

THE DONATION OF ST. JACQUES AT PARIS TO THE 'DOMINICANS'. SOME OBSERVATIONS

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Considering the central place of the Paris convent to Dominican education, one might assume there is nothing more to be said about the founding of St. Jacques. The property was given to the Dominicans in 1221 by two donors, the University of Paris and by a secular cleric named John, at the time regent master in theology at Paris and dean of the collegiate church at St. Quentin in the Vermandois in southern Picardy. John taught Dominican theological students until the Order obtained a regent master of its own in 1229. Some details in the standard account, however, have not been fully explored and have left a number of issues unresolved. For example, what was the form of the rights held over the St. Jacques property respectively by Master John and the University, and when and how did they acquire those rights? Did John use the property before 1218 as a hospital for the poor, a hospice for pilgrims, or as housing for students? What role did Pope Honorius III play in the founding and the appointment of John as lecturer at St. Jacques? What was John's relationship, if any, with King Philip Augustus? Was John a physician as well as a theologian? Even John's name and national origin have been matters of dispute. Throughout the early modern period and well into the twentieth century, the donor of St. Jacques was thought to have been Johannes de Barastre, a royal clerk from Picardy and regent master in the newly organized faculty of theology at Paris¹.

¹ C. Héméré, *De scholis publicis earumque magisteriis dissertatio, pro regali ecclesia Sancti Quintini. Adjuncta est tabella chronologica decanorum, custodum et canonicorum ejusdem ecclesiae*, Paris 1633, 50; QE I, 17-18; L. P. Colliette, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique, civile et militaire de la province de Vermandois*, Cambrai 1771, II, 577-79; B. Haureau, "Quelques lettres d'Honorius III," in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale et autres bibliothèques*, XXI, 2, Paris 1865, 179-183; H. Denifle - É. Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (= CUP), I, Paris 1889, 588-91; P. Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII^e*, Paris 1933, 274, no. 114; H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edition with annotations by F. M. Powicke - A. B. Emden, Oxford 1936, I, 372-73, n. 3.

In 1936, however, Josiah Cox Russell, basing his opinion largely on the authority of Matthew Paris, argued that the person in question was Johannes de Sancto Albano from the town of St. Albans in England². Assuming that a thirteenth-century source such as Matthew Paris, writing less than a generation after the actual donation, had better credibility than statements by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century authors, William A. Hinnebusch concluded that the donor was John of St. Albans, a position that has generally been accepted by later historians, but without further investigation³. The following remarks attempt to provide more precision.

The Property on Grande Rue St-Jacques

At the opening of the thirteenth century, the property on the Grande rue opposite the church of St. Étienne-des-Grez and just inside the principal southern gate to Paris was owned by Simon de Poissy (de Pisciac), which in 1209 he gave to his friend John, identified in the document of transfer as a master and royal clerk, in order to build a charitable hospital⁴. Presumably Simon felt he

² J. C. Russell, *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth-Century England*, London 1936, 73.

³ W. A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order. Origins and Growth to 1500*, I, Staten Island 1965, 73, n. 112; M. Mulchahey, "First the Bow is Bent in Study", *Dominican Education before 1350*, Toronto 1998, 26-27, n. 78. N. Gorochoy, *Naissance de l'Université. Les écoles de Paris d'Innocent III à Thomas d'Aquin (v. 1200-v. 1245)*, Paris 2012, 80-81, 326, 361, 401 combined the evidence and concluded that "l'énigmatique maître Jean de Barastre" was an English theologian who also went by the names of "Jean de Saint-Albans" and "Jean de Saint-Quentin".

⁴ QE I, 17, col. A: "In nomine P. et F. et SS. A. Ego Simon de Pisciac notum facio universis praesens scriptum inspecturis, quod ego de consensu et concessu Agnetis uxoris mea et haeredum meorum concessi et dedi magistro Johanni regis clerico et amico meo xvi denarios in censu quos habui ante ecclesiam S. Stephani Parisius cum omni libertate et dominio et justitia ejusdem censivae ad opus domus Dei hospitalis videlicet S. Jacobi, quod idem Johannes ibidem construere proponit, in perpetuum libere possidendos. Ut autem haec donatio firma sit, sigilli mei munimine hanc chartulam roboravi. Rogo etiam dilectissimum dominum meum Philippum Francorum regem, quatenus amore Dei et meo ipsi hoc factum meum placeat confirmare. Actum apud Egremont anno incarnationis Domini MCCIX". The text has all the elements indicating it was transcribed in its entirety from the original, which was still extant in the archives of the Dominican convent at Paris in the early eighteenth century. The southern gate on Grande rue at the beginning of the thirteenth century was known as Porte d'Orléans, soon to be known as Porte St. Jacques. For information on Simon de Poissy, a member of one branch of an important local aristocratic family

and his wife Agnes were nearing the end of life and wished to establish an institution that would benefit their souls after death. The plan for a hospital staffed with lay brothers was soon implemented, along with a chapel dedicated to St. Jacques⁵. At the time of the property transfer in 1209 John was not yet dean of St. Quentin, an office then held by a cleric by the name of Daniel, who was dean of St. Quentin from before 1207 until 1213⁶. John was, however, a royal clerk with the title of *magister*, perhaps already teaching theology in or near the cathedral close. Although earlier historians have sometimes claimed that John held the St. Jacques property as a benefice from the University⁷, the 1209 document makes clear that it was given outright and only to Master John for a specific charitable purpose that Simon and John shared.

In August 1218 Master John, by then dean of St. Quentin in Veromandia, removed the staff of the hospital and installed Dominican friars, who in the previous year had arrived in Paris and occupied a house next to the hospital on the Île-de-la-Cité at the entrance to the episcopal palace⁸. It is likely that John's association

and who owned numerous properties in Paris, I am indebted to the late John Baldwin, whose research on the aristocracy of the Paris region during the reign of Philip Augustus will hopefully be published in the near future.

⁵ QE I, 17, col. A: "publicam pauperum advenarum domum cum sacello sub invocatione S. Jacobi recens erexerat [Master John] ... in eoque Fratres quosdam conversos qui pauperibus inservirent constituerat". John did not establish St. Jacques as a hospice for pilgrims nor as lodgings for students, as is often said. It served as a hospital for the poor until 1218 when John installed Dominican friars.

⁶ *Gallia Christiana*, IX, Paris 1751, cols. 1046-1047, citing information from Héméré, *De scholis publicis*. Daniel's name as dean of St. Quentin appears in documents from 1207, 1208, and 1213. From the same sources, based on the records of the chapter at St. Quentin, John became dean in 1214, possibly through the influence of Philip Augustus.

⁷ For example, *Gallia Christiana*, IX, col. 1047; Haureau, *Notices et extraits*, XXI, 2, 181-82. Haureau, unaware of or ignoring the 1209 donation quoted by Échard in QE and the 1221 donation of John in the archives of the University of Paris, maintained that "le doyen Jean était pauvre" and "Jean ne possédait pas la chapelle Saint-Jacques et les maisons voisines. Elles appartenaient en propre à l'Université de Paris. ... Mais, dès l'année 1218, Jean, doyen de Saint-Quentin, en avait l'usufruit. ... Il avait donc, à ce titre, obtenu de l'Université les revenus de la chapelle Saint-Jacques, et il jouissait de ce benefice, quand, pour aider à l'établissement des nouveaux religieux, l'Université leur céda tout ensemble et le professeur renommé et la chapelle où sans doute il avait sa chaire".

⁸ Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus de principiis ordinis Praedicatorum* in MOPH, XVI, Rome 1935, 50, no. 52 and 53; QE I, 17, col. A: "seu hoc institutum non satis firmum agnosceret, seu alia quacunque de causa, certe majus Ecclesiae commodum perpendens, relicto priori consilio, dimissisque illis conversis, nostros [Dominican

with the Dominicans began in that location, and when he installed them at St. Jacques, he made the latter his place of residence and teaching, both for Dominican students as well as his own. In the first decade of the thirteenth century many, perhaps most of those teaching theology in Paris, apart from religious foundations like St. Victor and perhaps a few independent teachers on Mont-Ste-Geneviève, did so in connection with the cathedral school on the Île and under the authority of the chancellor of Notre-Dame. The open market in teaching that existed in the twelfth century under the authority of the abbot and chancellor of Ste. Geneviève, while it continued in philosophy, seems to have diminished in theology, and most secular masters teaching theology in 1210 taught near the cathedral, many also holding positions as canons of Notre-Dame.

Between 1218 and the autumn of 1219 the cathedral chapter expressed its strong opposition to the relocation and activities of the Dominican friars at St. Jacques. Denifle assumed that the complaint was a result of objections from the chapter of the collegiate church of St. Benoît, which also served as the church for the parish within which St. Jacques lay, over the Dominicans' infringement of their parochial rights, presumably including preaching, hearing confessions, and burial rights⁹. Pope Honorius III on 1 December 1219, at the request of the Dominicans at Paris, granted them the right to hold divine services in their church at St. Jacques¹⁰, but Honorius' appointment ten days later of the abbots of St. Denis and St. Germain-des-Prés and the chancellor of Milan, then at Paris, to block the litigation by the cathedral chapter against the Dominicans must have been in response to complaints voiced earlier¹¹. Presumably papal permission for the Dominicans to hold religious services in the chapel of St. Jacques was *ex post facto*, as may also have been the case with papal permission of burial rights at St. Jacques conferred in July 1220¹². There may also have been residual ill-will over the removal of the Dominicans from their location on

friars] ibidem collocavit vi augusti mccxviii ...". The account presented by Hinnebusch, *History I*, 58-59, makes it appear that it was the University that installed the Dominicans at St. Jacques in 1218 in response to a request from Pope Honorius III. That issue, as well as whether Pope Honorius appointed Master John to teach the Dominicans will be addressed later in this article.

⁹ CUP I, 94, no. 35, n. 1.

¹⁰ CUP I, 93-94, no. 34; *Monumenta diplomatica S. Dominici*, ed. Vl. J. Koudelka - R. J. Loenertz, Romae 1966 (= MOPH XXV), 112, no. 107.

¹¹ CUP I, 94, no. 35; MOPH XXV, 115-6, no. 110.

¹² CUP I, 96-97, no. 38; MOPH XXV, 131-2, no. 128.

the Île, with direct oversight by the bishop and chapter, as well as to John's moving his teaching and students from the cathedral to Mont-Ste-Geneviève, assuming he was not already teaching there when it was a charitable hospital.

At some time before 1221, and probably before 1218, the University of Paris obtained rights (*jus*) in or adjacent to the St. Jacques property, perhaps in connection with Master John's lectures to Dominican and other students in theology or from the acquisition of additional houses *in loco Sancti Jacobi*. In 1221 Master John and the University each gave their rights at St. Jacques to the prior and brothers at the Dominican convent in perpetuity, thus completing the transfer of the property to the Dominicans and perhaps expanding it. Master John was not giving up rights he held from the University as a benefice but rights he held as owner of the property given to him by Simon de Poissy on a portion of which the chapel was located and on which he had built the hospital. The masters and scholars of the University were giving up rights they held *in loco Sancti Jacobi* either in conjunction with those of Master John, or contiguous properties they had acquired.

Unlike Simon de Poissy's donation to Master John and John's initial transfer to the Dominicans in 1218, both of which are known through documents and information provided in QE, the final transfer of the property in 1221 survives in two documents preserved in the archives of the University of Paris in the Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne. One document, the transfer of the property rights by John, dean of St. Quentin, is dated to 3 May 1221¹³. The other document, the transfer of the rights of the masters and scholars of Paris, is dated only to 1221, which means it was issued sometime after 11 April 1221 (Easter, which marked the beginning of the year in northern France), presumably around the time of the corresponding donation by the dean of St. Quentin or soon thereafter¹⁴. The donation of the University's rights originally bore three seals – all seals of regent masters of theology, only one of which, the seal of Master Geoffrey of Poitiers, can be identified¹⁵.

What was the proprietary status of St. Jacques in 1221? Were the dean of St. Quentin and the University of Paris co-owners of the

¹³ CUP I, 100-101, no. 43; MOPH XXV, 160-62, no. 160.

¹⁴ CUP I, 99-100, no. 42.

¹⁵ For a discussion of the seals on this document, see W. J. Courtenay, "Magisterial Authority, Philosophical Identity, and the Growth of Marian Devotion. The Seals of Parisian Masters, 1190-1308," forthcoming in "Speculum".

entire St. Jacques property John had received from Simon de Poissy, or had John between 1209 and 1218 granted to the University certain rights over portions of the property not occupied by the hospital, or had the University by other means acquired property and houses adjacent to Master John's possession that could be described as *in loco Sancti Jacobi*? What rights was each party resigning in 1221 in favor of the Dominicans: legal ownership of land and buildings, the use of certain buildings for residence or teaching, or different parts of a large property?

The University's donation to the Dominicans specifies that they were giving all rights they held at present or in the past in the property located opposite the church of St. Étienne-des-Grez at the gate out of the city¹⁶. What kind of rights these were, whether ownership, use, or other rights is not specified. Master John's donation, however, is more specific both in location and physical property. He was giving up all rights he held in property that belonged to him (*in loco nostro*), both lands and buildings, located opposite St. Étienne-des-Grez and between the two gates out of Paris, presumably referring to what soon came to be called Porte St. Jacques and Porte St. Michel to the west¹⁷. The simplest interpretation of these two documents is that Master John had retained legal ownership of the lands and buildings on which he had established the hospital, the use of which, specifically the chapel of St. Jacques and the hospital buildings, he had transferred to the Dominicans in 1218. In 1221 he was giving them ownership of what they previously had as usufruct, along with additional land. The University may have been giving up ownership of some properties in that same area, but it is more likely that they were giving up rights of use for purposes of teaching and residence on land actually owned by Master John. The University document makes no mention of the chapel of St. Jacques, land, or buildings. Each donor retained rights due to patrons and founders of religious institutions. In the case of the University this entailed annual prayers

¹⁶ CUP I, 99, no. 42: "quidquid juris habemus vel habuimus in loco Sancti Jacobi, qui est coram ecclesia Sancti Stephani in exitu civitatis Parisiensis ...".

¹⁷ CUP I, 100, no. 43: "quidquid juris habemus vel habere videmur in loco nostro, qui est Parisius coram Sancto Stephano ad manum dextram, inter duas portas proximas in exitu civitatis, sicut vie communes ambiunt, tam in terris quam in edificiis omnibus ...". Hinnebusch, *History* I, 73, n. 112, claimed that John made this donation "with the support of Simon of Poissy". Simon, however, died in late 1218 or early 1219 (J. Depoin, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Pontoise*, Pontoise 1901, 431-33), and we have no way of knowing whether he would have concurred in the modification of the intent of the original grant to Master John.

for the *studium* and, if so requested, rights of burial for masters who died while teaching, masters of theology to be buried in the chapter, masters in other faculties to be buried in the cloister. In the case of Master John this meant for himself (but not his successors) a seat in the choir of the church, a place in the refectory as well as in the chapter, burial in the church as distinct from the nearby cemetery, and anniversary masses after his death.

We need to consider more closely what was meant by *universitas magistrorum et scholarium Parisiensium* in 1220 and 1221. It was the masters on behalf of the university community who were acting in this matter, and the language in the 1221 donation regarding the right of burial for masters reveals that all faculties were in principle involved. On the other hand, when Pope Honorius in February 1220 wrote to the *magistris et scholaribus Parisius*, he was primarily addressing theologians who were assisting the Dominican mission by providing space and theological instruction for Dominican students at their new location at St. Jacques¹⁸. Moreover, those who issued and sealed the donation of 1221 were regent masters in theology. Admittedly they were acting on behalf of the University, but no master from the faculty of arts, not the rector nor any of the proctors of the four nations, were signatories to the document. The matter primarily concerned one group within the University, namely the faculty of theology.

It has already been suggested that the rights (*jus*) held by the University *in loco sancti Jacobi* were probably usufruct rights for purposes of teaching and residence of masters and students, or possibly also ownership rights over houses on or adjacent to the property held by Master John. To the extent those rights involved the property that John had acquired from Simon de Poissy, they would had to have been granted as long-term leases or sold by John, perhaps in order to finance the building, staffing, food, and supplies for the hospital. Medieval charitable institutions, such as colleges or hospitals, were not self-sustaining. What John had received from Simon in 1209 was the land without any mention of an endowment, and the building of the hospital and chapel was John's responsibility either from his personal resources or through other means. Bringing in other members of the university community, primarily his colleagues in the faculty of theology, seems the most likely route for the University's involvement in St. Jacques before 1218. The

¹⁸ CUP I, 95, no. 36

University's willingness to resign those rights in favor of the Dominicans in 1221 may have been facilitated by Master John being their landlord, still owning most if not all of the property.

When did the University acquire those rights, and did they, like Master John, tentatively transfer those rights to the Dominicans in 1218 or only later in 1221? In his brief account of the Dominican acquisition of St. Jacques, Jordan of Saxony in his *Libellus* summarized the events of 1218 and 1221 in an entry under the date of 1218¹⁹. It is likely that the University, principally the faculty of theology, had acquired those rights by or before 1218, but apart from Jordan's account, which may have fused events in 1221 with those in 1218, there is no firm evidence that the University joined Master John in installing the Dominicans at St. Jacques in 1218. The letter of Honorius in February 1220, thanking the University for helping the Dominicans and encouraging them in this endeavor, suggests that more masters than John had acted on behalf of the Dominicans in 1218 or 1219.

What was the role of Honorius in the transfer of St. Jacques to the Dominicans and in the appointment of John as theological lecturer to Dominican students? Jordan of Saxony claimed that installing the Dominicans at St. Jacques in 1218, an action completed in 1221, was *ad instantiam precum domini pape Honorii*. While it is possible that Honorius made a specific request to John and other masters of theology at Paris to provide residential property for the Dominicans, it is more likely that Jordan was viewing the acquisition of St. Jacques as in some sense a result of Honorius' appeal in

¹⁹ Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus*, MOPH XVI, 50, no. 53: "Anno domini MCCXVIII, data est fratribus domus sancti Iacobi, quamvis nondum absolute, a magistro Iohanne, decano sancti Quintini, et ab universitate Parisiensi, ad instantiam precum domini pape Honorii, quam intraverunt ad habitandum VIII Idus Augusti". Simon Tugwell, "Notes on the Life of St Dominic", AFP 68 (1998), 1-33, has shown that most of the *Libellus* was written by 1221, with certain additions (passages or wording) up to its publication in 1233. I suggest that the sentence just quoted was written or revised after May 1221, when Jordan was still in Paris, since the phrase "quamvis nondum absolute" implies that the dean of St. Quentin made the donation "absolute" sometime after 1218, namely in May 1221. The account given by friar John of Spain as part of the *Acta canonizationis s. Dominici* is similar in content but does mention the role of Honorius or connect the donation by the University to 1218; MOPH, XVI, 144: "Et dum ipse testis et socii studerent Parisius, data fuit ei et sociis a magistro Iohanne decano sancti Quintini tunc regente in theologia Parisius et ab universitate magistrorum et scholarium Parisiensium ecclesia sancti Iacobi, posita in porta Aurelianensi, ubi steterunt et fecerunt conventum ...". Both accounts list John as the first donor, then the University.

February 1218 that prelates should provide for the Dominican friars, a letter given to the Dominicans to present to the bishop when they first arrived in the diocese²⁰. It would have been known to the cathedral chapter and to theological masters that Peter of Nemours, bishop of Paris, had been shown a copy of the papal letter and that the pope was seeking support for the Dominican mission. Perhaps Master John saw an opportunity to transform his hospital for the poor into a religious convent that would serve the educational needs of the friars as well as the spiritual needs of the poor and the transient population that entered Paris at the principal gate from the south. Providing for poor scholars and poor friars was just as much an act of mercy as providing for the sick and indigent. And because of the popularity of the Dominicans and other mendicant orders in many quarters, St. Jacques could become self-sustaining through alms and bequests.

It has sometimes been suggested that Pope Honorius III initially appointed John to provide theological instruction for the Dominicans at Paris²¹. This opinion seems to be based on a phrase in a letter of Honorius on 4 May 1221, one day after John completed the donation of St. Jacques to the Dominicans, which stated that John taught the Dominican brothers "*de mandato nostro*"²². This letter was written to the cantor and archdeacon of Notre Dame and the dean of St. Germain-l'Auxerrois on behalf of Master John to force the chapter at St. Quentin to pay John the income from his prebend as dean and to pay his vicar from the daily distributions made to canons who were in residence. The letter makes clear that John had received a papal dispensation in the form of a license for study according to Honorius' constitution of November 1219, which permitted students and teachers to receive the income of their benefices *in absentia* for up to five years²³. It is not clear whether "*de mandato nostro*" refers to an original appointment to teach Dominican students in 1217 or 1218, or more likely to the license John received from the pope (*de licentia nostra*), which excused him from residence in St. Quentin

²⁰ MOPH XXV, 87, no. 86. I am grateful to Dr. Tugwell for clarifying the routing of these letters. No separate request to the University of Paris or to Master John is ever referred to.

²¹ Mulchahey, "*First the Bow*", 27.

²² CUP I, 101, no. 44; MOPH XXV, 162-3, no. 161: "*decano Sancti Quintini ... cum de mandato nostro Parisius doceat fratres de ordine Predicatorum in theologica facultate ...*".

²³ CUP I, 90-93, no. 32.

while at the same time receiving the fruits of his benefice. John had been teaching Dominican students before 1221 and the license for "study," whenever it was issued, grounded his right to receive fruits *in absentia* with papal approval of his teaching in Paris.

How long John remained teaching theology at Paris is uncertain. He was among the teachers of Étienne de Bourbon before the latter joined the Dominican Order around 1223²⁴. He was one of three papal judge delegates in the summer of 1228 appointed to help resolve the dispute between the university and the bishop, chancellor, and chapter of Paris²⁵. The response of the judges was issued at St. Quentin on 3 August 1228, but whether John was there because the University was not in session or because he had ceased to teach in Paris and had returned to his duties at St. Quentin is uncertain²⁶. As will be discussed in a moment, he acquired more property in the area around St. Jacques and possibly had retained part of what he had received from Simon de Poissy, on which he had erected houses to be rented or for the use of family members. Whether he is the same John, dean of St. Quentin, *dictus de Sancto Albano*, who resigned that office by 1234 in favor of appointment as treasurer of Salisbury, or whether the dean of St. Quentin who founded St. Jacques and identified by Héméré as John of Barastre died by the early 1230s and was succeeded in that office by John of St. Albans, will also be discussed in the next section. For the moment it can be said that John, donor of St. Jacques, spent enough time in association with St. Quentin for him to subsequently be referred to as John of St. Quentin and for that place to become a family name.

The Identity and Family of John, Dean of St. Quentin

In early November 1261 Walter, *dictus de Sancto Quintino*, nephew of Master John, expressed his desire to convert houses in the area of St. Jacques that he had inherited from his uncle into

²⁴ Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diversis materiis predicabilibus*, ed. Jacques Berlioz - Jean-Luc Eichenlaub, (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 124) Turnhout 2002, 157-58: "Audivi a magistro Iohanne quondam decano Sancti Quintini et lectore Parisiensi in theologia, qui dicebat in lectionibus suis se vidisse, quemdam qui dicebatur fuisse in illo purgatorio", namely the purgatory of St. Patricius in Ireland; information also mentioned by Haureau, *Notices et extraits*, XXI, 2, 182; Gorochoy, *Naissance*, 328.

²⁵ CUP I, 113-14, no. 58; 117-18, no. 61.

²⁶ CUP I, 117, no. 61.

accommodations for poor scholars, or to be rented or sold in such a way that the income would serve the same purpose²⁷. Some of the houses were located in the rue St. Étienne-des-Grez, across the Grande rue from the entrance to St. Jacques. Others were adjacent to the entrance into the Dominican property. According to Walter, the houses themselves had been built by his uncle, Master John, earlier in the century, perhaps even before 1218²⁸. Although it has been assumed that John gave to the Dominicans the entire property he had received from Simon de Poissy, that may not have been the case. There is no way of knowing the precise size of the donation made by Simon de Poissy except that the property was on the western side of the Grande rue and apparently did not include properties in the rue St. Étienne. What John gave to the Dominicans in 1218 and confirmed in 1221 was the chapel of St. Jacques and the buildings that had been used for the hospital, which may or may not have been the entire property he received from Simon de Poissy, and land extending through to the rue de la Harpe at Porte St. Michel. John either built more houses on portions of the Poissy donation that had not been used to build the hospital, or he had acquired more property adjacent to what he gave to the Dominicans, to be used as places of residence for himself, students, or family members, such as his nephew Walter of St. Quentin.

The disputes that arose in 1240 over property rights in the area of St. Jacques reveal that toward the end of his life Master John gave houses he felt he still owned in the area around St. Jacques to the chapter at St. Quentin and various members of his family. Some of those properties, such as the houses in rue St. Étienne-des-Grez that Master John left to his nephew Walter were never part of the land John had received from Simon de Poissy or what was given to the Dominicans. Houses that stood on or near the St. Jacques property were another matter. Robert of St. Quentin, presumably a nephew or grandnephew of Master John, lost his case in November 1240 for ownership *ex jure donationis vel quocunque alio modo* of a house that

²⁷ CUP I, 419-20, no. 372; P. Glorieux, *Aux origines de la Sorbonne*, II: *Le cartulaire*, Paris 1965, 226, no. 198: "Walterus dictus de Sancto Quintino, archidiaconus Tanton. ..., ego virum venerabilem magistrum Johannem de Kelinis consanguineum meum, decanum Royensem, meum constituo procuratorem ad ordinandum et disponendum de domibus meis que site sunt Parisius tam in vico Sancti Stephani quam ante portam fratrum Predicatorum Sancti Jacobi, sub forma quod pauperes scolares habitent in eisdem vel alibi ubi melius et commodius fieri poterit per legitimum escambium vel forum ad opus dictorum scholarium".

²⁸ Ibid: "magistro Johanne bone memorie quondam decano Sancti Quintini, qui dictas domos construi fecit".

had belonged to John, sometime dean of St. Quentin, that was also claimed by the Dominicans as part of their original donation²⁹. Similarly, the chapter of St. Quentin lost or abandoned its claim that the dean of St. Quentin had given them houses he owned "in curta dictorum fratrum Predicatorum"³⁰. Master Walter is the only heir of Master John known to have successfully held on to the houses he has inherited because they were across the street, next to the church of St. Étienne-des Grez, or in front of the entrance into the Dominican property.

What brought about these property claims by Robert and the chapter of St. Quentin on houses at St. Jacques that were adjudicated in 1240 and 1241? The most likely answer is the recent death of John, donor of the St. Jacques property, and the execution of his last will and testament in which he probably made bequests to various relatives and others. Denifle placed John's death by August 1241, but that was because the letter of the chapter of St. Quentin relinquishing its claim on houses at St. Jacques bore that date and described John as "*bone memorie*"³¹. The Master John who was treasurer of Salisbury probably died in late 1238. The last reference to him as treasurer is on 12 August 1238, and by 13 January 1239 a new treasurer had been appointed³². This strongly suggests that the John who resigned

²⁹ CUP I, 168, no. 125. The document was issued by the official of the *curia Parisiensis*. Robert of St. Quentin, designated as a *magister*, was in Paris in 1240. It may have been at Paris that he came under the patronage of his relative, Master Walter of St. Quentin, archdeacon of Taunton in the diocese of Bath and Wells by 1241, where Robert appears as a witness and clerk to Walter in 1243, and canon by 1248; see John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300*, VII: *Bath and Wells*, compiled by Diana Greenway, London 2001, 100.

³⁰ CUP I, 172-73, no. 129: "Decanus [Wermondus] et capitulum Sancti Quintini ... cum inter viros religiosos.. priorem et conventum fratrum Predicatorum Sancti Jacobi Parisiensis ex una parte et nos ex altera fuisset controversia super quodam assignamento quod dicebamus nobis factum fuisse a bone memorie Johanne quondam decano ecclesie nostre super domos que fuerunt ejusdem [Johannis] decani sitas Parisius in curta dictorum fratrum Predicatorum ...".

³¹ CUP I, 101n: "Sicut ex documentis infra relatis [CUP I, 172-3, no. 129] apparet, ex donatione Johannis post ejus mortem controversia orta est inter capitulum S. Quintini, quod aliquod jus habebat super locum istam, et fratres praedicatores". The chapter was not trying to claim the property of St. Jacques, which had originally been given by Simon de Poissy to Master John, who only later became dean of St. Quentin, but was claiming certain houses in or adjacent to that property that John had left to the chapter. The exact boundaries of property ownership had not been precisely defined in the donation of 1221, and at the end of his life John may have thought he still retained some form of ownership over houses or portions of land at St. Jacques.

³² John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300*, IV: *Salisbury*, compiled by Diana Greenway, London 1991, 22.

as dean of St. Quentin in late 1233 and was appointed treasurer of Salisbury in January 1234 was the same person who had donated the property of St. Jacques to the Dominicans in 1221, whether his proper name was John of Barastre or John of St. Albans. In short, there was only one dean of St. Quentin between 1214 and 1234.

Walter of St. Quentin appointed a blood relative in 1261, Master John of Kelinis, as executor of his plan to provide housing for poor scholars, as if he were founding a college³³. Walter's only stipulation was that, should a chapel be established as part of this foundation, the priests serving that chapel should pray daily for the repose of the souls of Master John, sometime dean of St. Quentin, who built those houses, for Walter himself, and for other members of the family³⁴. In March 1263, before Walter's death in December of that year, John of Kelinis fulfilled his responsibilities by arranging for the selling of those properties to Robert of Sorbon to become part of the endowment that created the Collège de la Sorbonne³⁵. Presumably daily prayers for Master John, Walter, and other members of the family became the responsibility of the priests serving the Sorbonne chapel.

During his lifetime Master John had used his positions as dean of St. Quentin, master of theology at Paris, lecturer to the Dominicans in Paris, and friend of wealthy Parisians to acquire properties in Paris and help the ecclesiastical careers of family members. In 1230 Walter of St. Quentin identified himself only as a nephew of John, dean of St. Quentin, when he received from Pope Gregory IX permission to hold an additional benefice beyond one that entailed care of souls³⁶. It may well be that Walter's later positions as canon of Wells by 1239 and archdeacon of Taunton in the diocese of Bath and Wells by 1241 were obtained with the help of his uncle, who after 1234 was treasurer of Salisbury³⁷. Because of the renown of his uncle while dean of St. Quentin, or because Walter had moved to St. Quentin, he was calling himself "Walterus dictus de Sancto Quintino" by mid-century, just as his uncle became known at Salisbury as Master John of St. Quentin. It may well be that John of Kelinis' position as dean of the

³³ CUP I, 419: "magistrum Johannem de Kelinis consanguineum meum".

³⁴ Ibid. 420: "pro magistro Johanne bone memorie quondam decano Sancti Quintini, qui dictas domos construi fecit, et pro anima mea et fratrum meorum heredumque suorum".

³⁵ Glorieux, *Aux origines*, II, 278-79, no. 243.

³⁶ Letter dated 17 October 1230; Vatican City, ASV, Reg. Vat. 15, f. 36r; *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Lucien Auvray, I, Paris 1896, col. 330, no. 503.

³⁷ CUP I, 419-20, no. 372; Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, VII, 37-38.

collegiate church of St-Florent at Roye in the diocese of Amiens, southwest of St. Quentin, was facilitated by the influence of his relative, the dean or former dean of St. Quentin³⁸. Several clerics by the name of St. Quentin, all presumably related to Walter, found positions as prebendal canons at Wells. In addition to Master Robert of St. Quentin, who served as clerk to Walter in 1243 before becoming a canon by 1248, there was Master Nicholas of St. Quentin, a canon at Wells by 1264 until 1284, and Master Bonetus of St. Quentin, who was a canon at Wells in 1276³⁹. Whether or not through the reputation and influence of Master John in southern Picardy in the 1220s and early 1230s or in southwestern England in the late 1230s, it seems members of his family were able to obtain ecclesiastical prebends and dignities on different sides of the channel in the course of the thirteenth century.

This brings us to the final question of whether 'de Barastra' and 'de Sancto Albano' are different names for the same person, or whether one is the correct name for John, dean of St. Quentin, and the other an error. The identification of Master John as 'de Sancto Albano' comes from the letter of Pope Gregory IX in 1234 in which he appoints Master John, who recently resigned as dean of St. Quentin, to the dignity of treasurer at Salisbury, vacant through the appointment of Edmund of Abingdon as archbishop of Canterbury⁴⁰. That letter was also the principal source for Matthew Paris' mention of John of St. Albans in his *Chronica majora*⁴¹. Matthew Paris maintained in his *Chronica minora* that John was from the town of St. Albans, was physician to King Richard the Lionheart and also cured Philip Augustus of the plague while on crusade in 1191, returned to Paris as physician to the French king, and was the dean of St. Quentin who donated his property at St. Jacques to the Dominicans⁴². John

³⁸ CUP I, 419: "Johannem de Kelinis consangineum meum, decanum Royensem ...".

³⁹ On Robert, see Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, VII, 100; on Nicholas, *ibid.*, 92-93; on Bonetus, *ibid.*, 57.

⁴⁰ Vatican City, ASV, Reg. Vat. 17, f. 149v: "magistrum J[ohannem] de Sancto Albano, cui, decanatum Sancti Quintini spontanee resignanti".

⁴¹ Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, III, London 1876, 312, assumed that the John of St. Albans who was among the masters of theology appointed by Gregory IX in 1235 to preach the crusade was identical with "magister Johannes de Sancto Albano oriundus, aliquando decanus ecclesiae Sancti Quintini, postea thesaurarius ecclesiae Saresberiensis".

⁴² Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum sive Historia minor*, ed. F. Madden, II, London 1866, 38 and 66.

Amundesham, a monk at St. Albans in the fifteenth century and sometimes cited in support of the St. Albans identification, is not an independent witness but obtained his information from Matthew Paris⁴³. Although it is chronologically possible that an English royal physician in the 1190s might become physician to Philip Augustus *d'outre mer*, study theology and teach in Paris, donate his St. Jacques property to the Dominicans, and return to England late in life to become treasurer of Salisbury, it was Ernest Wickersheimer's belief that Matthew Paris had combined stories based on different individuals and embroidered them to create an important personage from the town where his monastery was located⁴⁴. Wickersheimer suspected that Matthew Paris confused the donor of St. Jacques with the physician who supposedly cured the English and French kings of the plague, and with John of St. Giles, a medical doctor and theologian who later became a Dominican, and with the John of St. Albans who preached the crusade in 1235. Matthew Paris' testimony, although roughly contemporary with the establishment of the Dominicans at St. Jacques, is based on hearsay except for Gregory IX's letter appointing John of St. Albans, former dean of St. Quentin, as treasurer of Salisbury. All later historians who have argued for the St. Albans identification have based their argument on Matthew Paris' account.

The case for the 'de Barastre' identification comes from Claude Héméré, who in the seventeenth century had access to the records of the chapter at St. Quentin. Although he did not cite a specific document with Barastre's name in it, as he did for Daniel, the previous dean of St. Quentin, the name 'de Barastre' was presumably found in the records of the chapter. Moreover, Héméré, followed by the editors of the *Gallia Christiana*, listed only one dean of St. Quentin between 1214 and 1234, Jean de Barastre, and makes no mention of any Johannes de Sancto Albano. Since 'Barastra' does not correspond with any known name of a town or village in England, and it is hard to explain why an Englishman from St. Albans would identify himself as from Barastre, a village in the southwest corner of the diocese of

⁴³ John Amundesham, *Chronica monasterii S. Albani*, II, ed. H. T. Riley, Roll Series 28, London 1877, 306. Hinnebusch, *History*, 73, cited him as if he were an independent witness.

⁴⁴ E. Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au Moyen Age*, Paris 1936; repr. 1979, 476 (Jean de Saint-Albans) and 478-79 (Jean de Saint-Gilles). Wickersheimer, 476, retained the identification of Jean de Barastre as the dean of St. Quentin who donated the St. Jacques property, and that the John of St. Albans who was physician to Richard the Lionheart in 1191 only briefly served the medical needs of Philip Augustus while on crusade.

Cambrai, unless perhaps he had somehow obtained the rectorship of the church at Barastre, we seem faced with an identification error rather than the same person known by two names. Because of the claims to property in and around St. Jacques in the wake of the death of John, treasurer of Salisbury, in 1238, that once belonged to the donor of St. Jacques, the possibility that there were two deans of St. Quentin between 1214 and 1234, first John of Barastre and then John of St. Albans must be discarded. It is possible that Héméré confused the name of the dean of St. Quentin between 1214 and 1234 with the Jean de Barastre who became dean of St. Quentin in 1278⁴⁵. Despite the fact that most of Matthew Paris' information is based on hearsay and that he wished to emphasize the importance of St. Albans, his account of the career of the donor of St. Jacques explains several elements in the life of Master John that otherwise might seem unlikely. The 1234 letter of Pope Gregory IX is the strongest evidence we have for John's place name, which the letter states was St. Albans, which in turn suggests that the donor of St. Jacques may be identical with the English physician of the same name who treated both kings d'outre mer in 1191. That would explain how someone from England came into contact with Philip Augustus, moved to Paris, and became friends with important nobles known to the king. It would also explain how John, although an Englishman, was able to obtain the deanship of one of the most important collegiate churches in northern France, a royal church in which Philip Augustus would have had rights of nomination. And finally it would explain how he was able to have the financial resources and social contacts to acquire additional properties in the area of St. Jacques. The career of John of St. Giles from physician to regent master of theology at Paris soon after the founding of St. Jacques shows that it is not impossible for the career of John of St. Albans to have developed in a similar way a decade or two earlier⁴⁶. Nor would the position as treasurer of Salisbury in 1234 and holder of the parsonage of Calne attached to it as a prebend have prevented his preaching the crusade in France in 1235, since neither position involved care of souls.

What is clear is that the Master John, royal clerk, friend of Simon de Poissy and recipient of the property of St. Jacques in 1209, who became dean of St. Quentin in 1214, was a regent master in theology at Paris, and gave the St. Jacques property to the Dominicans in

⁴⁵ *Gallia Christiana* IX, 1049.

⁴⁶ On John of St. Giles see Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique*, 478-79; Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie*, 52-53.

1221, and who became the treasurer of Salisbury in 1234 is one and the same individual. It is also clear that Gregory IX knew the person who had resigned as dean of St. Quentin shortly before 1234 as John of St. Albans, information he would have obtained from John's supplication for the position at Salisbury and from earlier contact in connection with St. Jacques. How the name "de Barastra" entered as a place name identification for the dean of St. Quentin must, for the present, remain unanswered.