INTRODUCTION: PARIS IN 1329

The choice of the academic year 1329–30 as a point in time for examining the university community at Paris in the early fourteenth century was determined by the date of the document on which this study is based. Yet that date is fortunate inasmuch as that year and the academic generation to which it belongs coincided with several important transformations in the political, religious, and intellectual life of Paris.

On the political level this was the beginning of a new era in France. Although the full implications were probably not yet apparent, the Capetian dynasty came to an end in 1328 with the death of Charles IV and the crown passing to Philip of Valois. The attitude of the monarch toward the university, collectively and individually, mattered considerably: the university was located on the doorstep of the royal court and Parlement, it depended on the king for protection of its privileges and persons, the royal court and episcopal households were potential sources of employment and career advancement, and some clerks in the royal household or administration were simultaneously students at the university. Moreover, although a number of royal clerks who had served under Philip V and Charles IV were retained in royal service, Philip VI brought into the court his own followers who had served him before his accession to the throne. Thus, the network of contacts that connected university and court had been reconfigured, and some personnel with whom university officers had to deal had changed as well.

The newness of the royal dynasty and person of the king contrasted sharply with a seasoned, aging, and increasingly controversial pope, John XXII. Philip VI was the third king of France and Navarre with whom the pope had dealt. And, as had been the case in his dealings with the previous two monarchs, John continued a policy of cooperation in which royal supplications were almost invariably granted.

To build a closer working relationship, a few royal protégés received appointments at the papal *curia*, and some papal *familiares* were included in the court circle at Paris.

Papal backing was needed at the beginning of Philip's reign to help with the political transition, especially because of the soon-to-emerge claims of Edward III to the throne of France. A few years after 1329 those issues would carry the French monarchy into a military conflict that would all but erase the presence of English students and masters at Paris and make travel difficult and dangerous, particularly in the area of Picardy, the Artois, and other parts of northern France. Although the numerical percentage of English students within the university community had been declining in the early decades of the fourteenth century, their presence effectively ceased in 1337, except for brief periods.[1] Thus the *computus* of 1329–30, with its extensive evidence about members of the faculty of arts that predates the surviving records of any of the four nations in that faculty, provides us with a picture of the composition of the university community and the arts faculty before the outbreak of war and the consequent withdrawal of English students from Paris altered its "traditional" structure.[2]

Long before the controversy between France and England broke into armed conflict, Philip VI risked alienating the pope and the French episcopate by reopening the question of the temporal jurisdiction of the church and its control over income from ecclesiastical property. Although a confrontation on the level of that between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII had not occurred during the subsequent three reigns, the issues raised by John of Paris in his *De Potestate regia et papali* had reemerged with the publication of *Defensor pacis* in 1324 and the debate it provoked. At the time he wrote *Defensor pacis*, Marsilius of Padua was a prominent regent master in the faculty of arts at Paris, and the initial audience for that work was Parisian. Pope John's campaign against Marsilius and John of Jandun, although much of it was directed toward Germany and the court of Louis of Bavaria to which those two arts masters had fled, was still concerned with Paris and the political climate that had led to the creation and favorable reception of *Defensor Pacis* in the French capital, especially at the royal court and in the university.[3]

[1] W. J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton, 1987), pp. 147–163; "Foreign Study in a Time of War. English Scholars at Paris, 1325–1345," *History of Universities* 14 (1995–96), 31–42.

[2] W. J. Courtenay, "The Arts Faculty at Paris in 1329," in *L'enseignement des disciplines à la Faculté des arts (Paris et Oxford, XIIIe–XVe siècles)*, ed. O. Weijers and L. Holtz, Studia Artistarum 4 (Turnhout, 1997), pp. 55–69.

[3] On the reception and subsequent influence of *Defensor Pacis*, see G. de Lagarde, "Le Songe du Vergier et les origines du gallicanisme," *Revue des Sciences religieuses*, 14 (1934), 1–33, 219–237;

Paris in 1329

Philip VI reopened the issue of the relation of church and state in the second year of his reign, in a climate of weakened papal authority because of concern over the orthodoxy of John XXII's pronouncements condemning the doctrine of apostolic poverty. In the summer of 1329, the prelates of France were called to Paris for a council, ostensibly to allow the king to hear the differing views of lay lords and church prelates over the control of temporalities.[4] Coming so early in the reign of Philip VI, this council marked a shift in royal policy and a return to a more aggressive approach that echoed elements of the ecclesiastical polity of Philip IV. Just as in 1303, the king portrayed himself as a neutral judge hearing the reciprocal grievances of the prelates and lay nobility, even though the position of the latter, just as in 1303, was nothing more than that of the king and his advisers. The issues debated at the Louvre and Vincennes in the winter of 1329–30 concerning temporal jurisdiction and ecclesiastical possession of temporalities were on a far higher plane than that on which most of the university community lived, but the issue of who controlled and distributed the income from church property was of fundamental importance to university scholars, regardless of their financial conditions. Many masters in arts and in the higher faculties supported themselves partly from income derived from parish churches, canonries, prebends, benefices, chaplaincies, and other church livings. Not only did they favor a continuation of the present system that would protect their incomes, but they were also concerned over who would control provisions and appointments in the future. Consequently, in the autumn term of 1329, the forthcoming council at Paris had probably already produced a certain undercurrent of concern among secular clerks, who constituted the bulk of the university community.

The year 1329 was also one of transformation for one of the most important religious orders and its house of study at Paris – the

J.-P. Royer, *L'Eglise et le Royaume de France au XIVe siècle d'après le "Songe du Vergier" et la jurisprudence du Parlement* (Paris, 1969); J. Quillet, *La philosophie politique de Marsile de Padoue* (Paris, 1970); Quillet, *La philosophie politique du songe du Vergier (1378)* (Paris, 1977); and J. Miethke, "Marsilius von Padua, die politische Philosophie eines lateinischen Aristotelikers des 14. Jahrhunderts," in *Lebenslehren und Weltentwürfe im Übergang von Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, ed. H. Boockmann, B. Moeller, K. Stackmann (Göttingen, 1989), pp. 52–76; Miethke, "Politische Theorien im Mittelalter," in *Politische Theorien von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. H.-J. Lieber (Bonn, 1991), pp. 47–156, at 111–116; Miethke, "Das Publikum politischer Theorie im 14. Jahrhundert. Zur Einführung," in *Das Publikum politischer Theorie im 14. Jahrhundert*, ed. J. Miethke (München, 1992), pp. 1–23.

[4] Paul Fournier, "Les conflits de juridiction entre l'Eglise et le pouvoir séculier de 1180 à 1328," *Revue des questions historiques*, 27 (1880), 432–464; O. Martin, *L'Assemblée de Vincennes de 1329 et ses conséquences* (Paris, 1909); G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, *Jean Gerson et l'Assemblée de Vincennes* (Leiden, 1978).

Franciscans. After the flight of the minister general Michael of Cesena, William of Ockham, and other Franciscans from the convent in Avignon to Italy and thence to the court of Louis of Bavaria in the summer of 1328 because of John XXII's position on the issue of apostolic poverty, the pope had appointed a new minister general, Giural Ot. Pope John also appointed cardinal Bertrard de la Tour as protector of the order and had him replace the schismatic provincial ministers with those who supported the papal position. This change was made official at Paris in the summer of 1329 at the meeting of the general chapter. The new administrative appointments were approved, and the Michaelists anathematized and ejected from the order. Yet the bulk of students at the Franciscan convent in Paris had been sent there by provincial ministers who had served under Michael of Cesena, and all the bachelors of theology in residence, from the *sententiarius* in the autumn of 1329 to those who were awaiting their chance to be licensed and incept, had been chosen by Michael. This meant that regardless of the positions adopted and mandated by the new leadership of the order at Paris in June 1329, the Parisian convent – one of the most vigorous intellectual subcommunities at Paris in the 1320s – must have had within its midst a considerable number of friars with Michaelist sympathies.

The cathedral chapter at Notre-Dame was also undergoing changes around 1329. Several canons died between June 1328 and December 1329 – among them the cathedral chancellor Thomas de Bailly; Michel Malconduit; Jean de Cherchemont, who was also chancellor of France; Guy de Laon; Guillaume Piquet; and Pierre de Condé.[5] This produced a turnover in prebends and canonical houses that occupied the attention of the chapter through much of that time. Of more importance to the university, the brief chancellorship of Jean de Blois came to an end through his resignation, and a prominent regent master in theology, Guillaume Bernardi, was appointed to that office shortly before the beginning of the academic year.[6]

Geoffroy du Plessis founded the Collège de Marmoutier in 1329 for the Benedictine monks of that monastery and their affiliated houses. At the time of the *computus*, the designated property along the Grande rue St-Jacques already housed twenty-two monks, who replaced fellows of

[5] Attendance of these canons at meetings of the chapter and their deaths are recorded in *Reg. ND*, pp. 53–136. Pierre de Condé had continued to sit in chapter and to hold his other benefices, including the great archdeaconry at Laon, despite the fact that he had joined the abbey of St-Victor at Paris in 1324 as a canon regular; see H. Millet, *Les chanoines du chapitre cathédral de Laon, 1272–1412* (Rome, 1982), pp. 432–433.

[6] The chancellorships of Jean de Blois and Guillaume Bernardi are discussed in Chapter One.

the Collège du Plessis previously housed in that building. By itself, this foundation was not as important as the opening of the Collège de Navarre in 1315. The Collège de Marmoutier simply provided a permanent house of studies for a particular group of Benedictine scholars, alongside the colleges of Cluny and St-Denis and several priories. More broadly, however, the Collège de Marmoutier was one of several foundations in this period that were undertaken in response to the university's need for material support. The opening decades of the fourteenth century were one of the most active periods in college foundations and building at Paris; the number of colleges more than doubled within three decades and topographically transformed the southern section of the Latin Quarter between the Franciscan convent and the abbey of Ste-Geneviève.[7]

On the academic side, the years around 1329 marked important shifts in the intellectual life of Paris. The sequence of prominent and productive mendicant masters, who had fuelled intellectual excitement in the theological faculty into the opening decades of the fourteenth century, declined in the late 1320s. Only the Franciscans and Augustinian Hermits seem to have maintained a discernable, though modest, level of intellectual activity into the 1330s.[8] Similarly among the secular masters, the generation of Henry of Ghent and Godfrey of Fontaines was replaced by that of Thomas de Bailly and Thomas Wilton, whose successors in the decade of 1325–35 left even fewer significant scholastic writings. Admittedly, a new academic generation with different concerns was emerging around 1329, but its direction and importance would not become visible for almost a decade. One of its leaders, Jean Buridan, began his teaching career in arts around 1327 and in 1328 was

[7] Although one must be careful to distinguish the date of foundation from the date at which fellowships were awarded from endowment income and the dates of the erection or renovation of buildings, the years before and after 1329 were especially active: among the foundations in this period were the Collège de Navarre (1305, 1315), Collège de Bayeux (1309), Collège de Laon (1314), Collège de Prêles (1314), Collège des Aicelins (1314), Collège de Linköping (1317), Collège de Quimper (1321), Collège du Plessis (1322), Collège de Tréguier (1325), Collège de Marmoutier (1329), Collège d'Arras (1332), Collège de Bourgogne (1332), Collège de Tours (1334), Collège des Lombards (1334), Collège de Lisieux (1336), and the Collège d'Autun (1339). Within the literature on these foundations, see H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1936), I, pp. 497–539; A. L. Gabriel, "The College System in the Fourteenth Century Universities," in *The Forward Movement of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. F. L. Utley (Columbus, 1961), pp. 79–124, "Les Collèges Parisiens et le recrutement des Canonistes," *L'Année Canonique*, 15 (1971), 233–248, *Skara House at the Mediaeval University of Paris* (Notre Dame, 1960), *Student Life in Ave Maria College, Mediaeval Paris* (Notre Dame, 1955); N. Gorochov, *Le Collège de Navarre de sa fondation (1305) au début du XVe siècle (1418)* (Paris, 1997).

[8] Franciscan bachelors and masters at Paris in the 1330s who left writings are Pastor de Serrescuderio, Peter of Aquila, and Bernard of Arezzo, and for the Augustinian Hermits, Michael de Massa and Thomas of Strasbourg.

elected to his first three-month term as rector. Nicholas of Autrecourt also began his teaching in arts in 1326–27, became a fellow of the Sorbonne in the early 1330s, and became a prominent and controversial voice in the university community by 1336.[9] And in the decade between 1329 and 1339, the writings of William of Ockham, especially those that concerned logic and natural philosophy, attracted a following and led to the much-discussed crisis over Ockhamism in the arts faculty in 1339–41.[10] From that perspective, the academic year 1329–30 is the approximate watershed between the last figures of "high scholasticism" at Paris and the beginnings of the *via moderna*. Although the *computus* of 1329–30 does not and cannot speak to the content of university instruction or to the currents of thought present at Paris at that time, it does provide us with a picture of the larger scholarly community that witnessed and participated in that academic and intellectual environment, which, in light of later developments, was among the most important moments of transition in medieval scholastic thought.

The years surrounding 1329 were thus years of change for the university of Paris and for French society. That makes the witness of the *computus* all the more important. From the prosopographical standpoint, it is the most complete cross section we have of the Parisian university community at any point in the medieval period, and it is especially important because it includes the names of most of the regent masters in the faculties of arts, theology, law, and medicine at that time. Such a detailed view is by itself of great value. More significant, however, since the changes occurring in and soon after 1328 had not yet affected the composition of the university community, the *computus* of 1329–30 shows us the university community *before* transition. In types of persons rather than by specific individuals, we have a window into the Parisian scholarly world at the opening of the fourteenth century, which was probably not substantially different during the generation of Henry of Ghent. The *computus* of 1329–30 is not simply our best picture of the social composition of the university of Paris; it is our last picture of that world before events began to alter its structure.

[9] Z. Kaluza, "Nicolas d'Autrécourt, ami de la vérité," *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 42.1 (1995), 1–233.

[10] The secondary literature on the crisis over Ockhamism at the University of Paris, especially on the interpretation of the arts-faculty statutes from 1339 and 1340, is considerable. On the early stages of the introduction of Ockham's thought, especially just before and after 1329, see W. J. Courtenay, "The Reception of Ockham's Thought at the University of Paris," in *Preuve et raisons à l'Université de Paris: Logique, ontologie et théologie au XIVe siècle*, ed. Z. Kaluza and P. Vignaux (Paris, 1984), pp. 43–64; "The Debate over Ockham's Physical Theories at Paris," in *La Nouvelle Physique du XIVe siècle*, ed. S. Caroti and P. Souffrin (Firenze, 1997), pp. 45–63; and "The *Quaestiones in Sententias* of Michael de Massa, OESA. A Redating," *Augustiniana* 45 (1995), 191–207.

PART I

The recovery and context of a document

Chapter 1

THE *COMPUTUS* OF 1329–1330

In the last quire of the oldest surviving register of the proctors of the English-German nation at Paris is a record of monies collected from university members and associates to meet a special, unspecified financial need.[1] Like the survival of the Plan of St Gall, which might eventually have been discarded had not its obverse been used to record a life of St Martin,[2] this financial record, or *computus*, would not have been retained for long had not a blank page at the end of the quire been used in May 1344 to record the annual financial report of the receptor for the previous academic year – a type of record that was usually included in the proctors' register in the early fourteenth century before separate *registra receptorum* were instituted. When the 1344 report was included for binding with the records of the nation for the 1331–47 period, the entire quire was retained intact, perhaps on the assumption that the list of payments was somehow related to the receptor's report.[3]

The type of source to which this text belongs is a financial account

[1] Paris, Bibl. de la Sorbonne, Reg. 2.1, ff. 58r–65v. Earlier volumes of the proctor's register for the English-German nation, covering the early decades of the fourteenth century, have long since disappeared. In the present archival arrangement, the surviving proctor's registers of the various nations begin (Reg. 1) with the French nation, 1443–55, followed by those of the English nation, 1333–1492 (formerly Reg. 2–10, but now Reg. 2–8, because Regs. 2–5 are now Reg. 2.1, 2.2, 3.1, 3.2), the Picard nation, 1476–84 (Reg. 9), and the Norman nation, 1656–1767 (Regs. 10 and 11). The "second" register of the English nation (now marked 2.2 rather than 3) has missing quires and pages in the opening section of the volume, just as does Reg. 2.1.

[2] Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 1092. The plan dates to the early ninth century, whereas the text of life and miracles of St-Martin of Tours was copied on the back of the plan in the twelfth century by a monk at St Gall.

[3] A beginning date of 1331 for this portion of the records of the nation is conjectural. Reg. 2.1 begins with proctors' reports for 1333, but there is a missing quire at the beginning of the volume. The receptor's report could not be placed in proper chronological sequence because it had not been recopied into the register in May 1344 at the appropriate place, so it was added at the end of the volume, after the quire containing the proctors' records from February 1344 to January 1347. In editing the proctors' register of the English Nation, Denifle and Chatelain restored the receptor's account to its proper chronological position; *AUP* I, cols. 73–74.

(*computus*, *compte*) that resulted from a *collectio* or *collecta* of money from masters and students at the university of Paris, not just the English-German nation. The term *collectae* covered a variety of financial assessments in medieval universities, from the personal financial arrangement between a master and his pupils by which the latter paid for their instruction, to general assessments of the entire university community to meet some special financial need, such as the expenses incurred through litigation or through diplomatic missions to Avignon. The present text, as we shall see, belongs to the category of a general university assessment.

This document has long been known. It was edited by Denifle and Chatelain in an appendix in the second volume of the *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* in 1891, where it was described as a "Fragmentum Computi receptarum bursarum ab Universitate Parisiense."[4] In its present arrangement as found in the manuscript and as previously edited, it appears to be a fragment or fragments of more than one collection. Some individuals are named twice.[5] Collections for the rue de la Harpe are mentioned twice, once near the beginning of the document and once near the end.[6] And assuming the sequence of named streets represents the route of the collectors, the text jumps incongruously from one part of the Latin Quarter to another as if sections of the document were part of different collections, separated in time.[7] These factors, in combination with the dating range of 1329–36 given by the editors of the *Chartularium*, have made the document appear as a compilation of various collections across several years, and

[4] *CUP* II, pp. 661–671. It was also discussed by Powicke and Emden in a note in Rashdall, *Universities*, I, p. 499.

[5] This aspect was already noted by its editors, *CUP* II, p. 661: "Aliqua nomina in hoc Computo bis ponuntur." More than fifty names occur twice in the document. Not all necessarily identify the same person, but most probably do. Watt, pp. 152–153, in his discussion of the double listing of the sons of Douglas, concluded that the document derived from two assessments made at two different times within the period suggested by the editors. Other scholars have even assumed that those mentioned in the document were resident in Paris for the entire period of 1329–36; see, for example, A. B. Emden's entry for John Trillek in *BRUO*, p. 1906: "Studied at the University of Paris from 15 Sept. 1329 to 7 Mar. 1336 . . ."

[6] *CUP* II, pp. 663b, 670a.

[7] The text as previously edited begins near the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, in the center of the Latin Quarter, and proceeds south to rue St-Etienne-des-Grez, then down the hill to Clos Bruneau, the district of Place Maubert and the Seine, then back up the hill to St-Hilaire, the abbaye Ste-Geneviève, and the Porte Bordelle. From there (662b) it jumps to the far west side of the university district at the rue des Cordeliers, covers the district between there and the Seine (including the rue de la Harpe), and starts up the Grande rue St-Jacques. Then (664b) the text jumps to the Right Bank and the district around St-Germain-l'Auxerrois, jumps again (665b) to the far east side of the Left Bank near St-Victor, then jumps again (669a) to the southwest at the cloister of St-Benoît-le-Bestourné and the district around the Sorbonne (and the rue de la Harpe a second time), then jumps back (670b) to the east at the Collège de Navarre and rue de Judas.

fragmentary as well. As a result, historians have either ignored this document or used information from it to confirm the presence at Paris between 1329 and 1336 of some known individual.

The inconsistencies or anomalies in the present arrangement of the document, from which previous impressions were derived, disappear when one realizes that the sheets in their present arrangement, unsewn at the time of the collection, were incorrectly folded and assembled when they were bound with the rest of the manuscript volume. The first clue that the bifolia sheets were incorrectly assembled before sewing is that the topographical discontinuities in the text as presently arranged coincide exactly with transitions from one folio to another.[8] By carefully examining the binding of the quire, it was possible to ascertain which folios connect to form one bifolium. And by mentally refolding and reassembling those bifolia sheets (see figure 1), a new order emerges in which the topographical discontinuities no longer exist. The second clue that the order of binding was not the order of composition is that the document was copied by two scribes, with two different methods of listing names and payments. The folios of the manuscript on which names are recorded by street location are all in the hand of one scribe; the folios on which names are recorded in sequence without indication of street location are almost entirely in the hand of a second scribe. In the arrangement as bound in the manuscript, the scribal hands and their corresponding systems of recording names and payments shift back and forth. In the restructured arrangement, these paleographical incongruities also disappear.[9]

When the bifolia sheets are mentally refolded and reassembled, three significant results occur. First, as has already been remarked, in the section of the document in which street location is consistently provided (the first quire), the topographical record reads as a continuous

[8] The jump from Porte Bordelle to rue des Cordeliers (662b) coincides with the break between f.58v and f.59r. The jump from rue St-Jacques to rue St-Germain-l'Auxerrois (664b) coincides with the end of f.59v, followed by a blank folio, and continued on f.61r. The jump from there to the rue St-Victor (665a) coincides with the break between f.61v and f.62r. The jump from there to the rue St-Jacques near St-Benoît (669a) coincides with the break between f.63v and f.64r. And the jump from the rue de la Harpe to the Collège de Navarre (670b) coincides with the break between f.64v and f.65r.

[9] The present arrangement of sheets consists of three groupings sewn together as one quire: one bifolium (f.58r–59v, corresponding to 661a–664b, through Robertus Bocourt); two bifolia, one placed within the other (f.60r–63v, corresponding to 664b–669a, through Jacobus de Medunta); and one bifolium (f.64r–65v, the last page of which contains the proctor's report for May 1344). The original, presewn arrangement was in two quires. The first can be reconstructed by folding the first bifolium (f.58r–59v) inside out (f.59r–58v) and placing it inside the last bifolium (f.64r–65v). The second quire is reconstructed by folding the two middle bifolia (ff.60, 61, 62, and 63) inside out, thus forming the sequence: 62, 63, 60, 61. For a more detailed analysis of the interrelation of the quires of the document, see Appendix 2.