PART 2

Buildings, Books, and Women’s (Self-)Fashioning
Chapter 4

A Gift from the Queen

The Architecture of the Collège de Navarre in Paris

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“(W)e, Jeanne, by the grace of God Queen of France and Navarre and Countess Palatine of Champagne . . . make and direct our testament and our last will in the form that follows . . . So that the holy Church is founded on solid rock, which is Jesus Christ, be safeguarded henceforth and supported more firmly by wise instruction and masters and doctors . . . we give, leave, command, and delegate our house of Navarre that we have in Paris near the Porte S. Germain des Prés . . . to make, arrange, and establish by our executors the most suitable house that one can with our possessions.

In this (house) three types of students from the kingdom of France can live properly. There will be 20 young students in Grammar and 30 in Logic and Philosophy and 20 in Theology or Divinity.”

Written on March 25, 1305, a week before her death, the testament of Jeanne de Navarre, queen of France and wife of Philip IV the Fair, founded the first royal college in Paris. Bringing together three communities—grammar, liberal arts, and theology—it embraced students ranging in age from ten to around thirty, in effect sheltering within its walls the equivalent of a secondary school, an undergraduate college, and a specialized graduate program. The queen’s will and statutes spelled out the institution’s administrative, financial, curricular, and physical arrangements; although the first students would not matriculate for a decade, Jeanne had a comprehensive blueprint in mind for the Collège de Navarre. Most surprising,
Fig. 4.1. Collège de Navarre, general view from Turgot plan of Paris, 1739. (Photo: Davis.)

Fig. 4.2. Collège de Navarre, façade on rue de la Montagne-Sainte-Geneviève (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Estampes, Topo. Fr. Va 256a.)
The college was the project of a woman at a time when females had no access to university instruction.

This essay focuses on the architecture of Jeanne’s foundation that was the equal to her innovative ideas (fig. 4.1). The Collège de Navarre has disappeared, replaced in the nineteenth century by the École Polytechnique, and now occupied by the Ministère de l’Éducation Nationale, de l’Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche, a tranquil space in the heart of the Left Bank. Nevertheless, drawings and prints record a picture, albeit incomplete, of the fourteenth-century buildings of the college (figs. 4.1, 4.2, 4.3). Modest in scale, demanding none of the structural complexities of the cathedral of Notre-Dame and eschewing the ornamental fireworks of the Sainte-Chapelle, Navarre’s inventiveness has escaped attention. Its originality arises out of the studied synthesis of secular, ecclesiastical, domestic, and monastic architectural components that responded to the special patterns of scholastic life, while its judicious use of prestige features within an overall context of comfortable austerity created an ensemble purpose—built for and expressive of new values of higher education. The Collège de Navarre was, in effect, the first distinctive academic campus.
JEANNE DE NAVARRE’S VISION

In founding this “Maison des Escholiers,” Queen Jeanne, guided by the example of the Queen of Sheba, aimed to bring “the wisdom of King Solomon” to the Church to strengthen its intellectual foundations. In addition, the college was an act of charity, its students recruited from poor but serious scholars throughout the kingdom who, in return, acted as the queen’s intercessors by celebrating anniversary masses “for our soul, for our dear and much loved father and mother, and for all of our other friends.”

To realize the goals of the Collège de Navarre, Queen Jeanne combined ideas from earlier foundations. Already, the Collège du Trésorier (1268), the Collège d’Harcourt (1280), the Collège des Cholets (1311), and the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine (1302) included both liberal arts and theology students, while the disciplinary statutes echo regulations that governed monastic colleges as well as the Sorbonne. To the mix of students, Jeanne added grammarians, a step described as “revolutionary,” and her concerns went beyond the scholastic to encompass moral instruction. Further, she imagined that some if not all courses would be offered within the walls of the college to deliver instruction to small groups of students in the manner of mendicant studia.

There is every indication that Jeanne was the prime mover in the foundation of the Collège de Navarre rather than a passive intermediary for a project masterminded by Philip IV. The royal couple’s roles find apt visual expression at the entrance on the rue de la Montagne-Sainte-Geneviève, where the queen’s statue holds a model that resembles the chapel to advertise that “she founded this building,” whereas the inscription accompanying the figure of Philip the Fair identifies him as the “husband of the founder of this house.” She is the star of the panegyric of the chapel’s slab that sings her praises as it outlines the creation of the college. (figs. 4.2, 4.4) To be sure, the king, as witness to his wife’s testament, was fully informed and approved of the endeavor. Jeanne may have been effectively absent from the kingdom’s politics, but she maintained her presence as sovereign countess in Champagne, frequently visiting her lands and, according to report, personally leading an army that crushed a rebellion of the Count of Bar. That the queen was more than a court ornament, but rather a figure whose attention to education had political consequences, emerges in Philip’s 1294 order that names her as regent in event of his death, entrusting to her the government and the tutelage of the new king until his majority. Jeanne, along with such
Fig. 4.4. Collège de Navarre, figure of Jeanne de Navarre at entrance. (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection Gaignières, Estampes, Réserves, MS Oa, fol. 46.)
contemporaries as Marie de Brabant, was an energetic patron of literature, commissioning Jean de Joinville’s *Vie de Saint Louis*, a Latin translation of the tales of *Kalila wa Dimna*, and French translations of Raymond Llull’s *Arbor philosophiae amoris*, and Durand de Champagne’s *Speculum Domina-rum* for which she was muse and model of the learned, cultivated queen. Her interests reflect the role that late Capetian noblewomen assumed in the schooling of their children, and Jeanne seems to have been at the intersection of progressive ideas of pedagogy, likely crossing paths with Raymond Llull, whose *Doctrine d’enfant* (*Libre de doctrine pueril*) proposed principles of education that echo in the college project.¹⁴

In her testament and statutes, Queen Jeanne outlined the building blocks of the college complex: the three student groups and their masters were provided with their own residences; the governor or rector was given a private dwelling, as were the priests and clerics of the chapel; an infirmary was planned “pour les malades”; and a chapel, where “two masters of Grammar and the Arts and all of the students of the House will be together,” constituted the heart of the ensemble.¹⁵ Although funds remaining from the two thousand pounds allocated annually to the college were to be used to buy books, there is no mention of a dedicated library space.¹⁶ Even at this early stage, the concept of the college suggests translation into a hybrid architecture to accommodate its organizational structure and the varied activities of academic life. Student housing was clearly imagined in domestic terms. Inclusion of a great room (*aula*), a kitchen, and workroom (*officina*) recalls the interior spaces recorded for houses of artisans and merchants, but the dormitory arrangement of sleeping quarters borrows from monastic design.¹⁷ Navarre’s prominent chapel follows a template set by regular colleges including the Bernardins and the Collège de Cluny.¹⁸

**CONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION**

Jeanne bequeathed the hôtel de Navarre for the realization of the college, but it is unlikely that she intended to convert her palace into a house of education.¹⁹ The precision with which it was conceived demanded a tailor-made design. In the statutes, the queen made provisions for funding if construction began in her lifetime, hardly a move she would make if her residence were in play.²⁰ The location of the hôtel of Simon Festu, treasurer of the king, from 1308 bishop of Meaux, one of the queen’s executors and, along
with the abbot of Saint-Denis, Gilles de Pontoise, Navarre’s first governor, apparently determined the site of the college. Valued at five thousand pounds, it was ceded to the king in October 1308. Further purchases in 1308 constituted the campus that formed a large trapezoidal precinct bounded by the rues Montagne-Sainte-Geneviève, Bordet, Clopin, Bon Puits, and Traversine (fig. 4.1). In March 1309, a house was expropriated “without which the college already begun according to the testament of Queen Jeanne cannot be completed.”

On Saturday April 12, 1309, Bishop Simon laid the first stone of the chapel assisted by Miles, chancellor of Paris; Guillaume de Ferrières, an official of the chapter of Meaux; Raoul de Presles; and Pierre de Varinfroy, “latomo,” that is, the master mason of the project. In April 1315, amended statues add detail to Jeanne’s outline that reflect the construction of the college in anticipation of the first entering class that year. Chaplains and clerics serving the chapel were doubled to eight (four each) and required to live in the houses provided for them within the precinct of the college. In addition to these residences, a chapter house now figures as a frequent setting for events. The statutes were to be read to the entire community four times a year “in the chapter of the said house.” Theologians were invited to present sermons in the chapel or the chapter house to all interested scholars and colleagues. And following anniversary masses for Philip IV on November 29, Jeanne on April 3, and Jeanne’s parents, Henry III of Champagne (Henry I of Navarre) and Blanche d’Artois, as well as the feast days of the Virgin, John the Baptist, Saint Nicholas, and Saint Louis, the entire Navarre community shared a common meal. Although the location is not specified, the chapter house must have been one of the few spaces large enough to accommodate at least eighty diners. A cloister, demolished in 1738, knit together the atoms of the ensemble.

Inserted into the Left Bank’s irregular fabric, the plan of the Collège de Navarre does not appear to obey a controlling logic and the frequent alterations, especially in the eighteenth century, further complicate determination of the disposition of the original buildings and spaces (figs. 4.1, 4.5). But given the geometric basis of architectural design and Jeanne’s lucidly structured conception of the college, a random approach to the site plan would be surprising. In general, the plan orchestrates a measured retreat from the bustle of the city in concentric zones beginning with the public façade of houses. Four handsome three-story stone structures, whose uniform gables identify the college in early maps, composed the urban front along the rue de
The main entrance, framed by an ogee arch enclosing a tympanum sown with fleur-de-lis and flanked by statues of Jeanne de Navarre to the left and Philip the Fair to the right, opened through the second house from the left. Shops equipped with stone counters were arranged at street level in the three contiguous houses while the large windows imply residential units on the floors above. These commercial spaces suggest that this quadruple block furnished income-generating rental space, a practice common among contemporary Parisian colleges.

The entrance passage opened into an intermediate zone of student residences buffered by their courtyards and, finally, to an inner, central node of the cloister and chapel (figs. 4.1, 4.5). This layered organization brings to mind strategies of monastic planning that reflect Jeanne’s insistence on a cloistered style of life within the college and restricted contact with the outside world. At the same time, the mix of commerce, dwelling, and wor-

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Fig. 4.5. Collège de Navarre, Delagrive plan of ensemble in 1767 with conjectural ideal scheme. (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Estampes, Topo, Fr. Va 256a; drawing by Davis.)
ship, the use of courtyards to define distinct functional spheres, and the layered arrangement of space parallel design tactics applied to Philip the Fair's renovation and expansion of the Palais de la Cité. That project knit a similarly heterogeneous collection of buildings into the coherent seat of royal government whose courtyards orbited about the internal focal point of the Sainte-Chapelle.32

An ideal geometric scheme may be mapped onto the ensemble, one admittedly deformed by the push and pull of terrain, streets, and surrounding structures (fig. 4.5). The site was arranged around two equivalent open spaces. First, the cloister, about 48 meters square, fixes the location and orientation of the chapel to the north, likely the chapter house, and perhaps other annexes such as the library.33 The house of the theologians abuts the southwest corner of the cloister. To the northwest, the “Cour des Grammairians” nearly replicates the area of the cloister and is bookended by the house and “Cour des Artiens” on the south and to the north by the building that I identify as the probable residence of the grammar students. This ground plan geometry combined with a scenographic arrangement that placed the chapel and its founders’ portal within sightlines from the interior threshold of the entrance passage. That portal becomes the notional center of attention of the college, the pivot around which the interior space of the campus revolves.34 Whether or not this specific formula recreates Pierre de Varin-froy’s design strategy, it suggests that the campus was governed by an overall organizational logic.

THE CHAPEL

Whereas most of the buildings of the Collège de Navarre remain enigmatic or are documented only as exterior surfaces, the chapel is recorded in detailed drawings made around 1844 by Albert Lenoir: plans, longitudinal exterior and interior sections, elevations of the west front, and selected details (figs. 4.3, 4.6, 4.7).35 Supplemented by graphic representations, they fit together in a three-dimensional image of the chapel, dedicated to the Trinity, the victorious cross of Christ, the Virgin Mary, Saint Louis, and Saint Catherine.36 The exterior length of the eight-bay plan, terminated by a three-sided apse, was 47.70 meters long, a generous footprint relative to contemporary oratories that seems to anticipate the large congregations present for public sermons.37 In comparison, the Sainte-Chapelle measures
31.70 by around 10 meters, the chapel of the Collège de Cluny approximately 30 by 10 meters. Cubic bay units, each about 5.30 meters in length with an interior span of 9.50 meters and exterior breadth of 12.50 meters, capped by a wooden vault rising approximately 12.20 meters above the pavement, replaced vertical drama with an air of balanced regularity. Simplicity and economy ruled the building’s fabric fashioned from local Cliquart limestone: wall shafts and moldings are eliminated; tracery is deleted; the small foliate capitals that enrich the shafts of the window jambs sound the only decorative note of the interior (figs. 4.8, 4.9, 4.10).  

While the reconstruction of the body of the building is straightforward, thanks to Lenoir’s documentation, anomalies emerge in the representations of the façade. Lenoir’s plan and the aquatint by Hill and Nattes depict an emphatic difference between the two façade towers: the left an octagonal stair turret crowned by a spire; that on the right a configuration of buttress salients terminated by a smaller pinnacle of indeterminate geometry (fig. 4.6). However, other engravings of the south flank of the chapel suggest that the façade was bracketed by two similar polygonal units, and Troche’s eyewitness description is quite clear about the symmetry of the towers: “at the angles of the portal, two octagonal turrets are attached crowned by stone roofs or pinnacles . . . They enclose a spiral staircase that opens out onto a two-sided stone stair projecting from the field of the gable and protected by an iron railing.” Lenoir struggled with the details of the façade, lightly penciling in rough outlines of the portal and window as well as an alternative version of the right corner (figs. 4.6, 4.7). An addition in 1830 to the library, moved into the western half of the chapel at the arrival of the École Polytechnique, masked the portal and a portion of the right turret; plaster filled the tracery window. Troche describes the façade window as “divided into five pointed arches of a later style,” but such a design would have produced extremely narrow lights. More credible is the rayonnant tracery depicted in the aquatint consisting of a pair of cusped lancets with an inscribed quatrefoil above (fig. 4.3), a pattern that appears with minor variations in the contemporary church of Notre-Dame-des-Menus in nearby Boulogne-sur-Seine and the choir chapels at the cathedral of Paris. In the end, the verbal and visual clues for the façade of the chapel of the Collège de Navarre are incompatible. My reconstruction adopts a design with two symmetrical towers flanking a two-light window, a scheme commensurate with the careful planning, rapid construction, and formal context in which the chapel was realized (fig. 4.9).
Fig. 4.6. Collège de Navarre, plan of chapel by Albert Lenoir. (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Institut national d’histoire de l’art [INHA], collections Jacques Doucet in Paris, côte OA 716 [11,115] RMN Art Resource NY.)
Invoking the royal figures Solomon and Sheba, Jeanne de Navarre’s will and statutes located the Collège de Navarre and its founder within a resonant nexus of associations. On the commemorative tablet displayed in the chapel, her gift of the college to Saint Louis (to whom the oratory is dedicated) is likened to the presents Sheba gave to Solomon, and the poem describes the queen as “beautiful, prudent, constant, just, pious, and charitable,” in essence the incarnation of Wisdom. The Old Testament queen, celebrated for her intellect that tested Solomon with “hard questions” (3 Kings 10:1–13), of-
ferred a worthy model for Jeanne’s foundation of an educational institution. Further, exegetes, such as Isidore of Seville, understood “the queen from the south who came to hear the wisdom of Solomon . . . as the Church, which assembles . . . to hear the voice of God,” and thus a prefiguration of the Virgin Mary, Bride of Christ, Throne of Wisdom, and Queen of Heaven. Jeanne herself is aligned with the Virgin through the visible proximity of their statues on the street façade. Her figure and the college that she presents, “a fountain of life overflowing like the Euphrates” . . . “another Jordan River watering the whole earth with true doctrine,” bring these historical typologies into the present to affirm Paris as a new Jerusalem and France as a Holy Land. It was on this conceptual plane, rather than through historical citation or reference to transcendental models such as the Heavenly Jerusalem, that the architecture composed an iconography expressing the college’s complex identity. Translating the queen’s ideas into built form relied on a composition of building types that accommodated spaces for residence, study, assembly, and worship in combination with the careful orchestra-
tion of decoration. Stone houses announced the college along the rue de la Montagne-Sainte-Geneviève, a major artery of the Left Bank that climbed the hill from the Place Maubert (fig. 4.2). This “domestic” façade immediately distinguished Navarre from the Dominican and Franciscan houses that featured monumental churches and monastic colleges where chapels were placed prominently on the perimeter of their complexes. Instead, it recalled secular foundations, for example the Collège de Sorbonne, founded in 1257 by Robert de Sorbon and supported by Louis IX, originally located in a suite of houses. But Navarre’s houses were made special by the addition of the Virgin and Child above the entrance, a note of the sacred implanted into a mundane framework, and the royal character of the college advertised by the statues of Jeanne and Philip IV posted beside a portal with fleur de lis.  

Fig. 4.9. Collège de Navarre, chapel, reconstruction of west façade. (Model: Davis.)
Stepping through the passage, one’s view was pulled across the courtyard of the grammarians to the portal of the chapel that again featured Jeanne de Navarre and Philip the Fair, this time flanking the statue of Louis IX, patron of the chapel, on the trumeau (figs. 4.3, 4.8). From the front, the chapel displayed all of the signs of a deluxe building: towers, a sculpted portal, and a tracery window. However, the interior, despite its size, presented architecture of the utmost simplicity with smooth walls, plain window openings, and a wooden ceiling. A filiation with the Sainte-Chapelle has been read into the chapel of the Collège de Navarre as a sign of Philip’s aim to transfer the saintly king’s prestige to this new foundation. However, similarities between the chapels are limited to their single vessel plans with polygonal apses. Nevertheless, comparison of these two royal works is instructive. Navarre systematically deletes the attributes—two-story disposition, impressive height, the intense ornamentation of elaborate tracery, perforated gables, and pinnacles—that made the palace chapel appear as “one of the most beautiful rooms of paradise” and an otherworldly expression of sacral kingship. The college chapel is fundamentally an “anti-Sainte-Chapelle.” As has long been recognized, its closest architectural kin are to be found in the mendicant and monastic sphere of Parisian projects and this is usually explained by the influence of Jeanne’s Franciscan confessor Durand de Champagne. To be sure, the chapel of Saint-Louis adopts an ascetic tone
comparable to the Franciscan and Dominican churches in Paris but shares no specific formal elements with them.

Another group of smaller monastic houses, all of them associated with Louis IX, offer more comprehensive parallels. Sainte-Croix-de-la-Bretonnerie and the Blancs-Manteaux, both established on the Right Bank by the king in 1258, and the Carthusians, settled on the southern outskirts of Paris in 1257 and whose church was constructed between 1276 and 1325, all rose from a single vessel envelope closed by a polygonal apse. Severe vertical salient buttresses framed simple lancets. A wooden vault covered the Carthusian oratory, but like the Collège de Navarre chapel a tracery window embellished its west façade. Whether or not the association of these three monastic houses with the saintly king consciously informed the design of the college chapel, its austerity in tandem with the adjacent cloister spoke of a disciplined and virtuous community, one whose masters and students, in the words of Jean de Jandun, “exhaust themselves by their labors . . . reflective men whose vision is not obscured by the cloud of earthly passions (who) wage intellectual combat for the discovery of the truth.”

That the architecture of the Collège de Navarre represents a calculated choice becomes evident when considering the major players in the building project, Jeanne de Navarre; Simon Festu, bishop of Meaux; and the master mason, Pierre de Varinfroy. At the same moment that the plans for the college were being developed, Pierre was engaged on the north transept at Saint-Étienne, the cathedral of Meaux, a multitiered confection of gables, tracery, and glass. Meaux lay within Jeanne’s lands as countess of Brie, and she has been regarded as a principal benefactor of cathedral construction. No doubt bishop Simon understood Jeanne’s intentions for Navarre when he brought his master mason into the construction team and Pierre responded by working in a register distinct from the opulent mode of elite ecclesiastical edifices. Pragmatically, his architecture answered the requirements of the college’s agenda. At a deeper level the unusual combination of building types—houses, chapel, cloister—and the mix of plain effects with the fancy details of tracery and sculpture articulated the identity of an institution that was royal, secular, carefully supervised, highly regulated, and energetically pious.

Just as Saint-Denis is inconceivable without the guiding hand of Suger, the Collège de Navarre was the child of an extraordinary patron, her personal sensibilities, life experiences, and public personae. A blend of household, convent, and government, the college reflected Jeanne’s involvement in the
education of her children, her interest in learning and literature cultivated in court circles, her concern for salvation, her charity, and her roles as queen and active ruler. Jeanne de Navarre’s vision was materialized after her death by men—Durand of Champagne, Simon Festu, Pierre de Varinfroy, and Philip the Fair—in her service and who knew her intimately. Her foundation redefined the purpose of a college and its architecture; its influence continues to reverberate in the spirit of community and personal intellectual growth that animates higher education and in the quadrangles, dormitories, classrooms, libraries, and chapels of our contemporary campuses.

Notes

This study of the Collège de Navarre was made possible by a Mount Holyoke College faculty grant. Thanks to colleagues Nick Baker and M. Naomi Darling for advice in making the chapel model, to Fabienne Queyroux and Jérôme Delatour at the Bibliothèque de l’Institut national d’histoire de l’art, Paris, who made the Lenoir drawings available, and to Susan Halpert at the Houghton Library, Harvard University, who facilitated access to key sources.


3. Gorochov, *Le Collège de Navarre*, 143, calls Jeanne the “véritable architecte” of the institution. For the 1305 statutes of the college, Paris, Archives Nationales, J 155, no. 3, published by Du Boulay, *Historia Universitatis*, IV, 82–85. These regulations were elaborated in the 1315 statutes, Paris, Archives Nationales, J 155, no. 4, and Du Boulay, IV, 87–96.


5. Du Boulay, Historia Universitatis, IV, 82.

6. Ibid., IV, 77. Jeanne required the celebration of the eight canonical hours on Sunday, increased to a daily performance in the 1315 statutes. Consult Gorochov, Le Collège de Navarre, 159–61, for the density of religious offices.

7. Gorochov, Le Collège de Navarre, 128, 130. The regulations of the Collège du Trésorier have been published in part by Lynn Thorndike, University Records and Life in the Middle Ages (New York: Norton, 1975), 75–78.


9. Ibid., 138–39, 574. Teaching within the college was not fully realized until the late fourteenth century as discussed by Gorochov, 261–63, 455–59, 575–76.


14. For Jeanne’s literary commissions, Gorochov, Le Collège de Navarre, 146–49; Dorothy Gillerman, Enguerran de Marigny and the Church of Notre-Dame at Écouis: Art and Patronage in the Reign of Philip the Fair (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1994), 13–15; and Amanda Luyster, “Political Moves: Jeanne de Navarre, Queenship, and Kalila and Dimna, BNF MS Latin 8504,” in Moving Women, Mov-


16. Du Boulay, Historia Universitatis, IV, 78, 84. The books were to “be placed in the house for the common use of the scholars.” A library must have existed by 1418 when it was spared during the pillage of the college by the Burgundians, as in Launoy, Regii Navarrae, I, 126. A monumental library building, erected in the late fifteenth century by headmaster Jean Raulin with funds donated by Charles VIII, survived until 1876 and is discussed in Perraut, L’Architecture des collèges, 144–45.


18. College chapels are discussed by Perraut, L’Architecture des collèges, 121–34.


21. Gorochov, Le Collège de Navarre, 154, for the real estate transactions related to the college; also Perraut, L’Architecture des collèges, 118–19, citing Paris, Archives nationales, JJ 40, no 178, for the 1309 expropriation. She suggests that the acquisition of the house cleared the way for the construction of the chapel. A 1552 document mentions that the campus covered eight arpents, which is about 6.8 acres, for which see Perraut, “Le monde universitaire,” III, 889–90.

22. Du Boulay, Historia Universitatis, IV, 84, for the inscription on the left side of the chapel’s nave; also Launoy, Regii Navarrae, I, 39–40. For the identification of Pierre de Varinfroy, master mason at Saint-Etienne, cathedral of Meaux, see Pe-


24. Ibid., IV, 95.

25. Ibid., IV, 94. Gorochov, *Le Collège de Navarre*, 181, estimates that these sermons may have drawn an audience of several hundred listeners.


29. The ogee arch may reflect repairs after the Burgundian sack of the college in 1418. Fragments of a late fifteenth-century pillar were found at 37 rue de la Montagne-Sainte-Geneviève in 1936 as reported by Jean-Pierre Willesme, *Sculptures médiévales (XIIe-debut XVIe siècle) du Musée Carnavalet* (Paris: s.n., 1979), 176–77. Absent from the documentary record, the architectural history of the stone houses is enigmatic.

30. In 1446, Gieffroy Le Normand, curate of Saint-Benoît-le-Bestourné and by 1450 master of the Navarre grammarians, rented two dwellings, the “Écu de Boulogne” and “Aux Deux Lions” immediately adjacent to the college’s houses to lodge, feed, and tutor in “his hôtel or school” the son of Robert de Buymont and Agnès d’Auvergne who lived nearby. See Simone Roux, *La Rive Gauche des Escholiers (XVe siècle)* (Paris: Éditions Christian, 1992), 68–69. For the real estate maneuvers required to assemble a coherent parcel and the importance of rental property, Perraut, *L’Architecture des collèges*, 110–18.


32. The most comprehensive study of the Palais de la Cité remains Jean Guérout, “Le Palais de la Cité des origines à 1417: essai topographique et archéologique,” *Paris et l’Île de France: Mémoires*, I (1949), 57–212; 2 (1950), 21–204; 3 (1951), 7–101. The shops along the eastern wall of the palace appear to have been an integral feature of the project, for which consult Guérout, 2 (1950), 25–26, 49, 84. Also Herveline Delhumeau, *Le Palais de la Cité du Palais des rois de France au Palais de Justice* (Arles: Cité de l’Architecture et du Patrimoine/MMF/Aristeas/Actes Sud, 2011). The connection of the college and palace was suggested by Michael T. Davis,

33. Although the location of the capitulum is never specified, statutes of 1459 forbade students to play in the cloister to avoid damaging that space as well as the chapter house. See Perraut, “Le monde universitaire,” III, 889, 896–97. Based on analogies to the Franciscan convent, the Collège de Cluny, and the Collège des Bernardins, the chapter house may have opened onto the east gallery of the cloister at right angles to the chapel. A sacristy would have been required and logically would also occupy a room on the cloister’s east side contiguous to the chapel. This is suggested by 1693 repairs to the cloister “on the side of church at the end of the sacristy” (“du costé de l’église au bou [sic] du pavillon de la sacristie . . .”), as in Perraut, “Le monde universitaire,” V, 1575.

34. The interaction of planning, building, site, and sight has been explored by Marvin Trachtenberg, Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art, and Power in Early Modern Florence (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), especially 92–147.


36. This dedication took place on October 16, 1373, as in Du Boulay, Historia Universitatis, IV, 96. The reconstruction presented here was made using SketchUp.

37. Troche, “Ancienne Chapelle,” 197. The chapel’s plan, according to Lenoir’s drawing, Bibliothèque de l’INHA OA 716 (11, 115), narrowed approximately forty centimeters from east to west.


40. Troche, “Ancienne chapelle,” 197. The image on page 196 depicts these two octagonal towers.

41. Ibid., 198.


43. The inscription is published by Du Boulay, Historia Universitatis, IV, 85–87. Gorochov, Le Collège de Navarre, 145, draws the comparison between Jeanne and Wisdom.


45. Du Boulay, Historia Universitatis, IV, 82: “Ad quam sapienciam vide licet veri


48. Louis IX is identified by an inscription recorded by Launoy, Regii Navarre Historia, I, 40 as “decus regnantium,” that is, “the glory of rulers.” Jacques DuBreul, Théâtre des antiquitez de Paris (Paris: Claude de la Tour, 1612), 660–61, reports inscriptions under the statues of the king and queen whose figures were “painted with gold and azure.” See also Brown, “The Case of Philip the Fair,” 224–25. The statue is not that of Louis X (“Ludovicus decem”) the reigning monarch in 1315 as in Gillerman, Enguerran de Marigny, 139–40, and Perraut, L’Architecture des collèges, 192–93.


52. Information on Sainte-Croix, the house of the Brothers of the Holy Cross affiliated with the Augustinians, can be found in DuBreul, Théâtre des antiquitez, 898–900; and Émile Raunié, Épitaphier du vieux Paris: recueil général des inscriptions funéraires des églises, couvents, collèges, hospices, cimetières et charniers, depuis le moyen âge jusqu’à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, 4 vols. (Paris: Imprimérie nationale, 1890–1901) III, 419–30, who notes that the church was vaulted but does not specify whether it was of wood or stone. For the Blancs-Manteaux, Du Breul, 895–98; Raunié, Épitaphier, II, 25–34; and A. Grimault, “Rapport présenté par M. Grimault au nom

53. Jean de Jandun (Johannes de Gendino) was the first Master of Arts at the Collège de Navarre in 1315. The quotation is drawn from his *Tractatus de laudibus Parisius*, in *Paris et ses historiens*, 38–39.


55. Gorochov, *Le Collège de Navarre*, 140, signals that the title “gouverneur de l’hôtel,” director of the community, is drawn from political vocabulary.

Works Cited


