agree on a policy of antipluralism. But as the value of certain fellowships decreases, we may find ourselves agreeing with Bishop Walter Cantilupe who, in 1237, said: "I myself, before I was called to my present dignity [of bishop], determined in my mind that if I had to lose one benefice under such a decree [of antipluralism], I would give them all up." 88

The founders of mediaeval colleges tolerated a small number of benefices, but very intelligently determined the maximum amount any incumbent might receive. In most regulations covering admission, the value of the fellowships was carefully determined along with the maximum number of benefices one might have. Transgression immediately disqualified the fellow from receiving any further revenues he had enjoyed in the college. For instance, in the College of Saint-Michel or Chanac (established after 1343 or 1348), if a theologian received more than forty Paris pounds, a decrètist more than thirty Tours pounds, or an artist more than twenty-five Tours pounds, in any form of yearly benefice or patrimony (sive de beneficio, sive de patrimonio), 89 he had to give up his place to a poorer and more deserving scholar. In the College of Lemoine all students in arts were excluded when they had more than three silver marks of yearly revenue, the theologians when they had more than four. 89

Thus by limiting the amount of revenue which could be enjoyed by a scholar, the founders offered an alternative to the antipluralist legislation. By their restrictions they tried to regain those civil servants who, because of lack of benefices, were unable to serve the Church. They assured the education of a well-disciplined elite, who would be able to resist the temptation of fat benefices and would be well enough trained so as to escape the accusation of the often repeated pun against those "qui nesciunt declinare prebenda"—who do not know how to decline the word prebenda and do not know how to decline the prebend. Another great merit of the "benefices" given as fellowships was that they could not be diverted by the Crown or by any political or ecclesiastical power.

Toward the middle of the fourteenth century the universities realized the importance of supporting their scholars and graduates in their applications and petitions for vacant benefices. The universities began to send rotuli (lists of applicants) to the Pope. 91 A Cambridge roll of ca. 1390 speaks of men "hidden under a bushel" because they could not face the competition of those backed by
powerful persons. The university wished these persons to be promoted according to their merits, or as the university put it, "erected upon the candlestick of promotion." Yet a look at the rotuli may convince us that the universities often placed the ranking officers or senior graduates (pociores in gradu) at the head of their lists. At Cambridge, the list was headed by the chancellors (olim cancellarii); at Paris, usually by the acting proctors.

This "formidable list of seniors" discouraged the beginning scholars and made their chances very slim. The multiplication of college "benefices" in the forms of bursae opened the way for the continuation of studies to those who were barred by the holders of important degrees listed on the rotulus. The founders supplied the lacking revenues to those who were left outside the doors, so to speak, while others backed by Church or Crown enjoyed "the delights of the marriage" with the benefices.

Buridan, a Well-paid Professor!

Taking as an example John Buridan, the head of the Terminist Movement in Paris, we are surprised to learn that this century-creating (saeculum Buridani) light of the University of Paris was not supported in his early years by any benefice. Fortunately, however, he was received into the College of Lemoine, in 1308, and there he conducted his experiments. After he had become rector in 1329, and his fame was assured, the tide of benefices turned in his favor. In 1329, he had a benefice in the diocese of Arras; in 1330, John XXII gave him sixty pounds with cure or forty without; in 1342, Clement VI made him canon of Arras; and in 1349, he received from the same pope a benefice of fifty Tours pounds and the University of Paris obtained for him from the bishop of Paris the chaplaincy of Saint André-des-Arts. This latter prebend was certainly a very desirable sign of appreciation when translated into material goods because it meant for Buridan the revenues of 52 arpent of good soil, 8 arpent of garden, 8 arpent of woods, 1½ arpent of meadows, 12 solidi and 7 denarii, census minutus, 10 servants, both male and female, and the use of animals. What professor today would be backed by his cherished alma mater to the extent of receiving such abundant revenues? In 1349, Buridan headed the list of the best-provided masters (sufficientiam modicum habentes). The University of Paris, like a true alma mater, did everything to provide with sufficient means the man who came
so close to the notion of the *impeto* in Galileo, and to the quantity of movement of Descartes.\(^{97}\)

**Internal Structure of the Colleges**

The organization of the fourteenth-century colleges followed the pattern which was established in the preceding century and which was designed by such men as Robert of Sorbon,\(^{98}\) who died in 1276, Raoul of Harcourt (d. 1307).\(^{99}\) and Walter Merton (d. 1277).\(^{100}\) The social structure of the colleges differed from the hospices of the thirteenth century and from the pedagogies of the fifteenth. A hospice was a house rented by a group of students;\(^{101}\) a hall was an endowed house. A *paedagogium*\(^{102}\) was a kind of *pensionnat*, where students were directed in their studies by a master or *paedagogus*. A college, on the other hand, was an autonomous or semi-autonomous community of men, invested with certain rights and privileges, living in an endowed building, and engaged in learning under the government of a duly elected or appointed head, who governed according to certain rules or regulations called statutes, which had been approved either by the founder, his executors, or other ecclesiastical powers.

The colleges of the fourteenth century certainly differed from the eighteenth-century idea of the student-hospice, which was ironically defined in a *dissertatio* written in 1787, as a house "where several students elect a head in order to drink and sing under his direction (*ut sub praesidio eius cantent ac bibant*)."\(^{103}\) The newly founded colleges were religious or secular, just as they had been in the thirteenth century. The secular colleges were either founded for diocesan subjects or were open to any competent applicant. Some were reserved for foreign students. In Paris, colleges were erected for Danish, Swedish, Italian, Scottish, and German students; in Bologna, some were for Spanish and some for French students; and in Prague, some were for Lithuanian students. (The latter, projected in 1397, become effective in 1411.)

The title bestowed upon the heads of the colleges varied: they were called president (*praeses*), provost (*prepositus*), prior, warden (*custos*), grand-maître, or master (*magister*). In the French colleges the academic rank of the head of the college was of greater importance than in the English institutions. At Montpellier, in the Collège des Douze-Médecins, the principal, if he was a *magister*, could have a servant; if he was not a *magister*, he had no servant
and was seated after the masters. The English colleges, on the other hand, gave all kinds of privileges to their heads, such as private servants and even separate houses.

Business matters were left to the bursar or treasurer or proctor (bursarius, receptor, or procurator), whose duty it was to keep the colleges out of financial crises. Some founders thought that it would be better to place the management of money in the hands of the chaplains, who were ex professo more conscientious.

One or several chaplains were appointed to direct divine services. It was their duty to attract the students through the beauties of liturgical ceremonies, processions, and Gregorian chants, and to teach them a variety of colorful prayers from magnificently illustrated Books of Hours. Since students did not have time to recite the whole office of the day, it was abbreviated into small units, usually the Hours of the Blessed Virgin, the Holy Spirit, or the Dead. The colleges of the fourteenth century played an important role in the propagation of these Books of Hours, which, because of their popularity in these colleges, became the prayer books of the laity. The founders sometimes specified that the meeting of religious obligations should not interfere with lectures and disputations in schools. The chaplains, those pious promoters of intense liturgical life, left controversies to the well-qualified theologians and philosophers, who were more familiar with the atmosphere of university disputations.

Provisions for the Fellows

The students (bursarii) were supported by bursae, which were certain amounts of money given to cover weekly expenses. In the first half of the fourteenth century the average bursa for grammar students was around three sous. At the end of the century the College of Fortet gave 5 sol. a week, about the equivalent of the amount spent for the binding of a book. Some colleges were more generous than others. Students of the philosophy faculty were the most meagerly provided for; graduate students and students of theology, law, and medicine were more richly supported. In the College of Navarre, a grammarian's bursa was 4 sol., and a theologian received 8 sol. In the College of Maitre-Gervais, Paris, a student in arts was allowed 3 sol.; one in medicine, 5 sol. for 12 weeks and 6 sol. for 40 weeks; and one in theology, 6 sol. In Oriel College at Oxford, a fellow received 12 pence;
in Queen's College, he received 18 pence (1 sol., 6 sous), at a time when it cost 16 pence to hire a horse for a six-day visit to London. The principals and superior masters usually received more generous treatment than the graduate fellows. Certain college statutes specified yearly revenue instead of weekly allowances. In the College of Pélegry at Cahors (1365), a grammar student received 12 Tours pounds a year, which, if broken down into weekly allowances, would be the usual amount enjoyed by other grammar students. The generous provision of several German colleges can be explained by the fact that these colleges were a kind of institute for advanced studies attended mostly by teaching fellows, whose duties included directing schools, teaching, and disputing (regere, legere et disputare). The bursae were paid from endowments, bequests, and other revenues provided by the founders and benefactors from houses that were purchased, rents on various holdings, or benefices restricted to college communities. We are not surprised to find that the founders were very anxious to protect members of their colleges—the master, the fellows, the scholars, and their successors—from any loss of established revenues. Therefore, they were anxious to state very precisely that they

maye have houlde, levye, perceive, take and enjoye all and singular Mannours, Landes, Tenementys, Possessions, Pencions, Porcions, Tythes, Rightes, Titles, Interests, Commons, Liberties, Franchises, Jurisdictions, Preheminences, Rentys, Revercions, Remaynders, Services, and all other Hereditamnys.

In France, special provisions were made for the expenses to be audited and controlled, usually by the governors; in the English colleges, this task fell to the provost, the treasurer, and specially appointed fellows.

Scholarships and Endowments

The number of scholarships and, consequently, the total number of fellows, cannot be definitely established. Their number depended upon the increase or decrease of the revenues of their respective colleges. In France, the College of Lemoine (1302) started with an ambitious plan of having 100, but reduced the number to 6 to 8, and finally retained 14 scholars. In the College of Bayeux (1309), the original number was 12, but was later raised to 16.
The College of Autun (1341) began with 15 fellows, but later admitted 18. The College of Cornouaille had 5 at first (1321); but later, in 1380, 10 fellows were admitted. Generally speaking, we may say that the average number of students in a college in France was between 6 and 16; in England, between 12 and 20. In Queen's College, Oxford, there were 12 fellows in memory of the 12 apostles. The College of Navarre with 70 students, Du Plessis with 40, and Lisieux and Dormans-Beauvais with 24 each, lead in France. The most influential scholastic establishment in England was New College with an impressive 70 scholars; in Italy, it was the Collegium Gregorianum (1371) with 40. Although I repeat with reservation the following figures given by Thurol because of the fluctuation in the number of fellowships, they are a good indication of the dynamism of the fourteenth century: During the thirteenth century, 64 fellowships were founded in France; in the fifteenth, only 24; but the fourteenth century witnessed the creation of 505.

This would be an impressive number even today if we take into consideration the fact that a mediaeval fellowship provided for food and lodging with "butler service" and that summer and winter garments, shoes, sweaters (blanchetum), and tunics were bought from college funds whenever the revenues allow it. The statutes also prescribed that the old clothes and shoes be given to poorer students or to other worthy persons. However, the fellows were warned that the old clothes they gave away not be worthless and entirely worn out, because such donations would deprive the Christian act of charity of its real meaning and importance.

Family-like Atmosphere

The colleges often tried to achieve the flexibility of family life. The fellows belonged to different faculties and to different age groups. Advanced theologians and callow grammarians, twenty-four-year-old jurists and seventeen-year-old artists, lived together in the same college, though in separate houses under separate masters. But they all came together for chapel services.

The family-like atmosphere of the fourteenth-century colleges helped to develop a successful pattern of behavior. The friendliness of the older fellows never reached the cult of informality, and the younger never attempted to force an intimacy arising from conscious "teenolatry." The older scholars set an edifying example
as grown-ups, and they could not be asked the accusing question that they might face in our time, "How can we grow up wisely when we do not see grown-ups around us?" The older fellows were taught intellectual humility, for they were told that their most difficult task was not to expound the Sentences to advanced theologians but to write understandably for the use of small children; indeed, the mediaeval educators devoted considerable time to composing sermons for children as young as eight years, and they never underestimated their intellectual level. William of Tournai and Humbertus Romanus gathered together the sermons they had given to small schoolboys; and, following in their footsteps, Pierre d'Ailly, the glory of the College of Navarre, a statesman and cardinal, found time, in 1387, to write some rules and regulations for eight-year-old college boys living in Ave Maria College.

It is no wonder that the philosophy of education practiced in those "mixed" colleges produced such treatises as those written by Gerson, a graduate of the same College of Navarre. He, the great chancellor of the University of Paris, composed a treatise, Doctrina pro pueris ecclesiae Parisiensis, in which he did not forget to insist on such small items as the necessity of installing a vigil lamp in the small children's dormitory, both as a symbol of their devotion and to give illumination when the "natural necessities" required them to get up during the night (propter necessitates naturales, quas leviter patiuntur pueri). In his ABC des simples gens, Gerson wrote for the petit enfans, filz et filles, and warned prelates that since the reformation of the Church must start with the right teaching of small children (ecclesiae siquidem reformatio [sicut quidam ait] debet inchoari a parvulis), the reform of colleges must begin with the reform of elementary schools.

Besides the regular fellows, certain fourteenth-century colleges—Narbonne, Cornouaille, Oriel, and so on—following the example set by the Sorbonne, also admitted guests (hospes or socius commensalis), who were called "commoners" in the English colleges. One of the most illustrious guests in Oriel College at Oxford was Thomas of Arundel, afterward archbishop of Canterbury. These rich commoners helped to defray the expenses of the colleges, and the fellows were warned not to hurt these guests because they brought not only honor but cold cash to the college (domus lucretur et honoretur per tales).
Service Facilities

The aristocratic features of the teaching profession in England are best illustrated by the service facilities made available to the scholars within the colleges. In France, the fellows usually had one servant for the group; but in England, their comfort was assured by an array of attendants. Exeter had servants, a cook, a barber, and a washerwoman; and Queen's impressive list of helpers included a steward, a cook, a scullion, a baker, a brewer, a miller, a barber, a gardener, a washerwoman, night watchmen, and servants. Who in Paris would not have envied the comfort of the fellows of New College, Oxford, where the masters had special servants to carry their books to the nearby university schools?

Autonomy

There was a noticeable difference between the English and French college systems in the fourteenth century. In England, the colleges had greater autonomy and an almost complete independence from the university; in Paris, the university had statutory rights over certain colleges, and the aid of the university was sought in disciplinary cases. The executors of the College of Boissy asked for the protection of the university. The university voiced its opinion even in business management; in 1370, for instance, the university permitted the College of Maitre-Gervais to absorb the College of Maitre-Clement.

At Paris, the principal master was more of an intellectual leader than at Oxford. Besides entering upon state business (rem publicam gubernare), he had to teach, preside at the disputes, and direct other academic activities. At Oxford, the all-out teaching responsibility of the Paris masters was delegated to young fellows, a practice which gave birth to the tutorial system. At Paris, some of the headmasters remained "poor intellectuals," while in England they lived in much greater comfort. At Cambridge, in Peterhouse, it was considered unbecoming for a master to go afoot (non deceat... ire pedes).

The English fellows had greater voice in the administration of the colleges than had the scholars at Paris. The English colleges were self-governing communities, but in France the governors, officers of the university, interfered with the inner administration of
the colleges. In Exeter and Oriel, the head was elected by the fellows, and in New College even the youngest fellow was granted the right to vote in the election of the warden.\textsuperscript{149} In France, only the colleges whose memberships were made up almost entirely of those from the higher faculties enjoyed such rights (for example, in the election of the grand master at Navarre and at the Collège des Douze-Médecins in Montpellier), though in the Colleges of Cornouaille\textsuperscript{150} and Boissy\textsuperscript{151} the fellows—including, apparently, the three grammar students—had the right to elect their master. In Heidelberg, in the College of Artists, the provost was elected by the majority of the fellows.\textsuperscript{152}

An interesting form of autonomy was practiced in the German colleges. At Heidelberg, for example, in the Contubernium Dionysianum, the admission of the new fellows into the community depended not only upon the principal (rectores bursarum) but also on student representatives (rector scolarium sive bachantrie);\textsuperscript{153} and at the Collegium Ducale in Vienna, the admission of new members was dependent upon the consent of the community.\textsuperscript{154}

The fourteenth-century university in France could not acquire complete control of the colleges, but in the fifteenth century total control was given to the reformatores who were elected annually\textsuperscript{155} and who visited every college in their official capacity as delegates of the university. In other respects, the internal administration of the colleges was autonomous. True democracy reigned among the fellows in England, where any kind of rivalry was prohibited—for example, "comparisons of family to family, nobility to nobility or ignobility (comparationesque generis ad genus, nobilitatis ad nobilitatem vel ad ignobilitatem)"\textsuperscript{156} were not allowed. The fellows and their superiors followed the lesson learned from the Greeks: by no means does democracy stand for weakness and disorder.

\textit{Famous Masters}

The fame and reputation of mediaeval colleges grew and were maintained by the famous masters who lived within their walls, and who "lisioient por Dieu, [et] tenoient escoles loiax."\textsuperscript{157} The Sorbonne rose to unparalleled fame in the thirteenth century because of its talented masters, who had been recruited from all over Europe, and because of the strenuous financial negotiations of its founder, Robert de Sorbon, who personally signed more than
contracts which were paid in cash (*pecunia numerata solutis nummis*). The royal foundation of Navarre obtained the same material advantages, by reason of which it was destined to become the most auspicious rival of the Sorbonne.

It was mainly a group of Sorbonnists, Navarrists, and Mertonians who produced the new ideas of the fourteenth century. The glorious period of Navarre started with the teaching of Buridan, and continued with Nicholas d'Oresme, a celebrated political economist and a truly universal mind, who translated the *Politics* and *Ethics* of Aristotle, discoursed on the *Nature and Mutation of Money*, and also directed the college in his capacity as grand master (1356). His successor to this dignified post was Petrus Alliacus, or Pierre d'Ailly (Plate XXIV), who, in his treatises on geographical cosmography, clearly stated that if one traveled west rather than east, the distance between Spain and the Indies was much shorter. His *Imago mundi* (printed ca. 1483, by Johannes de Paderborn) was personally commented on by no less a man than Christopher Columbus.

However, the new fellows of Navarre could not becloud the reputation of the masters of such old institutions as the Sorbonne and Merton. Albertus of Saxony, the first rector of the University of Vienna and author of new theories on weight, Henry of Langenstein, Marsilius de Inghen, and others deeply interested in statics, kinetics, and astronomy belonged to the community of the Sorbonne. Mertonians prided themselves on such scientists as Thomas Bradwardine, the *doctor profundus* (in Merton College from 1323 to 1335) who wrote on dynamics, mathematics, and theology, and on the fact that their school had produced Walter Burley, John Maudit, William Heytesbury, and John Dumbleton.

The colleges opened their doors wide to the scientific experimentations of the century. Buridan, the early teacher of the theory of *motus* and the law of inertia, made observations concerning the effect of thunder on the spire of the chapel of the college of Lemoine, where he lived before 1308. His motto was *ego vidi*, "I have seen it," which little by little replaced the *auctoritates* of the preceding century.

The exchange of ideas and discoveries between colleges was very rapid: in 1391, the College of Dormans-Beauvais in Paris already had the *Sophismata* of the Mertonian William Heytesbury and the logical works of Galfridus Climeton.
Natural Sciences

The salutary effect of the June 5, 1366, reform of the University of Paris, prescribing the study of astronomy and "mathematical works," spread to the colleges. In the College of Maitre-Gervais, founded in 1370 by the favored physician of Charles V, the king established two scholarships for two masters (scholares regis) who would give courses in mathematics—one in the college, the other in the faculty of arts.

Because the teaching of mathematics consisted of seminar-type instruction, the colleges were the most suitable places for giving extracurricular courses. In the College of Brescia in Bologna, a master was paid to give lectures on metaphysics and physics with the stipulation that not only the scholars but anybody who cared to listen, the poor students in particular, would be admitted (et quibuscumque aliis audire volentibus, et maxime pauperibus congregatis).

However, the promoters of the natural sciences did not forget the importance of the liberal arts. Master Gervais was as much interested in the salvation of the soul as in the healing of the body. For him the liberal arts opened the way to understanding the mysteries of theology and the secrets of medicine (viam prebent intelligencie et doctrine). Though love for natural science flourished most of all at Navarre, such Navarrists as Gerson and Pierre d'Ailly knew the classics better than some of their humanist successors; and Nicholas Clamanges felt more aversion for the old scholasticism than did the Renaissance.

The Idea of the Magister

The idea of the magister in the fourteenth century was considerably different from that of the preceding centuries. The twelfth- and thirteenth-century stories about outstanding masters resembled the exempla told in the pulpit for the edification of students. When a pretty queen of France cast her eyes on Gilbert de la Porrée and desired the company of this philosopher, he did not hesitate a minute but was ready with the answer: "No." But when the story was told by the anecdote-loving students, Buridan emerged not as an exemplary professor but as the clever, shrewd thinker who outwits the queen in everything.

Buridan's reputation as a logic-loving master caused an amusing anecdote to grow up in connection with his friendship with Pope
Clement VI. In their youth, the pope, then Pierre Roger, and Buridan had a quarrel. In the heat of discussion, young Buridan hit Roger, who was then *bursarius* of the College of Narbonne. When Roger became pope in 1342, and received the *rotulus* of the University of Paris, he noticed Buridan's name on it and summoned him to Avignon to reprimand him. "Why did you hit the Pope?" he asked. The author of the *Summulae logicae* was ready with his answer: "Pater, papam percussi, sed non percussi Papam; id est hominem tunc non papam, sed nunc." For penance the pope jokingly ordered him to teach always in Paris and to have the "presence and absence" of his benefices, making a pun on the word *absentia*: in one sense Buridan could stay in Paris and enjoy his benefices even if they were far away (*absentia*); in the other sense the benefices could be taken away from him (*absentia*).

*Exempla* did not hurt the reputation of thirteenth-century masters, but the anecdotes which grew up around the fourteenth-century masters overshadowed their merits. Thus Buridan today is much better known for his imagined amatory adventures and for his donkey, which, as Gilson has pointed out, "has not yet been found anywhere in his writings," than for his theories on *impetus*. But everybody repeats with Villon:

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Semblablement, ou est la royne  
Qui commanda que Buridan  
Fust geté en ung sac en Saine?  
Mais ou sont les neiges d'antan?  

Where is the queen with soul so hard  
That Buridan, sackbound, should steer  
A course down the Seine in wet discard?  
Where are the snows of yesteryear?
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The fame of the masters of the thirteenth century led to imitation; the fame of those of the fourteenth, to admiration.

*The Pedagogical Value of College Debates*

The fourteenth century witnessed the introduction into the daily routine of college life of the various types of scholastic disputations. Sometimes these discussions (*collationes*) were private and were reserved for the fellows of the college only; sometimes they were public and attracted a considerable gathering. At the Sorbonne, even outsiders were allowed to express their opinions.
The university writings can be divided into treatises, commentaries, and questions. When questions were disputed, they were called *disputatae*; if they were not disputed, they were called *institutae*. When put into order, they became *quaestiones collectae ordinatae*. The system of disputation differed from college to college, according to the faculty to which the fellows belonged. The topic was usually assigned ahead of time by the head or principal. The most common form of disputation among the artists and grammarians was the *sophismata*. The *sophisma* consisted of the presentation of a statement which was taken as a basis for discussion and was followed by questions. The exercise was aimed at refuting the pseudo proofs of the opponent's "sophista."

*Sophismata* and other disputations reserved for grammarians were held in Boncour and in Queen's College. Almost every college obliged the fellows to be present, under the supervision of a master, at the weekly disputations.

That in scole is greet altercacioun
In this mateere, and greet disputisoun.

In certain colleges the statutes required that everybody—both young and old fellows, grammarians and advanced scholars—be present (omnes intersint).

Topics were chosen from logic, moral philosophy, metaphysics, mathematics, and other subjects connected with the fellows' studies. Sometimes they covered political, economic, and other types of current problems. When they were *publicae*, such disputations drew great gatherings into the college. The various opinions pronounced during these disputations were collected by the attending scholars. Hence the meaning of such notes as *ista questio collecta est de diversis disputationibus quibus in diversis locis interfuit*.

Problems that did not fit into the regular teaching programs were also discussed in the colleges during these disputations. A number of the questions disputed by Buridan in Paris were discussed in a small *bursa* at the University of Prague during his lifetime.

The great significance of the college disputation is that it permitted the fellows to debate any topic in their chapel or college hall free from the control of the faculties of art or theology. The technique of the new disputes, the *sophismata*, gave an uncontrolled
freedom to the defendant. Because of the particular nature of the *sophismata*, the orthodoxy of the disputant could not be questioned. The *demonstratio* of the thirteenth-century *quaestio disputata* was replaced in these fourteenth-century disputations by the *persuasio*, in which the opponents would adopt an opinion, not because they considered it true, but only for the sake of discussion—that is, they were *collationis gratia* or *gratia exercitii*. These disputes or *collationes* were not, however, merely for practice, for they provided a testing ground for the most personal opinions of those involved in them. Through them the masters tried to feel out the reaction of the public. Sometimes, under the camouflage of the *sophisma*, the masters announced their own true convictions. Ockham pointed to the real nature of these disputations when he said: "Videmus catholicos de fide absque periculo iustae calumniae ad exercitium disputare," When Nicholas d'Autrecourt was under fire because of his unorthodox views, he calmly answered that he had pronounced these theses as material for disputation without stating anything pertinaciously ("Hec omnia dixi disputative et causa collationis nichil asserendo pertinaciter").

Thus the colleges, simply by insisting on the practice of *sophismata* and other college disputations, became very good agents for the propagation of philosophical pessimism (nominalism, for example), and introduced a new way (*via moderna*) of approaching the delicate problems of orthodoxy. These disputations were the training ground for those university masters who later in public appearances at ecumenical councils such as that at Constance attracted a great audience (*habet magnam audientiam*).

The great pedagogical value of the disputations lay in the opportunity they gave to the younger students to sometimes have as opponents the great philosophers and theologians of their colleges. At Queen's, small boys (*parvuli*) were opposed by their masters, who were, probably, fellows studying at the faculties of theology or canon law. Here again, the great principal of mediaeval teaching prevailed: never underestimate the intelligence of the young. The fellows were encouraged to exchange their opinions by mutual conferences and meetings (*per collaciones et communicaciones mutuas*). Such exchanges sometimes resulted in the formulation of an opinion that was accepted by the entire college. In the Collegium Majus at Leipzig a fellow could not engage in public
disputation at the university on any topic that had not been accepted by the major part of his college.\textsuperscript{196}

The fourteenth-century disputation were not, therefore, the "mere discussions" impugned by the Renaissance; they provided an opportunity to project daring ideas and were a most effective method of learning how to get along without teachers, which must, after all, be the final educational achievement of any teaching.

\textit{Statutes and Discipline}

College statutes were aimed at establishing regularity. Written by the founders, their executors, or other ecclesiastical authorities, they were intended to regulate the spiritual and material welfare of the colleges. They were composed not only for the safeguarding of privileges, but for the enforcement of discipline, with the aim of producing scholars who would be useful to their Church and country. The founders cannot be accused of favoring spirituality, for the purpose of the statutes was to promote the well-being of both the soul and body (\textit{animarum et corporum saluti perfectius et toti rei publice commodum provenire}).\textsuperscript{197}

The fourteenth-century regulations are generally elaborate and detailed; frequently they were the work of overcautious jurists. Often they were based on those of the Sorbonne\textsuperscript{198} and Merton.\textsuperscript{199} Statutes of several colleges reveal a predilection for extreme minuteness. Some, for example, mention that when soup is given to the poor, three slices of bacon should be put in it.\textsuperscript{200} Queen's College's statutes think of the \textit{soin de beaute} of the fellows. The shampooing of heads was not entrusted to the washerwomen but was left to the care of the barber.\textsuperscript{201} The authors of mediaeval statutes were not afraid to suppose that rules might be broken, adding, however, \textit{quod Deus averat}—whereas most of our modern academic regulations ignore the frailty of human nature, apparently from fear of the "public-relation-minded" administration.

The statute book was kept in great honor. Sometimes, with a crucifix painted at the beginning, it served as an "oath book."\textsuperscript{202} Some were illustrated, such as that of Ave Maria College, where the duties of the students were depicted in thirty-three miniatures on ten pages.\textsuperscript{203} The statutes were the supreme control of behavior, the most important deed invoked and utilized in law suits involving the properties and self-administration of the college. Even today, when the fellows of Oxford colleges sit down to a meeting,
"there is nothing and nobody to control them, apart from their own Statutes and—to the joy of all foreigners, particularly Americans, who cannot believe that this is true—the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries and Food." 204

The mediaeval statutes were inspired by legal sagacity, foresight, and knowledge of human nature. They were written by men who had learned that "ill manners occasion good laws, as the handsome children of ugly parents." 205

In that golden age of colleges, when the ink used by the miniaturist was still fresh on the statute book, discipline was quite satisfactory. The fourteenth century is free from the turbulent, undisciplined crowds of the fifteenth-century paedagogia, the disturbing processions, the loitering in the streets, and the pushing of the pet au diable before the doorway of peaceful citizens. Most violations of fourteenth-century discipline were minor and stemmed from human frailty. A study of Merton College in about 1338-39 reveals misconduct such as quarrels among the fellows, noisiness, possession of pet animals, and lack of charity (non est caritas inter socios). 206 Some of the colleges allowed the students to have animals or birds as pets or to keep one mascot, but others, such as Queen's 207 and Marmoutier, 208 were against "giving the bread of man to dogs." 209 Hunting with hawks, birds of prey, or hounds was frowned upon, because it was considered unfitting that poor students, living on alms, pursue sports of the rich. 210 The College of Boncour was very strict in its prohibition against keeping horses, 211 but a drawing representing New College shows fellows amusing themselves with a tilting match on horseback. 212

Besides outdoor sports, such as pitch and toss, 213 au crocet, and pilas, the ancestor of golf, card playing in moderation was allowed, usually as a means of cheering up the sick. 214 At Heidelberg 215 and at the College of Narbonne, 216 playing cards or checkers for a quart or pint of wine (pro mensura vini, pro pinta vini) was allowed, but the players dared not make too much noise or spend too much time on the game.

Orderliness in the fourteenth-century colleges demanded that there be no loitering in the corridors after dinner. After grace, only the passing of the loving cup (potus caritatis) 217 was allowed, a venerable custom that still exists in the passing of port wine after dinner in some Oxford colleges. All the colleges abhorred noise and loudness. The College of Artists in Heidelberg complained against clamorous singing and pounding and against masters who
received their students at ungodly hours. New College in Oxford forbade "wrestlings, dances, jigs, songs, shoutings, tumults, or inordinate noises, effusions of water, beer, or other liquor, or tumultuous games." It would be far from the truth, however, to attribute to these colleges the austerity later deplored by Erasmus and Rabelais, who declared that at the well-regulated College of Montaigu in the time of Giles Aycelin, archbishop of Rouen (1314), the dogs were better treated than the students. The bitter words of Erasmus against the College of Montaigu are often repeated, but very few stop to think that the courses and studies must have been excellent, for that college gave such persons to the world of learning as Erasmus himself (1496), Ignatius of Loyola, and Calvin.

Most of the students were devoted to God, well disciplined according to the etymology of the words—*bene disciplinatus est Deo dedicatus*; a well-disciplined man is a God-loving man.

In the statutes founders sought to assure adequate nourishment for their subjects. Wine was moderately but sufficiently served in the French colleges, and at Leipzig the principal was requested to distribute enough beer (*de cerevisia competente*) to the community to avoid excessive drinking elsewhere, probably in taverns (*ne quis habeat excusationem de singularitate bibendi*). It seems that even the English fondness for substantial breakfasts required curbing, for in 1340, at Queen's, the statutes forbade serving sumptuous and excessively delicious "déjeuners" (*gentacula pretiosa, deliciis excessiva*).

The custom of wearing uniform academic dress was supported by the colleges. The universities required everyone to dress simply as was becoming to scholars devoted to studies. The colleges went further and prescribed a community dress, although the English and French colleges seldom prescribed the color of the livery. In England, at Queen's College, the fellows wore red robes, in remembrance of the robe and blood of Our Lord, and the students were not allowed to wear red or green hose or peaked shoes, "striped, variegated, or parti-coloured clothes, or any not befitting their clerical order." At the College of Navarre, the livery was to be black; at Dormans-Beauvais, blue or velvet; and the *capets* of the College of Montaigu wore gray capes.

Women were discouraged from visiting the premises of most colleges. Parisian colleges were more gallant in that they admitted women of good reputation than was the College of Spain in
Bologna where women were called the “head of sin, arms of the devil [caput peccati, arma diaboli], expulsion from Paradise, . . . with whom any dealings must be avoided.”

College Architecture

The fourteenth century brought new ideas in college architecture. The oldest colleges in Oxford were laid out on a loose, scattered plan in which the many buildings—hall, kitchen, chambers, chapel, and so on—were separate; but in the fourteenth century the quadrangle was introduced, and it became the marvel of many English colleges, among them New College, where it is contemporary (1380-86) with the founding of the college. However, the progress made toward the establishment of a quadrangle plan was, according to W. A. Pantin, “gradually achieved rather than planned as a whole.” It was the genius of Bishop William Wykeham of Oxford which conceived this ideal plan for a college building.

The English colleges also had large bedrooms and living rooms that were used by several persons, a practice that made small individual study rooms necessary. In realizing this need, the planners showed a real knowledge of human behavior, since, as Pantin has said, it is easier to sleep together than to work together.

If the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century plans of Navarre, Lisieux, and Du Plessis which we possess today reflect their mediaeval disposition, then the French seem to have maintained the old, scattered form of college building, although the quadrangle plan prevailed in the colleges of Montaigu, D’Harcourt, Sorbonne, and in the colleges of religious orders. Among the latter is the college of the Bernardins, the beautiful refectory of which still stands, the longest Gothic hall in Paris today.

The builders of the fourteenth-century colleges wanted them admired more from the inside than from without and therefore cared little for such luxuries as the elaborate gates of later centuries.

The Chapel

The liturgical life of the mediaeval colleges centered around the chapel. At Oxford, the chapel of New College, with its screen gates and rich stained-glass windows, challenged the great chapel of old Merton. The fourteenth century witnessed the rebuilding
of the Sorbonne chapel in 1344, and its consecration in 1347, on the feast of Saint Ursula, who since has become the patron saint of the Sorbonnists. The chapel of Dormans-Beauvais is one of the rare survivals among Paris college chapels.

Some chapels adapted themselves to the age of the students; at Ave Maria College, the boys were allowed to have live birds in their chapel. A miniature in its statutes depicts goldfinches as a reminder to the boys that the Divine Child played with birds.

The Library: "A Holy and August Place"

Student life in mediaeval colleges was carefully divided between liturgical and intellectual activities, and the libraries of the colleges contained the books that were needed both for the recitation of the Divine Office and for scholastic purposes. Merton, Dormans, and Fortet are worth mentioning among the newly founded colleges with great collections of books.

The rules and regulations for the proper use of the library were usually established by the founders. Inspired by the old device les bons livres font les bons clercs, mediaeval churchmen were very generous in providing college libraries with the necessary books. The founders themselves frequently gave good example by donating their own books to the college. There were frequent donations to already existing colleges: for example, those of Stephen of Gravesend, bishop of London (d. 1338), Simon de Bredon, canon of Chichester (d. 1372), and William Rede, bishop of Chichester (d. 1385), to Merton; that of Bishop Walter Skirlaw (d. 1406) of Durham to New College; and those of Pierre Limoges, canon of Evreux, Nicholas de Bar-le-Duc (donated 1310), and Gilles d'Oudenarde (donated 1343) to the Sorbonne. Among the famous authors who gave their own publications to the Sorbonne were Thomas of Ireland, who gave his Manipulus florum, and Durand de Saint-Pourçain, who in 1344 presented his own commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard.

Detailed regulations concerning libraries in French colleges were given in the statutes of Lemoine, Bayeux, Narbonne, Carnouaille, Ave Maria, Boncour, Dormans-Beauvais, and Fortet. Among the fourteenth-century regulations for libraries was a requirement that an inventory be drawn up at a definite time of the year in the presence of the administrative officers. At the College of Ave Maria, the ostensio (Plate XXV), an accounting of
all the books in the library, took place every Saturday.\textsuperscript{246} At Trinity Hall, Cambridge, books had to be shown \textit{realiter, visibiliter et distincte}.\textsuperscript{247} Several college libraries in the first half of the fourteenth century loaned books to students on the principle that the lending of books was a deed of mercy (\textit{commodare inter praecipua misericordiae opera computetur}).\textsuperscript{248} And fourteenth-century librarians were very liberal in lending books to the teaching staff. Each master usually had his own key to the library, and if anyone lost his, he had to change the lock and provide new keys at his own expense.\textsuperscript{249} Aware that professors like to pile up books in their immediate surroundings (despite the vicinity of the library), the College of Dormans-Beauvais permitted the keeping of books \textit{en la chaiere du maistre}.\textsuperscript{250} When books were missing from the libraries, not all colleges were so severe as the College of Bernardins in the fifteenth century, whose statutes (1493) decreed that wine be denied to the librarian as long as any book was absent without good reason.\textsuperscript{251}

The books were kept in \textit{cistae}, or chests. The reference books were chained, as can still be seen in Merton College. Sir Maurice Powicke has correctly pointed out that only a part of the books were kept in the libraries, while the rest were distributed among the fellows. The reason was that in this way the best copy—we might say “the critical edition”—could be retained in a safe and easily accessible place.\textsuperscript{252}

A sort of reverence toward the library, “a holy and august place (\textit{sacer et augustus locus}),” was requested. At the Sorbonne no member of the society of fellows could enter the library except in academic gown and bonnet (\textit{nemo e Societate non togatus pileatusque bibliothecam ingreditur}).\textsuperscript{253}

\textit{Conclusion}

The fourteenth century is characterized by an abundance of educational endowments. This bridge-century was a period of consolidation in which the educational facilities of the previous centuries were being expanded and made available to a great number of young people. The century achieved a happy equilibrium of moral and intellectual education. Most of the regular university courses were still given outside of the colleges, but by holding the disputations and offering some extracurricular courses
within the college walls, the fourteenth century prepared the way for the fifteenth, when almost all the courses were given inside the colleges.

The moral integrity of the college administration set an encouraging example in a period of strong competition for benefices. In this century no power—king, pope, bishop, ecclesiastical or lay authority—ever attempted to press its own candidates for college fellowships.

The growth of the colleges was made possible by the generosity of university-trained donors and benefactors, whose unlimited confidence in the learned men who ran the colleges made donors willing to entrust to them the business administration of the great foundations. It was believed that if the scholars were intelligent enough to teach the youth, they were farsighted enough to run the colleges' business affairs.

The heads of colleges were not only administrators but teachers; they did not believe in administration for the sake of administration. Alain, in his Propos, said that every administration is perfect but inhuman: “L'Administration est semblable à une raison mécanique. Tout y est sans reproche, et tout y est inhumain.”

The founders of fourteenth-century colleges laid down some principles for the foundation of a successful college: (1) a solid financial basis; (2) freedom of inquiry; (3) tradition, based upon the statutes, as the basic governing power; (4) an intellectual environment supported by a well-equipped library (sacer et augustus locus); (5) good fellowship without hypocrisy; (6) respect for individuality; and (7) admittance of fellows without discrimination and, if possible, on an international basis.

In the joyful and obedient observance of the college statutes, the founders, governors, principals, and fellows—everyone—aimed at one end, so that, in the words of William Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester,

there may be one heart and one mind, and that by their good lives, pleasing to God, their hearts set on fire by the rays of the divine love may more quickly and fervently be united in the warmth of brotherly love and sweetness of mutual charity, that so, through the clemency of God [their colleges] . . . endowed and supported by men of so many sciences and faculties, may more firmly, securely, peacefully and strongly persist and for ever endure in the beauty of peace.
1. The source material on the mediaeval colleges of Paris is in great part unpublished. The statutes have been partly published by Bulaeus, Félibien and Lobineau, Feret, Bouquet, Chapotin, and Busquet. The most important manuscript collection and archive material is in the Archives Nationales, (Série MM, H and S) Arsenal, Archives of the University of Paris: Reg. 102(96); Carton 17(28); 18(30); 19(24); 20(25); 21(27); 22(29); Sainte-Geneviève; Bibliothèque Nationale. Microfilms of the most significant materials on the Parisian colleges are in the Mediaeval Institute of the University of Notre Dame, Indiana.

I am very grateful to G. Calmette, conservateur en chef de la Bibliotheque de l’Université de Paris (Sorbonne); Miles. J. Vielliard and E. Pellegrin and Mme. A. Vernet at the Institut d’Histoire des Textes; Mlle. Y. Lanhers at the Archives Nationales; Miles. M. Th. d’Alverny and L. Concasty, and Mmes. Laurain-Portemer, J. Rambaud-Buhot, and S. Bloch at the Bibliothèque Nationale; and Francis Lazenby of the Mediaeval Institute of the University of Notre Dame, Indiana.


5. Opus Tertium (Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi scriptores, Rolls Series, No. 15 [London, 1859]), I, Chap. x, 83.

6. In 1298 and 1299, Lull was at the University of Paris urging the masters to ask the king to found at Paris a studium of Arabic, Tartar, and Greek (Denifle and Chatelain, op. cit., II, 83, No. 611). We have a letter written by Lull to Philip the Fair (1285-1314) at about the same time, asking him to erect and support a college or colleges where “religious or other men of good moral, filled with heavenly grace for this task . . . might learn the idioms of the infidels.”—E. Martène and U. Durand, Thesaurus novus anecdotorum (Paris, 1717), I, 1515-16.
7. Statutes of the College of Laon (1313), in M. Félibien and G. Lobineau, *Histoire de la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1725) II, Part I [IV], 825a. (Certain copies were bound in seven volumes, others in five. In order to help readers using the seven-volume edition, I have bracketed the number of the volume.)


20. "Hii sunt viri studiosi, disciplinis scolasticis insistentes, qui, amore scientie facti quodammodo exules et de divitibus pauperes."—Cartulaire de l'Université de Montpellier (1181-1400), (Montpellier, 1890), I, 296, No. 65.


23. Cambridge Colleges, II, 121. "Through the want of clergy caused by pestilence, wars, and other miseries of the world, we have seen grievously wounded."—Leach, A History of Winchester College, p. 70.


26. It is very difficult to establish the exact date of the foundation of a college, because the foundation may depend either upon the date of execution of the will of the founder or upon the date of approval by ecclesiastical authorities. When in doubt, I give both possible dates.

Lemoine (1502)
Navarre (1304)
Bayeux (1309)
Laon de Presles (1314)
Aicelins (1314)—Montaigu (1387, 1392)
Narbonne (1317)
Linköping (fourteenth century). Rashdall et al., op. cit., I, 537, gives 1317.

Cornouaille (1321)
Du Plessis (1321, 1322)
Maclous (before 1323)
Des Ecossais (1323, 1326)
Tréguié (1325)
Marmoutier (1329)
Tours (1330)
Des Lombards (1330, 1334)
Bourgogne (1330, 1331)


Lisieux (1386)
Ave Maria (1386)
Autun (1341)
Tou or De Tulleio (1342, 1387)
Mignon (1343)
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Saint-Michel or Chanac (1343, 1348)
Des Allemands (before 1348)
Trois-Evêques or De Cambrai (1348)
Maitre-Clément (1349)
Tournai (about 1350)
Boncour (1353, 1357)
Justice (1354, 1358)

[Hostel for the Canons of Saint Jean-des-Vignes-de-Soissons (1335)]
Boissi (1358, 1359)
De la Marche (1362, 1374)
Vendôme (before 1367)
Dormans-Beauvais (1370)
Maître-Gervais (1370)
Dainville (1380)
Fortet (1394)

27. Brescia-Pezenas (1360)
Saint-Ruf (1364)
Saint-Benoît (1368)
Mende (Des-Douze-Médecins), (1369)

28. Fougeres (1361)

29. Montlezun or Montlauzon (1319)
Saint-Raymond (as a hospitale in 1233; before 1329). Fournier, op. cit., I, 510, No. 558.
Verdale (1337)
Bé ranger (before 1341)
Narbonne (1341)
Saint-Martial (1359)
Périgord (about 1363, 1375)
Maguelone (1363, 1374)

30. Saint-Martial (1379)


32. Exeter (1314, 1316)
Oriel (1324)
Queen's (1341)
Canterbury (1361)
New College (1379)

33. King's Hall (before 1316)
Michael House (1324)
University or Clare Hall (1326)
Pembroke (1347)
Conville (1349)  
Trinity Hall (1350)  
Corpus Christi (1352)

34. Brescia (1362)  
Reggio (1362)  
Spain (1367)  

35. Collegium Tornacense (1363)  
Collegium Jacobi-de-Arquado (1390)  
Ravenna or Pratense (1394)  
Scholares Auximani (1397)  

36. Gregorianum (1362)


38. Saint Mary’s College, later Assumpta (1372). Denifle, op. cit., p. 505.

39. Carolinum or Collegium Magnum (1366)  
Collegium Jacobi or Domus pauperum (1379)  
Collegium Jerusalem or Lithvanorum, projected in 1379 (1411)  


41. Collegium Jacobitum (1389)  
Collegium Artistarum (1390-91), also called Collegium den Meistern and Domo xii Magistrorum  
Conturbernium Dionysianum (1396). Cf. Rashdall et al., op. cit., II, 252-53. J. F. Hautz, Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg (Mannheim, 1862), I, 183-202, thinks that a separate Collegium in der Bursch was the foundation of Conrad of Geilnhausen and the Collegium Artistarum was a different foundation. However, cf. E. Winkelmann, Urkundenbuch der Universitaet Heidelberg (Heidelberg, 1886), I, 50, line 7; 51, line 17.


43. Nothing could be more incorrect than to attribute the austerity and filth that Erasmus found in the College of Montaigu during the sixteenth century to the well-regulated institutions of the fourteenth. See Erasmus, Colloquia Familiaria et Encomium Moriae (Leipzig, 1886), II, 45-46; The Epistles of Erasmus, ed. Fr. Morgan Nichols (New York, 1901), I, 108;
in this article; and M. Godet, “Le Collège de Montaigu,” Revue des études Rabelaiennes, VII (1909), 285-305.


47. Hillairet, op. cit., I, 514.

48. A. de Bourmont, La fondation de l’Université de Caen et son organisation au XV siècle (Caen, 1883), p. 79.


50. H. P. Stokes, Corpus Christi (University of Cambridge College Histories [London, 1898]), Plate IV, facing p. 96.


52. The building is depicted in the lower margin of a miniature in Guillelmus Durandus, Rationale divinorum officiorum, written at the end of the fourteenth century or at the beginning of the fifteenth (Codex Vindob. 2765, fol. 1`). Dr. F. Gall, archivist of the University of Vienna, kindly called my attention to it.

53. G. Giordani, Cenni storici dell’almo real Collegio di S. Clemente degli Spagnuoli (Bologna, 1855); A. Sorbelli, Storia della Università di Bologna (“Università degli Studi di Bologna” [Bologna, 1944]), I, 226, 227, 236; G. B. Comelli, Piante e vedute della città di Bologna (Bologna, 1914), view of 1636 facing p. 46, designed by Floriano dal Buono; No. 21 is the College of Spain. A critical edition of the fourteenth-century statutes of the Spanish College at Bologna, with an English translation, will be published soon by Berthe Marti.


56. “Non sint nobiles sed de humili plebe et pauperes sicut nos et predecessores nostri fuimus.”—C. E. Bulaeus, op. cit., IV, 354.


58. Cartulaire de l’Université de Montpellier, I, 551; Fournier, op. cit., II, 130, No. 1010.


61. Chapotin, op. cit., p. 35.


63. Ibid., I, 601, No. 659.

64. Ibid., I, 667, No. 707.

65. Ibid., II, 104, No. 992.

66. Founded by Giles Aycelin, archbishop of Rouen. The college was restored in 1388, by Peter Cardinal Aycelin de Montaigu (Jaillot, Recherches critiques sur la ville de Paris [Paris, 1782], IV, 221).

67. Founded by Bernard de Farges, archbishop of Navarre (Jaillot, op. cit., V, 76-77).


69. Founded by Bernard of Rodez, archbishop of Naples (Fournier, op. cit., II, 561, No. 1441).

70. Founded by Guterius, bishop of Oviedo (Rashdall et al., op. cit., II, 89).


73. Arnold of Verdale, professor of canon and civil law and later bishop of Maguelone, founded the college of Verdale in Toulouse in 1337 (Fournier, op. cit., I, 599, No. 593).

74. Feret, op. cit., III, 11.


76. Elizabeth de Burgo Domina de Clare (Cambridge Colleges, II, 121).

77. Lady Mary of Saint Paul, widow of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke (Cambridge Colleges, II, 190).


79. Pantin, op. cit., p. 231.

80. Stokes, op. cit., p. 29.

81. Ibid., p. 30.
82. Félibien and Lobineau, op. cit., II, Part I [IV], 427; Feret, op. cit., III, 47.


84. C. L. [Charles-Victor Langlois], “Barthélemi de Bruges, maître ès arts et en médecine,” Histoire littéraire de la France, XXXVII (1938), 245.


89. Feret, op. cit., III, 606, No. 28.

90. Félibien and Lobineau, op. cit., II, Part III [VII], 608b.


93. Ibid., p. 48.

94. E. F. [Faral], “Jean Buridan maître ès arts de l'Université de Paris,” Histoire littéraire de la France, XXXVIII (1949), 476.


96. Ibid., p. 645, No. 1165.


100. B. W. Henderson, Merton College (University of Oxford College Histories [London, 1899]), pp. 1-34.

102. First mentioned in 1392 (Bulaeus, op. cit., IV, 674).


107. The modern French word bourse in the sense of "fellowship" comes from this mediaeval term.

108. Gabriel, Student Life, p. 221.


111. Trois-Evêques or De Cambrai gave 6 sol. (Félibien and Lobineau, op. cit., I, Part I [II], 602).

112. J. Launois, Regii Navarrae Gymnasiae Parisiensis Historiae, in Opera omnia (Cologne, 1732), IV, Part I, 293.

113. Feret, op. cit., III, 634-35. For the student in medicine, this meant 5 sol. for 12 consecutive weeks, and 6 sol. each week for the rest of the year.


117. Cambridge Colleges, II, 441.


120. Ibid., II, Part III [VII], 616-17, 623-29.

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123. Bulaeus, op. cit., IV, 82.

124. Félibien and Lobineau, op. cit., I, Part I [IV], 372-78.


127. According to E. F. Jacob, some 146 to 150 secular members of the University out of the total of some 1200 members of the Oxford Community of scholars were accommodated in colleges (E. F. Jacob, “English University Clerks in the Later Middle Ages: The Problem of Maintenance,” Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, XXIX (1946), 313-14.


134. Gerson, Opera omnia, IV, 717-19.

135. Ibid., p. 719C.


139. Statutes of the College of Cornouaille (1380), in ibid., II, Part I [IV], 494-505.

141. Statutes of the College of Narbonne (1379), in Félibien and Lobineau, *op. cit.*, II, Part III [VII], 663.


146. Date of foundation, September 22, 1370. Félibien and Lobineau, *op. cit.*, II, Part I [II], 671.


151. "De assumptione magistri . . . . Quandocumque vacare continget in dicta domo magistri seu rectoris officium, scholares omnes dictae domus . . . in capella seu aula dictae domus conveniant . . . . jurent ad sancta Dei Evangelia, quod nominabunt et eligent pura conscientia et bona fide de seipsis personam aliquam, quam credant idoneam."—Statutes (1366), No. 12, in Feret, *op. cit.*, III, 625.


159. Gilson, op. cit., pp. 517-18, 795.


166. Ibid., p. 551.


169. "Pro legendo de scienciis mathematicis licitis . . . . Quorum unus leget in vico straminum diebus legibilibus . . . . Et alter leget . . . . in aula artistarum dicti collegii [Magistri Gervasii]."—Feret, op. cit., III, 635.

170. Master Sunon of Sweden gave a course on the Sphera in his house "in domo sua diebus festivis" (Auct. 1, p. 44, line 13). Cf. the Statutes of the Faculty of Arts in Vienna (1889), in Kink, op. cit., II, 196, No. 12.

171. P. Guerrini, "Guglielmo da Brescia e il Collegio Bresciano in Bologna," Studi e memorie per la storia dell'Università di Bologna, VII (1922), 95, No. 11.


173. Thurot, op. cit., p. 83; Bulaeus, op. cit., IV, 893.


175. The anecdote was written down in 1470 by a former student of the English-German Nation in Paris, Johannes Jencz, who is mentioned around
1460 in the records of the Nation (Auct. II, p. 929, line 39; also in the Liber receptorum, Archives Nationales H. 2587, fol. 125v). He composed it at the request of Peter of Gottingen, master of arts in Leipzig. The text has been published by H. Leyser in Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum, II (1842) 362-66.


177. Gilson, op. cit., p. 516.


183. Félibien and Lobineau, op. cit., II, Part I [IV], 442b.


187. Statutes of the College of Lemoine (1302); see n. 185, above.

188. K. Michalski, op. cit., p. 194.

189. "Quaestiones super Aristotelis librum de sensu et sensato collectae Parisiis per Albertum de Rychmersdort, pronunciatae Pragae in quadam bursa": Munich, MS. Clm 4376 [1057], fol. 151, ca. 1365-67.


191. Ibid., p. 68.


193. Martène and Durand, op. cit., II, 1619C; cf. 1173F: "qui tales viri . . . insidiantibus seu insidiari volentibus incutient timorem."

194. Statutes of Queen's College (1341), in Oxford Statutes, I, 30-31.


203. Archives Nationales, MM. 406, fol. 6° to 11°; reproduced by Michel François, "Les statuts du Collège de Hubant à Paris: Manuscrit des Archives Nationales," Les trésors des bibliothèques de France, Fascicule 26 (1946), 97-106; and Gabriel, Student Life, Plates XIV-XXIII. A most beautifully illustrated statute book, that of the Collegium Sapientiae (1497) at the University of Freiburg, in Breisgau, belongs to the fifteenth century. A magnificent reproduction has been published by Josef H. Beckmann, director of the University of Freiburg in Breisgau Library, in Johannes Kerer, Statuta Collegii Sapientiae (Lindau and Constance: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1957), I, II.
There is an English translation of this work: *The Statutes of the Collegium Sapientiae in Freiburg University* (Lindau and Constance: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1957).


211. Félibien and Lobineau, *op. cit.*, II, Part I [IV], 442b.


213. "Ad pilam vel ad crossiam"—Statutes of the College of Narbonne (1579), in Félibien and Lobineau, *op. cit.*, II, Part III [VII], 670a, No. 44.


217. Statutes of New College (1400), rubric No. 18, in *Oxford Statutes*, I, 41.


221. Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 155, fol. 2': the commentary of William Whetley on *De disciplina scholarium*.


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226. Statutes of New College, in Oxford Statutes, I, 46; Leach, Winchester College, p. 73.


230. Rashdall et al., op. cit., I, 202, No. 3. Compare the somewhat mitigated rule in the 1648 Statutes of the College of Spain, p. 58, dist. 5, No. 2 (see note 59).


233. For the plan of Dormans-Beauvais, see E. Raunié, Epitaphier du vieux Paris (Histoire générale de Paris [Paris, 1890]), I, 333; for that of the Collège des Bernardins, the Frontispiece in ibid., II (1893); for that of the Collège de Cluny, ibid., III (1901), the illustration facing p. 117; and for that of Lisieux, Archives Nationales, S 1607.

234. At 24, Rue de Poissy (Hillairet, op. cit., I, 572-74).

235. We may wonder whether some scholastic exercises, such as the disputations, had an influence on the college architecture. There is a theory that the T-shaped plan of the chapel, with an ante-chapel occupying the cross bar, was adopted because it could function as a site for disputations. See Pantin, Architecture, p. 95.

236. A. Vallance, The Old Colleges of Oxford: Their Architectural History Illustrated and Described (London, s.d. [1912]), pp. 36-37 (New College); pp. 19-20, Plate IX (Merton).


238. Built in honor of Saint John the Evangelist, it is found today at 9, Rue Jean-de-Beauvais (Hillairet, op. cit., I, 480; Chapotin, op. cit., pp. 85-102).
239. Gabriel, *Student Life*, p. 170, Plate XXI.


241. “Id est, boni Libri faciunt bonos clericos.”—Gerson, *De laude scriptorum*, in *Opera omnia*, II, 700A.


243. Franklin, *La Sorbonne*, pp. 41-44.


246. See miniature No. 26, depicting the inspection of books, in Gabriel, *Student Life*, p. 167, Plate XXI.


