*

concerns all the people included in the database: among the 19 268 files are 1464 “external” files of people who are mentioned in our core sources (for instance princes, sorcerers or cardinals in *Chartularium* or *Auctarium*, or masters of foreign university who have never set a foot in Paris but are included in Glorieux’s repertory of masters of arts) without being members of the University, and 950 files for “uncertain” people who might have been members but for whom we have no decisive proofs of attendance at Paris. The real number of university members is 16854. Of these, roughly 16% are secular colleges alumni⁴⁸, 7% mendicant friars, and a little less than 3% belong to Parisian religious colleges or establishments.

To analyze the evolution of the university’s population, we shall concentrate upon the column “Members”. Globally, it reveals an increase in the number of university members, but this increase is not a regular one. We have first a century of exponential increase from 1125 to 1225, which stops abruptly with the century quarter 1225-1250. The reasons of this sudden stagnation are easy to discover: it is most probably a result of the great crisis of 1229-1231 which is analyzed with great precision by Nathalie Gorochov⁴⁹. Following the murder of students (one chronicler speaks of 320 clerks) by the Queen-Regent Blanche of Castile’s soldiers on the 27th of February 1229 to repress disorders caused by drunk students the preceding day, the masters decided to stop teaching and most masters and students left the town. Thanks to the intervention of Pope Gregory IX, peace came back but only in 1231 (13th of April), with the fulmination of the famous papal bull *Parrens Scientiarum*. In the mean times, masters and students had migrated to others places in France: Angers and Orléans which later became universities in their own right, Toulouse, where a university had been created this same year 1229 by count Raymond VII to fight heresy in the South, or even Reims, Amiens or Beauvais. They also migrated outside France, in Spain (Palencia, Léon), in Italy (Vercelli, Bologna) but the most important transfer was to Oxford, essentially because many masters and students were English and

teachers at the University of Paris: the generation of 1500: a critical edition of Bibliothèque de l’Université de Paris (Sorbonne), Archives, Registres 89 and 90 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 25) 2006.

⁴⁸ In a synthesis of Jacques Verger and Jean Favier’s estimates, Simone Roux supposes that roughly 25% of the students had bursae in the Paris colleges: this points to the fact that the number of colleges’ students in *Studium Parisiense* is probably underestimated: Roux, *La rive gauche des escoliers*, 32.

⁴⁹ Nathalie Gorochov, *Naissance de l’université. Les écoles de Paris d’Innocent III à Thomas d’Aquin (v. 1200-v. 1245)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2012) 397-459.

Table 3a. The chronological evolution.

Period	Secular Colleges	Convents	Religious communities	Members	Global
Before 1100					1
1101-1125				6	11
1126-1150			4	16	25
1151-1175			9	33	58
1176-1200	15		6	50	92
1201-1225			7	115	172
1226-1250	1	24	12	110	247
1251-1275	13	77	11	241	453
1276-1300	60	100	20	413	784
1301-1325	129	148	17	817	1172
1326-1350	265	137	33	1793	2146
1351-1375	290	78	32	1145	1339
1376-1400	667	180	59	2189	2374
1401-1425	432	77	43	2820	2975
1426-1450	248	142	69	1655	1796
1451-1475	294	84	106	3682	3767
1476-1500	211	120	34	1541	1618
1501-1525	62	19	15	221	230
1526-1550	2			7	7
Total	2696	1186	477	16854	19268

went back home⁵⁰: some came back to Paris, but most of them remained in Oxford, the development of which really starts in 1229.

The exponential increase starts again in the next quarter century, and it lasts until the middle of the 14th century, when the quarter century 1351-1375 shows a sharp decrease, by at least one third: this is certainly a consequence of the Black Death. The exponential increase starts again in 1376-1400, but it slows down quickly and there is a new sharp decrease in 1426-1450: it is obviously a consequence of the English occupation, but it is also probably a result of the fading international prestige of Paris after the departure of many masters and students leaving for urbanist countries, combined with the takeoff of the German universities which had begun with the Great Schism and with the creation of rivals in the traditional zones of Paris students' recruitment, mainly Caen (1432) and Louvain (1425). The recovery is obvious from 1451 onwards, but the peak in 1451-1475 must be dealt with cautiously: it is largely due to an exceptional document⁵¹, the

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, 418-423.

⁵¹ See note 14 above.

list drawn up for the collection of a tax in 1464: it gives the name and title (*Magister, Frater, Dominus ...*) of those who gave their contribution to the sums needed to fund an embassy to King Louis XI to gain his support against pope Pius II who, following the revocation of the "Pragmatique Sanction", intended to retain the ecclesiastics' goods at their death and to deprive them of the right to make wills. Unfortunately, the document is incomplete, some names seem to appear twice, and the status in relation to the university of some people appears dubious, while graduates and students whose presence is attested in Paris are not mentioned. For reasons indicated earlier, the interpretation is impossible for the two last periods.

The table enables us to interpret the respective weights of the secular colleges, the mendicant convents, and the religious establishments in the evolution of the number of Parisian scholar. For this, we must turn to percentages (table 3B). We can discern three different stages. During the twelfth century the global increase of the scholars was partially due to two religious communities, essentially the canons of Saint-Victor (15 for the period 1126-1200) and those of Sainte-Geneviève (4). These two communities have a complicated story in relation with the schools of Paris which may have had some consequences on their ambiguous integration in the University's structure. Once it had become a house of regular canons (with canons drawn from Saint-Victor in 1146-1147), Sainte-Geneviève played a crucial part in the schools' development, since its chancellor was responsible for the schools of the Montagne Sainte-Geneviève and his chancellor's capacity to confer the *licencia docendi* and to organize examinations was an important element in the scholars' struggle against the other chancellor, that of Notre-Dame de Paris. It may have had a school, but though it kept its central role in the running of the examinations of the Faculty of Arts, its chapter had relatively few graduates: they had sometimes to hire external chancellors, since they had no masters of arts among them, this grade being a requisite to hold this office. Saint-Victor derived from the hermitage founded by Guillaume de Champeaux when he left his official teaching position: in a way, it always remained close to the University, but neither in or out. However, the canons had a school and were authorized by the pope to have a master of theology: the pope justified this privilege by the penitential role of the canons in the university⁵². It also had one of the largest libraries in Paris. But if the importance of the regular canons is obvious in the twelfth century, it slows down quickly, despite the foundation of a new house of regular canons, that of Sainte-Catherine du Val-des-Écoliers, and of the col-

⁵² Denifle et Châtelain, *Chartularium*, t. 1, 159 (n° 111).

Table 3b. The chronological evolution: percentages.

Period	Colleges	Convents-	Religious communities
1101-1125			16,6
1126-1150			25
1151-1175			27,3
1176-1200	32		12
1201-1225			6,1
1226-1250	0,9	21,8	10,9
1251-1275	5	32	4,5
1276-1300	14,5	24	4,8
1301-1325	15,8	18	2
1326-1350	14,8	7,6	1,8
1351-1375	25,3	6,8	2,8
1376-1400	30,5	8,2	2,7
1401-1425	15,3	2,7	1,5
1426-1450	15	8,6	4,2
1451-1475	8	2,3	2,9
1476-1500	13,7	7,8	2,2

leges of the Cistercians, the Cluniac and the canons of Prémontré: from 1251 onwards, their part in the university population remains always inferior to that of the members of secular colleges and to those of the mendicant orders⁵³.

The mendicants came early in Paris, but they were apparently few: their number swelled rapidly since many *magistri* and students decided to enter the orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic. These have not been counted as Franciscans or Dominicans, since it is difficult to know with certainty which role they played after their conversion, since many of them left Paris to work in the orders' convents. But the rapid development of the convents of both orders meant that from 1230 onwards Franciscan and Dominican masters and teachers were present in increasing numbers, while the 1229-1231 crisis gave them the opportunity to get two chairs in the Faculty of Theology. Their prominence was such that in the fifties secular masters launched a violent campaign to put an end to what they saw as an unfair competition: but this was to no avail and the papacy finally arbitrated in favour of the friars. Their convents continued to grow, they gained new chairs and attracted more and more students, reinforced by the Augustinian Friars and

⁵³ Except in 1451-1475: it is because in the 1464 collection, all members of the regular orders are described as '*Fratres*', while the Cistercians of the 'Collège des Bernardins' are identified, though not by their own name, but by their monastery's name.

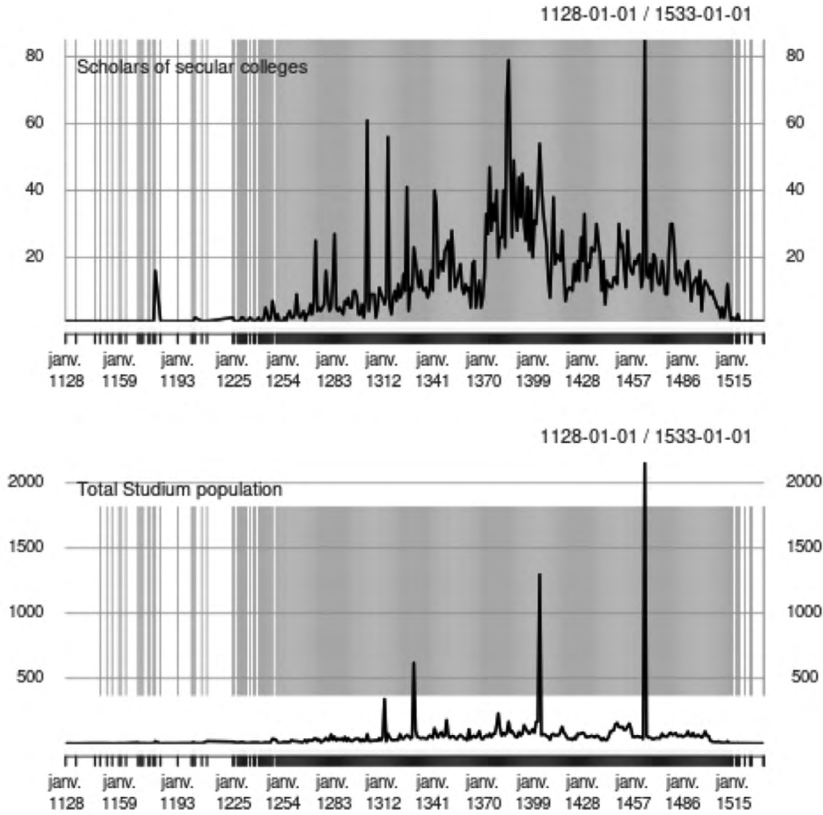
the Carmelites. In the second half of the thirteenth century, the increase of the Friars' number became one of the chief components of the University's growth, the proportion of friars reaching 32% in 1251-1275. They were completely integrated in the University machinery and, as is well known, provided some of its most famous Masters (see *infra*). But institutionally speaking, each Mendicant convent was a *studium generale* in its own right for his order, and funded by him by a complicated system involving all his provinces throughout Europe. The convents' priority was to satisfy their orders' needs in competent lectors, not to solve the educational and housing difficulties of Paris University! Once the convents accommodated the number of students necessitated for reaching their own objective, they stopped to grow: and the proportion of friars began to decrease regularly since the university population continued to swell, to a modest proportion of 7/8% in the fifteenth century. The very low proportions for 1401-1425 and 1451-1475 must not be taken into account, since they can be explained by the nature of the prominent sources for this period: the overwhelming statistical weight of the 1403 *rotuli*, and that of the list of the contributors to the 1464, both of them containing practically no names of mendicants.

Secular colleges, as mentioned earlier, had appeared at the end of the twelfth century: exceptionally, we know the names of the first eighteen scholars of the 'Collège des Dix-Huit', but after that we have practically nothing until the foundation of the Sorbonne, when many names can be retrieved from the house cartulary, though many doubts remain about the real status of those mentioned⁵⁴. The proportion of scholars from the secular colleges already reaches 14,5% in the quarter century 1276-1300 and increases throughout the 14th century to more than 30%: this is a minimum, since many or perhaps even most of the secular scholars whose affiliation is unknown to us could be members of these colleges. As table 1 reminds us, the end of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century make the great century of college foundations in Paris. The proportional decrease which the table shows for the 15th century may not reflect a real loss of importance of the colleges, though the period 1411-1436 is undoubtedly a very difficult one for them⁵⁵. It may be a consequence of the terminal dates of the thesis we have used: 1418 for Na-

⁵⁴ Palémon Glorieux, *Aux origines de la Sorbonne. I, Robert de Sorbon, l'homme, le collège, les documents* (Paris : Vrin, 1965); Id., *Aux origines de la Sorbonne. II, Le Cartulaire* (Paris : Vrin, 1965). Glorieux tends to consider most if not all procurators of the Sorbonne as members or future members of the Sorbonne, which is possible, but far from certain.

⁵⁵ Kouamé, *Le collège de Dormans-Beauvais*, "Le collège dans la tourmente", 138-144 for the case of Dormans-Beauvais College.

Graph 3. The scholars of secular colleges, convents and religious communities compared with global university numbers.



varre, 1458 for Dormans-Beauvais, 1480 for Laon. It is therefore a probable consequence of the specificities of the sources, as for the Mendicant Friars and most of the religious. The *rotuli* of 1403 rarely mention college affiliations, as well as the list for the 1464 collection, which only makes an exception for some students of the college de Navarre. The fact that the terminal date of our research, 1500, has prevented us so far to make full use of James K. Farge's publication explains that we cannot read in the table what we could call the fourth stage in Paris developments: the fact that, perhaps as a belated consequence of the Statutes of the Cardinal d'Estouteville⁵⁶ which required a

⁵⁶ Denifle et Châtelain, *Chartularium*, t. 4, 713-734 (n° 2690): <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/4230-guillelmusdeestoutevilla2>. See Jacques Verger, "La réforme du cardinal d'Estouteville (1452): l'université de Paris entre Moyen Âge et modernité", in *Les Uni-*

reinforced and stricter control on Parisian secular colleges and *pédagogies*, several colleges were reformed and recovered a long lost prosperity, integrating from the 1480 onwards many more students, providing a much better education and gaining a new international recognition: one may mention the reform of the Montaigu College by Jean Standonck⁵⁷ (principal from 1483) with the creation 72 *bursae* for poor students, the renovation of the Bourgogne College after the legacy of his principal, Jean de Martigny⁵⁸, in 1491, or the reform of the Boissy College by Michel Chartier, his principal from 1482 to 1531⁵⁹. Scholars continued to flock to Paris from all over Europe: but, as we shall see, they now came to the Paris colleges, not to the Paris convents.

Elements of prestige and international influence

The problems of the international influence and of the prestige of the Paris schools and university can also be measured by the information provided by the *Studium Parisiense* database. These problems are not simply cultural matters: the influx of foreign students increases the town's population and the consumers' number, while the literary output of the scholars stimulated the multiplication of bookshops and scribal activity. And it is well known that the first printing press in Paris was established in the Sorbonne by Guillaume Fichet⁶⁰ and Jean Heynlin⁶¹. This printing press produced the first printed book in Paris in 1470. But how to measure all this? In Table 4, we have selected two quantitative indices. The first is the repartition between *magistri*, graduates and "students"⁶² in each institution. The other one, is the number of authors. These data are tabulated in Table 4 (percentages have not been calculated if the number of scholars is inferior to ten).

versités en Europe (1450-1814), (Paris : Bulletin de l'Association des Historiens modernistes des Universités française, 2013), 55-76.

⁵⁷ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/7539-johannesstandonck>

⁵⁸ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/8142-johannesdemartignaco>

⁵⁹ Compère, *Les collèges français*, 105. See <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/20760-michaelquartier> ?

⁶⁰ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/3488-guillelmusficheti>.

⁶¹ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/5824-johannesheyndlalape>.

⁶² In *Studium Parisiense*, we use the word "student" to describe both people who are described as such in the sources and are students in the modern sense of the word, and people whose later grade is unknown (this is probably the case of many *bursae* holders in the Collèges de Dormans, Laon and in the Norman colleges) and people whose affiliation to colleges and nations is unknown. This may have to change.

As regards the number and proportion of masters, it must not be forgotten that, when the institution's sources have not been systematically scrutinized, a high proportion of *magistri* may simply be a result of the fact that most of those whose name is known to us are the *magistri* (and graduates) mentioned in *rotuli* or graduation documents⁶³, whereas the names of students who never graduated can only be discovered by a close study of the accounts: this is what makes the data for the colleges of Dormans-Beauvais and Navarre especially valuable. Navarre has a higher proportion of masters than Dormans-Beauvais, and we know that in the Faculty of theology's examinations, the rank of Navarre's candidates is constantly better than that of other college's candidates. And Dormans-Beauvais masters are mostly master of arts, while Navarre has many Masters of theology. Dormans-Beauvais, though founded by a chancellor of France, is therefore not so different from the typical diocesan colleges, founded by a bishop mostly for students coming from the founder's diocese (in that case Soissons). The Sorbonne (74% of the scholars are masters) is also debatable: according to the college's statutes, all members ought to be at least masters of arts and engaged in theology's studies but the attribution of a grade of master of theology generously bestowed by Jeanne Vielliard to *hospites* and *socii* of the college has been contradicted by Thomas Sullivan on such a scale that we have preferred to be cautious⁶⁴. Let us simply say that 74% is a minimum. Another interesting result shown on the table is the relatively high proportion of *magistri* in the mendicant convents and in some of the religious establishments, between 40 and 60%⁶⁵. This is quite significant, since we know that many of the orders' students were engaged in the lectorate cursus, and were not expected to get a university graduation. This relatively high score is also found in some religious establishments, and here the difference between the college of the Ber-

⁶³ This seems to be the case of the college of Harcourt (78% of *magistri*) and of the college des Cholets (73%). The high scores of the colleges du Trésorier (78,5) and of Maître-Gervais, where the archives have been studied by Marion Bernard-Schweitzer is more complex and may be a testimony to the good working of the *bursae* system: "small" *bursae* were reserved to students whose accession to the grade of *magister* was facilitated, while "great" *bursae* were given to scholars who were already *magistri*.

⁶⁴ The biographies compiled by Sullivan, *Parisian Licentiates in Theology ... passim*, demonstrates that many of those described by Jeanne Vielliard as "perhaps doctor of theology" were at most graduates (bachelors?) in theology, not doctors or masters.

⁶⁵ The Carmelite score (70%) must be considered with suspicion: the grade seems to be attributed by internal sources such as Johannes Trisse's repertory of Paris Carmelite masters, written in 1360-1363, repeated by later historians of the order, to all those who were masters of the convent's school.

Table 4. Graduation and authorship.

College	Mag	%	Gr.	Stud.	Dubious or unknown	Total	Authors	%
Convents of the mendicant orders								
Austin Friars	119	44,6	50	95	3	267	47	17,6
Carmelites	115	70	36	11	2	164	52	31,7
Dominicans	227	53,5	81	101	15	424	192	45,3
Franciscans	186	56	42	98	5	331	157	47,4
Total	647	40	209	305	25	1186		
Religious communities								
Bernardines	88		52	72	3	215	44	20,4
Cluny	20		21	29	2	72	5	7
St. Victor	28		-	18	5	52	20	38,5
St. Geneviève	21		3	21	3	48	4	8
St. Catherine	22		4	8		34	8	23,5
Marmoutier	5		3	5	4	17	1	5
Mathurins	5		4	2		11	1	9
Servites	5		3	2		10	2	20
St. Denis	4		4			8	1	
Prémontrés	4		1			5	1	
Antonines			2		2	4		
Secular Colleges								
Navarre	288	35	26	503		817	38	4,6
Dormans ¹	113	17,6	43	463	21	642	6	1,5
Sorbonne	341	74	29	84	2	456	65	14,2
Laon	67	41,6	2	91	1	161	3	1,9
Justice	34	78	4	76		114	1	0,8
Maître Gervais	67	78,5	2	46		113	3	2,6
Harcourt	73	78	1	19		93	10	5,2
Trésorier	44	78,5	2	10		56	4	7
Cholets	36	73	2	11		49	5	10,2

¹ Kouamé, Le collège de Dormans-Beauvais, gives the names and careers of 12 servants or assistants of the College (« suppôts ») of the officers of the College and of the chapel' staff.

ardines (40%) and the college of Cluny (27,7) achievements is especially telling, as well as that which is observed to a lesser extent between the two abbeys of regular canons (both members of the Victorine congregation) of Saint-Victor (53,8) and that of Sainte-Geneviève (43,7). But we have another statistical indicator for an estimate of the intellectual activity of the colleges, convents and religious communities, the numbers of authors.

The number of authors is indeed another significant statistical indicator of intellectual activity and prestige which can be combined with other

numerical indicators, such as the number of manuscripts and of the early printed editions of their works. Here, secular colleges, even the Sorbonne (14,2%), are not in the class of the mendicant convents (from 17,6% for the Augustinians, to 47,4% for the Franciscans) and of some religious communities, such as Saint-Victor (38,5%) and even Sainte-Catherine (23,5%). The scores of the secular colleges are rather low, from 0,8% for the Justice College to a surprising high of 10,2 for the “Collège des Cholets”. Surprisingly, despite its academic excellence, the Navarre College has only 4,2% of its members who can be described as authors. But the authors of real importance are those who have an impact on the culture of mediaeval western Europe: it is their achievement and celebrity which draws the most brilliant students to Paris. To list the great authors of the Dominicans (Albert the Great⁶⁶, Aquinas⁶⁷, Hugo de Sancto Caro⁶⁸, Herveus Natalis⁶⁹, Johannes Quidort⁷⁰, Robert Kilwardby⁷¹, Master Eckhart⁷² or Guillelmus Peraldus⁷³ to name but a few among the most fertile and influential writers), Franciscans (Alexander of Hales⁷⁴, Bonaventura of Bagnoreggio⁷⁵, Roger Bacon⁷⁶, Johannes Pecham⁷⁷, Matthew of Acquasparta⁷⁸, Johannes Wallensis⁷⁹, Johannes Duns Scotus⁸⁰, Nicolaus de Lyra⁸¹ ...), Augustinians (Aegidius Romanus⁸², Augustinus de Ancona⁸³, Jacobus de Viterbo⁸⁴ ...) and Carmelites (John Baconthorpe⁸⁵) is equivalent to draw a list of the greatest European theologians, though we must not forget that generally Paris was not the only university they attended: the

⁶⁶ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/385-albertusmagnus>

⁶⁷ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/12000-thomasdeaquino>: the largest file in the database.

⁶⁸ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51240-hugodesanctocar>.

⁶⁹ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/5097-herveusnatalis>.

⁷⁰ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51520-johannesquidort>.

⁷¹ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51775-robertuskilwardby>.

⁷² <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/18949-echarodusdehocheim>

⁷³ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/23409-guillelmusperaldus>.

⁷⁴ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/476-alexanderdehales>.

⁷⁵ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/1533-bonaventuradabagnoregio>.

⁷⁶ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51826-rogariusbacon>

⁷⁷ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/5905-johannespecham>

⁷⁸ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51497-matthaeusdeacquasparta>

⁷⁹ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/52074-johanneswallensis>

⁸⁰ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51367-johannesdunsscotus>

⁸¹ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51944-nicolausdelyra>

⁸² <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/50875-aegidiusromanus>

⁸³ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/1101-augustinusdeancona>

⁸⁴ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51363-jacobusdeviterbo>

⁸⁵ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51820-johannesbaconthorpe>

Oxford-Paris coupling is frequent for all orders, as the Cologne-Paris for the Dominicans. William of Ockham is the only major name missing⁸⁶, since he probably had to set aside his projected Paris master graduation to rush to Avignon to defend himself against the attacks of the Oxford chancellor, Henry of Harclay (another Oxford-Paris student). The two canons of Saint-Victor, Hugo and Richard, are also two of the most widely read and copied medieval authors. Few authors from secular colleges can be compared with the great mendicants and the Victorines in terms of influence: perhaps Nicolas Oresme⁸⁷, Pierre d'Ailly⁸⁸ and Jean Gerson for the 15th century at Navarre, Henry of Ghent⁸⁹, Godfrey of Fontaines and for the 15th century, Albert of Saxony⁹⁰. With the possible exception of Gerson, the mendicant authors are also outstanding in terms of manuscript copies: we know of more than 4 000 manuscripts containing the works of Aquinas, more than 1600 for those of Giles of Rome and there are more than 1 100 manuscripts for Lyra's *Postillae*. The works of these three authors have also been continuously printed.

It is also noteworthy that there are only three natives of the kingdom of France in the list of the most famous mendicant authors, Herveus Natalis (Nédellec) from Brittany, Johannes Quidort (maybe from Paris) and the Norman Nicolaus de Lyra⁹¹. Richard of Saint-Victor is probably a Scot, Hugo certainly a German from Saxony. However, the analysis of the scholar's geographical origin is riddled with difficulties. The scholar's diocese is mentioned in *rotuli* and in lists of graduation: it is the diocese in which he became a clerk, not that of his place of birth. The two coincide most often, but not always, and clerics may change for another diocese when it appears profitable to their beneficial career. When we have no indication of the diocese, we can make a guess from topographic names, but this is guesswork, and in that case we always record in *Studium Parisiense* an interrogation mark. This is for instance especially adventurous for Italian scholars called 'de Roma', 'de Florentia', 'de Venetia' or 'de Milano', for the diocesan network is so dense in Italy than jumping to the conclusion that they were born in the dioce-

⁸⁶ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/21496-guillelmusdeockham2>, classified as uncertain.

⁸⁷ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/21498-nicolausoresme>.

⁸⁸ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/13574-petrusdealliacio1>

⁸⁹ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/4904-henricusdegandavo>

⁹⁰ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/421-albertusdesaxonia>

⁹¹ Guillelmus Peraldus and Hugo de Sancto Caro were respectively born in the dioceses of Viviers and Vienne when their territories had not yet been integrated into the kingdom of France.

ses of Roma, Florence, Milan, not to mention a fictitious diocese of Venezia (for Carole, Castello, Torcello and Equilio) very risky. But it is also difficult to deduce the region from the diocese: for instance, the diocese of Soissons is mainly situated in Île-de-France (the Soissonnais), but it has a small part in Champagne (Dormans and Château-Thierry), and another one in Picardy (Compiègne), while the diocese of Langres is divided between Champagne (Langres and Chaumont) and Burgundy (Dijon, Beaune). Another problem is the denomination and delimitation of these regions for medieval times: for instance, we have created a region of 'Alemania', which includes the dioceses of Strasbourg, Constance, Basel, Ulm/Augsburg and Chur⁹². All this explains why an exact correspondence between 'region' and 'diocese' is impossible, as it is impossible with modern countries. The next tables use the 'region' variable, since the diocese is very rarely mentioned for the regular clergy, and establish as strict a distinction as possible between those who are born inside the kingdom and those who were born outside.

Table 5a contrasts the recruitment of the mendicant orders with that of the secular colleges inside the kingdom. The Mendicants come from all French regions, though Berry and Touraine have very low scores. The four regions best represented are Flanders (25 friars), Brittany (24), Normandy (22) and Burgundy (21), but Languedoc (18), Picardie (17) and Champagne (16) have also a fairly good representation. However, it is noteworthy that Languedoc and Aquitaine are practically absent from the selected panel of secular colleges⁹³, and the presence of men from these parts in Paris University seems mainly due to the mendicant convents. The only French province which is much better represented in the secular colleges than in the mendicant convents is Auvergne (corresponding to the dioceses of Clermont, Tulle and Le Puy). As regards the secular colleges, only two bring together individuals of markedly different regional origins, the Sorbonne and Navarre. But even in the Sorbonne, 76% of the students whose geographical origins are known and who were born inside the kingdom come from only five regions, Normandy (34%), Flanders (13,8%), Picardy (11,6%), Champagne and Île-de-France (10,1% each), and there are very few people originating from South of the Loire, Limousin and Auvergne excepted: none from Languedoc,

⁹² K.H. Burmeister, '... der in fremden landen were uff der schuol'. Die Baccalaurei und Magistri in artibus der Universität Paris aus dem Bistum Konstanz und dessen näherer Umgebung, *Alemania Studens, Mitteilungen des Vereins für Vorarlberger Bildungs- und Student-en-Geschichte*, 11, (2003): 23-90.

⁹³ Though we must not forget the existence of the College of Narbonne.

Table 5a. Regional origins: inside the kingdom.

	Franciscans	Dominicans	Carmelites	Augustinians	Total	Sorbonne	Navarre	Dormans	Laon	Maître-Gervais	Justice	Harcourt	Trésorier	Cholets
Anjou	2				2	2	5			1				
Aquitaine	9		1	1	11									
Artois	2	2	1	1	6	2	5					1		
Auvergne		6			6	7	7	1						
Berry				1	1	3	3							
Brittany	4	12	6	2	24	4	12		1					
Burgundy	3	16	2		21	3	20	6		1			1	
Champagne	7	9			16	14	75	77						
Flanders	7	9	7	2	25	19	9			1		2		
Île-de-France	4		1	4	9	14	32	99	1			1		1
Languedoc	2	8	3	5	18	1	1							
Limousin		3	2		5	5	2							
Normandy	2	13	4	3	22	47	40	4	1	55	98	60	39	
Orléanais	4	1			5	1	5	1		1				
Picardie	4	5	4	4	17	16	2	41	130			1		32
Poitou	1	1			2		1							
Quercy	3				3									
Touraine	1		1		2		2							
	55	85	32	23	195	138	221	229	133	58	98	65	40	33

Poitou, Aquitaine or Quercy⁹⁴. The same is true for Navarre, though the provinces are somewhat different: Champagne (33,9%), Normandy (17,3%), Île-de-France (13,9%) and Burgundy (9%)⁹⁵. The other secular colleges illustrate this Parisian specificity, that of colleges founded by bishops or ecclesiastics reserving the *bursae* to their diocese, their family or their village: they recruit their students from one region only. This is the case for the Norman colleges (Harcourt, Maître-Gervais, Trésorier and Justice) which, in con-

⁹⁴ This corroborates the conclusions of Jacques Verger, "Les étudiants méridionaux à Paris au Moyen Âge: quelques remarques", *Annales du Midi*, 189-190, *Cadres de vie et société dans le Midi médiéval: hommage à Charles Higounet* (1990), 359-366.

⁹⁵ Nathalie Gorochov gives a detailed analysis of the geographical origins of the Navarre students by dioceses and by regions which shows that the geographical recruitment drastically changed from one period to another, favouring for a time Champagne, Normandy or Paris, whereas the founder, Queen Joan of Burgundy had expressly wished to have students coming from all French dioceses: see Gorochov, *Le collège de Navarre*, 156, 239-246, 344-352, 433-443.

formity with their founders' wishes, appear exclusively reserved to Norman students (252 on 261 between the four of them), or for the colleges of Laon⁹⁶ and of the Cholets⁹⁷ for Picardy. This provincial recruitment helped the colleges to function within the Nations structure of the Faculty of Arts. As mentioned earlier, the College of Dormans is not so different, despite its repartition between three regions, Île-de-France (43,4%), Champagne (33,8%) and Picardy (18%), since this is at least for a part a consequence of the regional heterogeneity of the diocese of Soissons⁹⁸. But the difference between the mendicant convents and the secular college is even more striking if we turn to the scholars originating from outside the kingdom.

It is true that there are several 'national' colleges in Paris, which are receiving students from Scandinavia⁹⁹ (colleges of Dacia, Uppsala, Linköping), Germany (the House of the poor German Students), Scotland, or Italy (College of the Lombards). But it is obvious that most Paris secular colleges received very few students from abroad. The Colleges of Navarre and above all the Sorbonne are exceptional in this respect: whereas the selected secular colleges have practically no scholars coming from a region outside the kingdom (a maximum of 3 for Dormans-Beauvais), the Sorbonne has 100 (21,9% of its members), and Navarre 10 (only 1,2%). The Sorbonne is clearly in the same class than the convents of the Mendicant orders for the proportion of foreign students and masters: 19,5% of the Carmelites, 22,9 of the Dominicans, 36,5% of the Franciscans and 32,6% of the Augustinians may be described as foreign students. But the regional distribution of the Sorbonne's scholars is quite different from that of the friars: 39% of them are coming from the Low Countries¹⁰⁰, and 23% of the regions which are close to the kingdom's borders

⁹⁶ Laon was created in 1314 for students of two dioceses, Laon and Soissons, but in 1324 the Soissons *bursae* formed the College de Presles and Laon was reserved to students from the diocese of Laon alone. The only exceptions are some theologians from the diocese of Saint-Malo in Brittany: see Fabris, *Étudier et vivre à Paris*.

⁹⁷ Also created for students of two dioceses, Beauvais and Amiens, with no separation in that case: see Compère, *Les collèges français*, 138.

⁹⁸ The repartition by dioceses is: Soissons 54%, Paris 12%, Reims, 11,5% and Meaux (10,4%), all the other French dioceses accounting for 11,5%: Kouamé, *Le collège de Dormans-Beauvais*, 200.

⁹⁹ Elisabeth Mornet, "Piété et honneur. Profil des fondateurs des collèges nordiques à Paris au Moyen Âge", in Sohn et Verger, ed., *Die universitären Kollegien*, 59-75. Elisabeth Mornet is responsible for the Scandinavian files in *Studium Parisiense*.

¹⁰⁰ States' borders coincide neither with those of provinces, nor with those of dioceses. In these tables, the dioceses of Théroutanne and Tournai are considered as "Flanders", that is inside the kingdom, Cambrai and Liège are considered with Utrecht as Low Countries, outside the kingdom.

Table 5b. Regional origins: outside the kingdom.

	Franciscans	Dominicans	Carmelites	Augustinians	Total	Sorbonne	Navarre	Dormans	Justice	Harcourt	Total
England	20	5	12	2	39	4					4
Scotland	3	4			7	5	1		1		6
Ireland	2	5			2	1					1
Low Countries	5	9	5	2	46	25	3				28
Denmark		2			2	2					2
Sweden	5	13			18	1					2
Finland						3					3
Germany	12	15	4	18	49	17	1				18
Alemania	5	6		1	12	6	1				7
Bavaria	1		1	4	6						
Rhineland	1	2	1	5	9	5					5
Saxony	5	4	1	2	12	3					
Bohemia	1				1						
Bosnia	1				1						
Moravia		1			1						
Poland						1					1
Dalmatia		1			1						
Slovenia						1		1			1
Hungary				2	2	1					1
Italy	37	23	6	56	122	8	2			1	11
Campania	1				1						
Emilia Romagna	4	2	2	6	14	1					1
Latium	2	8	1	4	15	1					1
Liguria		3			3	1					1
Lombardy	1	2	1	5	9	2					2
Marches	4			7	11						
Umbria	5	2		6	13						
Piedmont	3	1	1	1	6		1				1
Apulia	1				1						
Tuscany	8	9	1	17	35	1	1				2
Veneto	2	1		6	9	2					2
Iberian Penins.	24	18	2	1	45	23	3	1			27
Aragon		4	2		6	2					2
Catalonia	5	6		1	12	8	2	1	1	1	11
Castile	6	2			8	9					9
Majorca	2	1			3						
Navarra		2			2	1					1
Portugal	7	3			10	1					1

	Franciscans	Dominicans	Carmelites	Augustinians	Total	Sorbonne	Navarre	Dornans	Justice	Harcourt	Total
Valencia											
Crete	1				1						
Cyprus				2	2						
Burgundy (Ct.)	1	2			3	2					2
Provence	2	3	2	2	9						
Savoy	1	4			5	2					2
Lorraine	6	6	1	2	15	4		1			5
Total	121	106	32	87		100	10	3			

(Lorraine, County of Burgundy, Savoy, Provence). In the mendicant convents, Italians are by far the wider group of foreign students, even for the Carmelites (18,7%): 64,3% for the Augustinians, 30,6% for the Franciscans, and 21,7% for the Dominicans. For the Dominicans, the Iberian Peninsula (17%) comes immediately after Italy, followed by Germany (14,1%) and, quite remarkably, Sweden (12,2%). British Isles is the second place of origin for the Franciscans (19,1%), followed by the Iberian Peninsula (18,3%) and Germany (9,2%). The Carmelites give first place before Italy to the students of England (37,5% each), followed by the Low Countries (15,6%), and for the Augustinians, the Germans is the only other group of importance (20,7%) behind the Italians. These proportions did vary from one period to another as the decline of the number of British students shows: but they are a structural element closely linked to each order's organisation. In each convent, there was a "national" (i.e. French) proportion following the lectorate course or participating in campaigns of predication and in the administration of the house, but each province ought or could send (and fund) a given number of students to follow the graduation course in Paris. The importance of the Italians is due to the fact that there were many Italian provinces especially in the Augustinian and Franciscan orders. In the four orders, the number of scholars born abroad was largely superior to that of the scholars born inside the kingdom. It is only at the end of the fifteenth century that the colleges opened their doors to foreign students.

Finally, we may take into consideration another indicator, the number of students who have attended other universities. Once again, the contrast is complete: this time, even the Sorbonne appears cut off from the other European universities, though it is worth noting the presence of some scholars having attended central Europe universities, such as Krakow, Vienna and

Table 6. Other universities.

	Franciscans	Dominicans	Carmelites	Augustinians	Total Convents	Sorbonne	Navarre	Dornans	Laon	Maitre-Gervais	Justice	Harcourt	Tresorier	Total colleges
Orléans	1				1		11	14	1	1	1	1		29
Angers							1			2		2		5
Toulouse	8	7	3	1	19		1						1	2
Montpellier	2	6		2	10	1								1
Caen	1				1	2	1			1				4
Avignon	1	7	2	10	20		1							1
Oxford	15	4	7		26		1							1
Cambridge	2		2		4	1								1
St.Andrews						1								1
Louvain	1			1	2	2	1		1					4
Bâle						1								1
Cologne		12	1		13	3	1							4
Erfurt	2			2	4	2								2
Greifswald	1				1									
Heidelberg	1				1	1								1
Leipzig						1								1
Rostock		1			1									
Tübingen						1								1
Vienne			1	1	2	1								1
Prague	1				1	2								2
Cracovie						1								1
Bologne	5	7	1	4	17									
Florence		2			2									
Naples	3				3	1								1
Padoue	1			1	2									
Pavia		1			1	1								1
Pérouse	1	2		1	4									
Rome	1		1	1	3									
Alcala						1								1
Lerida	1				1									
Salamanca	1													
Valencia				1	1									
Coïmbra		1			1									

Prague. The only “other” universities which appear to admit a significant number of Parisian students are Orléans and at a lesser degree Angers, and this number is certainly underestimated, since many civil law students in Orléans and Angers were probably Parisian bachelors and masters of arts and/

or students of canon law. The friars also attended other French universities, but neither Orléans nor Angers, rather Avignon, Toulouse, and Montpellier. But the most salient feature of table 6 is the importance of the links with the three universities of Oxford, Bologna and Cologne, indeed other places of high intellectual achievement.

The colleges in the town

Masters and students are also important as inhabitants of the city of Paris. The problem of scholars' accommodation was of crucial importance, not only for the students and masters themselves, but also for the burgesses owners of houses or flats. At some time in the thirteenth century¹⁰¹, a system had been set up, which we know thanks to surviving *taxationes domorum* dating from 1281-1283¹⁰² and 1286-1288¹⁰³: a committee, associating burgesses of Paris, Masters of arts and two or three Masters of theology (usually a secular cleric and a mendicant friar, some of them being quite famous, such as Adam de Gulyn¹⁰⁴ for 1281, the future Cardinal Hugo Aycelin de Billom¹⁰⁵, O.P., and Arlotus de Prato¹⁰⁶, O.F.M., for 1282 and Giles of Rome, O.E.S.A. for 1287) fixed maximum rents for houses opened to students (including schools and colleges). Nearly all these houses were situated on the left bank of the Seine and in 1329-1330, when all members of the university were visited house after house by the collectors of a tax for the defence of a student accused of the rape of a young girl, the localisation of students' lodgings was exactly the same¹⁰⁷. Apart from some colleges founded in the vicinity of the Louvre palace (the Bons Enfants Saint Honoré, Saint-Thomas du Louvre, Saint-Nicolas du Louvre) and the 'Collège des Dix-Huit' in the City island close to Notre-Dame's cloister, all colleges were in the same part of the city. In fact, many colleges foundations started by the legacy of his house(s) by the founder, and since many of the founders were academics, it is quite natural that the colle-

¹⁰¹ The right to control rents is the first royal privilege conferred to the university on the 23rd of February 1270 by Saint Louis: Denifle et Châtelain, *Chartularium*, t. 1, n° 429, "De taxatione hospitiorum scholarium".

¹⁰² Denifle et Châtelain, *Chartularium*, t. I, 597-600 (n° 511).

¹⁰³ Denifle et Châtelain, *Chartularium*, t. 2, 28-32 (n° 556).

¹⁰⁴ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/87-adamdegulyn>

¹⁰⁵ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51233-hugoaycelindebillom>

¹⁰⁶ <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/16800-arlotusdeprato>

¹⁰⁷ Courtenay, *Parisians Scholars*, 59-80.

ges were situated there. Many colleges remained simple houses, or rather groups of houses more or less connected between them, the buildings being sometimes distributed along the two opposite sides of a street (as in the case of Harcourt College). Most of them were not very different from the surrounding houses, the only specificity in most cases being the existence of a large hall, the *Magna aula*: colleges were first and foremost places devoted to the common life of their members. Graph 4 gives a good idea of the Colleges' concentration in the "Quartier d'Outre-Petit-Pont" ("Quartier latin" is a XIXth phrase): and to the Colleges seen on the map, one must add the convents of the mendicant orders and the religious establishment: the Cordeliers and the Jacobins being delimited by Paris's fortified wall, as the abbey of Sainte-Geneviève while Saint-Victor was just outside the city walls¹⁰⁸.

When the houses proved inadequate, they were sold and it was a natural choice to acquire new buildings in the schools district. The executors of the will of Queen Joan of Navarra chose to build Navarre College close to the schools on Sainte-Geneviève's mount, disregarding the place intended by the Queen. Since this was a royal foundation, they were able not only to buy houses, but also to get others by expropriation: they could therefore construct the new college buildings *ex nihilo* and on a wide space from 1309 to 1315¹⁰⁹. Jean de Dormans, the founder of Dormans-Beauvais College had another strategy, similar to that of Robert de Sorbon a century earlier, because his foundation was a life affair for him: the foundation's official date is 1370, but he may have begun to accumulate lands and rents as early as 1354. And he began to buy houses in 1365, when he got from the Collège de Laon (the "*Maison des Ymages*" which was intended to be the core of the future college) and the Collège de Presles which had moved to new sites and had vacated them¹¹⁰. On these wider spaces, it was possible to construct buildings better adapted than a simple house or a group of houses to the functions which were those of a college, with a refectory, a library, a chapel and later classrooms¹¹¹. The best example of a Parisian college's library was that of Navarre, which was demolished as late as 1877¹¹². Saint Louis's '*Sainte Chapelle*' provided a model for the colleges who could afford to erect a chapel and new build-

¹⁰⁸ See the map in Philippe Lorentz and Dany Sandron, *Atlas de Paris au Moyen Âge. Espace urbain, habitat, société, religion, lieux de pouvoir* (Paris: Parigramme, 2006) 140, 145, 147, 172.

¹⁰⁹ Nathalie Gorochov, *Le collège de Navarre*, 153-154.

¹¹⁰ Kouamé, *Le collège de Dormans-Beauvais*, 39-52.

¹¹¹ Aurélie Perraut, *L'architecture des collèges parisiens au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Presses de l'université Paris-Sorbonne, 2009).

¹¹² XIXth century photography in Lorentz and Sandron, *Atlas de Paris au Moyen Âge*, 173.

Graph 4. Bursae geographical distribution in 15th century Paris.



ings¹¹³. The Sorbonne got its chapel in 1328, and the executor of the will of Jean de Dormans, his nephew Miles de Dormans, commissioned the famous royal architect, Raymond du Temple, to build the still surviving chapel of the college. The chapel was also intended to become a family sanctuary sheltering its members' graves, but Miles de Dormans went further than his uncle's intentions, and entrusted the famous architect to erect a college integrating in a beautiful two-story hostel of vast dimensions a kitchen and a refectory ("*salle basse*") built over a cellar, a hall ("*chambre haute*") and a library ("*salle haute*") on the first floor, and the scholars' bedrooms (four in each room) on the second one¹¹⁴. If even the largest Parisian colleges did not create a new architectural paradigm as those of Oxford, especially since the construction of William of Wykeham's New College, they gradually modified the aspect of

¹¹³ This is not a Parisian specificity: see the chapel of Exeter College in Oxford, for instance.

¹¹⁴ Kouamé, *Le collège de Dormans-Beauvais*, 52-57.

Paris' left bank and conferred to the "*Quartier d'Outre-Petit-Pont*" a specific visual identity, which was reinforced by the symbolic intervention of the scholars in the city's streets by enormous (sometimes as many as 4 000 participants, according to a chronicler) and frequent (330 between 1393 and 1492) university processions¹¹⁵.

Paris scholars were present and active in the city's life. The defence of their privileges was a constant preoccupation. They relied on the royal courts and above all on the Parliament of Paris for this defence: Serge Lusignan has reckoned that between 1277 and 1448 there were 633 trials in the Parliament involving universities (78%) or college (22%): most of them concern the university of Paris (71%) and its colleges (92%)¹¹⁶. These privileges were an efficient weapon against the university's adversaries. On the whole, the relations with Paris citizens were not too bad, with the possible exception of the butchers of Sainte-Genève's Mount, whose smelly garbage was a nuisance for the colleges. The relations with the sergeants and the guards of the "*Prévôté de Paris*" were more difficult. But what is the most important is perhaps the university's participation in the economic and social life of the city. The scholars privileges enabled them to benefit of fiscal and commercial privileges, for instance to import fish or wine in the city without paying taxes, a potential source of frauds: the Sorbonne, which was also a wine producer, was especially vigilant in the defence of these rights¹¹⁷. The university controlled many activities: the librarians, the paper and parchment dealers, the schoolmasters and schoolmistress, were all sworn members of the university. The university was also responsible for the control of medical practice in the city: those who had no Paris graduations were to be prevented to work in the city, but it also implied some control – not without conflicts – of apothecaries, surgeons and barbers, while quacks, bonesetters, sorcerers, grocers dealing with dangerous spices and astrologers were prosecuted and delivered to the royal courts. A special attention was paid to these matters in Colleges' statutes, and royal and civic authorities took care of the preservation of the students' morality: for instance, in 1358, the future Charles V had the "*rue du Fouarre*" closed at night to prevent prostitutes' promiscuity with the students¹¹⁸.

¹¹⁵ Antoine Destemberg, *L'honneur des universitaires au Moyen Âge. Étude d'imaginaire social* (Paris: PUF, 2015) 161-170.

¹¹⁶ Serge Lusignan, "*Vérité garde le roy*". *La construction d'une identité universitaire en France (XIII^e-XV^e siècle)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999), 26-41.

¹¹⁷ Robert Marichal, *Le livre des Prieurs de Sorbonne, 1431-1485* (Paris: Aux amateurs de livres, 1987).

¹¹⁸ Destemberg, *L'honneur des universitaires*, 311.

Conclusion

By the fifteenth century, the integration of the university in the city was complete. In the early thirteenth century, masters and students constituted a group of individuals united by a set of shared values, a common culture and specific professional practices which set them apart from the rest of the town's population. As the crisis of 1229-1239 demonstrates, they could leave and migrate to another city. This was not a Parisian feature: it happened elsewhere in Europe, and the foundation by migration is for instance the chief cause of universities' creation in Italy. Once the colleges had been set up, migration was impossible: the university was tied to the town. And in the case of Paris, this town happened to be also the capital of the kingdom of France as well as one the most populated of western Europe, with some 200 000 inhabitants before the Black Death and again at the end of the 15th century. It meant that the Colleges had an unlimited access to potential external students, whereas most of them were offering bursae to provincial scholars: graduates could set up "*pédagogies*" or negotiate contracts with citizens trying to give a good education for their male children¹¹⁹. Among these clients were the citizens and burgesses of Paris, but also the staff of the royal administration and of the royal courts, such as the Parliament of Paris: a university education was more and more understood as the indispensable requisite for a career in the fast growing royal administration, a new alternative to the ecclesiastical careers, which were initially the only option opened to students. *Studium Parisiense* is especially useful to study this aspect because it contains files (in the category "External") of many people who are neither masters nor students but have ties and contacts with the university, and files of people who are under the control area of the university (librarians, schoolmasters etc. as detailed *supra*, but also messengers, beadles, and college's servants) and are identified in the "Suppôt" category.

Generally speaking, *Studium Parisiense* appears as a useful tool to intervene in the vexed question of the number of the university members and of their proportion in Paris total population. Jean Favier in the detailed study he

¹¹⁹ Roux, *La rive gauche des escoliers*, 68-70, details the very good example of a contract (1446) between Geoffrey Le Normand, the future founder of the Sainte-Barbe College, then rector of Saint-Benoît-le-Bestourné and provisor of Navarre College, and Robert de Buymont, "écuyer" – whose father and brother were ushers of the Parliament of Paris – and his wife, Agnès d'Auvergne (heiress of a butcher's dynasty): he rents two houses they own behind Navarre's College (the house "À l'écu de Boulogne" and the house "Aux Deux Lions"), but he gets special conditions since he will board in his "pédagogie" the couple's son for two years. The cost of this free boarding is estimated at 20 gold "écu".

has devoted to this problem gives a final evaluation of probably around 4 000 people, perhaps 5 000 at most¹²⁰. But his method is questionable. He mainly use the graduation records as well as the numbers of available *bursae*. This may work for the higher faculties, though it takes no account of those who declare themselves in the *rotuli* as students in decree, medicine or theology and who appear to have never graduated. But it cannot work for the Faculty of Arts, for which the graduation lists are very far from being complete, and which obviously do not mention those students who never completed their courses. And these appear rarely in the documentation: the registers of the Anglo-German nation, by far the best we have in Paris, contains references to some of these students who were *nichil habentes* and disappear from view without graduating, presumably by lack of financial resources. But before the reform of the Cardinal d'Estouteville and the enforcement of a new definition of the status of the clerical student based upon the strict prohibition of arms wearing and the necessity to produce the *signet* of the college where the student is registered (whether as *bursa* holder or as external student)¹²¹, the vast majority of the Faculty's members is totally ignored by academic sources. *Studium Parisiense* integrates all those who appear to have been members of the Paris schools from the grammar school level to the higher Faculties: it intends to put at the disposal of the researchers a new statistical tool, the ratio between graduates (the categories "Master" and "Student") and students (the category "Student"). To achieve this, many difficulties have still to be solved. One is probably a redefinition of the category "student", hitherto described as those who have no graduation records but which aggregates too many different profiles: a new typology has to be devised. Another one is the overwhelming presence in our data of uncertainty: we are currently engaged in a research program with statisticians and computer scientists to improve the efficiency of data analysis in case of uncertain information¹²². But in the

¹²⁰ Jean Favier, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris*, IV : *Paris au XV^e siècle* (Paris: Association pour l'Histoire de Paris, 1974), 68-76.

¹²¹ Roux, *La rive gauche des escoliers*, 145-148.

¹²² The Daphne research project, sponsored by the French National Agency of Research, directed by Cédric du Mouza and Stéphane Lamassé. See the two working papers on HAL: Jacky Akoka, Isabelle Comyn-Wattiau, Stéphane Lamassé and Cédric du Mouza, "Modeling historical social networks databases. HICSS 2019", 52nd Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences, Jan 2019, Hawaii, United States (hal-02283278); and Jacky Akoka, Isabelle Comyn-Wattiau, Stéphane Lamassé and Cédric du Mouza, "Contribution of conceptual modeling to enhancing historians' intuition: application to prosopography", in *ER 2020: 39th International Conference on Conceptual Modeling*, Nov 2020, Vienna, Austria, 164-173, (10.1007/978-3-030-62522-1_12). (hal-03023837).

end, we hope to be able to offer a more comprehensive evaluation of the economic and social weight of the university population in the capital town of France in the Middle Ages

Databases

- *Franciscan authors 13th-18th centuries: a catalogue in progress*, MAARTEN VAN DER HEIJDEN and BERT ROEST, Radboud University Nijmegen : <https://applejack.science.ru.nl/franciscanauthors/>.
- Studium Parisiense : GENET, JEAN-PHILIPPE, THIERRY KOUAMÉ, and STÉPHANE LAMASSÉ, LAMOP (CNRS-Université Paris 1-Panthéon-Sorbonne, <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/>)

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