

Scholars and Literati at the University of Toulouse (1229–1793)

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This note summarizes our research into the group of scholars and literati who were at the University of Toulouse between its foundation in 1229 and its dissolution in 1793.

1 SOURCES

The main source is Gatien-Arnoult (1877), who traces the history of the university from its creation. Field-specific sources are Deloume (1890) and Fournier (1892), for the Faculty of Law from the 13th century to the 16th century, and Barbot (1905), for the Faculty of Medicine (1229-1793). Many documents have been lost, but these works make use of those that remain. Sources from other institutions (such as Astruc (1767), Dulieu (1975), Boissonade (1932), Duhamel (1895)) or covering specific periods in the history of Toulouse (Fanjeaux (1977), Ferté (2013)) contribute identifying additional professors. Bibliographic complements include the historical dictionary of French jurists (12th-20th centuries) by Arabeyre, Halpérin, and Krynen 2007, the Toulouse biographic dictionary Lamothe-Langon (1823), and the dictionaries of (Michaud 1811) and Taisand (1721). We also used contextual information on the University from Barrera and Ferté (2019). It should be noted that many books and articles have been written about students from the university, notably by Patrick Ferté.

2 THE UNIVERSITY

Established in 1229, the University of Toulouse is the second oldest university in France after the University of Paris (1200). In most cases, new universities were established under the initiative of local parties, and subsequently sanctioned by the authorities (Hermans and Nelissen 2005). Toulouse is an exception. It was the first university created directly by the Pope (through a papal bull issued by Pope Gregory IX in 1229). Its creation was a result of a twenty-year crusade against the Albigensian movement and was part of the Treaty of Paris (1229) in which the Count of Toulouse agreed to finance fourteen professorships to fight heresy. The University of Toulouse had both political and religious objectives. Initially, its theology professors came from the University of Paris, where there was a strike at the time, and from the Dominican Order. The bull issued by Pope Innocent IV (1245) strengthened the university, and granted it the same privileges as the University of Paris.

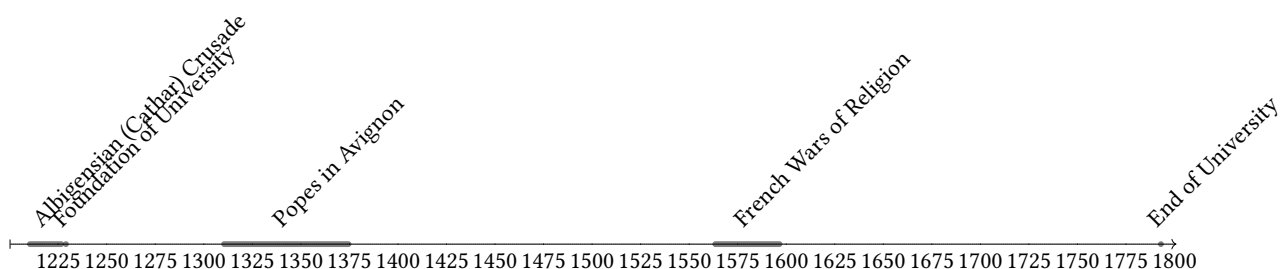


Figure 1: Timeline of the University of Toulouse

The University of Toulouse soon became known for its law faculty, particularly for its civil law lectures in the 14th century. It trained several popes and was home to famous professors of law and theology. It was also marked by student violence and the Inquisition. The four faculties, arts, theology, law and medicine, were active from the beginning with theology coming first in the order of precedence according to the statutes, even though the early reputation came from its scholarship in law. The faculty of medicine, which was in competition with the neighboring faculty at Montpellier, did not experience the same growth as the faculty of law despite employing some famous professors. The university experienced a decline in the 15th century, particularly after the popes left Avignon (in 1378), leading to a reduction in job opportunities for its graduates. Loyal to the Pope and supported by the Parliament of Toulouse and the Inquisition, the University of Toulouse defended Catholicism during the Reformation, and remained largely unresponsive to humanism. Despite a revival in the 17th century, the university declined again, with its recruitment becoming more local and some law chairs and diplomas being sold, even though some renowned professors remained.

3 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Table 1 displays the descriptive statistics. There are 742 scholars and literati. The year of birth is known for 19.1% of them. The mean age at nomination is 38.6 years; this relatively high age can be explained by the recruitment of established professors, some of whom have also worked as a priest, magistrate, or doctor, but also by some biases (insufficient records for unknown professors, lost footprint of scholars who died young). Longevity (mean age at death & expected age at death when 30) is relatively high (68.4 years). The birth place is known for only 32.9% of the individuals, with an improvement of the data over time. Paradoxically, this can be explained by the fact that we have a trace (thanks to the cartularies preserved for the Faculty of Law) of more names of the professors of the medieval university, for whom we have little biographical data, whereas in the recent period, many names have been lost and only the best known have been found. The median distance between the birth place and Toulouse is 130km, with large fluctuations over time, and according to the disciplinary fields: mobility is higher in arts and theology than in law, which is a standard result. Finally, 13.5% of the scholars have a Wikipedia page (in some language), and 23.6% of them have left a footprint in the catalogues of the libraries of the world, Worldcat, either by having published some work, or by having been the subject of published books and articles, with 18.8% in law, 57.5% in humanities, and 36.6% in medicine.

Period	nb. obs	birth known date	birth known place	mean age at appoint.	mean age at death	med. dist. birth-univ.	with Wiki.	with Worldcat
1200–1347	221	17.2%	40.3%	39.2	68.5	173	19.9%	19.5%
1348–1449	191	4.2%	12.6%	36.4	64.0	153	6.8%	7.3%
1450–1526	48	10.4%	16.7%	30.2	68.2	93	4.2%	16.7%
1527–1617	120	30.0%	46.7%	35.4	66.4	261	20.8%	41.7%
1618–1685	57	31.6%	38.6%	43.7	70.7	107	8.8%	28.1%
1686–1733	41	26.8%	31.7%	39.0	67.3	96	12.2%	34.1%
1734–1800	64	40.6%	50.0%	40.3	72.6	69	9.4%	46.9%
1523–1800	742	19.1%	32.9%	38.6	68.7	130	13.5%	23.6%

Table 1: Summary statistics by period

4 FIELDS

Figure 2 shows the balance between the different fields. The University of Toulouse was founded with 14 professors, mainly in theology, from the University of Paris. Law dominated, with a focus on Roman and civil law. The ban on teaching civil law in Paris, the desire to train local actors, the

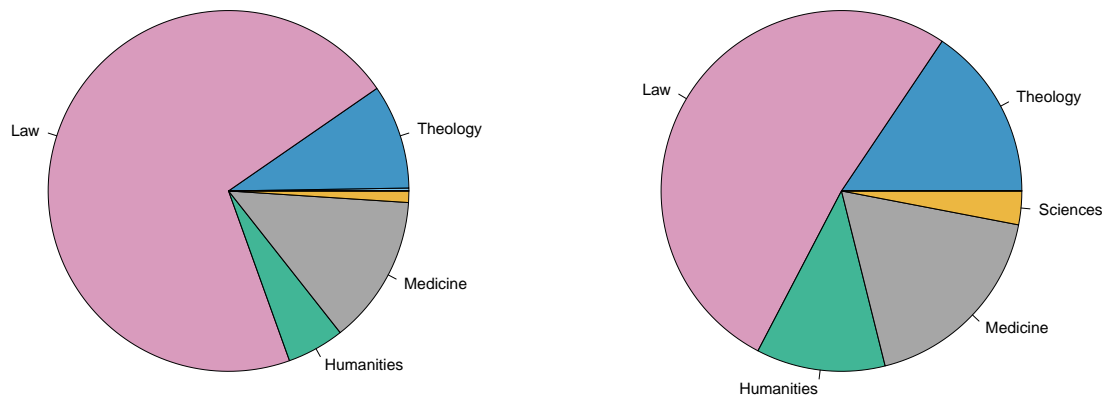


Figure 2: Broad fields at the University of Toulouse (left: all scholars, right: published scholars only)

importance of Roman law for local administration, and later the installation of the Pope in Avignon, are among the factors that explain the importance of law in Toulouse. Arts were less emphasized compared to Northern European universities, but were part of the curriculum from the beginning. Sciences were mainly limited to the Jesuit college in the 18th century, which stood aside from the university.

5 PLACE OF BIRTH

Figure 3 shows birthplaces of scholars and literati from the University of Toulouse by period. The international character of the University of Toulouse was cyclical. Depending on the period, professors came from the South of France, but also from Italy (1348-1449), Spain (1450-1526), Portugal (1527-1685), England (1527-1685), Switzerland or Germany (1348-1449; 1527-1617). Clearly, in the periods of decline of the university, recruitment was essentially local (1450-1526; 1686-1793). The two most open periods were 1348-1449 and 1527-1617, which correspond to the university's most glorious eras (see the following section).

6 HUMAN CAPITAL OF SCHOLARS AND LITERATI

For each person in the database, we compute a heuristic human capital index, identified by combining information from Worldcat and Wikipedia using principal component analysis. We also compute the notability of the university (orange line) at each date by averaging the human capital of the active scholars 25 years before that date. Details are given in RETE in volumes 1–5. Figure 4 shows the names of all the scholars with a positive human capital index.

The University of Toulouse went through cycles as shown in the diagram: a first peak at its creation with Parisian theology masters (e.g. Jean de Garlande); a flourishing 14th century due to famous lawyers and popes (e.g. G. Nogaret, J. Duèze); a long decline caused by events such as the popes' departure from Avignon, the Hundred Years' War, and the Wars of Religion; a new peak in the late 16th century with notable scholars who didn't stay long (J. Cujas, J. Bodin) or were impacted by the Wars of Religion (J. de Coras), and a revival in the 17th and 18th centuries thanks to prominent physicians (e.g. J. Astruc).

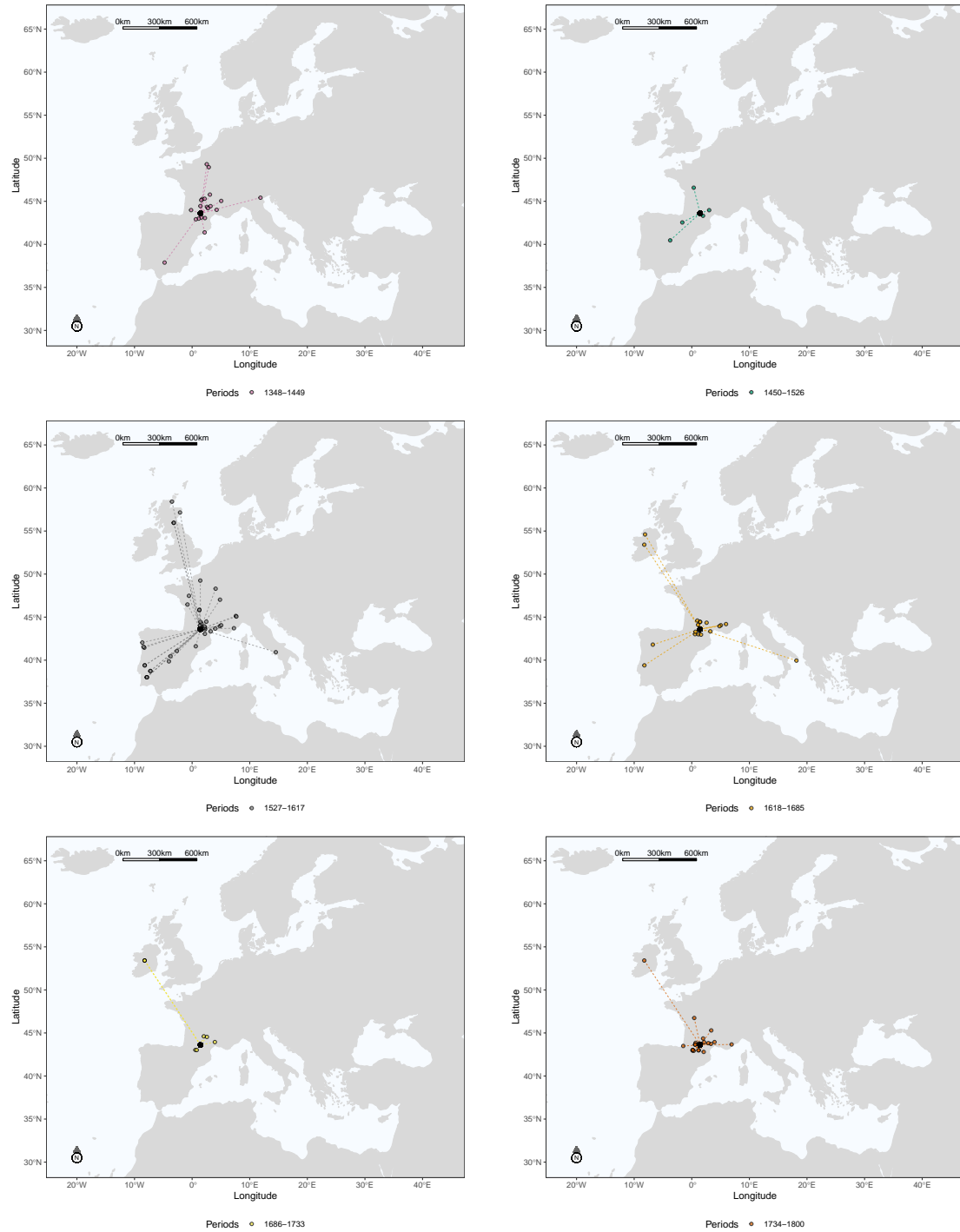


Figure 3: Places of birth of the scholars and literati at the University of Toulouse

7 TOP 5 PROFESSORS

Giordano Bruno (1548 San Giovanni del Cesco – Roma 1600) was a brilliant student of theology, who was ordained priest then reader in theology in 1573, member of the order of preachers (Dominicans). His open-mindedness eventually led him to be accused of heresy. He fled the Dominican order from Naples in 1576: it was the passage from the “man in white” (dress of the Dominicans) to the “man in black” (from then on, he would dress soberly, in a black sheet). He wandered for sixteen years, settling in cities with libraries and intellectual circles, while trying to find teaching positions to earn a living. He stayed only two or three years in each place, each time being driven into exile from Italy, Paris, Toulouse in 1581, Geneva, Oxford, and Wittenberg. In Toulouse, he taught astronomy and philosophy (Bessis 2011). His physical wandering led him around the European intellectual community, which allowed him to benefit from the dynamics of the ideas of his time. In spite of this chaotic journey, his work, mostly published during the 1580s, includes about thirty works (written in Latin and Italian), in the form of treatises, but also comedies and dialogues. He was one of the first modern thinkers to defend philosophically the idea of an infinite universe, and developed a number of theses opposed to Christianity (polygenism for example, the idea that we descend more than one ancestral type, as opposed to a single pair of original humans, which, in the case of Catholicism, was Adam and Eve, from the Book of Genesis). He was arrested and judged by the Inquisition Tribunal and burned in Rome in 1600, without denying his ideas. His trial left its mark. In 1961, the International Astronomical Union named a crater on the moon “Giordano Bruno” in honor of the Italian theologian and philosopher.

Jean Bodin (1529 Angers –1596 Laon) was a French magistrate and philosopher, economist and political theorist. He influenced intellectual history in Europe with his economic theories and his principles of “good government”, notably with the “Six Books of the Republic” (1576). Educated in Paris, he went to Nantes in 1549, then to Toulouse, where he studied law and became a professor of Roman law (1555-1561). He would have been one of the ringleaders of the refusal to recruit Jacques Cujas to the University of Toulouse. He returned to Paris in 1561, where he became a lawyer at the Parliament of Paris, when the wars of religion were beginning in France. Thereafter, he held various positions as a magistrate and advisor. Suspected of being involved with the Huguenots, he narrowly escaped the St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre (1572).

Guillaume de Grimoard (1310 Grizac (Pont-de-Montvert) – 1370 Avignon) became a Benedictine monk near his place of birth. After having studied canon law in Montpellier and Toulouse, he taught canon law as a reader in several universities, including Avignon, Toulouse, Montpellier and Paris. He became abbot of Saint-Germain d’Auxerre in 1352 and of Saint-Victor de Marseille in 1361. He was elected on September 28, 1362 to succeed Innocent VI (Etienne Aubert, pope 1352-1362), and enthroned on November 6, 1362, under the name of Urban V, in Avignon, seat of the papacy between 1309 and 1378. He tried to reconcile the churches of the East and West, and to re-establish the seat of the papacy in Rome. Urban V encouraged the foundation of several universities in Orange, Krakow and Vienna. He covered Languedoc, his region of origin, with many monuments (Cathedral of Mende, Monastery of Saint-Benoît in Montpellier) which can still be seen today. He was beatified in 1870.

Etienne Aubert (1282 Beyssac – 1362 Avignon) graduated in canon law from the University of Toulouse and spent the early period of his career teaching there between 1321 and 1340. He is most famous for having become pope from 1352 to 1362, under the name of Innocent VI. He sat in the city of Avignon, which he had fortified. During his pontificate, he founded the college of Saint-Martial in Toulouse, and granted to the faculty of theology of the University of Toulouse all the privileges enjoyed by the University of Paris. This was a subject of jealousy for the latter, which claimed that until then the popes had not made any university equal in

status to the University of Paris.

Jacques Cujas (1522 Toulouse – 1590 Bourges) was a professor of civil law who graduated from Toulouse, and in his early career taught Roman law at the University of Toulouse (1547-1554). Having failed to secure a tenured position there in 1554, he moved to the University of Cahors, then to the University of Bourges and the University of Valence, where he gained a great reputation. The fame he achieved in his career became a source of regret for his alma mater, the University of Toulouse, which had denied him tenure. During his career he also taught briefly in Turin and Paris. He is considered to be one of the greatest humanists among French jurists, and his works (in particular his collection of Justinian manuscripts) are still useful today for studies in Roman law. The reluctance of the University of Toulouse to offer him tenure is a sign of that institution's reluctance to engage with humanist scholars.

8 RELATED SCHOLARS

Beyond those who taught at Toulouse, several important individuals are related to the university. They probably did not occupy an official position, but they were involved in teaching and/or research. Here, we show here the three related scholars with the highest human capital index. Those scholars are counted to establish all figures but Figure 4.

Fernando Martins de Bulhoes (1195 Lisboa – 1231 Padova), better known as Saint Anthony of Padua, was a Franciscan theologian and orator, born in Portugal. He became a monk, took a vow of poverty, and went on to preach and teach theology in convents in Northern Italy, France, and Toulouse, before university was established there. He was also known to perform miracles and worked against the Cathar heresy in Southern France, founding many convents. He is commonly invoked for help in finding lost objects, and the "miracle of the mule", supposed to have happened in Toulouse, is attributed to him. Van Dyck painted a famous depiction of this event in the 17th century.

Domingo Guzman (1170 Caleruega (Castilla) – 1221 Bologna) was the founder of the Dominican Order and a preacher who aimed to counter the Albigensian heresy in Languedoc. He studied theology in Palencia and in 1203 accompanied his bishop on a mission to the south of France. He preached in Toulouse from 1216 and founded the Dominican order. He established his convents near university centers in places such as Paris and Bologna, and transformed them into theological schools. In Toulouse, the Dominicans played an important role in higher education and were put in charge of the Inquisition in 1233. St. Dominic was canonized on July 3, 1234

Giulio Cesare Vanini (1585 Taurisano, near Lecce – Toulouse 1619) studied philosophy and theology at the University of Naples and had interest in medicine and astronomy. He became a monk, then traveled to Padua to study Galileo and Aristotle's theories, but was not well received by superiors. He fled to Venice, then London where he converted to Anglicanism but was imprisoned. He went to Paris but was censored by the University of Paris and fled to Toulouse. He promoted a view of the universe as an entity governed by natural laws, which made him suspect of atheism. He drew the attention of religious authorities and was arrested. He was subjected to a harsh trial and in February 1619 was executed for his beliefs: his tongue was torn out, and he was tortured, burned, and hanged in Toulouse's Place Saint-Etienne.

9 FAMILIES OF SCHOLARS

We counted 10 father-son pairs among the professors at the University of Toulouse. Among them is the Delort family. This lineage spans three generations. The grandfather, Jean-François, taught medicine between 1720 and 1729 at the University of Toulouse; his son, Jean-Marie Delort, studied

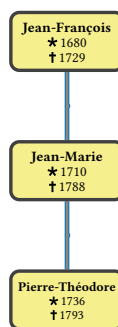


Figure 5: The Delort family

law at the University of Toulouse, and then practiced law from 1733. In 1774, Jean-Marie obtained the chair of French law at the Faculty of Law of Toulouse (founded in 1679, the chair of French law was always occupied by lawyers from the parliament), and when he was too old, he let his son, Pierre-Théodore, take over his chair in 1775. None of them is mentioned in the Lamothe-Langon (1823), or has left works listed in Worldcat. Figure 5 shows a simplified genealogical tree of this family.

10 UNIVERSITY NETWORK

Here, we assume that when a professor occupied a position in more than one university over his/her life, this established a link between the universities in which he taught. The universities with which the University of Toulouse was linked in each period are displayed in Figure 6. At the beginning, the links were strong with Paris, Bologna and Padua and the neighboring southern universities (Period 1: 1200-1347). Links with the Iberian peninsula appear in period 2 (Period 2: 1348-1449). In the 15th century, the links tightened around the nearby universities, including Cahors (Period 3: 1450-1526). In the 16th century (Periods 4 and 5: 1525-1685) the links lengthened again, adding Portugal, but also Germany, at the time of the Reformation. Later, the network was reduced mainly to exchanges with Paris and Montpellier, the neighboring competitor.

11 INTERSECTIONS WITH NEARBY ACADEMY

Some professors of the university were also members of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Arts of Toulouse (1729-1793). In De la Croix and Delvaux (2022) we report that six percent of academicians were also professors (19/327), which is small but not negligible.

12 ANECDOTE

Toulouse was renowned for its Faculty of Law but had a reputation for violence. This reputation found its way into the work of François Rabelais, who studied in Bordeaux, Toulouse, Orleans, Paris, and Montpellier. He wrote in his famous text "Le Pantagruel" (1532) about the main character's time as a student in Toulouse: "Pantagruel went to Toulouse, where he learned to dance and wield a sword with both hands, as was custom for university students. But, after seeing regents burned alive like herrings, he left for Montpellier where he found good wine and joyful company. He then studied medicine before pursuing law in Nimes, Avignon, Bourges, Orleans, and Paris" (Pantagruel, 1532, Tome I).

The famous Scottish thinker, Adam Smith, visited Toulouse and the region in 1764-65. This visit may have informed his conviction that, in Catholic countries, the Church abuses its dominant position to empty universities of talented people: "In countries where church benefices are, the greater part of them, very moderate, a chair in a university is generally a better establishment than a church benefice. The universities have, in this case, the picking and chusing of their members from

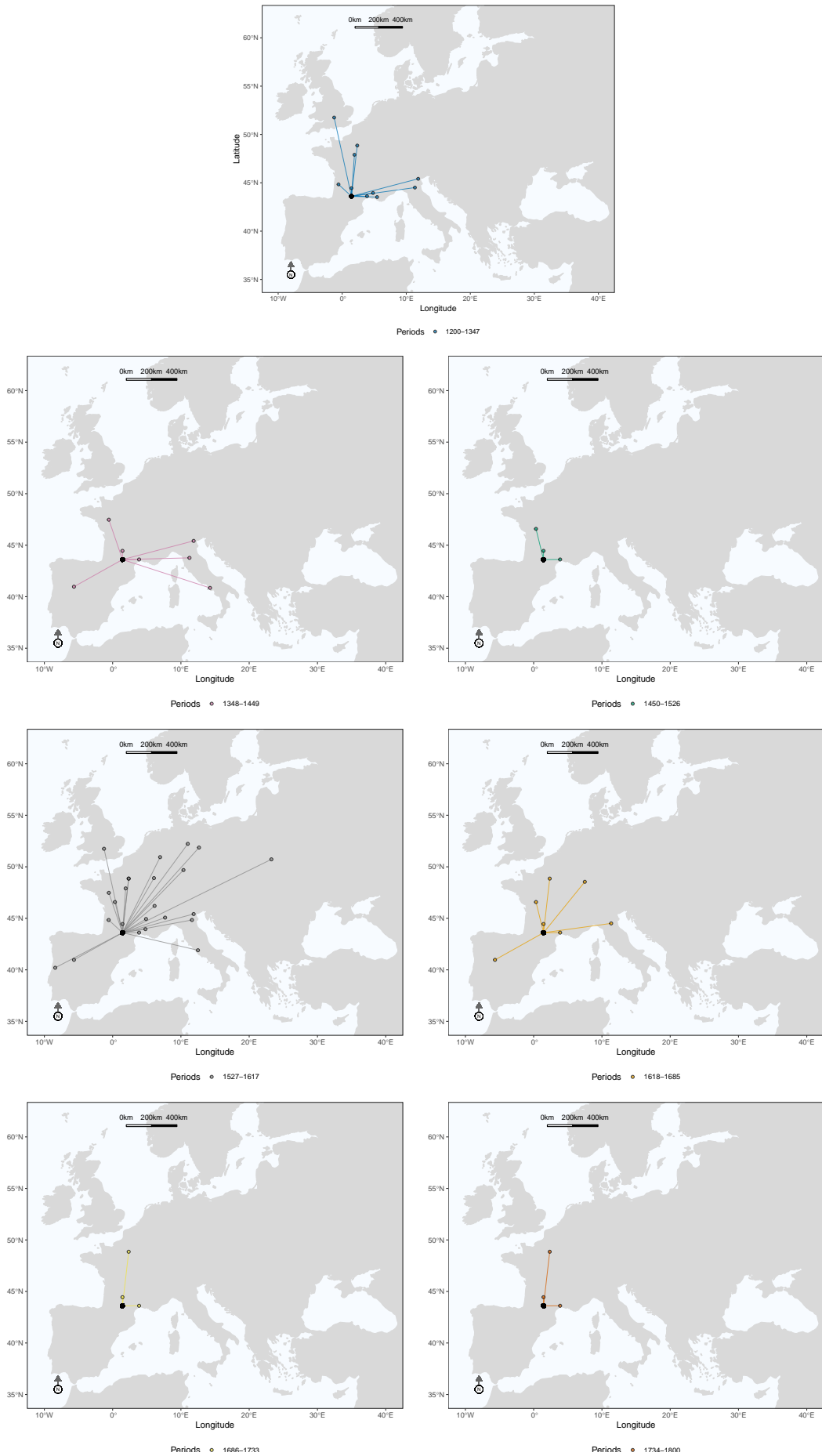


Figure 6: Links between Toulouse and other universities through scholars' mobility, by period

all the churchmen of the country, who, in every country, constitute by far the most numerous class of men of letters. Where church benefices, on the contrary, are many of them very considerable, the church naturally draws from the universities the greater part of their eminent men of letters; who generally find some patron, who does himself honour by procuring them church preferment.(...) We very rarely find in any of them [Roman Catholic countries] an eminent man of letters, who is a professor in a university, except, perhaps, in the professions of law and physic; professions from which the church is not so likely to draw them. (...) In Geneva, on the contrary, in the protestant cantons of Switzerland, in the protestant countries of Germany, in Holland, in Scotland, in Sweden, and Denmark, the most eminent men of letters whom those countries have produced, have, not all indeed, but the far greater part of them, been professors in universities. In those countries, the universities are continually draining the church of all its most eminent men of letters" (Smith 1776).

13 FINAL THOUGHTS

Toulouse was the second oldest and the second biggest university in France, after the University of Paris, and was famous for its Faculty of Law. A 16th century proverb gives a rewarding image of the university: "Paris to see, Lyon to own, Bordeaux to spend and Toulouse to learn!"

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