

This study of the social, geographical, and disciplinary composition of the scholarly community at the University of Paris in the early fourteenth century is based on the reconstruction of a remarkable document: the financial record of a tax levied on university members in the academic year 1329–30. Containing the names, financial level, and often addresses of the majority of the masters and most prominent students, it is the single richest source for the social history of a medieval university before the late fourteenth century.

After a thorough examination of the financial account, the history of such collections, and the case (a rape by a student) that precipitated legal expenses and the need for a collection, the book explores residential patterns, the relationship of students, masters, and tutors, social class and levels of wealth, interaction with the royal court, and the geographical background of university scholars.

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EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY

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PARISIAN SCHOLARS IN
THE EARLY FOURTEENTH
CENTURY

A social portrait

WILLIAM J. COURTENAY



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PREFACE

For more than a century, the history of the university of Paris and of medieval universities in general has been reconstructed largely from statutory evidence and from the written products of their schools and convents. This type of documentation initially led historians to focus their attention on questions of origin, constitutional structure, curriculum, and secondarily on intellectual activities and the conjectured daily life of students. Once the early stages of development had taken place, the institutional structure of each university was thought to be set, and descriptions of those structures were presumably as applicable to the late fourteenth century as they were to the early thirteenth. Where changes in degree requirements or administrative authority were noted, these were viewed as slight variations that did not significantly alter the continuity of basic structures. Change lay in the growth of colleges, the introduction and accommodation of the mendicant orders into universities, and the different intellectual currents and schools of thought that arose, waned, or reappeared as one moved from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.

In recent years the interests of historians have shifted more to questions of social background, geographical recruitment, careers of students and masters, and the interaction of universities with the surrounding society. This shift is evident in the work of A. B. Cobban, Guy Lytle, Jürgen Miethke, Peter Moraw, Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, Rainer Schwinges, Jacques Verger, and numerous others. Yet the tendency to bring all the medieval evidence together into one picture has remained strong, as can be seen in the first volume of *A History of the University in Europe* (1992).

The broad, comparative approach covering several centuries – whether it be of one or several universities – allows one a synthetic overview of university structure and development. That approach has also been sustained in part by a belief among scholars that there is not

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sufficient and balanced information from any single university at one point in time to be able effectively to address questions of social composition. This is why evidence derived from prosopographical research – perhaps the single most important development in the history of universities in the previous generation – has primarily been used to establish general trends within university populations over time. Such studies provide a means of arriving at a more quantitative, less impressionistic picture of social composition, geographical background, or career patterns of graduates than had previously been possible. And since biographical data is quantitatively richer for the fifteenth century, the previous two centuries have been passed over as largely unknowable in terms of social composition. When the question of what preceded the university world of the fifteenth century has been posed, the generalizations of earlier historians have been accepted as sufficiently descriptive and accurate.

There are two serious flaws with the broad, comparative approach built on a supposedly in-depth knowledge of fifteenth-century universities. First, one cannot, on the basis of fifteenth-century evidence, assume that earlier universities were substantially the same or substantially different. Second, if information drawn from one university at one point in time is too meager and unbalanced for substantive conclusions, how can the cumulative weight of such evidence have greater demonstrative validity? As A. B. Emden remarked on the eve of the computerization of the data in his biographical registers of Oxford and Cambridge, the resulting picture can be highly misleading. Raw statistics obscure and ignore the imbalances produced by different types of documentation and sources from which biographical registers are of necessity compiled. Moreover, a general, composite picture, even one concerned with trends over time, often ignores the fact that the amount and type of evidence from which such data bases are derived vary enormously from decade to decade and from university to university.

The most troubling aspect of the composite picture of the social and regional structure of a university is the assumption that it was relatively uniform across time, with the exception, in the case of the university of Paris, of the supposed effects of the Hundred Years War, the Black Death, and the Papal Schism in the course of the fourteenth century. But if we do not know what the university of Paris was like before those events, how can we realistically discuss continuity and change? Until time-specific studies are done for universities, we simply have no base lines from which to determine in what areas and to what degree change took place in the social composition of a university between the thirteenth and fifteenth century.

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The following work grows out of the “recovery” of a document that permits just such a base line to be established for the upper echelon of the university of Paris at one point in time in the early fourteenth century. The document has long been known but largely ignored because the form in which it survived hid its meaning, importance, and precise date. The document in question is a financial record compiled during a general collection from members of the university of Paris in the 1329–30 academic year. When the document is restructured, reedited, and the persons listed are identified and their biographies compiled through other evidence, there emerges the most detailed picture yet of an academic generation of scholars resident at Paris – or indeed at any medieval university – before the last years of the fourteenth century. Put simply, the *computus* of 1329–30 is the single richest source for the social composition and topography at one point in time of arguably the most important university in medieval Europe.

Although many other documents have been used in this study to augment the information in the 1329–30 document, the uniqueness and richness of the document, as well as the difficulties in interpreting its content, merit its being made the principal object of study. In its present archival state and as previously edited, the document is analogous to the torn pieces of an old photograph. Even when reassembled, the nature and purpose of the event as well as the identity of the persons in the picture are not immediately evident. The photograph contains some faces we recognize immediately, others who look distantly familiar, and others in the passing crowd whose names, almost as facial expressions, evoke striking images in the mind (“Johannes sense lettres,” “Prior Berdoniss cum suis rebellibus,” and “Henricus sine amors”) but might not otherwise be remembered or brought back to life. Some figures have their faces hidden or cropped off and are identifiable only by their clothing or livery. Some are obviously together as friends or associates, but the precise link is uncertain.

The first step in identifying the meaning of the document – the subject of Chapter One – is to reassemble the pieces in proper order, to determine when, where, and why the record was made, and to ascertain what proportion of the total university population, or at least its academic leadership, is covered by the persons listed in this document. The second step – the subject of Chapter Two – is to understand the ritual that was being recorded, namely university collections as they developed in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The third step – the subject of Chapter Three – is to uncover the circumstance that provoked a chain of events, one of which created the document in question. Chapter Four explores the topographical placement of the

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figures in the photograph, which helps us to understand something of the disciplinary and social arrangement of the university community. From there the work builds in several directions: into the residential structures and relationships of Parisian scholars, into their social and economic background, and finally into their geographical and regional origins – that wider world from which they came and to which most eventually returned. The resulting picture could be presented in terms of percentages and general trends, distilled from the individual histories from which such statistics are compiled. A conscious effort has been made, however, to retain a sense of place and time, and the human dimension that is often a more authentic and honest echo of the past.

In the end we have not only a window in time, a micro-history of one year in the life of a medieval university – which in this case included the rape of a young woman by a student and the consequent legal disputes between the university, the bishop, and the chapter of Notre Dame that led ultimately to the papal court at Avignon – but, more importantly, an in-depth picture of the social, economic, and residential structure of the university community at Paris as it existed in the early fourteenth century.

Because of the complexity and duration of the project, many individuals and groups have provided invaluable support and advice. The initial research was begun at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton and at the Institute for Research in the Humanities at Madison, and in those two institutes I would especially like to thank Giles Constable and David Lindberg. The work also profited by a *Forschungspreis* from the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung and the collaboration and hospitality of Professor Jürgen Miethke at Heidelberg. The final stages of research were completed in Rome, where I was a visiting scholar at the American Academy, and in Paris. In those two settings, I am especially grateful to Caroline Bruzelius, then Director of the American Academy in Rome; Leonard Boyle, then Prefect of the *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*; Sergio Pagano, Vice Prefect of the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*; the administrative staff of the *Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne*; M. Pierre Petitmengin, director of the *Bibliothèque de l'École Normale Supérieure*; Jacques Verger, professor of medieval history at the *Université de Paris*; and Madame Le Maresquier of the *Centre de Topographie Historique de Paris* for her advice on the map of Paris in 1329. I am also grateful to Astrik L. Gabriel, director emeritus of the Medieval Institute at Notre Dame; to John Van Engen, its past director; and to Louis Jordan, curator of the Ambrosiana Collection at Notre Dame, for the photographic reproductions from the microfilm of the register of the English-German nation in which the 1329–30

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document was bound. And without the map work of Qingling Wang and the Cartographic Lab of the University of Wisconsin, with the support of its director, Onno Brouwer, the visualization of detailed information would be lacking.

Finally, I am much indebted to present and former students who read through various chapters, to Thomas Sullivan for his help with the identification of several monasteries, to Robin Gold for the initial copy-editing, to my colleagues in the Department of History at Wisconsin for their continuing confidence and support, and to the Research Committee of the Graduate School, which funded the initial prosopographical data base for the university of Paris in the fourteenth century, which in turn led to the reconstruction, dating, and study of the 1329–30 *computus*.

ABBREVIATIONS

I. Words

archbp.	archbishop
archdioc.	archdiocese
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BDecr	Bachelor of Canon Law (Decrees)
BMed	Bachelor of Medicine
bp.	bishop
BTh	Bachelor of Theology
Comp.	<i>Computus</i> of 1329–1330, as edited in Appendix 1
DCiv	Doctor of Civil Law
DDecr	Doctor of Canon Law (Decrees)
<i>den.</i>	<i>denarii</i>
dioc.	diocese
DMed	Doctor of Medicine
DTh	Doctor of Theology
DUJ	Doctor utriusque juris
f.	folio
<i>i.e.m.</i>	<i>in eodem modo</i>
<i>lib.</i>	<i>libra</i>
MA	Master of Arts
n.	note
O. Carm.	Carmelite Order
O.F.M.	Franciscans (Ordo Fratrum Minorum)
O.P.	Dominicans (Ordo Praedicatorum)
O.S.B.	Benedictine (Ordo Sancti Benedicti)
prov.	province
<i>sol.</i>	<i>solidus, solidi</i>
univ.	university, <i>universitas, université</i>

List of abbreviations

II. Manuscripts

- Livre des Grands-Augustins* = Paris, Archives Nationales, S 3640: *Livres des Contrats des Grands-Augustins*
Paris, Arch. Univ. = Paris, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne
Reg. Aven. = Vatican, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registra Avenionensia
Reg. ND = Paris, Archives Nationales, LL 105: *Registre du chapitre de Notre Dame, Paris*
Reg. Suppl. = Vatican, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registra Supplicationum
Reg. Vat. = Vatican, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registra Vaticana

III. Printed sources and reference works

- AN Reg. Fils = Archives nationales, *Registres du Trésor des Chartes*, vol. II: *Règnes des fils de Philippe le Bel*, pt. 1: *Règnes de Louis X le Hutin et de Philippe V le Long* (Paris, 1966).
AN Reg. Phil. IV = Archives nationales, *Registres du Trésor des Chartes*, vol. I: *Règne de Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1958).
AN Reg. Phil. VI = Archives nationales, *Registres du Trésor des Chartes*, vol. III: *Règne de Philippe de Valois* (Paris, 1978–84).
AUPI = *Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, vol. I (Paris, 1894).
Baluze-Mollat = Etienne Baluze, *Vitae paparum avenionensium*, ed. G. Mollat, 4 vols. (Paris, 1914–22).
Berty and Tisserand, *Topographie* = A. Berty, H. Legrand, L.-M. Tisserand, C. Platon, *Topographie historique du vieux Paris* (Histoire générale de Paris), 6 vols. (Paris, 1866–97).
BRUO = A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957–59).
Bulaeus, *Historia Univ. Par.* = C.-E. Du Boulay, *Historia universitatis parisiensis*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1665–73).
CPL III = *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters*, ed. W. H. Bliss and C. Johnson, vol. III (London, 1897).
CPP I = *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Petitions to the Pope*, ed. W. H. Bliss, vol. I: *A.D. 1342–1419* (London, 1896).
CUP = *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, 4 vols. (Paris, 1889–94).

List of abbreviations

- DBF = *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, ed. J. Balteau, M. Barroux, and M. Prévost, 17 vols. to date (Paris, 1933–).
- Desportes, *Amiens* = P. Desportes and H. Millet, *Diocèse d'Amiens, Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae*, I (Paris, 1996).
- Eubel, *Hierarchia* I = C. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi et Recentioris Aevi*, vol. I (Münster, 1913).
- Gall. Christ. = *Gallia Christiana*, 16 vols. (Paris, 1715–1865).
- Glorieux, *Sorbonne* = P. Glorieux, *Aux origines de la Sorbonne*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1966, 1965).
- Gorochov, *Navarre* = Nathalie Gorochov, *La Collège de Navarre de sa fondation (1305) au début du XV^e siècle (1418)*. (Paris, 1997).
- Jacquart, *Milieu* = D. Jacquart, *Le milieu médical en France du XII^e au XV^e siècle. En annexe 2^e supplément au <<Dictionnaire>> d'Ernest Wickersheimer* (Geneva, 1981).
- Jacquart, *Supplément* = D. Jacquart, *Supplément au <<Dictionnaire biographique des médecins>> d'Ernest Wickersheimer* (Geneva, 1979).
- LC Benoît XII = *Benoît XII (1334–1342), Lettres communes*, ed. J.-M. Vidal, 3 vols. (Paris, 1902–6, 1911).
- LC Clém. VI, *Belge* = *Lettres de Clément VI (1342–1352)*, vol. I: 1342–1346, ed. U. Berlière and Ph. Van Isacker, *Analecta Vaticano-Belgica*, vol. 6 (Rome–Bruxelles–Paris, 1924).
- LC Grég. XI = *Grégoire XI (1370–1378), Lettres communes*, ed. A.-M. Hayez (Rome, 1992–).
- LC Jean XXII = *Jean XXII (1316–1334), Lettres communes*, ed. G. Mollat et al., 16 vols., incl. indices (Paris, 1904–1947).
- LC Urbain V = *Urbain V (1362–1370), Lettres communes*, ed. M.-H. Laurent et al., 13 vols. (Rome, 1954–1989).
- LS Innoc. VI = *Innocent VI (1352–1362), Lettres secrètes et curiales*, ed. P. Gasnault, M.-H. Laurent, and N. Gotteri (Paris, 1959–).
- Millet, *Laon* = H. Millet, *Les chanoines du chapitre cathédral de Laon, 1272–1412* (Rome, 1982).
- Picot, *Documents* = G. Picot, *Documents relatifs aux Etats-Généraux et assemblées réunis sous Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1901).
- Reg. Clem. V = *Regestum Clementis Papae V*, 8 vols. (Rome, 1885–87, 1957).
- Reg. Grandisson = *The Register of John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, 1327–1369*, 3 vols., ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph (London and Exeter, 1894–99).
- Rouse = R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, “The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca. 1250–ca. 1350,” in *La Production du livre universitaire au Moyen Age: Exemplar et Pecia*, ed. L. J. Bataillon, B. G. Guyot, and R. H. Rouse (Paris, 1988), pp. 41–114.

List of abbreviations

- Snappe's Formulary* = *Snappe's Formulary and other Records*, ed. H. E. Salter, Oxford Historical Society (Oxford, 1923).
- Suppl. Clém. VI, Belge* = *Suppliques de Clément VI (1342–1352)*, ed. U. Berlière, *Analecta Vaticano-Belgica*, vol. 1 (Rome–Bruges–Paris, 1906).
- Vat. Quel.* = *Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung 1316–1378*, edd. E. Göller et al. (Paderborn, 1910 ff.).
- Viard, Documents* = J. Viard, *Documents parisiens du règne de Philippe VI de Valois (1328–1350)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1899–1900).
- Watt* = D. E. R. Watt, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D. 1410* (Oxford, 1977).
- Wickersheimer* = E. Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1936; repr. 1979).

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* 1, cols. 73–74.

The recovery and context of a document

(*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.

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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

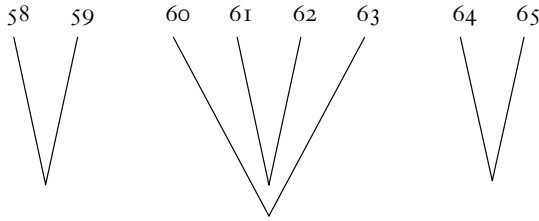
When the bifolia sheets are mentally refolded and reassembled, three significant results occur. First, as has already been remarked, in the section of the document in which street location is consistently provided (the first quire), the topographical record reads as a continuous

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.

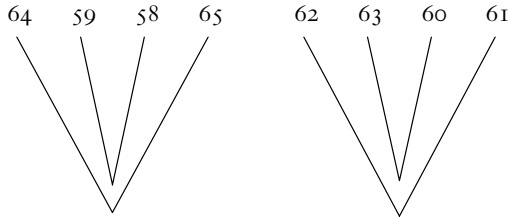
⁹ The present arrangement of sheets consists of three groupings sewn together as one quire: one bifolium (f.58r–59v, corresponding to 661a–664b, through *Robertus Bocourt*); two bifolia, one placed within the other (f.60r–63v, corresponding to 664b–669a, through *Jacobus de Medunta*); and one bifolium (f.64r–65v, the last page of which contains the proctor's report for May 1344). The original, pre-sewn 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.

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A. Present order as bound:



B. Original order as reconstructed:



1 The arrangement of the folios in the document

sequence from one contiguous district to another. The two mentions of the rue de la Harpe are moved closer together, and the reason for the double mention becomes clear: they represent different sections of the street during one assessment of that district.¹⁰ Second, in this reordering, the long list of names without street indication, located in the middle of the document as presently bound and previously edited, becomes coterminous with the second quire, probably the result of scholars appearing and paying at one designated place at the end of the period of collection. Third, scribal comments now occur where we would expect to find them. The indication of the amount of the burse to be paid (“bursa dimidia”) now occurs at the beginning of the document instead of near the end (*CUP* II, p. 669a; *Comp.*, p. 218).¹¹ The remark about

¹⁰ In the new arrangement of bifolia, the first accounting for rue de la Harpe (*CUP* II, 670a; *Comp.*, pp. 221–222) concerns the upper part of the street, in the district of the colleges of Harcourt and Trésorier. The second accounting (*CUP* II, 663b; *Comp.*, pp. 223–224) concerns the lower part between rue Serpente and rue St-Séverin.

¹¹ The burse was the amount agreed on between the university and each member (student or master) and represented approximately what he spent per week on food and other expenses, excluding lodging, servants, or fees connected with instruction or promotion (*CUP* II, pp. 487n, 674n; *AUP* I, p. xlv). The burse indicated the level of financial resources, which differed widely from one individual to another, and served as the unit of measurement for all payments to the university or its constituent parts.

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the amount collected on the first day now occurs toward the end of the fourth column (*CUP* II, p. 663a; *Comp.*, p. 222), earlier than in its previously edited form.¹² And the remark about some names having been written earlier “ante adventum meum die sabati” (*CUP* II, p. 665a; *Comp.*, p. 246) now becomes a final and meaningful statement in the hand of the first scribe, who recorded the names on the last folio of the second quire, not an otherwise pointless observation in the middle of the text.

This document is not the only one of its kind, but it is by far the earliest. One other such financial accounting has survived for the university of Paris in 1464.¹³ Both documents resulted from collections mandated to meet some extraordinary expense of the entire university community. And both resulted from a week-long activity, with names listed in order of appearance before the collectors.

After that, the similarity ends. The *computus* of 1464 survives in two incomplete copies, each prepared by one person (George de Blangy, MA, and Pierre Boucher, the *receptor generalis* for the university) who either transferred names from a working list to an official list, or, more likely, recorded names as university members came to pay at one fixed location, in contrast with the 1329–30 practice in which collectors initially combed the university district street by street. Furthermore, the amount of payment in 1464 was fixed at two *solidi*, regardless of a person’s financial condition, whereas the 1329–30 assessment, like other such assessments in the fourteenth century, was set at a portion of each member’s weekly expenditure on food and incidentals (his *burse*), excluding the expenses of lodging and servants.¹⁴ The 1329–30 document, therefore, provides an indication of economic condition, whereas that of 1464 does not. Such collections in the fourteenth century varied with the amount to be raised. For example, in a similar collection in

¹² The mention of the amount collected on the first day of the assessment is of particular interest. It means that the purpose of the street-by-street survey of the academic community was not simply to note the names of university members who were expected to pay, but to collect payment from those who were able and willing to pay their obligation when approached. This point will be important when, in the next chapter, the history of such *collectae* and collection procedures is reviewed. But the amount mentioned as collected (8 *lib.*, 6 *sol.*, 8 *den.*) is only about two-fifths of the total of the paid entries in the previous columns, which means that on a subsequent day, when the money owed was actually received, some payments were marked next to the name where previously entered. This is confirmed by script, placement, and ink color of many of the payments in the previous columns.

¹³ M. Spirgatis, *Personalverzeichnis der Pariser Universität von 1464*, Beihefte zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, 1.1 (Leipzig, 1888). The receptor’s account for the English-German nation in September 1494, edited and discussed by Jourdain, “Un compte de la nation d’allemagne,” is a report of income and expenses for the nation, and was not the result of a *collectio*.

¹⁴ *Comp.*, p. 218: “Magister Gaufridus de Trevisis cum 5 sociis, eorum [cujuslibet] bursa dimidia 4 sol., et sunt 24 sol., solv.”

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1339, the assessment was set at a quarter burse, whereas that of 1347 was set at half, as was that of the 1329–30 collection.¹⁵ The 1464 *computus* also does not record place of residence – a feature of the first quire of the 1329–30 document. Finally, whereas the 1464 *computus* records the name of every member or associate of the university (more than 2,300 names) except those listed in the portion of that *computus* that did not survive, the 1329–30 *computus* recorded only the names of the principal members of the university community and those responsible for groups of students. Although the latter system denies us access to the majority of names, it tells us much more about how the university was structured residentially, pedagogically, socially, and financially.

DATE THE *COMPUTUS*

Having established that all portions of the 1329–30 document belong to one *collecta*, the next task is to discuss how that date was determined. The document was dated by its original editors between 15 September 1329 and 7 March 1336 on the grounds that the *Cancellarius Parisiensis* appeared among those assessed for the *Domus Nerbona* (Collège de Narbonne). The only chancellor of Notre-Dame connected with Narbonne in the early fourteenth century was William Bernardi, and the dates given are those of his chancellorship.

The *CUP* editors did not intend to suggest that the document spanned the years 1329 to 1336 – only that it was compiled at some point in that period. The editors initially favored a date of 1335 when the university needed to cover the expenses incurred in sending its *rotuli* to Benedict XII at the beginning of his pontificate, noting that Robert de Bardis, who was listed in the document, was not described as a canon of Notre-Dame in Paris, a position that he obtained on 6 September 1335.¹⁶ But they also noted that nothing would prevent the document having been prepared during the last years of John XXII, which was the position they inclined towards by 1894.¹⁷

In recording names for the rue de Sorbonne, however, there is an entry for “Richardus filius Rodulfi cum discipulo suo” (Comp., p. 221).¹⁸

¹⁵ *CUP* II, #1025 and #1143, respectively. The collection of 1285, to be discussed in Chapter Two, was set at the full burse.

¹⁶ The point of their observation is unclear, because no one who is listed in the document by name is further identified by position(s) held. They perhaps meant that because canons of Notre-Dame were exempt from financial assessment by the university, Bardis would not have been included if he were already a canon.

¹⁷ *AUP* I, col. 104.

¹⁸ The reference to “15 s. solv.,” a substantial amount in comparison with the payments of other scholars and connected with Fitzralph in the text as previously edited, belongs with the

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Although not identified by Denifle and Chatelain, the persons referred to are Richard Fitzralph, *baccalarius formatus* in theology at Oxford, and John Northwode, nephew of John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter. Fitzralph had been engaged by bishop Grandisson to accompany his nephew to Paris as companion and tutor for the academic year 1329–30.¹⁹ Grandisson wrote a letter on their behalf on 4 October 1329 to an influential prelate at Paris, most likely Pierre Roger, the future Pope Clement VI, whom he had known since their days together as theological students at Paris.²⁰ The letter would probably have been carried by Fitzralph as a letter of introduction, which would place their arrival in Paris around mid-October 1329. By the summer of 1330 Fitzralph had returned to Oxford to incept in theology and was soon elected chancellor of the university. He was not resident in Paris after that date.

Can the date of the collection be made even more precise? The fact that Guillaume Bernardi was still resident in the Collège de Narbonne and had not yet moved into a house in the cathedral close, which he was required to do by reason of office,²¹ suggests that the collection took place between mid-October 1329 (when Bernardi probably received the papal letter of appointment to the chancellorship and Fitzralph arrived in Paris) and Bernardi's move to Notre-Dame.²² Unfortunately for our purposes, the earliest surviving documents from

following entry. Although the amount occurs in the manuscript opposite Fitzralph's name, there is a line connecting that payment to Robertus Spiguluel.

¹⁹ *Reg. Grandisson*, I, p. 233. K. Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 67–69, noted the entry in the appendix in *CUP* II, but misunderstood the nature of the document; pp. 68–69: “We know that he [Fitzralph] formally registered in Paris and that he paid fees for himself and Northwode – a fragment of the Bursar's rolls from these years records that payment was made by ‘Richardus filius Rodolphi cum discipulo suo’ . . .” See also W. J. Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham* (Leiden, 1978), p. 75.

²⁰ *Reg. Grandisson*, I, p. 233: “Reverende Dominacioni vestre de innumeris et inmeritis beneficiis et honoribus nobis exhibitis, corditer regraciamur . . . Et quia, Reverende Pater et Domine karissime, dilectus nepos noster, Johannes de Northwode, Canonicus Lincolniensis, ad studium Parisiense habet noviter se conferre, probatissime benivolencie vestre preces fundimus cordiales . . . Necnon cum Dominis et Scholaribus dicte Universitatis vobis notis et acceptis, et maxime vestris consanguineis, sibi amicitias copulare.” Pierre Roger was at the time resident at Paris as archbishop of Sens, provisor of the Sorbonne, and advisor to Philip VI. It was perhaps through Roger that Fitzralph and Northwode secured accommodations near the Sorbonne, as the *computus* makes clear.

²¹ The requirement of residence was set forth by Boniface VIII in December 1296, *CUP* #600, p. 74: “Apostolica auctoritate statuimus et etiam ordinamus ut decanus, cantor et cancellarius ipsius Parisiensis ecclesie, qui pro tempore fuerint, residere continue in ecclesia ipsa personaliter teneantur, quodque in hoc de sue institutionis initio, nichilominus in capituli Parisiensis presentia, prestant corporaliter juramentum.”

²² The papal letter of appointment was issued on 15 September 1329; *CUP* II, #896, pp. 331–332.

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Bernardi's chancellorship that refer to actions taken "in domo habitationis dicti cancellarii in claustro Parisiensi" date to January 1331.²³

Bernardi's acquisition of a house in the canonical enclosure adjacent to Notre-Dame did not immediately follow his appointment as chancellor. Just as there was no direct or necessary connection between appointment as cathedral canon and the acquisition of a prebend, so there was no immediate connection between appointment to a cathedral prebend or dignity and the acquisition of a canonical house. Bernardi had been made a canon at Notre Dame before December 1321, and by August 1323 he had been appointed to the office of *penitentiarius* at the cathedral.²⁴ He did not receive a prebend nor was he installed in chapter, however, until a week after the death of the chancellor Thomas de Bailly on 9 June 1328, when Bernardi was awarded the prebend (but not the office or house) that Bailly had held.²⁵ In the following month, on 18 July, the chancellorship passed to Jean de Blois, a young aristocratic pluralist without a degree in theology or canon law.²⁶

The appointment as chancellor did not bring with it a "domus cancellarii." The house that had been occupied by the former chancellor, Thomas de Bailly, was tied up with his estate, and after six months was acquired by canon Guy Coquetrice.²⁷ The new chancellor, Jean de Blois, bought the house of another recently deceased canon, Michel Malconduit, in August 1328.²⁸ For reasons that need not concern us here, Jean de Blois resigned the chancellorship in the summer of 1329 and six months later relinquished his house in the cathedral close.²⁹

²³ CUP II, #923, p. 359; CUP II, #927, p. 365.

²⁴ LC Jean XXII, #14854, 17945.

²⁵ From the records of the cathedral chapter of Notre Dame for 16 June 1328, *Reg. ND*, p. 54: "Receptio canonici . . . Magister Germanus [Celati] procurator magistri G[uillelmi] de Narbonna canonici Parisiensis et penitentiarii accepit prebendam que vacavit per mortem defuncti magistri Thomae de Balliaco quondam cancellarii Parisiensis . . . et fuit per capitulum receptus, et dominus cantor jussit ad installandum ipsum in choro et postmodum in capitulo." Bailly had been chancellor for twelve years (1316–28) and was a noted theologian; see Thomas de Bailly, *Quodlibets*, ed. P. Glorieux (Paris, 1960).

²⁶ *Reg. ND*, p. 59. For the details of the life and chancellorship of Jean de Blois, see W. J. Courtenay, "Jean de Blois, Chancellor of Paris (1328–1329)," in *Roma, magistra mundi. Itineraria culturae medievalis*, hommage à Leonard Boyle, 3 vols., ed. J. Hamesse (Turnhout, 1998).

²⁷ *Reg. ND*, p. 88.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 62: "Dominus Raynaldus de Losana pro Johanne de Blesis obtulit communiter centum librum pro domo defuncti Michaelis Malconduit."

²⁹ On resigning the chancellorship: CUP II, #896, p. 331; on agreeing to sell his canonical house: *Reg. ND*, p. 99: "Domus claustralis Johannis de Blesis fuit vendita dicto Oudardo [pro] pretio .c./iii. lib. par., de quibus Johannes de Blesis habet medietatem, et ca[pitulum] habet medietatem. Et capitulum concedit dilationem eidem usque ad in[.] festum nativitat[is] domini."

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Although entitled by his canonical prebend to sit in chapter, Guillaume Bernardi's first recorded appearance in chapter occurred on 20 December 1329 in his capacity as chancellor, eighteen months after he was installed as canon through his proctor.³⁰ Bernardi's residential move to the cathedral close did not occur until after he finally acquired a house there on 3 March 1330.³¹

The *terminus ante quem* for the university collection with which we are concerned thus corresponds to the date at which Bernardi ceased to be a resident of the Collège de Narbonne, namely March 1330. The records of the cathedral chapter of Notre Dame also provide us with a later *terminus post quem* than October 1329. In the *computus*, as Denifle noted, the official of the cathedral chancellor is listed as "Petrus" (Comp., p. 231). From the documents related to the crisis over the licensing of Alfonsus Dionysii of Lisbon, we know this person to be Petrus Andreae of Narbonne.³² His official entry into the cathedral chancery according to the records of the chapter occurred on 20 December 1329, the day on which Bernardi appears to have begun attending chapter meetings as chancellor.³³ This means that the collection took place sometime between 20 December 1329 and March 1330. The collection had nothing to do with financing the submission of *rotuli* of supplication to the pope, as Denifle supposed. The winter of 1329–30 corresponds with a specific legal dispute with the bishop of Paris that forms the subject of Chapter Three, and which by early 1330 had reached the stage of litigation and consequent increased expenditures. The details of that case were summarized in the university's appeal to the prelates of France, which has to date before 25 March 1330 (the change of year according to the Gallican calendar) because the appeal bears the date 1329.

RELATIONSHIP OF *COMPUTUS* TO UNIVERSITY POPULATION

The final task is to ascertain how much of the record of the 1329–30 *collecta* has survived in our document. It is clearly not the fragment its

³⁰ *Reg. ND*, pp. 54–129. Jean de Blois, even though he was chancellor from July 1328 until the summer of 1329, acquired his office and canonical house through proctors and attended only five meetings of the chapter during that entire year (*ibid.*, p. 59 when he received the chancellorship; p. 62 for the canonical house; p. 73 as a witness on 5 October 1328; pp. 74 and 87 for the meetings of the chapter). Arrangements for Jean's relinquishing the chancellorship were also handled through his proctor (*CUP II*, #896, p. 331).

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

³² *CUP II*, #930, 930a, 931, pp. 370–376.

³³ *Reg. ND*, p. 129: "Anno xxix die mercurii in vigilia thome apostoli, magister P. de Narbonna fuit admissus ad cancellariam parisiensem."

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first editors thought it to be. The first quire moves in a consistent fashion from one section of the Latin Quarter to another, covering more than two-thirds of that region. Unaccounted for in this street-by-street survey are the section along the Seine between Hironnelle and the Augustinian convent, the area around St-Julien-le-Pauvre, and most of the district between St-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet and St-Victor, including St-Bernard (the Cistercian convent and house of studies) (see maps, pp. 60, 62–63). In addition, there is not a street-by-street accounting of the Ile, where students are known to have lived, or of the Right Bank except for the mention of the rue St-Germain-l’Auxerrois.³⁴ Thus, if the street-by-street survey had been extended to these other areas of Paris, there might be one quire missing between the portions of the record that have survived.

University collections, however, were rarely that thorough, as will become evident in the next chapter, and while the assessment of 1329–30 began with a street-by-street collection, it eventually changed to a simple listing of names and payments as individuals reported to one location. The second quire includes mostly names that do not appear in the earlier street-by-street assessment (although some names were recorded in the first quire without indication of payment). Presumably, some of those named in the second quire lived in districts not accounted for in the first quire.³⁵ It is possible, therefore, that this document is not a fragment but the complete record of that financial collection – as distinct from a complete record of members of the university community. The question that needs to be answered is not whether portions of the record are missing, which may be none at all, but to what extent the record as preserved adequately reflects the composition of the university community at that time. And the answer to that question depends in part on ascertaining what portion of the total university

³⁴ The assessments of rent levels on university-authorized housing (the *taxationes domorum*) occasionally list houses or apartments on the Ile: near the cloister of Notre-Dame, St-Christophe, St-Symphorien, and in rue Neuve; see *CUP I*, #511, p. 600; *CUP II*, #556, pp. 29, 30. Similarly, the early Paris colleges of St-Thomas-du-Louvre (later St-Nicolas-du-Louvre) and Bons-Enfants-de-St-Honoré were located on the Right Bank near the Louvre. It should be noted, however, that of the university-related housing listed in the *taxationes*, less than five percent lay outside the Left Bank.

³⁵ For example, the “contributions” of curates of parish churches on the Ile and Right Bank are all in the second quire. Moreover, although the second quire appears, on occasion, to list by name the *socii* who lived with a master (as indicated by group payments in which there was only one *magister*), none of those master-*socii* groups in the second quire are found in the first quire. They therefore represent additional names, not duplicates. To what extent, however, the second quire accounts for districts not mentioned in the first quire is uncertain because the method of recording names (and probably the method of collecting funds) differs.

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membership is represented by the approximately 2,000 individuals whose presence is recorded in the 1329–30 document.

Estimating the size of the scholarly population at Paris or, indeed, of any medieval university before the end of the fourteenth century is admittedly conjectural but nevertheless important for establishing a quantitative base line from which growth or decline as well as shifts in social or geographical composition can be measured. Hastings Rashdall a century ago rightly discounted the inflated enrollment figures that medieval scholars attributed to their universities, particularly when reflecting back on a supposedly golden former age.³⁶ He placed the university population of fifteenth-century Paris at or below 3,500, although he allowed that it might have been larger in earlier centuries – perhaps as much as 6,000 or 7,000 – when there was less competition from other universities.³⁷ As Powicke and Emden noted, however, in their revised edition of Rashdall, this latter figure was based on statements “in documents written in the heat of some crisis or occasioned by some special event.”³⁸ The latter two scholars thus concluded that “5,000 is a more likely maximum, even at the most crowded period.”³⁹

Subsequent discussions of the size of the university community at Paris have simply reshuffled these estimates without any fresh examination. Josiah Cox Russell believed that the combined numbers of clergy and university members in Paris in 1292 were 6,000, roughly 10 percent of his population estimate of 59,200.⁴⁰ By assuming that 3,000–5,000 was an acceptable range for the scholarly community at Paris even a century earlier, and that the population of the city of Paris in the reign of Philip Augustus was between 25,000 and 50,000, John Baldwin arrived at the notion that “the academic community comprised at least ten percent of Paris’ total population.”⁴¹ While admitting that “medieval population figures are notoriously speculative and the size of educational groupings largely conjectural,” A. B. Cobban seemed

³⁶ Rashdall, *Universities*, III, pp. 325–336.

³⁷ Rashdall, *Universities*, III, p. 331.

³⁸ Rashdall, *Universities*, III, p. 336. Rashdall based his higher estimate of 6,000 on a letter from the arts faculty to the papacy in 1289 claiming that some 400 students were licensed at Ste-Geneviève alone in that year, which even they recognized as exceptional (*CUP* II, #515, p. 616).

³⁹ Rashdall, *Universities*, III, p. 337.

⁴⁰ J. C. Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. 48.3 (Philadelphia, 1958), pp. 106–107.

⁴¹ J. W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants. The social views of Peter the Chanter and his circle*, I, p. 72; II, p. 51, n.2. Baldwin’s estimate of a Paris population c.1200 of between 25,000 and 50,000 was based on Russell, p. 106, and M. Roblin, “Cités ou citadelles?” *Revue des études anciennes*, 3 (1951), 302, 310.

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inclined to accept the view that “c.1200 the nascent University of Paris had a population of between 2,500 and 5,000.”⁴²

Estimates of the Parisian population c.1300 have been steadily moving upwards in recent years. The most conservative estimates now place the urban population at that time at 80,000, while “the highest – and, according to the best modern research, the most accurate – is slightly over 200,000.”⁴³ If one were to maintain the mythical ten percent ratio, that would result in a university population at Paris of 20,000. It should be obvious, however, that neither the estimates of the Parisian university population c.1200 nor the ratio of that community to the urban population have any statistical merit. We have no way to gauge the size of the scholarly population in Paris c.1200 or to ascertain its growth in the course of the thirteenth century as European and urban populations grew and university education presumably became a more visible and accepted means of acquiring skills and professional training.

Nor should the estimate of a Parisian university population in 1464 of approximately 3,000 be thought necessarily well below the levels of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries on the grounds that there were more universities to choose from by the middle of the fifteenth century.⁴⁴ The majority of students at Paris were always from northern France, as will be discussed in Chapter Seven, and, with the possible exception of those in the Picard nation who may have been siphoned off by the university of Louvain, few French students were attracted to universities in Germany, Italy, or eastern Europe in the fifteenth century. Moreover, by the late thirteenth century Paris was already in a competitive environment. There were by then many universities in which one could study arts, which was always the academic discipline that accounted for the majority of Parisian students. Theology, canon law, and medicine were also available elsewhere.

The argument for a decline in university population through aca-

⁴² A. B. Cobban, *The Medieval Universities: their development and organization* (London, 1975), p. 79.

⁴³ William Chester Jordan, *The Great Famine* (Princeton, 1996), p. 131, relying for the higher figure on the work of D. Herlihy, “Demography,” in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, IV (New York, 1984), p. 141; K. Reyerson, “Urbanism, Western European,” in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, XII (New York, 1989), p. 316; P. Contamine, *L’Économie médiévale* (Paris, 1993), pp. 214, 272; and the “London project” of Derek Keene. See also Ph. Dolinger, “Le chiffre de la population à Paris au XIV^e siècle: 210,000 ou 80,000 habitants?” *Revue historique*, 216 (1956), 35–45; G. Fourquin, “La population de la région parisienne aux environs de 1328,” *Le Moyen Âge*, 62 (1956), 63–91.

⁴⁴ Such was Rashdall’s reasoning on becoming aware of the 1464 *computus* edited by M. Spirgatis, *Personalverzeichnis der Pariser Universität von 1464*, Beihefte zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, 1.1 (Leipzig, 1888). The number of names in the *computus* of 1464, allowing for duplications, is slightly over 2,300. Although incomplete, the 1464 *computus* is recognized as containing the names of most of the students and masters at Paris, which would place the total university population at that time at or slightly under 3,000.

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demic competition is based largely on a supposed decline in the numbers of “foreign” students at Paris. But the size of that group within the total university population at Paris in the early fourteenth century was far smaller than is usually thought. The numbers of English students had already dropped before the outbreak of the Hundred Years War.⁴⁵ The size of the other “national” groups does not appear to have declined significantly between 1350 and 1450, except during the Papal Schism. Italians, a relatively small group, returned in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. The same holds true for students from Germany and eastern Europe.⁴⁶ The number of Germans receiving degrees in the arts faculty at Paris by the middle of the fifteenth century is only slightly below what it had been in the mid-fourteenth, before the founding of universities in Germany.⁴⁷ And if the growth in the numbers of students attracted to universities in fifteenth-century Germany was a “real” growth independent of shifts within a numerically constant pool, which seems to be the case, one might expect that the older European universities experienced growth as well, or at least remained numerically stable.⁴⁸ If, therefore, the university community at Paris in 1464 was around 3,000, why would it have been significantly larger in 1329?

In an attempt at more reliable estimates, historians have recently begun to work topographically, using residential space in colleges, halls, and rental lodgings to determine the approximate capacity, and thus the potential size of a scholarly community. So far this has only been applied to Oxford and Cambridge, where those universities in the

⁴⁵ W. J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton, 1987), pp. 147–163; Courtenay, “Foreign Study in a Time of War: English Scholars at Paris, 1325–1345,” *History of Universities*, 14 (1995–96), 31–42. It is likely that English scholars in Paris in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries comprised a significant portion of that academic community, but the emergence of Oxford and Cambridge had already reduced that ratio by the second half of the thirteenth century.

⁴⁶ A. L. Gabriel, “Les étudiants étrangers à l’Université de Paris au XV^e siècle,” *Annales de l’Université de Paris*, 29 (1959), 377–400; Gabriel, “‘Via Antiqua’ and ‘Via Moderna’ and the Migration of Paris Students and Masters to the German Universities in the Fifteenth Century,” *Antiqui und Moderni*, ed. A. Zimmermann, *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 9 (1974), pp. 439–483; Gabriel, “Intellectual Relations between the University of Louvain and the University of Paris in the 15th Century,” in *Universities in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. J. Ijsewijn and J. Paquet (Louvain, 1978), pp. 82–132; Gabriel, “Intellectual Relations between the University of Paris and the University of Cracow in the 15th Century,” *Studia Zródłoznawcze. Commentationes*, 25 (1980), 37–63; Gabriel, *The University of Paris and its Hungarian Students and Masters during the reign of Louis XII and François Ier* (Notre Dame, 1986); Gabriel, *The Paris Studium* (Notre Dame, 1992).

⁴⁷ M. Tanaka, *La nation anglo-allemande de l’Université de Paris à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1990), p. 261. In any event, German students at Paris never made up more than five percent of the university population; see W. J. Courtenay, “German students at Bologna, Paris, and Oxford in the fourteenth century,” forthcoming in *Universities and Schooling in Medieval Society*.

⁴⁸ R. C. Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1986).

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fourteenth century, including the mendicant houses of studies, are estimated to run between 1,500 and 1,700, and between 400 and 700, respectively.⁴⁹ Whether reliable or not, this same method cannot easily be applied to Paris. Oxford and Cambridge were primarily university towns with a small, defined urban space in the fourteenth century. Paris was a large city, the largest in Europe at that time, and student housing was spread out across the Latin Quarter and could be found on the Ile-de-la-Cité and even on the Right Bank, as the *computus* reveals. Thus two problems emerge in estimating the size of the Parisian university population topographically: identifying the districts and streets where most scholars lived, and estimating the density of habitation. The *computus* would help to solve the second of these issues if there were a way to determine the degree of its topographical thoroughness.

In the late nineteenth century Charles Jourdain called attention to a series of documents relating to student housing that he edited and studied and that were reedited in the *Chartularium*.⁵⁰ These documents known as *taxationes domorum* or *taxationes hospiciorum* recorded the results of assessors, composed of representatives from the university and town, who set the rent level on apartments or houses that could be rented to university members. The practice at Paris dates to the early thirteenth century and was also used at Bologna, Oxford, and probably at most other universities.⁵¹ No complete list of rental prices for lodgings survives comparable to the *taxationes librorum* for the university of Paris from roughly the same period as the Paris *taxationes domorum*, namely the late thirteenth century.⁵² What has survived in the latter category are five rental assessments for Paris within one decade: 1282, 1283,

⁴⁹ T. H. Aston, "Oxford's Medieval Alumni," *Past and Present* 74 (1977), 3–40; T. H. Aston, G.D. Duncan, and T. A. R. Evans, "The Medieval Alumni of the University of Cambridge," *Past and Present* 86 (1980), 9–86 at 13; W. J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, p. 28. Whatever the effect of the plague of 1347–49 on European society, it did not necessarily reduce the size of universities except for a brief period. Universities could replenish their student population from among those who survived, especially since the high mortality rate brought immediate inheritance to many of those in the social classes from which university members were drawn; see W. J. Courtenay, "The Effect of the Black Death on English Higher Education," *Speculum* 55 (1980), 696–714. On the effect of plague at Paris, see M. Mollat, "Notes sur la mortalité à Paris au temps de la Peste Noire d'après les comptes de l'Oeuvre de Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois," *Le Moyen Age*, vol. jubilaire (Bruxelles, 1963), 505–527.

⁵⁰ C. Jourdain, "La taxe des logements dans l'Université de Paris," *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Isle-de-France*, 4 (1877), 140–154, reprinted separately under the same title (Paris, 1878), and included in his posthumous *Excursion historiques et philosophiques à travers le moyen âge* (Paris, 1888), pp. 249–263; *CUP I*, #511, pp. 597–600; *CUP II*, #556, pp. 28–31. The original manuscript documents are found in Paris, Arch. Univ., carton IV.A.18.e.

⁵¹ For the Parisian legislation, see *CUP I*, #20, p. 79; #79, pp. 137–138; #123; #136; #138; #478. For Oxford, *Munimenta Academica, Documents illustrative of Academical life and studies of Oxford*, ed. H. Anstey (London, 1868), I, p. 56.

⁵² *CUP I*, #530; II, #642. See Rouse, "The Book Trade at the University of Paris."

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1287, 1288, and 1289. These set rental prices on properties that were being reassessed, added to the university list, or where remodelling or changes in the terms of usage had occurred. Each entry lists the type of property (house, apartment, or school), the owner of the property, the location of the property, and the annual rent. Particulars, such as the number of rooms, use of kitchen, garden, stables, or cellar, and any exclusions in use or access were also mentioned.

When these *taxationes domorum* are studied alongside the *computus* of 1329–30, the combined information allows some conclusions that would not otherwise emerge. Both types of documentation are arranged according to *vici*, not *viae*; that is, both consider streets as living space rather than as thoroughfares. The *taxationes domorum* identify each property by its owner; the *computus* is concerned with the occupant, whether he be a renter or an owner. The *taxationes domorum* show us what the owner was allowed to charge per year for a lodging; the *computus* shows us only what a renter paid per week (and by multiplication, per year) for food and other incidentals, but not for rent. At least one property appears in both types of document: the “new” house owned by the Sorbonne in the cloître de St-Benoît, which in 1281 and 1282 rented for 20 lbs. and in 1320–29 was occupied by Jean de Marmoutier (de Maiori Monasterio), who was paying 27 lbs.⁵³ The five assessments between the years 1282 and 1289 identify 137 lodgings, almost all of which are located by street. That many properties being added or reassessed gives a good indication of the residential location of the majority of the university community in the late thirteenth century.⁵⁴

The first thing that emerges is the topographical similarity of the two types of document. Most of the streets listed for the 1282–89 period are found in the *computus*, and the majority of those in the *computus* are found in the *taxationes*. These streets are almost entirely on the Left Bank in a region bounded on the north by the Seine, on the south by the wall of Philip Augustus, on the west by Porte St-Germain, rue Hautefeuille, and Hironnelle, and on the east by rue Ste-Geneviève and rue de Bièvre. Only two streets on the Left Bank mentioned in the *taxationes domorum* and not in the *computus* fall outside that area: rue Pavée on the northwest and rue Alexandre l’Anglais on the east. Streets within this district having university rental property in the *taxationes* that are not mentioned by name in the *computus* are *vicus potatorii* or rue

⁵³ *CUPI*, #511, p. 597; Glorieux, *Sorbonne* II, p. 542; *Comp.*, p. 218.

⁵⁴ The location of Parisian colleges in the early fourteenth century also helps establish the general boundaries of the university community, even though they housed less than ten percent of the student population.

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Mâcon, rue Poupée, rue Erembourg de Brie, rue du Fouarre, rue des Lavandières. These streets represent a small section between St-André-des-Ars and St-Séverin, some additional streets in the section between rue de Garlande and the Seine, and the streets along the rue St-Victor in the region of the Collège St-Bernard. Streets in the *computus* for which property was not reassessed in the 1282–89 period are rue des Cordiers, rue des Maçons, rue de l'Escureul, rue Sachalie, rue des Parcheminiers, rue du Foin, rue de l'Hôpital, rue au Duc de Bourgogne, and rue de Judas. Although it might not have been necessary for the collectors in 1329–30 to list every street in the districts they covered, it appears that the sections nearest the Seine east and west of the Grande rue at Petit-Pont, especially eastward toward St-Victor, were inadequately reported in the topographical section of the *computus* as it survives.

What is more remarkable is that the *taxationes* do not attest to any university residency in the region to the west of St-André-des-Ars, north or south of rue St-Germain. For the region between rue St-Germain and the Seine this can be explained by the density of aristocratic and episcopal palaces that may have left little room for other types of housing.⁵⁵ The almost total absence of the region between Porte St-Germain and St-André-des-Ars in both types of document, with the exception of rue de l'Escureul and rue St-Germain, suggests that few scholars resided there.

Similarly, no properties on the Right Bank were assessed in the 1282–89 documents, and only nine properties on the Ile-de-la-Cité were assessed, no two of them in the same street. This suggests that the absence of the Ile and Right Bank in the topographical section of the *computus* does not represent a large missing portion of the university community. The second quire of the *computus* does include a few individuals who resided in these two areas. One master lived in the rue Neuve-de-Notre-Dame; the curates of three churches (St-Barthélemy, St-Martial, and St-Landry) and the prior of one monastic community (St-Eloi) on the Ile-de-la-Cité also appear there. Similarly, the mention of the rue St-Germain-l'Auxerrois and the curate of St-Eustache alerts us that some members of the university community resided on the Right Bank near the Louvre.

The combination of university rental assessments and the *computus* of 1329–30 gives us a topographical map of university-approved rental property and thus the approximate residential boundaries of the majority of the university community. Well over 90 percent of the urban space

⁵⁵ See the map on p. 60 and J. Semmler, "Die Residenzen der Fürsten und Prälaten im mittelalterlichen Paris (12.-14. Jahrhundert)," in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet à l'occasion de son 70 anniversaire*, ed. P. Gallais and Y.-J. Rion, vol. II (Poitiers, 1966), pp. 1217–1236.

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where the *taxationes* attest to university-related housing is covered in the *computus* as it survives. This suggests that, with the possible exception of the Ile-de-la-Cité, we may not be missing a portion of the record of the collection of 1329–30. In assessing the completeness of the topographical and numerical coverage of the *computus*, the problem is not one of urban districts covered or not covered, but of the thoroughness with which the collectors combed the university district or were able to enforce the required payment – factors not easily determined because the names in the second quire are listed without street location. Where it can be tested, for example at the level of masters, the percentage of reporting is high. Eight of the ten secular regent masters in theology in 1329–30 appear by name in the *computus*.⁵⁶ Sixty percent of all regent and non-regent masters in the faculty of medicine at Paris in January 1331 appear by name in the *computus*.⁵⁷ And the more than 100 masters in the arts faculty reported by name in the *computus* constitute the majority of masters in that faculty as well.⁵⁸

The *computus* has the same degree of coverage for the colleges and convents that were affiliated with the university. At least two-thirds of the secular colleges founded before 1329 are listed in the document, including all the important foundations.⁵⁹ Similarly, almost all the taxable religious convents that functioned as houses of study appear in the document.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Secular regent masters listed in the *computus* are Bertoldus Sorelli (p. 236), Germanus Celati (p. 222), Guillelmus Bernardi [as Cancellarius Parisiensis] (p. 222), Guillelmus de Herches (p. 221), Johannes de Blangiaco (p. 222), Oliverius Salhadini (p. 226), Robertus de Bardis (p. 221), and Simon Meneriis (p. 226). Missing are Petrus de Abbatisvilla and, possibly, Matheus de Archis. In addition to the secular regents there would have been six to eight regent masters from the religious orders.

⁵⁷ In the law suit between the faculty of medicine and the chancellor of Notre-Dame that lasted from 1330 to 1332, the names of the regent and non-regent masters in that faculty were mentioned in the records of the dispute.

⁵⁸ See 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 (Turnhout, 1997), pp. 55–69.

⁵⁹ The colleges that are reported in the document are: Bayeux (mentioned as “Domus Guillelmi Boneti” [p. 222] and later as “Scolares Baiosences” [p. 245]), Chollets or Beauvais (“De domo cardinalis Soleti” [p. 231]), Petits Chollets (“Les Petits Choles” [p. 220]), Du Plessis (“Domus Galfridi de Plesiacio” [p. 219]), Harcourt (“Theologi et artiste de Haricuria” [p. 221]), Narbonne (“Domus de Nerbona” [p. 222]), Navarre (“de Navarra” [p. 245]), Sorbonne (“Domus Sarbone” [p. 221]), probably Tréguier (Everardus Brito cum 8 bursariis [p. 225]), Trésorier (“Domus tesaurarii de Rotomagio” [p. 221]), Dace (“in domo magistri Johannis Dachus”) [p. 236] and Uppsala (“Domus de Suescia” [p. 223]). The percentage of reporting may be higher than two-thirds, since some of the colleges for grammarians could be hidden under listings for large groups of grammarians, and not all colleges with founding dates before 1329 were necessarily active in 1329.

⁶⁰ Excluding the exempt convents of the mendicant orders, which could not be taxed, the religious “colleges” included in the *computus* were: Cluny (p. 220), St-Denis (p. 222), Marmoutier (p. 219: “de Maiori Monasterio”), Premontré (p. 222), Hospitallers of St. John of

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As for the university community as whole, many of whom were listed anonymously as *socii*, one would expect the percentage of reporting to parallel roughly that of the masters, colleges, and convents. Viewed another way, if there is no compelling reason to assume that the non-Mendicant population of the university of Paris in the early fourteenth century was significantly larger than the figure of approximately 3,000 derived from the 1464 *computus*, then the approximately 2,000 persons (those named, along with their *socii*) whose presence is recorded in the *computus* of 1329–30 accounts for two-thirds or more of the secular and monastic scholars connected with the university at that time. It missed some individual members.⁶¹ Such collections, as we shall see in the next chapter, were never entirely successful. And in addition to those who were “taxable,” there would have been 300–400 scholars resident in the tax-exempt convents of the four mendicant orders, producing a total university community in the early fourteenth century between 3,000 and 3,500.⁶²

The *computus* is therefore not, as was once thought, a miscellaneous list of names of persons connected with the university of Paris between 1329 and 1336. It is a list created during one week in the winter term of the academic year 1329–30. Although incomplete in the sense that it does not record the presence of all students and masters, it is not a fragment. It records the presence of over two-thirds of the non-exempt members of the university community. Moreover, as we shall see, it lists by name over three-quarters of those who “mattered” in that community, namely the masters in the four faculties and those who rented housing for themselves or for a group of scholars. The document has captured for us, almost as if they were posing for a group picture, most of the important members of the university community at their place of residence, among their associates, with many of their names and

Jerusalem (p. 226), and even Notre-Dame-des-Champs (p. 220). Only the Cistercians, who may also have been exempt, and Val-des-Ecoliers at the far east end of the Right Bank are missing.

⁶¹ A search through the other documents in *CUP* for this period reveals fewer than fifty names of university persons likely to have been in Paris in 1329–30 who do not show up by name in the *computus*.

⁶² On the tax-exempt status of the mendicants and the canons of Notre-Dame, see *AUP* I, col.30, summarized in *CUP* II, p. 487, #1025; *CUP* I, p. 482, #427; II, p. 4, #533; II, pp. 339–340, #906; II, p. 487, #1026. No masters or students from the mendicant convents are recorded in the *computus*, although members in the other religious houses were assessed, with the exception of the Cistercians. The *computus* of 1464 lists many “fratres,” but none are identified as mendicants, as distinct from monks and canons. The Dominican and Franciscan convents housed about 150 scholars each, while the Augustinian and Carmelite convents ranged between 50 and 100 in this period. For the documentation that lies behind these figures, see W. J. Courtenay, “Between Pope and King. The Parisian Letters of Adhesion of 1303,” *Speculum* 71 (1996), 577–605; Courtenay, “The Parisian Franciscan Community in 1303,” *Franciscan Studies*, 53 (1993), 155–173.

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financial resources indicated. And the reconstruction of the original sequence of the document, as reedited, has placed a number of names, mislocated and occasionally mistranscribed in the version edited in the *Chartularium*, back in the district and street where they were encountered. The fact that those in the four mendicant orders and the Cistercians are missing quantitatively and individually in the *computus* does not damage or limit the usefulness of the document. The mendicant orders are reasonably well reflected in other documentation and have long been the better-known part of the university of Paris. On the contrary, this document provides us precisely with information about the least-known group of university members at Paris: the secular majority on whom the social profile of the university largely depends. Viewed from that standpoint, the *computus* of 1329–30 is the single richest source we have for the social composition of the university of Paris – or of any university – in the thirteenth or fourteenth century.⁶³

⁶³ Other documents from universities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries sometimes contain a large number of names attesting to the presence of individual scholars at specific dates, for example the proctors' registers of the English-German nation at Paris (*AUP* I), or the matriculation list for the German nation at Bologna (E. Friedlaender and C. Malagola, *Acta Nationis Germanicae Universitatis Bononiensis* [Berlin, 1887]). Such documentation relates to one faculty or one group and does not provide a representative picture of an entire university community.