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Mobility of scholars and sciences between Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and France in the 14th–15th centuries: the contribution of prosopography to the history of sciences

Abstract

This article aims to trace the mobility of scholars and sciences between France and Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland in the 14th and 15th centuries, seen from the perspective of prosopography.

These exchanges were concentrated in only three oldest French universities of Montpellier, Orléans and Paris, albeit with significant variations, and in the newly-founded universities north of the Alps in the 14th century, namely those in Prague and Kraków.

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Mobility was less important and intensive at the end of the Middle Ages because of the policy in favour of establishing national universities.

The names of 143 scholars from Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland, who were enrolled in the 14th and 15th centuries in French universities, have been found so far. Several of them played important roles in the history of science in these countries.

Keywords: *prosopography; mobility of scholars and sciences; France; Bohemia; Hungary; Poland; University of Montpellier; University of Orléans, University of Paris; University of Prague; University of Kraków; 14th–15th centuries; history of science.*

Mobilność uczonych i nauk między Czechami, Węgrami, Polską a Francją w XIV–XV wieku: wkład prozopografii do historii nauki

Abstrakt

Artykuł ten ma na celu prześledzenie mobilności naukowców i nauk między Francją a Czechami, Węgrami i Polską w XIV i XV wieku, widzianej z perspektywy prozopografii.

Wymiana ta koncentruje się tylko na trzech najstarszych francuskich uniwersytetach w Montpellier, Orleanie i Paryżu, jednak ze znacznymi różnicami, oraz na nowo powstałych w XIV wieku uniwersytetach na północ od Alp, mianowicie w Pradze i Krakowie.

Mobilność ta była mniej ważna i intensywna pod koniec średniowiecza, ponieważ prowadzono politykę na rzecz uniwersytetów krajowych.

Do tej pory znaleziono nazwiska 143 uczonych z Czech, Węgier i Polski, którzy zapisali się w XIV i XV wieku na uniwersytety francuskie. Kilka z nich odegrało ważną rolę w historii nauki w tych krajach.

Słowa kluczowe: *prozopografia, mobilność naukowców i nauk, Francja, Czechy, Węgry, Polska, Uniwersytet w Montpellier, Uniwersytet w Paryżu, Uniwersytet Praski; Uniwersytet Krakowski, XIV–XV w., historia nauki*

1. Introduction

In 1390, Bartholomew of Jasło, a Master of Arts, gave a speech *Tunc me discussa* in which he mentioned Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar as being well-versed in philosophy and inspirational for students.¹ Bartholomew is one of those who played a key role in the rebirth of the University of Kraków. In his speech, he refers to one of the essential myths of the foundation of a medieval university, namely the *translatio studii*. The sciences would travel through the succession of empires and civilizations, from Mesopotamia, to ancient Greece, to Rome, then to the various European universities' capitals such as Paris, Oxford or Prague to reach Kraków and make it shine.²

The mobility of sciences is clearly that of texts copied and studied everywhere in the Occident and in the Orient, but also and above all that of the masters who transport and produce them. The mobility of scholars is central to what makes a university. The first edict protecting travelling students even preceded the creation of universities by several decades. During the Middle Ages, students' mobility grew steadily, in parallel with the multiplication of *studia* able to accommodate the ever-increasing number of students. Certain characteristics of the university corporation made these transfers possible: the sharing, until the Reformation, of the same curriculum, the use of Latin as a universal language and a system of degrees recognized throughout the Occident.

Medieval scholars' places of study were no coincidence. Apparently, regionalization of the recruitment area of universities was the trend at the end of the Middle Ages,³ however, a small minority of students continued to attend several universities and to cross borders. The fame of these study centres can certainly explain this pattern of mobility. This trend develops exponentially from the 13th century onwards and the multiplication of universities in the Latin Occident. From the years 1340–1350, however, a specific context for university exchanges comes to light. The rise of three kingdoms in the Occident leads to redrawing the map of universities and exchanges. Through the political will of their kings, the kingdoms of Bohemia, Poland and Hungary experience a phase of significant state and institutional development in the late

¹ Kowalczyk 2010.

² Lusignan 2003, pp. 445–479.

³ Schwinges 1984, pp. 5–30.

Middle Ages. Before the foundation of the University of Prague in 1348 by Charles IV Luxemburg, no university could respond to the desire of the students of these kingdoms to study close to home.⁴ at the same time, similar initiatives were taken by Casimir III Piast in Kraków (1364) and by Louis I Anjou in Pécs (1367). However, despite the diversification of the number of universities, scholars from Bohemia, Poland and Hungary continued to attend French universities.⁵

The creation of new philosophical and theological knowledge was nourished by these exchanges and thanks to the circulation of scholars between the kingdom of France and those of Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland. The circulation of those scholars is a subject of interest to monarchs who would seek to increase the number, distinction and loyalty of foreign scholars coming to their gates. What was the real state of this mobility of scholars after founding the universities of Prague and Kraków?⁶ What intellectual influences did they maintain in this intense context of innovation? Prosopography can shed new light on these questions, which have already been addressed in individual biographies. By collecting the data from individuals, it creates a coherent corpus of masters linked by common criteria, such as social and geographical origin, disciplines studied or careers. It has long been used by historians for the study of university mobility and I propose to begin with the distribution of students from these kingdoms at the various French universities to characterize them, and finally to present the relations maintained with the universities of Prague and Kraków.

2. A repartition in only a few French universities

Only three French universities had a distinct international influence in the 14th century, an influence that was also affected by the consequences of the wars and difficulties of the time. All three, however, have common characteristics, foremost among which are their remarkable seniority in the West and their reputation for being special.

⁴ There are significant study centres in the mendicant convents of the big cities, but these are only accessible to their best members. They are, moreover, the basis on which the universities of the 14th and 15th centuries were founded.

⁵ Verger 1990, pp. 83–106.

⁶ Hungary faced many difficulties in maintaining an active university on its territory. See Domonkos 1983, pp. 371–390.

Thus, Montpellier's reputation extends beyond its borders because of its medical schools at the crossroads of Arab, Jewish and Christian traditions, long before the foundation of its universities during the 13th century. Montpellier is thus one of the only cities in the Occident to have an independent university of medicine and a second university where the three other medieval faculties, namely theology, civil and canon law and the propaedeutic faculty of liberal arts, are grouped together. In the following century, its universities still attracted many foreign students, very much supported by the proximity of the papacy, which was based in Avignon.

Despite the paucity of sources for these universities, since the registers of nations have not been preserved,⁷ the information regarding about one hundred strangers can be traced through the papacy's supplications rolls (*rotuli*). These sources appear under Pope John XXII (1316–1334), who encouraged universities to combine their supplications into the same role, in order to differentiate them from individual supplications. Thanks to these university supplication rolls,⁸ thirteen masters from Bohemia and Poland are known as students in Montpellier in the 14th and 15th centuries. This presence is certainly underestimated. Indeed, these scholars are not used to assert their grades in their individual supplications, unlike the French or the Italians, who are quicker to claim some studies at prestigious universities. But even taking this fact into account, the presence of these masters is still limited, especially considering the fact that no medical school in the Holy Empire, nor in the surrounding kingdoms, seems to have been a beacon of attraction for young doctors from these areas.

Although the practice of sending university supplications gradually disappears during the Great Occidental Schism (1378–1417), it seems to be parallel to the decline in the numbers of foreign students, first at the University of Medicine and then at the Faculty of Law.⁹ in 1403, in the university supplication rolls, there are only six foreign students left in Montpellier, all from the border area with the Holy Empire.¹⁰

⁷ Verger 2004, pp. 13–28.

⁸ Partially edited in Fournier 1890–1894 and Germain 1890.

⁹ Gouron 1970.

¹⁰ Verger 1970, pp. 855–902.

Teaching law was important in the late Middle Ages due to an increase in professional opportunities in these careers. It is therefore logical that the University of Orléans, which specialized in canon and civil law, would be a significant centre of attraction not only for the Kingdom of France but also beyond its borders. The sources there are more numerous. The register of the German nation is particularly well preserved, in addition to more numerous sources as well. However, this register is only preserved from 1444¹¹ onwards and research carried out within the 14th century applicants cannot claim to give an exhaustive picture of foreign enrolment.

However, this presence is small, as only two students from the kingdoms of Bohemia and Poland were enrolled at the Orléans *studium* between the 14th and 15th centuries:¹² Johannes Roil (or Rorel), and Albertus Episcopi. We know little about the first, apart from the fact that he came from the diocese of Prague and attended the universities of Leipzig in 1474 and Cologne in 1482, where he acquired the degree of Master of Arts before enrolling in Orléans in 1490.¹³ Albert Episcopi was born in 1465, he also attended the University of Leipzig in 1481 before arriving in Orléans in 1486, where he stayed for about a year. No validated degree is known, although he attended the University of Bologna in 1490. Sent by the city council of Gdańsk, he made several trips to Rome for various legal matters. He died on 20 February 1529.¹⁴ It is then clear that, at this point, Italian universities were favoured by students from the kingdoms of Bohemia, Poland and Hungary to study law, although the number of students remained small.

Finally, the last French university that by itself attracted the most of foreign students was the one in Paris, the largest university at the time.¹⁵ Its importance certainly partly explains the increased presence of masters from the kingdoms of Bohemia, Hungary and Poland present

¹¹ Ridderikhoff 1971–2015.

¹² The rolls give us a few other names such as Albertus de Kalbe, but it is difficult to deduce from this source alone the real presence within the University of Orléans. It was then possible to pay to appear on the roll of the university, without being a student there.

¹³ Ibid., Tl. 2, n°236.

¹⁴ Ibid., Tl. 2, n°197.

¹⁵ Estimates are delicate but estimates for 1464 give an order of magnitude of about 3,000 students. See Spirigatis 1888, pp. 1–52.

in the French capital, but also the much better conservation of the sources. The supplications addressed to the papacy in the 14th century were first the subject of in-depth studies and a more exhaustive edition.¹⁶ The registers of the German nation of the University of Paris were thus preserved for almost every year between 1333 and 1500 and published.¹⁷ This population is better known thanks to the work of Astrik Gabriel, Mineo Tanaka¹⁸ and Jacques Verger. These studies provide variable data for the presence of foreign students at the University of Paris during the two centuries of the Middle Ages. Mineo Tanaka counts 45 students and masters between 1333 and 1452, while Astrik Gabriel counts 47 between 1425 and 1494. It is true that their studies cover neither the same period nor exactly the same geographical areas.¹⁹ Research into the papacy's unpublished supplications has also made it possible to rediscover a certain number of masters who do not appear in other French sources in order to complete these figures on attendance at the University of Paris.

127 scholars from Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, enrolled between 1330 and 1500 at the University of Paris, have been found so far. 56 come from Polish regions and areas where the influence of the Polish kingdom is important, such as Silesia and Pomerania, 39 come from the dioceses of Bohemia, while 32 come from the provinces that make up medieval Hungary. Several remarks are to be made. The first is that although this number appears relatively small over almost two centuries, it nevertheless constitutes a remarkable minority within the German nation. Most of its masters come from the diocese of Utrecht and the Rhine basin, with the university population from Bohemia, Poland and Hungary constituting the second largest population, ahead of the masters of the Scandinavian kingdoms and those of England and Scotland.²⁰ Secondly, this presence is very unevenly distributed:²¹

¹⁶ Courtenay, Goddard 2002–2013.

¹⁷ Denifle, Châtelain 1894–1897.

¹⁸ This study presents a general picture of the German nation the University of Paris, according to a mainly economic approach based on the registers of the nation's collectors: Tanaka 1990.

¹⁹ Tanaka, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–36; Gabriel, 1969.

²⁰ It is true that this relationship changed considerably at the end of the 14th century, as the Hundred Years' War and political unrest in Paris led to the virtual disappearance of the English from the University of Paris.

²¹ See also on this topic: David 1929 and Gieysztor 1962, pp. 213–214.

	1330–1378	1379–1418	1419–1450	1451–1500
Bohemia	12	4	2	21
Hungary ²²	3	7	7	15
Poland	27	10	3	16

The chosen chronological division highlights the impact of the Great Schism (1378–1417) on the attendance of these students at a university that supported the Avignon papacy. Thus, from the Great Schism until the middle of the 15th century, students were no longer attracted to the University of Paris. Various factors explain this fact. The first is the attractiveness of the universities in Prague, Kraków and other universities founded in the Holy Empire at that time. The second reason is that the French capital is a scene of decisive events of the Hundred Years' War from 1409 to the 1430s, which led to a sharp decrease in the number of students at the entire university. Finally, far from external contingencies, the inherent difficulties in student life were a non-negligible constraint to study in the Kingdom of France. Neither Montpellier, which was far away and did not have a college dedicated to foreign students, nor Orléans, which did not have a college, nor even Paris had adequate infrastructure to accommodate these foreign students.²³ The German nation of the University of Paris could not provide accommodation for its members.²⁴

The German nation suffered from a chronic lack of liquidity due to the distance separating its members from their regions of origin, where their families and ecclesiastical benefits were located. This relatively recurrent phenomenon within the German nation was perfectly represented by an episode of the organization of a banquet after Thomas of Kraków (Thomas de Cracovia) obtained the degree of Licentiate in Theology. On January 15, 1405, Thomas addressed the German

²² A significant disparity is observed in relation to the data put forward by Hungarian researchers, who numbered about ten Hungarians in all the French universities of the time. This difference can be explained by the fact that my data considers students from mendicant convents, often also enrolled in the Faculty of Theology. I would like to thank Mr. Dr. Haraszi Szabó Péter for providing me with the biographical data of these students, published in Borbálá et al. 2019.

²³ Mornet, Verger 1999, pp. 217–232.

²⁴ Gabriel 1974, pp. 51–78.

nation and asked, in view of his status as a pauper, to pay his expenses of 20 francs on his behalf. The nation, lacking liquidity (*non habuit promptas pecunias*), could not pay the sum before the middle of Lent. On the following 12 July, only 12 francs are paid, and the remaining 8 francs are promised for the following Lent. The amount still would not have been paid by April of the following year.²⁵

The university foundations that multiplied at the end of the 14th and 15th centuries did not seem to be the determining cause of the departure of scholars from Paris, the main reason being much more related to the political situation. These students, like most students from the universities of Prague or Kraków, came from elsewhere to French universities mainly to study law. Especially canon law was favoured by student clerics, whose professional outlets were at the end of the Middle Ages mainly in ecclesiastical careers.

3. Characteristics of this attendance

It is difficult to determine precisely the social origin of these students from university sources only, which is why we will make some general remarks here. The rare mentions are rarer in the 15th century than in the previous century, although more regular in the registers of matriculas. They are random in their distribution, leaving it up to the scribe to decide whether or not to record the social status or occupation of the student's father. This mention is, moreover, more often found among those with a privileged social status, such as the nobility or the great merchants. Individual supplications can sometimes provide additional information not found in the more homogeneous scholarly rolls, but they remain general. These elements make it very difficult to understand the social origin of the body of scholars in the absence of research in other sources, such as urban sources.

Even in a university like Orléans where students were known to have largely been of noble origin, we do not know if it was more specifically the case for those from Bohemia, Poland and Hungary. The data is too incomplete. We only know of three noblemen, all of them from Bohemia and enrolled in the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris

²⁵ Denifle, Châtelain 1894–1897, vol. I, col. 893, l. 15–21; col. 904, l. 27–31; col. 920, l. 46; col. 921, l. 6.

in the mid-14th century: Martinus of Wesselicz, Master of Arts and student of theology, whose noble origin is given to us by means of an individual supplication,²⁶ Adalbert Ranconis of Ericio (Vojtěch z Ježova) and Johannes of Jenstein (Jan z Jenštejna), future archbishop of Prague. It is true, however, that in the middle of the 15th century, many universities, especially national universities, are excellent training centres for the local elite. They do not necessarily feel the need to go abroad to study. Noble students prefer a *peregrinatio academica* close to home or at Italian universities. For students from the Hungarian kingdom, who do not have a university at that time, they seem to turn rather to the University of Prague, then, after the Hussite crisis that troubled relations, to the University of Kraków to study.²⁷

Like nobility, which has a broad definition, the notion of pauper is also to be taken with precaution and does not necessarily signify a critical social status. The lack of wealth for medieval students may be more related to distance than to the actual poverty of the student's family. Thus, many members of the German nation of the University of Paris enrol as paupers. This exempted them from tuition fees, which were difficult to pay as the money took several months to arrive. Tanaka studied the modalities of accession to the ranks of the members of the German nation with regard to their declared financial conditions and their regions of origin. He notes that:

students from Central Europe are generally much less wealthy than the English-German nation as a whole. Half of them declare a scholarship of zero value, while the poor represent only 25% of the total number of students in their national group.²⁸

But he adds that this state, which is particularly marked for Hungarian students, does not interfere with the possibilities of acquiring the degree of Master of Arts. Only two of them attain just the bachelor's degree.

It is certain, however, that to be able to make such a long journey required enough income, whether this came from the student's family or, more generally, from ecclesiastical benefits held by the cleric.

²⁶ Jensovsky 1944, vol. III, n° 49.

²⁷ Haraszti Szabó 2016, pp. 115–153.

²⁸ Tanaka, p. 92.

As regards the disciplines studied at the *peregrinatio academica*, the same applies to the universities of the Kingdom of France, as well as to the universities of Prague, Kraków and most of the universities of the Holy Empire. Most of the students go to law faculties, even if this statement does need to be somewhat nuanced.

While a significant presence in Orléans would have been conceivable in view of the reputation of its law faculty, it is in Montpellier that one finds the greatest number of lawyers from the kingdoms of Bohemia, Poland and Hungary. One might have expected that it would have been the reputation of its Medical University that attracted the most. It is true that this remark must be taken with great care. The lack of sources for the University of Orléans before the middle of the 15th century does not allow us to reach a conclusion, while the relative abundance of sources for the University of Montpellier, then at its apogee in the 14th century, may bias this hypothesis of the distribution of foreign jurists at French universities. However, the attractiveness of the Faculty of Law of Montpellier was real for the populations of the Holy Empire and the regions bordering France,²⁹ and there is nothing to suggest that it can be otherwise for students from Bohemia, Poland and Hungary. Some remarkable medical doctors are nevertheless worthy of note, such as Jacob Rubeo Scuto (1390–1455) who, after leaving his native Pomerania, studied in Prague, Paris and then Montpellier, where he made a career.³⁰ However, his case remains quite exceptional.

The attractiveness of legal studies in Montpellier owed much to the papacy's support for it as well as its geographical proximity to Avignon and Italian universities. The latter were particularly well known for their teaching of Roman law, the tradition of which is older than in the north of the Kingdom of France. This can be one reason for the low presence of law students from Bohemia, Hungary and Poland at the University of Paris. The prohibition of teaching civil law in the French capital since the beginning of the 13th century increased this obstacle. Finally, there is also the significant cost of the passage of degrees in higher faculties. It is logical that students, ready to travel thousands of kilometers to study law, chose a university with a specialty in law. Since its creation, the University of Paris has been renowned for its liberal arts

²⁹ Gouron 1969, pp. 515–528.

³⁰ Wickersheimer 1979, pp. 131–132.

and theology faculties. It was competed in these disciplines only for a time by the University of Prague before the Hussite crisis, which was of certain importance at the end of the Middle Ages.

Exchanges between French universities and scholars from the kingdoms of Bohemia, Poland and Hungary existed but remained weak, sensitive to the effects of the political situation. Students were mainly attracted by Paris, a university of decisive importance in Europe. However, in order to measure the extent of exchanges between the two areas, we must focus on those who attended both areas and their national universities, namely those in Prague and Kraków.

4. Relations with the universities of Prague and Kraków

As the first universities in their respective kingdoms, the foundations of the universities of Prague and Kraków reflect the policies of intellectual development and influence of their kings. Whether it was Charles IV in 1348, in order to establish a modern capital in Prague to assert his imperial ambitions, or Casimir III Piast (1309–1370) in 1364 to pursue his project of unifying the kingdom of Poland, the universities were an instrument of their will. The re-founding of the University of Kraków in 1400 by Władysław II Jagiello followed the same logic.

The events that punctuate the life of these two universities have a clear impact on their students travelling to French universities. Of the 143 scholars who attended French universities between 1330 and 1500, only 22 studied or taught at the universities of Prague and Kraków. Nearly 11 of them were registered at the University of Prague before 1415 and 3 students attended Paris or Paris and Montpellier.

In the 15th century, many events deteriorated the climate of study at the University of Prague. First of those was the rising tensions between German and Czech students, which led to the decree of Kutná Hora in 1409 and the departure of most of the University's foreign students. The Hussite crisis that began a few years later plunged the entire Bohemian kingdom into a phase of instability and undermined ties with French universities. The last student to have attended both universities, to my knowledge, was Johannes Stephani of Novadomo, of the Prague diocese, who was enrolled in Prague either in 1440 or 1458 and in Paris in 1459.

Similarly, the re-founding of the University of Kraków from 1400 and its exponential growth in the second half of the 15th century developed exchanges with the Kingdom of France.³¹ While only one student, Thomas of Kraków, attended Paris and Kraków before 1400, between 1450 and 1500, four students made a distant *peregrinatio academica* to the University of Paris. These numbers, although small, are added to the rich exchange of letters between the two universities.

These patterns also reinforce what we know about the mobility patterns of scholars in the Latin Occident. Recent studies show that Hungarian students turned to the Universities of Vienna, Prague and then Kraków in the 15th century, attending French universities only sporadically or studying theology in mendicant convents.³² Similarly, the main student exchanges took place between the universities of Prague and Kraków, at least until the middle of the 15th century.

The links between Paris and Prague have often been underlined, Prague having taken over the foundation model followed in Paris, however, from a statutory point of view, the influence of the Parisian university model was more limited than it seems. Apparently, when the University of Prague was founded in 1348, the charter of foundation called upon the Parisian *alma mater* to found a *studium* built on its model in Prague, in reality the organization was much more mixed than it seemed. Certainly, the University of Prague had four faculties and, essential for Charles IV, a faculty of theology, the model concurrent to that of Paris, the Bologna model was also very much present. In this way, the University of Prague left a lot of room for its Faculty of Law. The documents of the foundation of the University of Kraków in 1364 explicitly referred to the universities of Bologna and Padua, while the University of Paris was almost absent from the speeches advocating the re-founding of the university between 1397 and 1399. Most of the major players in the refoundation were trained at the University of Prague. Although the latter may have seemed to be the main model guiding the refoundation of 1400, it was adapted by the Polish capital, creating an original university.³³

Low political support is another reason that may explain the low level of mobility between these two areas. While most national and

³¹ Boroda 2010.

³² Borbála 2017, pp. 139–166.

³³ Oźóg 2010, pp. 59–61.

regional groups attending French universities were hosted in colleges founded by patrons very early in the 13th century, students from the kingdoms of Bohemia, Poland or Hungary had little support from their princes. In Paris, the German nation certainly possessed several “houses” that could accommodate the scholars, notably one welcoming the Scandinavians³⁴ or a “house of the Germans”, but no permanent college foundation took place. A procession of masters of the nation sent to the King of Bohemia and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Charles IV, who was visiting Paris in January 1378, failed. It is true that the emperor mainly sought to develop his own *studium* in Prague, in which he invested considerable funds. If the marriage of Clemence of Hungary with the French king Louis X could have created a dynamic support for the Hungarians, then studying in Paris at the beginning of the 14th century was not the fact. It is true that the political context is difficult in France and that Clemence of Hungary only remains on the throne for a little over a year. Another queen of the same house in Anjou-Sicily, however, is known to have pursued an active policy in favour of universities, namely Jadwiga I of Poland (1384–1399). She actively campaigned for the re-founding of the University of Kraków, and her foreign policy aimed above all at the establishment of a college for Polish students in Prague.³⁵

A lack of active support for university mobility between the universities in Prague and Kraków and French universities is not, however, a sign of a lack of contact between these areas. The circulation of political, scientific and religious ideas was inherent to this mobility. As we have already seen, foreign students were mainly concentrated in France at the University of Paris, so it is not surprising that it is with this university that relations between Prague and Kraków were strongest.

While few students travelled between the two spaces, some were particularly important in the flow of ideas and science. Adalbert Ranonis de Ericio was one of the passers of the reform ideas of John Wycliff’s Church (ca. 1320–1384) in Bohemia. Prior to his time at the University of Paris, Adalbert studied at Oxford. The context of intellectual effervescence and the rise of criticism of the Church in Bohemia at the end of the 14th century was particularly significant in Paris, which

³⁴ Gabriel 1960.

³⁵ Knoll 2016.

was considered one of the best theological faculties of the time. The theses of Johannes Hus (ca. 1370–1415) and Hieronymus of Prague (1379–1417) were intensively discussed at the Paris Faculty of Theology, and the Council of Constance (1414–1418) provided an opportunity for the protagonists to meet again at an important moment in the development of medieval science. If the Hussite crisis and its philosophical consequences had already been well known, this was not the only example of exchanges between these two areas. For example, František Šmahel studied the 31 preserved manuscripts containing works of the Parisian theologian Jean Versor († 1485), whose doctrines were particularly appreciated at the University of Prague at the end of the 15th century. He was able to identify 2 of the 17 students who, having studied in Paris, were the main vectors for the transmission of Versor's works in Bohemia: Wenzel of Vrbno and Stanislav of Velvary, all three coming from Catholic regions of the Bohemian kingdom, which was then slowly recovering from the Hussite wars.³⁶ This is just one example that can be multiplied.

5. Conclusion

These examples show that the links between the universities of the Kingdom of France and those of Prague and Kraków were numerous at the end of the Middle Ages. They were mainly centered around two main poles, namely the University of Paris and, to a lesser extent, the University of Montpellier. These students studied in the faculties of theology and law. These two faculties, with the less important one of medicine, could assure them a brilliant professional career. The period was indeed one of multiplication of the possibilities offered by a passage between the universities, whether or not it was accompanied by a validation of grade. The kingdoms of Bohemia, Hungary and Poland were building and developing their administration and needed trained staff.

Scholars who chose to travel abroad while universities existed in their countries were the actors of development other than its mere administrators. They were the actors of knowledge mobility in the Occident. These masters, whose personalities are sometimes quite exceptional such as Johannes of Jenstein or Thomas of Kraków, took their place entirely in the philosophical and theological debates of their time.

³⁶ Šmahel 1980, pp. 65–77.

Not only were they transmitters of books, they were also their authors. As they travelled, they enriched and disseminated the content, allowing other scholars to access this knowledge. Medieval prosopography places the scholar in his or her social, intellectual and everyday context. It underlines the common motives, the statistical trends but also the originality of certain routes within the known European mobility patterns. In this respect, scholars from the kingdoms of Bohemia, Hungary and Poland who studied in France present unique characteristics that played a role in the development of their knowledge.

Prosopography is able to highlight the changing profiles of intellectuals at the end of the Middle Ages. By focusing on statistics of their social origin, their university education and their careers, it shows the sensitivity of medieval scholars to the great events of their time and to the spread of humanist ideas.

Appendix. The list of the students from Bohemia, Hungary and Poland who studied at French universities in the 14th and 15th centuries

The list includes the names of 143 students found so far (25 July 2020). It is given for indication only.

- 1) Adalbertus Ranconis de Ericio, by Malý Ježov, of the diocese of Prague, registered in Paris from 1344 to 1365, after which he returned to Prague.
- 2) Albertus Alberti, of the diocese of Bratislava (*Posoniensis diocesis*), Kingdom of Hungary, contemporary Slovakia, registered in Paris around 1461.
- 3) Albertus Bludo, of Bohemia, he studied at several *studia generalia* in Paris and in Prague around 1349.
- 4) Albertus de Bohemia I, of Bohemia, registered in Paris in 1345.
- 5) Albertus de Bohemia II, of Bohemia, registered in Paris in 1346.
- 6) Albertus Episcopi, of Gdańsk, contemporary Poland, registered in Orléans in 1486–1487.
- 7) Albertus de Kalbe, diocese of Warmia, part of the Teutonic Order but culturally influenced by the Kingdom of Poland, contemporary Poland, registered in Paris in 1378 and attested on a roll of the university of Orléans in 1378.
- 8) Albertus de Polonia registered in Paris in 1458.

- 9) Albertus de Prussia, *diocesis Pomezariensis*, Kingdom of Poland, registered in Paris in 1370.
- 10) Albertus Scroter, of the diocese of Chelmno, Kingdom of Poland, registered in Paris in 1415–1416, he became rector of the University of Rostock in 1427.
- 11) Alexis Olbrecht, of the diocese of Lausitz, of the Kingdom of Bohemia, registered in Paris in 1456–1457.
- 12) Ambrosius Malonta, of Hungary, registered in Paris in 1489.
- 13) Andreas Ganske, of the diocese of Wrocław, Kingdom of Bohemia, contemporary Poland, registered in Paris in 1457–1458.
- 14) Andreas Grunaw, of the diocese of Warmia, contemporary Poland, registered in Paris in 1463.
- 15) Andreas Hancko, possibly from the diocese of Olomouc, Kingdom of Bohemia, registered in Paris in 1463–1464.
- 16) Andreas Kresse, of the diocese of Lebus (*Lubucensis diocesis*), at that time, suffragist of the archbishopric of Magdeburg, influenced by the Kingdom of Poland, registered in Paris in 1493.
- 17) Andreas de Polonia, registered before 1337 in Paris, until 1339.
- 18) Andreas Purnicz, possibly from Brtnice, Kingdom of Bohemia, enrolled in Paris in 1394 and possibly in the teaching body in Kraków in 1404. He would also have made a visit to Montpellier between these two dates.
- 19) Andreas de Strachota, of the diocese of Lviv, Kingdom of Poland, enrolled in Paris in 1460.
- 20) Andreas Symonis, of Prussia, possibly from the Kingdom of Poland, enrolled in Paris in 1375 and attested on a roll of Orléans in 1378.
- 21) Andreas Yetland, from Tczew (Dirslow) in Pomerania, of the Kingdom of Poland, registered in Prague before 1411 when he arrived in Paris.
- 22) Arnaldus de Brunisberch, from Prussia, possibly from the Kingdom of Poland, registered in Paris in 1356–1357.
- 23) Arnaldus Longi, of the diocese of Warmia, contemporary Poland, enrolled in Paris in 1364.
- 24) Arnaldus Naghel, of Prussia, possibly from Gdańsk, at that time part of the territories of the Teutonic Order, influenced by the Kingdom of Poland, contemporary Poland, registered in Paris from 1427 to 1429.

- 25) Arnaldus Zedeler, of the diocese of Włocławek, of the Kingdom of Poland, registered in Paris in 1466–1467.
- 26) Balthasarius Bensa/Lenfel, of the diocese of Prague, enrolled in Paris in 1471.
- 27) Barnabas de Bak, of the diocese of Csanád, Kingdom of Hungary, registered in Paris in 1482.
- 28) Bartholomaeus Ketzow, of the diocese of Kamień, part of the Holy Empire, contemporary Poland, registered in Paris in 1489.
- 29) Benedictus Ungarus enrolled in Paris in 1499.
- 30) Benedictus de Makra, of Gacsály, Kingdom of Hungary, registered in Prague between 1384 and 1387 and in Paris in 1398.
- 31) Benedictus de Seremio, of Ungaria, registered in Prague in 1413, in Paris in 1420.
- 32) Bernardus Suircosyn, of the diocese of Włocławek, Kingdom of Poland, registered in Paris in 1458.
- 33) Bertaldus Apotecarus, of Szczecin, part of the Holy Empire, influenced by the Kingdom of Poland, contemporary Poland, registered in Paris in 1354.
- 34) Blasius Sereb de Thin, of the diocese of Prague, registered in Paris in 1457–1458, until his death in 1462?
- 35) Boleslaus de Ronsperck, of the diocese of Prague, enrolled in Paris in 1488–1489.
- 36) Busco de Scopitem, from Bohemia, registered in Paris in 1375 and 1376.
- 37) Christianus Gosman, registered in the Polish nation during his stay in Leipzig c. 1455, registered in Paris in 1457.
- 38) Christianus de Septemcastris, from Hungary, registered in Paris between 1380 and 1382.
- 39) Christophorus Cancellarii Salczer, of the Diocese of Olomouc, of Bohemia, registered in Paris between 1490 and 1492.
- 40) Christophorus Pfuf, possibly from Bautzen, Kingdom of Bohemia, contemporary Germany, registered in Paris in 1482.
- 41) Conradus de Bohemia II registered between 1356 and 1358 in Paris.
- 42) Conradus Hagenmester, of the diocese of Kamień, contemporary Poland, registered in Paris in 1364.
- 43) Conradus Hoeborg, of the diocese of Prague, registered in Paris between 1459 and 1466.

- 44) Conradus de Polonia, attested in Paris in 1337.
- 45) Cosmas Simonis, of the diocese of Zagreb, Kingdom of Hungary, contemporary Croatia, registered in Paris in 1431.
- 46) Duserus de Bornis, of the diocese of Kamień, contemporary Poland, registered in Paris in 1466.
- 47) Ebrardus Hirtfelt, of Toruń, part of the Polish influence, registered in Paris in 1415–1416.
- 48) Erasmus Beke, of Prussia, possibly from the Kingdom of Poland, registered in Paris between 1409 and 1412.
- 49) Ernestus de Pazorten, from *Pomeraniensis in Prusia*, attested on a roll of Orléans in 1378.
- 50) Franciscus de Stetin, possibly of Szczecin, at that time part of the territories of the Teutonic Order, influenced by the Kingdom of Poland, contemporary Poland, enrolled in Paris in 1368.
- 51) Franciscus de Lippia, of the diocese of Warmia, contemporary Poland, registered in Paris in 1356–1357.
- 52) Fridmannus de Praga, possibly from the diocese of Prague, enrolled in Paris in 1358.
- 53) Gasperus Strogaw, of the diocese of Włocławek, Kingdom of Poland, registered in Paris in 1485.
- 54) Gebhard Kemyn, of the diocese of Kamień, contemporary Poland, registered in Paris between 1364 and 1373 and in Prague in 1378–1379.
- 55) Georgius Anthonii, of Hungary, in Paris in 1496.
- 56) Georgius de Uteri, possibly from the diocese of Prague, registered in Paris in 1461.
- 57) Gerardus Dulmen, of the diocese of Warmia, contemporary Poland, registered in Paris between 1344 and 1347 and again in 1352.
- 58) Gerardus Swechten, of the diocese of Kamień, contemporary Poland, registered in Paris in 1364.
- 59) Godefridus Cayphus of Prussia, of the diocese of Warmia, contemporary Poland, registered in Paris in 1361.
- 60) Henricus Brunonis, of the diocese of Kamień, contemporary Poland, registered in Montpellier in 1378.
- 61) Hermannus Consulis, of the diocese of Kamień, contemporary Poland, registered in Paris in 1362.
- 62) Hieronymus de Praga, of the diocese of Prague, registered in Prague in 1398 and in Paris in 1405.

- 63) Jacobus Angeli, from Kołobrzeg, part of the Holy Empire, contemporary Poland, registered in Prague in 1406, in Paris in 1412 and in Montpellier in 1416.
- 64) Jacobus Jacobi, from Kraków, enrolled in Paris between 1394 and 1398.
- 65) Johannes Andree, of the diocese of Prague, enrolled in Paris in 1486–1487.
- 66) Johannes Balduini, of Prague, attested in Paris in 1342.
- 67) Johannes Belcze, of Kraków (?), registered in Paris in 1464.
- 68) Johannes Benedictus, of Hungary, in Paris in 1450.
- 69) Johannes Besclaut, of the diocese of Kamień, contemporary Poland, present on a roll of Montpellier in 1378.
- 70) Johannes Canas, of Hungary, in Paris in 1482.
- 71) Johannes Druchwen, of the diocese of Olomouc, Kingdom of Bohemia, registered in Paris in 1394.
- 72) Johannes Ungariae attested in Paris in 1466.
- 73) Johannes Kunink, of the diocese of Chełmno, Kingdom of Poland, registered in Orléans in 1378.
- 74) Johannes de Moravia, possibly from the Kingdom of Bohemia, registered in Paris in 1457.
- 75) Johannes of Jenštejn from the Prague diocese, registered in Montpellier around 1360, was also registered in Paris in 1376 and a member of the Sorbonne college.
- 76) Johannes Nicolai from the diocese of Wrocław, Kingdom of Bohemia, contemporary Poland, registered in Paris in 1459, possibly present until 1464.
- 77) Johannes Orwoslar of Nova Domo, of the diocese of Prague, registered in Paris in 1459.
- 78) Johannes Polnar, of Sigisoara, of the Kingdom of Hungary, contemporary Romania, enrolled in Paris in 1488.
- 79) Johannes Pomerario, of Prussia, cleric of the diocese of Włocławek, Kingdom of Poland, registered in Paris in 1363.
- 80) Johannes Radlicza, of Radlice near Kalisz, Kingdom of Poland, registered in Paris between 1368 and 1376, where he was registered in Montpellier.
- 81) Johannes Rorel/Roil, of Tachov, in Bohemia, registered in Orléans between 1490 and 1492.

- 82) Johannes Salvelt, possibly from the diocese of Kamień, contemporary Poland, registered in Paris in 1363.
- 83) Johannes Schonese, of the diocese of Chelmno, Kingdom of Poland, registered in Montpellier in 1378.
- 84) Johannes Schostregel of Transsylvania, Kingdom of Hungary, attested in Paris in 1462.
- 85) Johannes Seypler, of Uničov, diocese of Olomouc, Kingdom of Bohemia, registered in Kraków in 1454 and in Paris in 1458.
- 86) Johannes de Sprottau, possibly from Wrocław, at that time part of the Kingdom of Bohemia, contemporary Poland registered in Montpellier in 1371.
- 87) Johannes Stephani de Novadomo, of the diocese of Prague, may have attended the University of Prague around 1450 before being enrolled in Paris between 1459 and 1464.
- 88) Johannes Stojkovic, of Dubrovnik, Kingdom of Hungary, contemporary Croatia, registered in Paris between 1417 and 1421.
- 89) Liphardus de Datlen, of the diocese of Chelmno, Kingdom of Poland, registered in Paris between 1365 and 1375 and present on a roll of Orléans in 1378.
- 90) Lucas de Vacia, of Vác, Kingdom of Hungary, attested in Paris in 1462.
- 91) Luderus Colver, of the diocese of Kamień, contemporary Poland, registered in Paris in the 1360s.
- 92) Martinus Berech, from Brețcu, Kingdom of Bohemia, contemporary Romania, registered in Paris between 1423 and 1432.
- 93) Martinus Coutes, of the diocese of Olomouc, Kingdom of Bohemia, studying in Paris and Montpellier before 1440.
- 94) Martinus Pauli of Transylvania, possibly from the Kingdom of Hungary, enrolled in Paris in 1496.
- 95) Martinus de Wesselicz, of the diocese of Prague, registered in Paris in 1362.
- 96) Matthäus Schönhofer, of Kadaň, of Bohemia, registered in Paris from 1473 to 1475.
- 97) Michael Georgis, of Hungaria, registered in Paris in 1444.
- 98) Michael Pannonius, in 1459 was mentioned a certain Michael Pannonius academicus parisiensis doctor theologiae, also possibly of the Kingdom of Hungary.

- 99) Michael Scuoler, of Hungaria, in Paris in 1487.
- 100) Michael Twaróg, of Bystrzykowo, of the diocese of Gniezno, Kingdom of Poland, registered in Paris between 1474 and 1478. He had a career in Kraków from 1485 until his death in 1520.
- 101) Nicolaus Barbitonsoris, of Görlitz, Kingdom of Bohemia, contemporary Germany, enrolled in Paris between 1454 and 1457.
- 102) Nicolaus de Bohemia, enrolled in Paris before 1374, when he arrived in Prague.
- 103) Nicolaus Calis, of the diocese of Chelmno, Kingdom of Poland, registered in Paris in 1362.
- 104) Nicolaus Flugge, of Gdańsk, contemporary Poland, registered in Paris in 1444.
- 105) Nicolaus Gossek, from Poland, registered in Paris in 1339.
- 106) Nicolaus Grosetyle, possibly from Prussia, registered in Paris in 1378.
- 107) Nicolaus Grzymiek, from the Kingdom of Poland, registered in Paris in 1454.
- 108) Nicolaus Nicolai, of the diocese of Oradea, Kingdom of Hungary, contemporary Romania, registered in Paris in 1353.
- 109) Nicolaus of Ostrow, from the Kingdom of Poland, in 1460 he was Doctor of Medicine at the University of Kraków and Master of Arts in Paris.
- 110) Nicolaus Rothonis, of the diocese of Prague, registered in Montpellier between 1362 and 1365, still attested there in 1379.
- 111) Nicolaus of Tuchovia, from Tuchów in Galicia, Kingdom of Poland, enrolled in Paris between 1456 and 1458.
- 112) Odolenus Bonczo, from Bohemia, enrolled in Montpellier in 1370–1371 and in Prague in 1377.
- 113) Otto de Lankow, of the diocese of Kamień, contemporary Poland, registered in Montpellier in 1365.
- 114) Paulus Cravar, of Bohemia, registered in Paris in 1415, he says he also passed through Montpellier when he registered in Prague in 1416.
- 115) Paulus de Hungaria, registered in Paris in 1406.
- 116) Paulus Nicolai de Sclavonia, of the diocese of Zagreb, Kingdom of Hungary, contemporary Croatia registered in Paris between 1418 and 1439.
- 117) Peregrinus de Prussia, of the diocese of Chelmno, Kingdom of Poland, enrolled in Paris in 1358.

- 118) Petrus Polnar, of Sigisoara, Kingdom of Hungary, contemporary Romania, enrolled in Paris in 1480.
- 119) Petrus de Polonia, of Polonia, enrolled in Paris in the years 1335–1340.
- 120) Petrus de Prussia, possibly from the Kingdom of Poland, registered in Paris between 1342–1343.
- 121) Petrus de Prussia II, possibly from the Kingdom of Poland, registered in Paris in 1406.
- 122) Petrus Cesaris Wagner, from Silesia, at that time, part of the Kingdom of Bohemia, contemporary Poland, in Paris c. 1463.
- 123) Petrus de Verebel, of Vrábale, Kingdom of Hungary, contemporary Slovenia, registered in Paris in 1366.
- 124) Petrus Wichman, of Poland, registered in Paris in 1403 and in Kraków in 1407.
- 125) Petrus de Berga, of the diocese of Wrocław, Kingdom of Bohemia, contemporary Poland, enrolled at Montpellier in 1362.
- 126) Sandivogius de Czechlo, of the Kingdom of Poland, enrolled at the University of Kraków in the 1420s, he arrived in Paris in 1443.
- 127) Sigismundus de Görlitz, from the Kingdom of Bohemia, contemporary Germany, enrolled in Paris in 1387.
- 128) Slawate Sdinconis de Pyest, of the diocese of Olomouc, registered in Montpellier in 1357.
- 129) Sulco de Praga, of the diocese of Prague, enrolled in Paris between 1349 and 1351.
- 130) Stanislaus de Polonia, of Milonów, Kingdom of Poland, registered in Paris in 1376.
- 131) Stanislaus de Velvary, of Velvar in Bohemia, registered from 1445 to 1460 in Prague with a passage to Paris in 1451.
- 132) Stephanus de Ungaria registered in Paris in 1343.
- 133) Stephanus Martini, of the diocese of Prague, registered in Paris between 1481 and 1491.
- 134) Thomas de Cracovia, from the Kingdom of Bohemia, registered in Prague in 1378, he was in Paris between 1400 and 1416.
- 135) Thomas Ethiopis, of Rechnitz, Kingdom of Hungary, contemporary Austria, enrolled in Paris in 1401–1402.
- 136) Thomas de Prussia, possibly from the Kingdom of Poland, registered in Paris in 1406–1407.

- 137) Thomas de Ungaria registered in Prague in 1371, he arrived in Paris in 1376.
- 138) Urbanus Bistriciensis, from Bistrița, Kingdom of Hungary, contemporary Romania, attested in Paris in 1488.
- 139) Urbanus Hertsy, from Hungary, to Paris in 1443.
- 140) Wenceslaus of Dobrziew, from Bohemia, enrolled in Paris in 1473.
- 141) Wenceslaus of Vrbno, of Bohemia, registered in Paris before 1445 and in 1450, he is already registered in Prague between 1445 and 1483.
- 142) Xanctinus of Ungaria, registered in Paris in 1443.
- 143) Zacharias von Przemyśl, of the diocese of Przemyśl, Kingdom of Poland, registered in Prague in 1376, he is in Paris in 1381.

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