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The Database *Studium* and the Beginnings of the Schools in Paris

The database starts with some names (8 at the moment) of eleventh century scholars: only two of them have studied or taught certainly at Paris. This is both one of the limitations and advantages for the database: on the 2519 individuals it contains for the period 1160–1300, only 1135 have been attested Parisian scholars. But the other people are also interesting: of these, 853 are classified as „uncertain". Most of them are "masters"; but is it a title or a grade? And where have they obtained it? There is no doubt that some of them got it in Paris. This study will try to explore these unsatisfactory data, and their interpretation could be made more satisfactory. These statistics will also throw light how, before the development of the college movement, the developments of the schools issued from the growth of the school of Notre-Dame after they had started to spread on the Mount Sainte-Geneviève combined with the monastic schools, especially those of the regular canons of Saint-Victor to make Paris an essential intellectual centre, as it is demonstrated by the wide circulation of the works of some of its masters.

Keywords: Medieval Universities, Paris, France twelfth-thirteenth Centuries, Prosopography

As everyone knows, the University of Paris was not founded, it grew.[1] At the beginning of the twelfth century, it was an episcopal school of small prestige in comparison with Laon, Reims, Chartres and those of the Loire valley (Angers, Tours, Orléans):[2] but the arrival of William de Champeaux from Laon and his conflict with the young Peter Abélard attracted to Paris so many students from all over Europe that it soon mushroomed in a multitude of smaller pedagogical units where students gathered around masters. Space was available on the Mount, on the left bank of the Seine, and this offered a remedy to the exiguity of the cathedral precincts. The lords of a large part of the Mount were the canons of the prestigious abbey of Sainte-Geneviève,[3] whose chancellor's

[1] FERRUOLO 1995. See: GABRIEL 1964.
[2] For Paris in the twelfth century, see: BAUTIER 1981.
[3] KOUAMÉ 2022a.

jurisdiction soon allowed the masters some freedom from the chancellor of the episcopal school's control. Despite the eviction of the arts' students and masters from the cloister of Notre-Dame and their conflicts with the bishop and the cathedral chapter over the *licencia docendi*, the Paris *studium* was and remained an ecclesiastical institution, and the Roman papacy was from the start keen to support and to protect it, even against the bishop and the chancellor.[4] It was also protected by the kings of France, despite some sporadic outbursts of town/gown violence. By the end of the twelfth century – though official confirmation came only in 1215 – the Masters were able to unit in an *universitas*, a syndicate which in fact turned out to be a new kind of institution. These schools and the university did not enjoy a strict monopoly: other schools, some famous, such as the school of William of Champeaux's foundation, Saint-Victor, flourished, as well as those of the other great Parisian monasteries, Saint-Germain-des-Prés (Benedictines), Saint-Martin-des-Champs (Cluny), Sainte-Geneviève (regular canons); in due time, were added also those of the religious orders (the Mendicants, the Cistercians, the Trinitarians [Mathurins] and of the new orders of regular canons of Prémontré or the Val des Écoliers.

However, it is difficult to chart accurately the growth of all these schools: none of them had an institutional system of enrolment or matriculation. Paris is certainly one of the most deficient of all European academic institutions in this respect and we find reliable sources in the early sixteenth century only. This explains why the quantitative approach has consciously been left aside by historians. Paris has not even a proper repertory of its members, while Oxford and Cambridge, equally deprived of matriculation systems (but owning rich college archives) have been provided, thanks to Alfred B. Emden, with excellent dictionaries which proved a valuable basis for new and innovative histories of both universities.[5] Despite its central importance in the so-called twelfth century "Renaissance", in the Reform movement and for the ensuing scientific and cultural history of the Middle Ages, a vast majority of those who took part as masters, students, or servants in the life of Paris schools and university remain unknown.

Studium Parisiense

To remedy this situation, *Studium Parisiense*[6] has been set up: started tentatively as a pedagogical project in the eighties, it gave birth to a database project under a joint direction (Thierry Kouamé, Stéphane Lamassé and myself), thanks to the fundings provided by the ERC program *Signs and States* (2009–2013). Its development is now supported by the Laboratoire de médiévistique occidentale de Paris (LAMOP, C.N.R.S.–Université Paris 1 Panthéon–Sorbonne) and the Labex HASTEC. However, information on the

[4] Gordon Leff insists that Paris is the only university that developed from an episcopal school: LEFF 1968. 21–22. On the cathedral school, see: now: KOUAMÉ 2022b.
[5] EMDEN 1957–1959 and EMDEN 1963.
[6] http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr.

database will be here kept to a minimum, since detailed descriptions of the database have already been given in several papers,[7] and this is also true for the biographical and bibliographical data all the individuals mentioned in this paper, since they are fully developed in the *Studium* files; we shall here restrict ourselves to what is necessary to understand the content of the following statistical tables.

The database is in course of compilation, which means that many masters and students are not yet documented: at the moment, it contains biographical and bibliographical data about 24816 individuals from the beginnings of the schools to the beginning of the sixteenth century, but some, described as "External", though important for the history of the Paris schools, did not belong to them, while the attendance of others remains "Uncertain". For instance, many people are described as "masters", but we do not know where they got their grade.[8] The scholars classified as masters are those whom we know have surely or probably received their *magisterium* in Paris or have taught as master in Paris: if they became masters in another university, they are simply considered as "students". There are 19892 individuals can be said with reasonable certitude to have belonged to the university or to the schools, masters and other graduates (13280), *scolares* (5849)[9] and "*suppôts*" (763).[10] The present paper deals with those whose 'middle year of activity'[11] is anterior to 1301, that is 1328 masters, graduates and *scolares*, and 67 "*suppôts*". Despite the fact that the data for this period[12] are more complete than those for the

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7 GENET 2015; GENET 2017; GENET – KOUAMÉ – LAMASSÉ 2021; GENET – IDABAL – KOUAMÉ – LAMASSÉ – PRIOL – TOURNIEROUX 2016.

8 This is one of the main difficulties: a great number of people are known as masters, but the word for this period does not imply an academic graduation. The volumes of the *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae* give the names and benefices of many masters, but if not formally connected to Paris, they are entered in *Studium* as 'Uncertain'. When working on his edition of Philip Augustus's acts, John Baldwin collected in the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes the mentions of masters in the cartularies of Northern France, and he came to the conclusion that they could not be used for academic history. He has had the generosity to give to the LAMOP a copy of his cards, now accessible through Huma-Num at the following address: Baldwin, John (2020) «Base de données: Studium Baldwin» [Dataset] NAKALA. https://doi.org/10.34847/nkl.01benm97.

9 The obvious translation, "students", is misleading: the Latin word may be used for people whose grade is unknown, or for people who studied in Paris but whose graduation took place in another school or university.

10 In the database, servants or agents of the schools, including those linked by an oath (librarians, sellers of parchment or paper, scribes, notaries, etc.). See: TALAZAC-LANDABURU 1975. p. 22.

11 Since Studium is designed to document the social impact of academic education, the middle year of activity is the arithmetical mean between the first date of activity of an individual (for instance the actual or estimated date of the beginning of his studies, not his date of birth) and the last one (that of his death, if known). For instance, for Peter Abelard, the first date is 1095, the last 1142, and the middle year is 1119.

12 Data have been collected in the *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, the volumes of the *Fasti*, the repertories and dictionaries of Palémon Glorieux (GLORIEUX 1933–1934 and GLORIEUX 1971), Ernest Wickersheimer (WICKERSHEIMER 1979), Olga Weijers (WEIJERS 1994–2012), Thomas Kaeppeli (KAEPPELI 1970–1994), and the data base on *Franciscan Authors* maintained by Maarten van der Heijden and Bert Roest at Radboud University (https://franciscanauthors.rich.ru.nl/index.html –

following ones, the meagreness of our information is obvious: in these two centuries, we have only 6,8% of the total population of masters, graduates, and *scolares* of the whole database! It is possible to follow the chronological evolution of this population on Table 1.

Trends

Table 1 shows a slow, but steady trend of growth: less than ten names by decade until 1130, around fifteen for 1131–1150 and thirty-forty names for the decades from 1151 to 1200. Then, the number doubles with the decade 1201–1210 and the growth starts from 60 to 121 in 1261–1270, jumping to over 200 after 1270. This gives a chronology that roughly coincides with that suggested by scholars such as John Baldwin, who pointed the years around 1180 as the end of the 'heroic figures',[13] and Nathalie Gorochov, who has chosen 1200 as the starting point of her study of the birth of the University[14]. Do these numbers provide a reliable indication of the real students' attendance in the Paris schools? The answer is clearly no, for two reasons, the first of which is the nature of our sources. For instance, the *Chartularium* gives us only three charters for the whole twelfth century: one from the count of Dreux (a gift for the college of Saint-Thomas of the Louvre in 1198),[15] one from the bishop of Paris and the chapter of Notre-Dame,[16] and the charter of foundation of the Collège des Dix-Huit (1180).[17] The other sources are mainly letters, pontifical letters, letters from scholars (John of Salisbury, Peter of Cella, Stephen of Tournai, Peter of Blois, Peter of Harvengt, Geoffrey of Saint-Victor, etc.), and a handful of Roman and German letters collected in the seventeenth century by André Duchesne.[18] Besides historical works such as those of Otto of Freising, Thomas Eccleston, or Salimbene de Adamo, important complementary sources of information are the biographies and autobiographies of former students and masters, such as Peter Abelard,[19] John of Salisbury,[20] William of Tyr,[21] Herbert of Bosham,[22] Giles of Paris as well as the anonymous author of the *Metamorphosis Goliae*,[23] which add many other names to our list: however, this kind of biographical information tends to disappear after the twelfth century, as observed by Ian P. Wei.[24] The largest contingent of our scholars

accessed: 06-12-2024), as well as the following books: GLORIEUX 1965; LESNE 1940; POIREL 2010 and GOROCHOV 2012.

13 BALDWIN 1982. p. 138.

14 GOROCHOV 2012. p. 14–15.

15 CUP I. Pars introductoria, p. 14–15, nr. 18. On the first volume of the *Chartularium*, see: KOUAMÉ 2015.

16 CUP I. p. 56, nr. 55.

17 CUP I. p. 49–50, nr. 50.

18 DUCHESNE 1641, *passim*.

19 ABÉLARD, Peter.

20 SALISBURY II. p. 10, 70–72

21 HUYGENS 1962a.

22 See: MORIN 1934 and GLORIEUX 1954.

23 COLKER 1973.

24 WEI 2001.

comes from Glorieux's dictionaries, though many of the masters mentioned in his *La Faculté des Arts* are categorized as external because he took into account all those he considered as 'master of arts', including, for instance, Oxford and Bologna masters, even including Douais' Dominican friars who never graduated.[25] For the master of arts, the up-to-date and most reliable repertory of authors which has been set up by Olga Weijers is an essential addition to our knowledge of the Parisian schools.[26]

The number of authors provides us with our second proof. If we consider the entire population of *Studium*, we have (at the moment) 1339 authors, that is nearly 7% of the total number of masters, graduates, and *scolares*. If we limit ourselves to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this proportion is much higher, declining from 54% to 42,5%: 44% of the people we know are authors (586). For some of them, we have other signs of their attendance at the schools, but for many, their work is the only indication at our disposal, and the interpretation of this kind of evidence may be difficult, as the example of 'Robertus Anglicus' (a Latin name which can be read as 'Robert the Englishman' or 'Robert Langlais') reveals. In her *Répertoire*, Olga Weijers reckons no less than thirteen individuals called "Robertus Anglicus", while noticing that all other "Robert" of English origin may be styled "Robertus Anglicus" at one moment or another in contemporary records. Leaving aside two early fourteenth century friars, and two men who have apparently no connections with Paris, a grammarian whose works have been copied in a Sevilla manuscript,[27] and an English master of arts from Montpellier,[28] we are left with two grammarians and with seven commentators of some of the most important texts of the Paris curriculum: two on the *Topicorum*, two on the *Summulae Petri Hispani*, two on the *Elenchorum* and one on the *Isagoge*.[29] Of these, only three have been included as masters in *Studium*, in accordance with scholarly literature and their manuscripts' origins: this example shows that texts offer only precarious evidence. The only deduction which can be made with certitude from the reading of Table 1 is that we know few, probably very few, attendants of the Paris schools until the fourteenth century: if we apply the general author's ratio (that is if our 570 authors were 7%, not 44%, of the total population), we could expect to find an approximate number of 8380 students! However, despite the limitations of our sources, we have some information on the regional origins, the education and the careers of 1328 scholars, which we are now going to scrutinize.

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[25] Many of the authors mentioned in Glorieux's *La Faculté des Arts* (GLORIEUX 1971) are considered as '*Extérieur*l' because he took into account all those he considered as 'master of arts', including for instance the Oxford masters from Emden's dictionaries and those from Bologna, even including Douais's Dominican friars who never graduated.

[26] The only reservation is that Olga Weijers (WEIJERS 1994–2012) included in her lists (and rightly so for her purpose) the authors "whose works were known in Paris", even if they never visited the university: when referred to in *Studium*, they are categorized as '*Incertain*' or '*Extérieur*'.

[27] WEIJERS 1994–2012. VIII. p. 25, 22.

[28] WEIJERS 1994–2012. VIII. p. 154–156.

[29] WEIJERS 1994–2012. VIII. p. 145–158.

Table 1: General table to 1300

	Masters	*Scolares*	Total	Authors	% Authors	'Suppôts'
Before 1100	1	1	2	1		
1101–1110	2		2	1		
1111–1120	3	2	5	3	54%	
1121–1130	7	3	10	6		
1131–1140	10	5	15	8		
1141–1150	10	4	14	7		
1151–1160	17	12	29	12		
1161–1170	10	19	29	12		
1171–1180	15	23	38	9	44%	
1181–1190	18	6	24	14		
1191–1200	25	14	39	23		
1201–1210	46	21	67	21		
1211–1220	35	13	48	28		
1221–1230	52	24	76	32	46,4%	
1231–1240	44	20	64	34		
1241–1250	65	32	97	48		
1251–1260	60	13	73	50		4
1261–1270	100	21	121	49		10
1271–1280	141	64	205	98	42,5%	5
1281–1290	153	57	210	60		6
1291–1300	99	61	160	70		42
	923	415	1328	570		67

The regional origins of the masters

The international gathering of students around Peter Abélard was the first indicator of the Paris schools' take-off and the presence of many foreign scholars seems to have been at the heart of the first major crisis of the young university which culminated with the great strike of 1229–1230. The question of the regional origin of the scholars is therefore of importance, but before the existence of Nations' registers and of the *rotuli* sent to the papacy to claim provisions to ecclesiastical benefices, the diocese from which a scholar comes is rarely mentioned, which makes it difficult to assign someone to a given region, whatever the reservations we may have on this concept of the region: as a matter of fact, it is only in the case of Brittany and Normandy that we can establish some correspondence between a region and a cluster of dioceses. However, for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the anthroponymy of academics was not as unreliable as it will become in the next centuries, and it may be used with caution. We can therefore know (guess would be a more adequate word) the origins of 60% of the scholars, as shown on Table 2 which summarises, decade by decade, the geographical distribution of the members of the Parisian schools, distributed according to the borders of the four Nations.

Table 2: Origins of the scholars and birth of the nations

	1100–1150	1151–1170	1171–1180	1181–1190	1191–1200	1201–1210	1211–1220	1221–1230	1231–1240	1241–1250	1251–1260	1261–1270	1271–1280	1281–1290	1291–1300	
English Nation																
British Isles	5	12	4	4	11	8	15	11	11	11	7	10	8	15	14	149
Germany	1	2			1	1		6	1	2	3	5	1	1	3	27
Central Europe		1	3		1	1	2					1		3	2	14
Scandinavia				1	1	1			1		3	3	11	14	15	50
Picard Nation																
Low Countries	3	1	1	3	1	4	2	8	1	3	3	11	13	14	10	76
Picardy		1		1	1	2	3	4	5	2	3	7	4	3	11	46
Norman Nation																
Normandy	2	1		2	2			2	2	2	2	6	16	5	10	52
French Nation																
Italie	6	11	5	2	3	2	2	8	9	5	8	7	9	5	16	98
Portugal		3	4		3	1	1	5		4	1	1	2	1		26
Spain					1		1	2	1			1	1	5	2	14
Bretagne	2	1			1	1	1		1	1	2	2	3	4	4	23
Ile-France	4			1		2		4	1	1	7	3	6	11	6	46
Loire Valley	1	3	2	1	1		2	2	2	2	1	5	5	2	1	28
Champagne	2	1			1	1	4	2	5	4	2	6	10	3	3	45
Burgundy		1		1			1	2	2	7	3	7	9	7	2	42
Lorraine	1				1			1			2	2	3	1	2	13
Poitou	3		1		1	2	1			1				1		10
Limousin										1	1	1		4		7
Auvergne								1				3	3	1	2	8
Aquitaine										1	2		3		3	9
Provence					1					1	1		2	1	1	7
Languedoc						1				2	1		3	2	3	12
Palestine		1														1

It would take too much space to comment upon this table in detail, and we shall limit ourselves to a cursory examination of the two largest groups, with the addition of some general remarks. The importance of the British and Italian groups does not come as a surprise. British students were present from the start and their number did not decline until the beginning of the Hundred Years War.[30] Their number stupefied abbot Fulk of Deuil who speaks of the "crowd of young men from England" gathering around Peter Abelard.[31] But, as can be expected, their profile changes over time. In the first period, they are some of the prominent 'heroic figures' (to use Baldwin's phrase) mentioned by John of Salisbury and others: Adam of Parvo Ponte [Balsham], Robert Amiclas [Pullen], but we find also the poets Nigel Wireker and Walter Map. Some of the canons of Saint-Victor are also English (abbot Acard, the Priors Andrew and Walter, Ervisius) or Scot, as the famous Richard of Saint-Victor. Another salient feature, which remained remarkable until the end, is the contribution of the Paris schools to the exceptional educational level of the English episcopal bench: at least 28 of the 149 English Paris students became bishops or archbishops either in England, Wales, Ireland or the Plantagenet lands in France. Most archbishops of Canterbury (Thomas Becket, Baldwin of Forde, Stephen Langton, Richard Grant, Edmund of Abingdon, Robert Kilwardby, John Pecham, and a former rector of the University, Robert Winchelsea)[32] had studied in Paris, as well as two archbishops of York (Thomas de Corbridge and William Greenfield). A similar situation is far from existing in France, where a scholar of the calibre of the bishop of Paris William of Auvergne is the exception rather than the rule: this fact is clearly linked with the Plantagenet rulership.[33] The crisis of 1229–1230 was not without consequences: the strike sent back many masters to England and, perhaps at the instance of Robert Grosseteste, they diverted their path to Oxford, which was fast developing. However, the interaction between the two universities seems to have soon made fashionable a sort of double cursus (arts in one, theology in the other) working both ways. What is even more striking when we analyse the situation in the Thirteenth century, is the weight of the British mendicant friars: since Parisian secular clerks of English origin were among the first to become friars, links between Oxford and London convents, on one side, and the Paris friaries, were very strong and a large number of English friars were called to Paris to read the Bible or the Sentences. No less than 22 British Franciscan and 7 Dominican friars read or attended Paris lectures.

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[30] See: Gabriel 1949, and GENET 2015.
[31] FULK OF DEUIL, Letter to Abelard.
[32] To this list could be added Reginaldus Fitz Josselin: elected by the monks on 27 November 1191, he died on the following 24 December. Sent to Paris by Alexander III, this son of an Englishman, born and bred in Italy, was nicknamed Reginaldus Italus in England: see. Duggan (https://www-oxforddnb/search?q=Reginald+Fitz+Jocelin – accessed: 06-12-2024).
[33] See: BALDWIN 1976. For the bishops of Paris, see: KOUAMÉ 2022b. p. 186–187. Other masters who became bishops of Paris were Maurice and Eudes of Sully, Étienne Tempier, and Ranulphe de Homblières.

The main difference between the English and the Italian group (98) is that the Paris students did not play a similar role in the Italian episcopate. There is nothing exceptional in the number of Italian bishops: compared to other national groups, it is rather low, and the most salient feature is the fact that several of them were elected to French sees, which happens only once for the English (John of Salisbury at Chartres). The obvious example is Peter the Lombard, who ended his life as bishop of Paris, but the case of two other bishops, both Masters in Theology, Peter, Cardinal-priest of San Chrisogono and Peter de Collemadio, who before they both became Cardinals were respectively bishop of Meaux and archbishop of Rouen, points towards another direction, the necessity for the Popes to keep an eye on the University and to manage the close relation between the papacy and the university in coordination with the royal power. Collemedio was "*capellano nostro Parisius commoranti*" in the words of Honorius III in 1222[34]and was deeply immersed in the Parisian conflicts since he appears to have been the protector of William of Saint-Amour against the Mendicants at the Roman Curia: the troubles of Saint-Amour and his partisans started when he died. However, a Frenchman could also play this part, as the example of men such as Nicolas de Bar, Guy Foulquois (the future Clement IV, who apparently did not study in Paris though he may have briefly taught law) or Simon de Brion (the future Martin IV) amply demonstrates. In other respects, the Italian pattern is similar to the English one, especially for the importance of the number of the mendicant friars, with two small differences: the Dominicans are more numerous than the Franciscans (15 against 10) and Italian Austin Friars – among them Aegidius Romanus – and Carmelites appear in Paris much earlier than their English counterparts.

Two general remarks will conclude this survey of Table 2. The first one is that unexploited potential sources for a prosopography of the University of Paris may exist: in their vast majority, the names of the students of Scandinavian (50), Portuguese (26) and Hungarian (10 of the 14 Central European students) origins come from research made in the national historiography and in the archives of these countries. We must here underline the importance of the contribution of Elisabeth Mornet to *Studium*: she is the author of the 360 biographical files of Scandinavian students in the database and she has carefully compared the information of the Parisian sources with the Scandinavian data, a research work which has added a large number of hitherto unknown individuals to the database.[35] The importance of the *Iter Parisiense* for the social prestige and for the career prospects of those who made the risky travel to Paris explains the high number of Scandinavian students which was such that several colleges were founded for them: Uppsala in 1280, Dacia in 1284 and Skara in 1292; Linköping was to come later. Many of these students appear to have been scion either of noble families or of rich

[34] CUP I. p. 102–104 (nr. 137).
[35] MORNET 1978 and 2021a for Swedish students, where a complete list of the 360 students is given p. 876–883.

merchant families settled in the Hanseatic towns. As in the case of the English students, several became bishops.

No college was needed for the Portuguese and Hungarian students:[36] they came in smaller numbers, and since they arrived earlier than their Scandinavian colleagues, they used connections with the two great Parisian abbeys of regular canons, Saint-Victor (the Portuguese) and Sainte-Geneviève (the Hungarians). Here too, most of the information comes from local sources.[37] Most of the 26 Portuguese students were Austin Canons, especially from the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, and if it may be supposed that most of these if not all went to the school of Saint-Victor, while the others attended the lectures of the schools' theologians: for instance, Paio [Pelagius] Galvaõ read theology with Lothario dei Conti di Segni and when he was sent to him by the King of Portugal once Lothario had become pope Innocent III, he was promoted to the cardinalate by his school friend. As in Scandinavia, the travel to Paris was also a way to ecclesiastical preferment and to social promotion, since besides Cardinal Galvaõ, seven of the Portuguese *alumni* became bishops. The same pattern is observed for the Hungarian students: as in the case of the Scandinavians, they came from noble families, and at least four of them became bishops.[38] The relations between Hungary and Paris may have increased with the marriage of King Bela III with Marguerite de France, daughter of Louis VII and widow of Henry Plantagenet, the 'young king', for the necessary negotiations implied the presence of Hungarian envoys in Paris. But after that, these relations seem to have decreased for a time.

The second remark will be about the formation of nations, one of the central institutions of the young university. The official birth of the Nations takes place in October 1249, when the four Nations reached an agreement on the thorny subject of the rector's common election, this officer having been hitherto chosen by the French Nation alone,[39] but masters and scholars could write to pope Alexander III in October 1255 that they used the seals of the four Nations '*ab antiquo*' constituted.[40] The Nations may have been behind the deputation of procurators as early as 1219[41] and the schools' statutes of 1245.[42] In any case, brawls and conflicts between groups of students of different regional origins seem to have been already frequent in the twelfth century,[43] and the troubles of 1229 which were to spark the conflict between the university and the king originated in a concerted action of the Paris' citizens against "Picard" scholars, according to the English chroniclers, Matthew Paris and Ralph of

[36] My thanks are due to Mário Farelo, Armando Norte, and Gergely Kiss who gave me offprints or advanced notices of their publications.
[37] FARELO 2001–2002 and NORTE – OLIVEIRA-LEITÃO 2016.
[38] HARASZTI SZABÓ – KELÉNYI 2019. p. 97–98.
[39] CUP I. nr. 187.
[40] CUP I. p. 292–297, nr. 256.
[41] CUP I. p. 88–80, nr. 31.
[42] CUP I. nr. 136–137.
[43] Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis*, quoted by GOROCHOV 2012. p. 104–105.

Coggeshall.[44] Table 2 helps us to understand why Nations came into existence and the reasons for their strange composition. The remarkable number of British students and the high level of their presence throughout the whole period are enough to vindicate the existence of the English Nation.[45] Another nation whose existence is easily understandable despite the relatively small number of its members is the Norman Nation: it seems first to have been limited to students of the diocese of Rouen, but its membership was soon extended to the other dioceses of the metropolitan province of Rouen, Bayeux, Lisieux, Évreux, Avranches, Coutances, and Sées: but with only fifty-two students, the Norman remains quite comparable in size with the groups of students from Île-de-France (46), Champagne (45) or Burgundy (42). Admittedly, Normandy has much more cohesion than those two provinces: several of their dioceses are split between them (Sens and Langres, for instance) while several districts of Champagne lie in the "French" dioceses of Soissons and Meaux. In any case, the proportion of Normans among the Paris students rose quickly, the diocese of Rouen being the first in importance for the scholars' origin (609 *alumni*) before those of Paris (551), Utrecht (413), Laon (381) and another Norman diocese, Bayeux (273) in the *Studium* database.

In fact, the crucial question is that of the Picard Nation, and it is its composition which determines the limits of the three others. It has neither geographical nor historical cohesion (it contains at least six main entities, Vermandois, Artois, Cambrésis, Hainaut, Brabant and the districts of the principality of Liège), and the word "Picard" when it appears at the end of the eleventh century (first mention in 1098) seems to have been used only for the people from Amiens.[46] Most of its bishoprics are in the province of Reims, but Liège is in the province of Cologne, as well as a portion of Utrecht's diocese which was included in the Nation's limits. It is sharply divided by the linguistic border between Roman and German languages: nevertheless, Serge Lusignan has demonstrated that the cement of Picard unity may be language, not the vernacular spoken by everyone, but the 'high' vernacular which was used for trade, justice and administration and which was taught in the business schools of the merchant towns of the North of France and present-day Belgium. This is the language which linguists call Picard or Anglo-Norman. It is in many respects different from the Paris French, or 'royal French', which was taught as prestige vernacular in German-speaking towns, including those of Holland, Frisia and Guelderland. This explains why the diocese of Utrecht had to be divided along the course of the Meuse, as well as parts of the diocese of Liège: the Dutch lands of the right bank of the river joined the English Nation, as well as the Dutch or German-speaking parts of the diocese of Liège.[47]

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[44] Matthew Paris.
[45] Since it would later become the German Nation, it is styled 'Anglo-German nation' in the *Studium* files.
[46] LUSIGNAN 2012. p. 92–104.
[47] LUSIGNAN 2006.

The *Natio Gallicana* is simply made of what was left, and it has even less cohesion than the English Nation, spreading from Spain to Palestine. Since Italian students were fairly numerous, they could have constituted the nucleus of a stable grouping, but in the years during which the Nations were institutionalised, relatively few attended the Faculty of Arts, and many of them belonged to the mendicant orders. None of the other groups had either enough cohesion or enough numerical weight. The Bretons, who were soon to become one of the most important groups in Paris (966 to be compared with 1817 Normans in the whole database) were still too few, as Table 2 shows.[48] It was hard to give the Nation a structure which made sense: in the end, it was organized into five provinces corresponding to the four ecclesiastical provinces of Sens, Reims, Bourges and Tours, with a fifth "province" being attributed to Paris though it was but a simple bishopric at the time. Meaux and Chartres were included in the Paris province as well as a small part of the diocese of Rouen (Pontoise and the French Vexin).[49] The Bretons were in the province of Tours, the students of Lorraine in that of Reims, while Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians and those coming from the Latin territories in the East were registered in the province of Bourges (at least in theory). And the students of the ecclesiastical provinces of Besançon and Lyon belonged to the province of Sens. However, despite its heterogeneity, the Nation of France was already by far the most numerous at the end of the thirteenth century.

Careers

There are very few examples of lay students in Paris at that time who never became clerics: perhaps the poet Rutebeuf and the publicist Pierre Dubois. Lay students certainly existed, since we know of several men who married, had children and had a lay career, before becoming a widower and entering the orders, such as Cardinal Ugo Eterianus, a pupil of Gilbertus Porretanus, and Jacobus Savelli (future pope Honorius IV). It is also difficult to make a clear distinction between members of the secular clergy and those of the regular clergy, since several secular clerics chose to become regular, after a process of conversion: we observe this phenomenon throughout the whole period, starting with Peter Abelard becoming a Benedictine at Saint-Denis, but the creation of the Mendicant Orders clearly intensified it.

Roughly 31% of the scholars were members of the regular orders, at a moment or another in their religious career. The proportion of the scholars who chose regular life is relatively stable, around a third of the population, with a trend of growth, from a minimum of 21% in the twelfth century to a maximum of 37% at the end of the thirteenth century. During the twelfth century, the most salient feature is the prominence of the regular canons, at Sainte-Geneviève and Saint-Victor. Sainte-Geneviève was a house of secular canons, but it became a house of regular canons with canons drawn from Saint-

[48] On the Breton students see now: LÉMEILLAT 2022.
[49] TALAZAC-LANDABURU 1975. p. 15–22.

Victor in 1146–1147 and it was henceforth a member of the Victorine congregation. However, their schools did not participate in the creation of the University, and the school of Sainte-Geneviève seems to have disappeared quickly if the abbot and the chancellor continued to perform important administrative functions for the University.[50] Saint-Victor remained an intellectual centre and its library was used by scholars, but the activity of its school was apparently limited to the order.[51] New orders were created: but the Premonstratensian had only a limited impact on the University, as the Trinitarians (called Mathurins at Paris), though they had been created by a theology master, John of Matha. Their rule was close to that of the regular canons, and one of its two authors was the abbot of Saint-Victor, Absalon. Much more important for the University was the order of the canons of the Val des Écoliers, with its Sainte-Catherine convent in Paris which was conceived as a college, with a clear educational project.[52] They succeeded in getting one of the chairs of the Faculty of Theology, but the canons were few and their order had only limited resources at his disposal. Benedictines and Cistercians, as the table shows, had an even more limited impact: the colleges they created, the Chardonneret and then Saint-Bernard for the Cistercians (1246), Cluny and Saint-Denis for the Benedictines (1258–1259) were conceived to the benefice of their respective orders, not for that of the university.

[50] KOUAMÉ 2022a.
[51] See: GIRAUD 2010b.
[52] See: GUYON 1998.

Table 3: Scholar members of the religious orders

	1100–1150	1151–1170	1171–1180	1181–1190	1191–1200	1201–1210	1211–1220	1221–1230	1231–1240	1241–1250	1251–1260	1261–1270	1271–1280	1281–1290	1291–1300	
Augustine canons (O.S.A.)	3	5	5	1	3	5	1	4	1	5		1	1	4	1	40
Victorines canons	6	6	4	2	2	3	2		2	4	2	2	2		3	40
Val des Écoliers canons						4	1						1		2	8
Benedictines (O.S.B.)	4	1	1		2	2	3	1		1		2	1	2	4	24
Cistercians		2		1		1		3	1	1	2	2	1	3	3	20
Carthusians				1												1
Premonstratensians					1	1	2	3			1				1	9
Trinitarians					1		1			1						3
Franciscans (O.F.M.)							4	4	9	6	10	10	21	17	8	88
Dominicans (O.P.)						1		9	10	12	12	17	36	33	31	161
'Frater' (unspecified)													5			5
Augustine Hermits (O.E.S.A.)														1	5	6
Carmelites (O.Carm.)															1	1
Total	13	14	10	5	9	17	14	24	22	30	27	34	68	60	59	405
Percentage	28	21	26	21	23	25	29	32	35	31	37	28	33	29	37	31

Things were quite different for the Mendicant Orders. Their chroniclers, Jordanus of Saxe for the Dominicans and Thomas Eccleston[53] for the Franciscans are well informed on the beginnings of the Mendicants in Paris. The founder of the *Ordo Praedicatorum*, Dominic of Guzmàn had as early as 1217 targeted the schools to recruit new brothers: he sent several of his close associates to Paris and Jordanus, already a master of arts, was one of the first converts to the new spirituality. Another convert was the Parisian master of decrees Reginald of Orléans who sent to Paris in 1219 a young Bolognese master who had joined the Dominicans, Rolando of Cremona. He taught only one year in Paris while the brothers were building the Saint-Jacques convent, on the grounds given by the master of theology John Barastre, Dean of Saint-Quentin. He later came back to become the first friar to receive the licence, but he left again for Toulouse, to be succeeded in Paris by Hugo of Saint-Cher. The preaching of this first group was extremely successful: Jordan asserts in one of his letters that he had convinced 21 students to join the order,[54] and fifteen graduates or advanced students, such as the aforesaid Jordan, Rolando and Hugo, but also men like Humbert of Romans; John of Saint-Gilles, Guerric de Metz, Robert Bacon or Robert Kilwardby rapidly joined the Dominicans. That was not the end of their academic activity and the Saint-Jacques or Jacobines convent, as it was called, became a striving school as well as a centre of biblical studies. The history of the Franciscans is similar in nearly all respects: despite the fact that Saint Francis did not have the same intellectual perspectives as Saint Dominic, the first provincial of France was Gregory of Naples who intended to develop the connections of the friars in the universities. On Good Friday 1225, Haymo of Faversham, a famous master of theology, took the habit with three other masters[55] and the Franciscan school began its activities, moving from the first establishment in Saint-Denis to the great convent of the Cordeliers built on lands given by the abbot of Saint-Germain-des-Prés,[56] attracting even more converts than the Dominicans. The other Mendicant orders also found easily their place in Paris university, getting magisterial chairs at the Faculty of Theology and building large convents which housed their schools, the Austin Friars on the left bank of the Seine after a first establishment at Montmartre, and the Carmelites in the Place Maubert.

The history of the stormy relations between the mendicant and the secular masters is well-known and it is unnecessary to evoke it here, but two points must be remembered about their schools. The first is that they were primarily intended to serve the life of their orders. As is now widely recognized, the majority of the students came to Paris (and to other university towns) to follow a lectureship course which prepared them to become lecturers in the convent of their orders. Only a small minority of them, perhaps up to ten or twelve at a time, took part in the lectures or disputations of the Faculty of Theology. And

[53] JORDANUS and THOMAS OF ECCLESTON.
[54] GOROCHOV 2012. p. 370 and on the beginnings of the Dominicans and Franciscans, 361–381.
[55] THOMAS OF ECCLESTON, p. 27.
[56] On the convent and the school, see: MURPHY 1967 and COURTENAY 2023.

all the friars participated in the great preaching campaigns which were one of their first duties. As mentioned in the introduction, *Studium* takes into account all Parisian schools, not being limited to the University *stricto sensu*. In consequence, once their academic status has been established as precisely as possible, all the friars present in Paris convents are included in the database. The second point is that if these schools were internal institutions of the orders, their lectures would be public and open to visitors who could see the advantages of the new organization, the existence of a community sharing the same values, of a library, of rooms for study and a chapel. The Paris colleges extant at the time were quite different:[57] the 'College des Dix-Huit', founded by the merchant Jossius of London in 1180 upon his return from Jerusalem, was structured on the hospital model to house poor students, and this is also true of the colleges created until the middle of the thirteenth century for those called "Bons Enfants" by collegiate churches (Saint Thomas and Saint Nicolas du Louvre, Saint Honoré), monasteries (Saint-Victor) or chapters (the Arras cathedral chapter). The Sorbonne was created in 1257 on the model of the mendicant convents and it soon became the model of the Paris standard university college.[58] From the second half of the thirteenth century, an impressive number of colleges, organizing lectures, opened as those of the mendicant convents to an external public, eventually received paying external younger students, were created: the College of the Treasurer in 1268, and then Harcourt (1280), the Cholets (1295), the Cardinal Lemoine (1302) and Navarre (1305), and we have already mentioned the Scandinavian colleges.

But before that date, nothing existed to meet the needs of the secular students. The records of the *taxatio domorum* reveal the existence of houses in which small groups could dwell, sometimes with the mention of a *magister*: but there were no adapted lodgings to absorb the rapid growth in number of the secular students: if we trust *Studium*, their number rose sharply from 159 in 1291–1300 to 414 and 533 in the two following decades, but this is a consequence of changes in our sources which in the fourteenth century begin to shed light on ordinary students of whom we know nothing for previous times. A quick glance at the biographical data of the secular students in Table 4 shows that those clerics detaining a benefice below a canonry are very few. Most of them belong to two groups for which exceptional sources have come to us. The first is that of the so-called Amauricians. We know of them because their condemnation in 1210 did not result from an academic censure, but because it was issued by a provincial synod. Ecclesiastical authorities had to deal with a popular heresy since it had spread over several dioceses, and as some of the culprits were priests, deacons, or subdeacons, the presence and action of at least six bishops were indispensable for their degradation, before they were handed to the secular arm: hence the necessity to summon a synod

[57] KOUAMÉ 2012.

[58] See: GENET – KOUAMÉ – LAMASSÉ 2021; KOUAMÉ 2017.

which produced some written documents.[59] Ten of the scholars were burnt, but these tragic events offer us a glimpse into what was probably the average Paris students, mostly secular clerics (only one of them was a Benedictine), some being already priests when most were still deacons or subdeacons, getting a meager income from offices as chaplains or replacements in churches of villages surrounding Paris. The second group is founded seventy years later, in relation to the foundation of the College of the Treasurer by Guillaume de Saâne, canon, and treasurer of Rouen: on 22 May 1279, twenty-one men, headed by Radulphus de Aurelianis, regent-master of the Faculty of Decree, certify that Berthaud de Saint-Denis, regent-master in theology and canon of Notre-Dame, has delivered the houses and goods Guillaume is giving to his two procurators and to six students of the college.[60] Eleven of the twenty-one witnesses are masters and seven of these are rectors of Norman parishes; these men were in Paris, perhaps students in the higher faculties, and probably graduates of the Norman Nation. It is a window in the future: they have the career profile of those who will in the fourteenth century take full advantage of the *bursae* offered by the new colleges.[61]

Table 4: Scolares' Secular Careers

	Highest offices and benefices		
To 1150	Popes Cardinals Archbishops Bishops Canons	1 1 3 7 11 1	Anacletus II (antipope) Robert Pullen Bourges, Mainz, Mailand Avranches, Bangor, Châlons, Laon, Paris, Poitiers, Soissons Paris (8), Chartres, Jerusalem, Liège Rector
1151–1170	Popes Cardinals Archbishops Bishops Canons	1 3 2 8 9	Celestine III Hugo Petrileoni 1, Hugo Eterianus, Odo Suessionensis Canterbury, Esztergom Chartres, Exeter, Lichfield, Paris, Quimper, St. Asaph, Soissons, Worcester Chartres (2), London, Paris (3), Reims, Amiens, 1 canonry unknown

[59] As argued by Johann Thijssen (THIJSSEN 1996) who underlines the close link between the procedure and that indicated in the Summa or Robert de Courson, who may have been present at the council: see: CUP I. p. 70, nr. 11 and p. 71, nr. 12.
[60] CUP I. p. 574–575, nr. 489.
[61] On the Collège du Trésorier, see: BERNARD-SCHWEITZER 2018. All my thanks are due to her for allowing me to use this still unpublished thesis.

1171–1180	Cardinals Archbishops Bishops Canons	3 1 1 4	Matheus Andegavensis, Hugo Petrileoni 2, Petrus de Sancto Chrysogono Canterbury Tournai Esztergom, Lincoln, Paris, Tours
1181–1190	Cardinals Archbishops Bishops Canons Other	1 3 3 10 1	Johannes Felici Reims, Rouen, Sens Ely, Lincoln, Transylvanie Amiens, Châlons, Lincoln (2), Paris (4), Rouen, Tournai Rector
1191–1200	Popes Cardinals Archbishops Bishops Canons Other	1 2 1 9 6 1	Innocent III Robert Curzon, Petrus Capuanus 1 Esztergom Crémone, Liège, Metz, Noyon, Rochester, Sées, Troyes, Viborg, Würzburg Avranches, Lichfield, Paris, St. David, York Rector
1201–1210	Cardinal Archbishops Bishops Canons Other	4 4 5 7 5	Stephen Langton, Oliverus Scholasticus, Gregorius Crescenzi, Jacobus de Vitriaco Embrun, Lund, Reims, Sens Agde, Châlons, Rochester, Salisbury, Worcester Chartres, Paris (3), Salisbury, Senlis, Tournai 8 Priests, deacons and subdeacons
1211–1220	Popes Cardinals Archbishops Bishops Canons	1 1 5 3 10	Gregory IX Petrus Capuanus 2 Canterbury (2), Compostelle, Esztergom, Reims Cambrai, Lichfield, Paris Beauvais, Cambrai (2), Laon (2), Paris (2), Salisbury, Sens, Utrecht
1221–1230	Cardinals Archbishops Bishops	4 4 7	Bartholomaeus, Stephanus de Conti, Humbertus de

	Canons	22	Pirovano, Johannes Halgrin de Abbatisvilla Besançon, Embrun, Sens, Tolède Chartres, Durham, Hildesheim, Lausanne, Paris, Tournai, Wells Amiens, Beauvais, Châlons (2), Chartres (2), Évreux, Laon, Lausanne, Lichfield, Liège, Norwich, Paris (5), Rouen, Thérouanne, Tournai (2), York
1231–1240	Popes Cardinals Archbishops Bishops Canons	1 4 2 8 12	Urbain IV Robert de Somercotes, Hugo de Sancto Caro, Petrus de Collemedo, Petrus de Barro Rouen, Uppsala Agen, Amiens, Chichester, Finlande, Florence, Hereford, Lisieux, Noyon Amiens, Auxerre, Chartres, Laon, Lincoln, Paris (5), Rouen, Quimper
1241–1250	Cardinal Archbishop Bishops Canons Other	2 5 4 20 1	Odo de Castro-Radulphi, Henricus Segusiensis Nicosia (2), Pisa, Reims, Tours Arras, Norwich, Paris, Salisbury Auxerre, Beaune, Beauvais, Bourges, Coutances, Douai, Laon, Le Dorat, Le Mans, Liège, Lincoln, Meaux (2), Paris (3), Reims (3), Rouen 1 rector
1251–1260	Pope Cardinal Archbishop Bishops Canons	4 3 3 4 17	Hadrian IV, Honorius IV, John XXI, Innocent V Robert Kilwardby, St. Bonaventure, Radulphus Grosparmi Nidaros, Reims, Rouen Beauvais, Chartres, Regensburg, Winchester Amiens (2), Beauvais, Bourges, Langres,

			Linköping, Orléans, Paris (2), Reims (3), Rodez, Rouen (2), Senlis, Soignies
1261–1270	Pope Cardinal Archbishops Bishops Canons	1 5 2 7 35	Martin IV Hannibaldus de Hannibaldis, Erhardus de Lisigniis, Guillelmus de Braio, Gervasius de Clino Campo Canterbury, Mayence Clermont, Evora, Hereford, Linköping, Nantes, Paris, Winchester Amiens (2), Avranches, Besançon, Chartres, Coutances (2), Évreux, Gournay, Laon, Liège (2), Lincoln (2), Lisieux, Orléans, Paris (6), Reims (3), Ribe, Rouen (4), Roye, Sens, Toul, Trohalten, Worcester
1271–1280	Cardinal Archbishop Bishops Canons Other	7 2 7 32 8	Jean Cholet, Hugo Aycelin, Hugo de Evesham, Latinus Malabranca, Galfredus de Barro, Matthaeus de Aquasparta, Matthaeus Rubeus Ursinus Cosenza, Uppsala Amiens, Coïmbra, Evora, Le Mans, Mende, Paris, Poitiers Amiens (2), Bayeux, Chartres (2), Clermont, Coutances, Crediton, Crémone, Laon (2), Mâcon, Paris (9), Reims (2), Ribe, Roskilde, Rouen, Saint–Quentin (2), Senlis, Sens, Thérouanne, Tournai 7 rectors et 1 archpriest
1281–1290	Cardinal Archbishop Bishops Canons Other	1 2 7 25 4	Simon de Bello Loco Canterbury, Dublin Clermont, Évreux, Laon, Lisieux, Tournai (2), Viviers Amiens (2), Bruges, Châlons, Clisson, Évreux, Exeter, Hamar, Laon, Liège, Melun,

			Paris (6), Poitiers, Pontoise, Reims, Ribe, Rouen (3), Uppsala 3 rectors, 1 curate
1291–1300	Pope Cardinal Archbishop Bishops Canons Other	1 5 2 8 29 4	John XXII Johannes de Murro, Nicolaus de Nonancuria, Jacobus Caetani Stefaneschi, Stephanus de Sugiaco, Nicolaus de Freauvilla York (2) Bologna, Catania, Liège, Linköping, Mâcon, Orléans, Salisbury, Skara, Termoli, Uppsala Aquilea, Autun (2), Ely, Évreux (2), Hereford, Linköping, Lund (2), Paris (6), Reims, Roskilde, Salisbury (2), Thérouanne, Tongres, Tyarno, Uppsala (4), Viviers, Wells 1 chaplain, 3 rectors

If we turn to the end of the hierarchical spectrum, the capacity of the Paris alumni to reach the summits of the ecclesiastical hierarchy is impressive: 12 ended their life as popes (and to these ones we could add the antipope Anacletus II), 36 as cardinals, 35 as archbishops, 84 as bishops, and 235 as canons or dignitaries of a chapter. The number of 11 popes is slightly misleading since five of them reigned only a dozen of years between 1261 and 1287, and the ten years of reign of the Bolognese canonist Innocent IV are probably more important for the evolution of the pontifical institutions. Innocent III and Boniface VIII were also Bolognese students. John XXII did not stay long in Paris to study theology, after having completed his doctorate *in utroque* elsewhere.[62] The number of popes and cardinals in table 4 is also significant of the close links between the schools and the Curia.[63] These results are congruent with Constant Mews' observation that "the twelfth-century centralization of theological education around Paris contributed to the emergence of a clerical elite in Latin Christian Europe".[64] Bishoprics and canonries were spread all over Europe, and their distribution is clearly linked to the students' geographical origins, as the presence of many Scandinavian bishops and canons at the end of the thirteenth century demonstrates. The links between the schools and the Paris cathedral's chapter are noteworthy, and several bishops were canons of Paris before being promoted; we are now

62 TROTTMANN 2005. He was pope in 1316–1334, but his main year of activity is 1299.
63 CLASSEN 1983.
64 MEWS 2020. p. 29.

discovering thanks to e-NDP masters and students who had until now escaped notice.[65] The actual number of benefices held is much more important, since all these men got many other benefices, often in plurality, before reaching their highest office. It must also be pointed out that the table's title is misleading since many of these "secular" benefices and offices were detained by members of the regular clergy: 13 cardinals were monks (two Cistercians and one Cluniac), regular canons (three) and friars (five Dominicans, three Franciscans) as well as 21 archbishops and bishops (10 Dominicans, 6 Franciscans, 5 regular canons). But the main conclusion we may draw from Table 4 is the speed with which Paris students reached positions of authority in the Church. There is no doubt that this was achieved with the papacy's protection and its constant intervention: it demonstrates that the popes' constant concern for Paris' development was a central component of their strategy for the improvement of the government of the church, right at the heart of the Reform's program.

Paris' cultural impact

And this was also true for the cultural and intellectual project which was the cornerstone of the Church's new symbolic power. The Paris schools and university had another specific interest for the papacy and for the Church in general, their potential contribution to the intellectual and cultural development of the *ecclesia*, and the Christian community in general. This was the popes' objective when they began to deal with them, and it implied a close control of the orthodoxy of the teaching of the masters. However, the scholars' backgrounds and horizons schools were not confined to the schools. Not only did they come from various regions, but they kept constant contact with other centres of learning, sharing their time both as students and as teachers between them and Paris, as shown on Table 5. When assessing Paris' cultural and intellectual impact, it must be kept in mind that the city had no monopoly and that other influences were at work. This is especially true at the beginning of the period: the links between Paris on the one side and the cathedral school of Laon, Reims, and on the Loire Valley are obvious, and it is impossible to dissociate the masters of Chartres and Orléans with those of Paris: masters were constantly moving from one school to the other. We have already mentioned the links between Paris and Oxford, but those with Bologna are nearly as important. Bologna appears to have been essential for law studies as Paris was for arts and theology until the schools of Orléans[66] and to a lesser degree Angers metamorphosed from episcopal schools into law schools (later universities). Links with Cologne were limited to Dominican friars attending

[65] This project of the LAMOP, directed by Julie Claustre and Darwin Smith, is centred upon the digitization of the registers of the chapter of Notre-Dame and their handwriting text recognition (HTR). It shed light not only on the careers of the canons but also on those of the four collegiate churches and of those detaining benefices as chaplains or members of the Hôtel-Dieu, the city's largest hospital: see: https://endp.hypotheses.org/.
[66] Https://ideal.irht.cnrs.fr/document/820017.

the order's *studium generale* there. Montpellier seems to appear as Paris' finishing school for medicine.

Table 5: Episcopal schools and universities visited

	1100–1150	1151–1170	1171–1180	1181–1190	1191–1200	1201–1210	1211–1220	1221–1230	1231–1240	1241–1250	1251–1260	1261–1270	1271–1280	1281–1290	1291–1300	
Laon	6						1									7
Chartres	4	2	1	1		1										9
Reims	2	2		1												5
Orléans	3	1	1					2		2	1	2	1	2	2	17
Tours	2	1														3
Lucca	1															1
Angers	1		1				1							1		4
Montpellier	1		1	1	1			1		1			2	3	2	13
Oxford	1		1		4		5	7	8	5	2	4	2	8	11	58
Bologna		3	1	2	5	2	4	3	6	3	3	3	6		9	50
Cologne		1				1		1	1	2	1	2	4		2	15
Poitiers			1													1
Salerno					1						1					2
Padua									1			1			1	3
Toulouse						1	1		4	1				4	3	14
Palencia								1								1
Coimbra									1							1
Naples											2			1	2	5
Cambridge											1			1		2
Erfurt											1					1
Siena											1					1
Curia/Roma													1		1	2
Florence														1	2	3
Avignon															1	1

Another way of assessing the impact of Paris on European culture is to trace the diffusion and distribution of texts written in Paris or by scholars having studied in Paris. These works may have been written elsewhere, for instance in Oxford, or by authors whose links with Paris are tenuous, while most of their career took place elsewhere: among the authors listed in Table 6, this is for instance the case of Guillelmus Peraldus, who resided mostly in Lyon, or of Petrus Riga, a regular canon of Saint Rémy of Reims who taught there. Another case is that of John of Sacrobosco, who certainly never graduated, but whose relationship with the schools earned him a grave offered by the university in the Mathurins' church, on which an astronomy instrument was engraved. Nonetheless, the intellectual atmosphere of the Paris schools pervades their works, and they are included in Table 6, which gives the titles of the texts for which more than 200 manuscripts (an exceptional amount) seem to have been

preserved.[67] A difficulty lies with the counting and attribution of manuscripts. The last column of the table gives the number of manuscripts according to the current state of the bibliography, as recorded in the FAMA database.[68] However, *Studium*'s lists of manuscripts are somewhat different and must be used with caution. For some authors, such as Giles of Rome, the Victorines, or Aquinas, the present state of research provides us with a good or excellent knowledge of the distribution of their works. For others, the situation is less satisfactory, and the *Studium* lists are to be considered (at best) as working lists. New references have been found in the many new numerical databases which have appeared in ten or twenty years (see the list in the appendix). They ought to be checked: there may be doublets or wrong attributions but, at that stage, the aim of *Studium* is not to offer secure references, but to point out the possible existence of a manuscript under the shelf mark provided by a catalogue or a database. Among the new references, many are to fragments of the manuscript, a new field of research: if fragments may be neglected for editorial purposes, they are essential to the knowledge of a text's diffusion, since they remain as witnesses of the former manuscript.

The table presents the works in approximate chronological order, according to the middle year of activity of their author. The first thing which is striking is the contrast between the high number of copies of the works of Hugo and Richard of Saint-Victor and the absence of the two other contemporary luminaries, Peter Abelard and William of Champeaux. Michael Clanchy has explained this by the fact that the masters were speaking to an audience, while monks had to rely on the written word for circulating their texts in their orders' monasteries, all equipped with *scriptoria* and libraries:[69] Abelard belonged to both worlds since after being a canon of Notre-Dame he became a monk in Saint-Denis and later in Cluny, but few of his works have to-day more than ten copies, 30 for the *Carmen ad Astrolabium* (including extracts), 17 for the correspondence with Heloïse, 14 for the *Confessio universis*, 13 for the *Theologia Scholarium* and 11 for the *Sic et Non*.[70] The *Sic and non* may well be the first "university textbook",[71] but if Saint-Denis provided Abelard with the reference books indispensable to write it, he soon lost access to its *scriptorium* when he was expelled. On the reverse, as a canon regular educated in a monastery, Hugh found in Saint-Victor all that was needed for copying and circulating his works, with a secretary, Lawrence, who kept a vigilant eye on everything he wrote.[72] Books production at Saint-Victor is documented, with books written in its *scriptorium* or by scribes hired in Paris (as mentioned in

[67] The numbers are those of the manuscripts containing the works, whether the text is complete or fragmentary., and work may correspond to several manuscripts, e.g. Thomas' *Summa*, usually in 4 volumes when it is complete.
[68] Bourgain, Pascale and Stutzmann, Dominique: *FAMA, Œuvres latines médiévales à succès.*
[69] CLANCHY 1997. p. 227–229.
[70] BARROW – BURNETT – LUSCOMBE 1986. nr. 269, 273, 305,309,
[71] CLANCHY 1997. p. 228.
[72] GIRAUD 2020. p. 264.

Saint-Victor's *Liber ordinis*, ca. 1139).[73] However, the monastic concern for spiritual and pastoral values that pervades the Victorine texts was far away from the atmosphere of the schools: if monks were imbued with love, the masters were looking for truth, and they moved from glosses and *sententiae* to fully developed commentaries and tracts: in these new textual genres, they could freely expand the rational demonstrations and the analytical narratives necessary for the manifestation of truth, that is, turn theology into a science.

The point of departure of this scientific approach had to be the Bible since truth lies in the Bible. Table 6 testifies to the dramatic change in the teaching of the Bible by the masters during the course of the twelfth century. If the Biblical Gloss originated in Laon with Anselm of Laon,[74] its later developments, from the *glossa ordinaria* to the *magna glossatura*, took place mainly in Paris. Mark J. Clark's work on Stephen Langton throws a new light on the teaching of theology in Paris,[75] and he insists upon the fact that it was an oral teaching. Masters were constantly dialoguing with colleagues and students when commenting upon difficult points of the biblical text and of the Gloss, the basis of their lectures. Most important in that respect is Peter Lombard.[76] After supposed studies in Lucca, he came from Reims to Saint-Victor with the help of Bernard of Clairvaux: he became a canon of Notre-Dame and a master in the cathedral's school, commenting upon the *Psalms* and on the Pauline *Epistles*. Notes from these lectures were included in the *magna glossatura*, but longer versions were copied as autonomous tracts, especially the *Collectanea* on the Pauline Epistles. He mustered authoritative patristic quotations to elucidate difficulties with the biblical text, solving the contradictions between them by distinctions, using the dialectical methods popularized in Paris by Peter Abelard. As Philip Rosemann puts it, he had come "to a clearer understanding of the differences between biblical commentary and the emerging structures of systematic theology".[77] Much of this material found its way into a collection of *Sentences*. According to the traditional chronology, he would have compiled a first version in 1154, which he constantly modified when he taught from the academic year 1156–1157 to his election as bishop of Paris. He was not alone in trying to produce a comprehensive exposition of Christian theology for the schools, as the case of Robert of Melun' unfinished *Summa Sententiarum* reveals, but his textbook met with immediate success, despite – or because – the fierce debates to which it gave birth, especially on Christological matters.

However, while examining the manuscripts of Langton's lectures on the Bible, Mark J. Clark realised that he was commenting the texts of earlier masters: one of them was Peter Comestor, but there was another one, who appeared to have commented upon all the books of the Old Testament. He was none other than Peter Lombard. And Langton was not alone in doing so: the

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73 Rouse – Rouse 2000. I. p. 26.
74 Giraud 2010a.
75 Clark 2017.
76 Born near Novara, he received his first theological training at Lucca's episcopal school. On his life and works, see: Colish 1994a, Colish 1994 b, and Rosemann 2004.
77 Rosemann 2004. p. 46.

stemma encapsulating the complex interrelations of all the manuscripts involved in the examination of Langton's own commentaries reveals, *inter alia*, that he was relying on two manuscripts containing notes by two distinct auditors of the Lombard, and that he was not alone in using them.[78] This means that throughout the Lombard's career, the *Sentences* were "a work in progress",[79] its "text" constantly changing through his lectures and those of his students.

According to Mark J. Clark speaking in 2017 of the lectures on the Bible, "there are at least ten discrete layers of oral lecturing, all of which constitute one Parisian tradition, between the 1150s and 1200'".[80] It is now certain that Lombard's lectures and his *Sentences* were the cornerstones of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* and of Stephen Langton's *Postillae* (later replaced by those of Hugo of Saint-Cher). The presentation of the creation of the world by Peter Comestor depends upon Lombard's theological interpretations offered:[81] his *Historia Scolastica*, a historically reordered narrative of the Bible, an immediate success, was commented upon by Langton: it completed or even replaced the Glossed Bible on the students' desks. The repertory of Hebrew words in the Bible, erroneously attributed to Langton, was completed and stabilised.[82] To these works were added the *Historia genealogie Christi* of Peter of Poitiers, and the *Aurora* of Peter of Riga, a versified summary of the Bible. Theologians took the *Sentences* as the basis of their lectures, as Alexander of Hales' *Summa* testifies, a work which seemed so important that when Alexander died in 1245, the pope ordered his disciples to complete it. The *Sentences* were quickly abbreviated, glossed, and commented upon. Fully developed commentaries appeared, and two of them, those of the Dominican Aquinas and the Franciscan Bonaventura, achieved lasting popularity. Hundreds of *Sentences* commentaries were copied.[83] Place lacks here to discuss the poetical, "literary", mathematical and historical texts present on Table 6.

[78] CLARK – BENSON 2021.
[79] CLARK 2017.
[80] CLARK 2017. p. 220.
[81] CLARK 2005.
[82] See: MURANO 2010.
[83] See: the two volumes of Friedrich Stegmüller's *Repertorium Sententiarum* (STEGMÜLLER 1947).

Table 6: Manuscript diffusion of works from the Parisian schools (more than 200 mauscripts)

Auteur	MY[84]		Title	Studium	Biblio[85]
Hugo de St.Victor	1125	O.S.A.	De arrha anime De sacramentis*[86] Didascalicon De institutione novitiorum De virtute orandi De archa Noe	498 396 217 234 309 253	424 250 207 238 335 165
Petrus Lombardus	1140	Bishop	Sentences* Super Psalmos Super epistolas Pauli	840 549 366	1250 490 265
Petrus Comestor	1150		Historia Scholastica*	905	+ 800
Ricardus de St.Victor	1152	O.S.A.	Beniamin minor Liber exceptionum	246 283	269 294
Galterius de Castillione	1170	Canon	Alexandreis	218	209
Petrus Pictaviensis	1178	Canon	Historia genealogie Christi	268	267
Petrus Riga	1184	O.S.A.	Aurora	340	470
Petrus Blesensis	1192	Canon	Epistolae	285	264
Geoffrey of Vinsauf	1194		Poetria Nova	246	100
Innocent III	1197	Pape	De contemptu mundi De mysterio missae	459 192	647 247
Alexander de Villa Dei	1200	Canon	Doctrinale	422	400
Ebrardus Bethuniensis	1206		Graecismus	270	210
Alexander de Hales	1228	O.F.M.	Summa	169	208
Hugo de Sancto Caro	1232	O.P.	Postillae in Bibliam Tractatus super missam	469 256	421 236
Johannes Sacrobosco	1233		De Sphera Algorismus	275 210	104 110
Bartholomaeus Anglicus	1238	O.P.	De proprietatibus rerum*	273	317
Thomas de Cantimpré	1240	O.P.	De natura rerum	239	235
Pseudo-Langton	?		Interpretationes nominum hebraicorum	819	124
Vincent de Beauvais	1242	O.P.	Speculum historiale	357	
Guillelmus Peraldus	1246	O.P.	Summa de Vitiis Summa de Virtutibus	631 437	739
Bonaventura	1258	O.F.M.	Legenda Francisci maior Breviloquium Soliloquium Comm. Sent.* De triplici via (Stimulus amoris)	106 249 258 299 285	400 238 257 300
Thomas de Aquino	1262	O.P.	Summa (different parts)* Super Sententias* Summa contra Gentiles* Catena aurea De articulis fidei	1066 437 202 248 211	+250 +250 +173 +230 278
Aegidius Romanus	1292	O.E.S.A.	De regimine Principum	370	350

[84] Middle year of activity.
[85] Number of manuscripts as indicated in the I.R.H.T. database FAMA.
[86] Title with an asterisk is in the 1286 *taxatio librorum*: CUP I. p. 644–649.

But why the enormous diffusion of these texts, in contrast with the scarcity of those, no less important at the theological or philosophical level, of the first Paris' masters? It was the creation of a new system of book production, completely different of the traditional monastic system and only indirectly linked to the schools which made it possible[87]. The *Liber ordinis* of Saint-Victor mentioned above states that scribes were available in Paris in the twelfth century, but in 1166 the archbishop of Bremen, Hartwich von Stadt, preferred to send his scribe Michael to Paris to copy Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and the *Collectanea* on the *Pauline Epistles*.[88] There is also evidence that some manuscripts were copied on exemplars from the library of Saint-Victor: but the first manuscripts of Bible commentaries evoked earlier were not yet commercially produced. Paris scribes and librarians worked mainly for a well-to-do audience of lay nobles or rich prelates and several Parisian workshops were already well-known for copies of illuminated manuscripts, including multi-volume glossed Bible. With the reign of Louis VI, Paris recovered its status as the capital city of the kingdom, with the ensuing elites' attendance at the royal courts, the book market boomed. A prosperous trade, operated by lay artisans, scribes, illuminators, parchment makers, and librarians, soon developed. And the presence of the schools acted as a potent growth multiplier, to the mutual profit of scholars and librarians.

At the heart of this transformation was the development of a new kind of Bible, the so-called "Paris Bible". The text itself was not deeply modified, since the increase in Bible copying started too early to be impacted by the new Bible scholarship, but the books' order was modified to adjust to the masters' lecture sequence. Individual books were divided into chapters and verses, making quotation and indexing easier, and later (1239) allowed the realization of concordances by the Dominicans in the Paris convent. They were completed by paratextual elements, such as a prologue for each book in place of the traditional summaries, and the reorganized tract on the interpretation of Hebrew words (*Interpretationes nominum hebraicorum*) in place of the old Jerome's and Bede's defective lists. The schools were now producing full commentaries on each individual book, and the gloss less indispensable, except for the lecturers. The Bible could thus be copied in one volume only, the size of which was gradually reduced to reach that of those which Chiara Ruzzier, in her fundamental study, calls the "portable Bible".[89] "The portable Bible is the product of the encounter between the reorganization of a text elaborated in the University and the need of the Mendicants for portable books" writes Chiara Ruzzier who has studied a corpus of 357 manuscripts selected among the 1739 surviving "Parisian" Bibles.[90] 84% of them date from the thirteenth century which, given the survival rate of this text, means that nearly 14000 of these

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[87] ROUSE – ROUSE 1988.

[88] ROUSE – ROUSE 2000. I. p. 27: The copy of the *glossatura* still exists in Bremen.

[89] For Chiara Ruzzier, the first datable surviving "portable Bible" was copied in 1234 but Guala Biccheri († 1227) may have owned one. See: LIGHT 1994, for the format's evolution.

[90] RUZZIER 2022. p. 18.

Bibles were copied, half of them in Paris. Since it takes between one and two years of work by an experimented scribe to write a portable Bible, a technical masterpiece in terms of decoration, writing, layout, binding, and support preparation, and the skins of between twenty calves were required for each volume, the book trade had a formidable industrial challenge to overcome: the scholars' output fully benefitted from it.

But the University plaid also a part in this transformation. The Dominicans in particular appear to have established a new procedure for manuscript copying, the *pecia* system, perhaps already in use in Bologna for law books.[91] According to Richard and Mary Rouse, "the Paris Dominicans were employing the *pecia* method of copying in-house before it became an official university program".[92] This was the case for Hugh of Saint-Cher's *Postillae* (another Table 6 work), and they base in part their assumption on the books that Aquinas had bought in Paris when a student in the Saint-Jacques convent, before giving them in 1248 to the Dominicans in Sigtuna.[93] The *pecia* was already in use by 1250 in the shop of the librarian and stationer Guillaume de Sens, to copy the works of Aquinas handed straight to him from the adjacent Paris Dominican convent.[94] Other stationers had also their own *pecia*. With this system, more copies could be made for the rapid distribution of a text, since the division of an *exemplar* in *pecia* permitted simultaneous access to several copyists. This led to the appearance of the stationer, who was hired to scribe the *peciae* in which a work was divided. The University achieved strict control on these stationers and on the whole trade by 1275. Its main concern was the price of second-hand books, crucial for the students, but the Masters also wanted to keep an eye on the costs of copy, and they issued price scales for the hiring of the *pecia* of the books read in the schools, two of which survive.[95] The *pecia* system was also used for non-academic books, such as the portable Bibles, but without University's control. In any case, such a complex system was essential to the rapid dissemination of the Parisian texts which were quickly requested in other centres of learning or brought back by students going back home, and thus disseminated throughout Europe before being copied locally. This new system of book production accounts for the considerable discrepancy we have noted between the numbers of manuscripts of the earlier generation of secular masters (e.g. Abélard) and of those of the masters who followed the Lombard's path.

There will be no conclusions to this paper, the aim of which was not to present new facts, but to illustrate the kind of results which could be expected from a work in progress. Incidentally, it also proves that numbers are important for a correct interpretation of the historical facts. We expect that *Studium* will offer the same sort of evidence for the fourteenth and fifteenth

[91] Destrez 1935.
[92] Rouse – Rouse 2021. p. 35.
[93] Rouse – Rouse 2021. p. 35.
[94] Rouse – Rouse 2000. p. 82–91, and Rouse – Rouse 2021.
[95] CUP I. p. 644–649 (1286) and CUP II. p. 107–110 (1304).

centuries: but there still remains a lot of work to be done to offer a complete set of bio-bibliographical files, the number of which could be well above 40000 when every possible source will have been duly explored.

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