

THE AUGUSTINIAN COMMUNITY AT PARIS IN THE EARLY 14th CENTURY

In his *La Formation des professeurs* Eelcko Ypma called attention to a document recorded in a register of Philip VI that listed the names of thirty-four members of the Grand Couvent des Augustins at Paris in 1326.¹ It was one of two documents Ypma used to establish the size of the membership of the Paris convent in the early fourteenth century, the other document being the convent's letter of adhesion to Philip IV's call for a council against Boniface VIII in June 1303, which listed the names of thirty-eight members of the community.² The approximate numerical similarity of the two lists of members led Ypma to the conclusion that the total resident community at the Paris convent in the early fourteenth century numbered around forty.

Neither of these documents, in all probability, listed all those resident at the Augustinian convent in the years indicated. The 1303 document listed only those who adhered to the position of Philip the Fair, which may or may not have been the total number of friars in residence. Because of the unique survival of an initial list from the Franciscan convent at Paris in 1303 naming both adherents and nonadherents, we know that the majority of Franciscans at Paris refused to adhere, and those names were not mentioned in the final letter of adhesion for Cordeliers.³ Although similar double documentation does not exist for the other mendicant convents, Antoine Dondaine suspected that the names listed in the letter of adhesion for the Dominicans at St. Jacques also represented a minority of residents in that community.⁴ Yet in the Augustinian case, the document of 1326, which seems devoid of any political or religious context that would have caused some residents not to be

¹ E. Ypma, *La Formation des professeurs chez les ermites de Saint-Augustin de 1256 à 1354* (Paris, 1956), pp.72-73.

² The circumstance that occasioned the 1303 document was misidentified in Ypma, *La Formation des professeurs*, p.72, as the process against Marguerite Porette.

³ See E. Longpré, *Le B. Jean Duns Scot. Pour le Saint Siège et contre le gallicanisme (25-28 Juin 1303)*, *La France Franciscaine*, 11 (1928), 137-62; and for a corrected edition of the documents, W. J. Courtenay, *The Parisian Franciscan Community in 1303*, in *Franciscan Studies*, 53 (1993), 155-73; see also COURTENAY, "Between Pope and King: The Parisian Letters of Adhesion of 1303", *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 577-605.

⁴ A. Dondaine, *Documents pour l'histoire de la province de France. L'Appel au concile (1303)*, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 22 (1952), 381-439, esp. 383-90, 403-12.

listed, appears to support the 1303 figure as being the total resident community at the Augustinian convent. And that, in turn, would mean that, unlike the Franciscans (and probably unlike the Dominicans), the Augustinians at Paris fully supported Philip the Fair in his campaign against Boniface VIII.

This last issue alone is significant enough to political and ecclesiastical historians to merit a re-examination of the documents involved. Moreover, the question of the size and composition (geographically and academically) of the Paris Augustinian convent is of equal importance to historians of the religious orders (especially the Augustinian order) as well as those concerned with the University of Paris. Yet whether those listed in the documents of 1303 and 1326 represent the total resident community at Grands Augustins in those respective years depends on establishing from other evidence a normative picture of the Paris convent against which the two documents in question can be interpreted. Thus the two documents, the events to which they relate, and some new evidence they contain will be discussed in sequence after the normative model is established.

Grands Augustins in the early fourteenth century

The Paris convent of the Hermit Friars of St. Augustine by the late thirteenth century, as was true for the other mendicant convents, provided residence for three different groups or constituencies. One group was composed of those for whom Paris was their home convent, i.e., those who had professed there or had been transferred there. A second group were those who had been chosen by the prior general and the order to go to Paris to complete the university requirements for the baccalaureate and doctorate in theology. The third group comprised those younger students in the lectorate program who had been sent to Paris by their provinces to study theology for five years and thus prepare themselves for positions as lecturers in the schools of their province or region. Some of those might be chosen later to return to Paris for the university degree; the majority, however, would not.

Most of those in the first group (the "permanent" membership) would have come from Paris and the surrounding region, but it is difficult to conjecture their size beyond what one can perceive from the two documents under consideration. The second group would normally have numbered between six and ten, being composed of those appointed to read the *Sentences* (which included a preparatory year of residence before the actual year of lecturing), those who had read and were awaiting promotion to the doctorate (the *baccalaurii*

formati), and the regent master who was fulfilling the one-year teaching and administrative requirements of that office, or had just completed regency but had not yet left Paris. This group may also have included those lecturing on the Bible who had not yet been appointed to read the *Sentences*. Since the Augustinian order had no quota system that rotated the selection for university degrees among candidates from the French province and from the other provinces, as did the Dominicans and Franciscans, there was no formula that dictated geographical or regional distribution at this level. The importance of the Italian provinces of the order, however, gave Italian friars an advantage in the selection process.⁵ And while the geographical distribution within this group varied from year to year according to the quality of candidates and probably the internal politics and personal preference of the leadership of the order, the size of the group varied little because it was set by the requirements of the university that allowed only one candidate a year at each level within the eight-year theological program from *biblicus* through *magister*.

The third group, those involved in preparation for the lectorate, merit special attention, for they may have been the largest single group and certainly the most geographically diverse. By the late thirteenth century each province was required to pay one gold florin per year for the support of the Paris *studium*, in return for which they were permitted to send one student there for theological study towards the lectorate.⁶ Because the convent was located within and was supported by the province of France, that province was permitted to have two such students at one time.⁷ Provinces usually sent an additional student at their own expense, in part because friars were forbidden to travel alone.⁸ As the order expanded in the early fourteenth century, the number of openings for each province was raised to two, while the

⁵ More than half the approximately 400 convents founded by 1300 were in Italy, while the province of Germany had 88 houses, England and Ireland 25 houses, France and Provence (two separate provinces by 1295) 24 houses, and Spain and Portugal 16 houses. For further information on the number and size of the Augustinian provinces see David Gutiérrez, *The Augustinians in the Middle Ages, 1256-1356* (Villanova, 1984), pp. 43-48.

⁶ *Analecta Augustiniana*, II (1907), 230, 371-373.

⁷ Gutiérrez, *The Augustinians*, p. 44; YPMA, *La Formation des professeurs*, pp. 32-33.

⁸ Provincial chapter of Rome in 1273 (*Anal. Aug.*, II, 230): "Item frater Jacobus de Orto tunc electus fuit ut iret ad studium Parisius, qui successit in gratia studii praedicti fratri Pauluctio ... Item fr. Orlandinus de Perusio fuit ibidem electus quod iret ad studium Parisius ... et quod haberet provisionem integre et expensarum quinque annorum ..."

province of France was permitted three (1318), which was further increased to six (1321).⁹ This means that while the geographical distribution among the various provinces would have remained relatively stable, the actual number of students preparing for the lectorate at Paris may well have doubled between 1303 and 1326.

If the seventeen Augustinian provinces in 1303 were taking full advantage of their quota for study at Paris, there should have been between thirty and forty students (two per province) in the lectorate program alone, with an additional eight or so advanced students and a master in the university program, and the "permanent" convent members. While the latter two groups should have remained numerically stable between 1303 and 1326, the students in the lectorate program should have grown to between forty and sixty by 1326. This estimate, of course, is based only on statutory opportunity, and it is possible that provinces sometimes did not even fill their quota, let alone send additional students at their own expense. How does that picture compare to the evidence from our two documents?

The Letter of Adhesion of 1303

In nomine Domini, amen. Anno ejusdem millesimo trecentesimo tercio, indictione prima, vicesima quinta die mensis Junii, pontificatus domini Bonifacii pape octavi anno nono. Tenore presentis instrumenti publici, noverint universi quod, in presencia mei notarii et testium subscriptorum, ad hoc specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum, fratres Petrus de Veris, supprior fratrum conventus domus de ordine Sancti Augustini Parisiensis, Radulphus de Anglia, Laurencius de Bullis, Robertus de Padavilla, Robertus de Monsterolio supra mare, Nicolaus de Estammara, Bartholomeus de Lauduno, Petrus de Maquilinia, Renaldus de Caldana, Martinus de Bononia, Guillelmus de Altifago, Guillelmus de Acayo, Michael de Gisorcio, Johannes de Sancto Claro, Petrus de Dullendio, Richardus de Manerio, Johannes de Attrebato, Nicolaus de Fiscanno, Franchiscus de Metis, Petrus de Abbatisvilla, Thomas Lesbaudi, Guillelmus Leferon, Galterus de Anglia, Franchiscus de Narnia, Martinus de Horlandia, Aymericus de Tholosa, Petrus de Provincia.

Item, die vicesima sexta dicti mensis, fratres Petrus de Senis, Johannes de Montefalco, Bertollus de Florencia, Paulus de

⁹ Ypma, *La Formation des professeurs*, pp. 32-33.

Castelleto, Alexander de Ungaria, magister in theologia, Arnaldus de Tholosa, magister in theologia, Johannes de Augia, Gregorius de Senis, Johannes de Pisis, Matheus de regno Scicilie, et Galvanus de Ferreria, ejusdem ordinis, et conventus, in capitulo ejusdem loci hora tertia congregati,... Actum Parisius, in capitulo domus predictorum fratrum Augustinorum, anno, indictione, diebus, mense, et pontificatu supradictis¹⁰

The letter of adhesion for the Augustinian convent was the result of a two-day inquiry in which all friars resident at the convent were given the choice between supporting the king's call for a council to examine the charges against Pope Boniface VIII or leaving the realm of France within a few days. The royal commission was the same as that which had visited the Franciscan convent on June 24 or early on June 25, namely Mathieu de Trie and Jean de Montigny, both high-ranking royal officers, and masters Jean de Forêt, canon of Bayeux, Thomas de Forêt, and Dreux de Remiremont, all royal clerks. On the first day of the inquiry, June 25, twenty-seven members of the convent declared their adherence to the royal *appellatio*. Of the twenty-one whose region of origin can be determined with reasonable certainty, there were thirteen from the province of France, two from the province of Aquitaine and Provence, two from England, three from all the Italian provinces together, and one from Holland, which lay within the province of Germany.¹¹ On the following day eleven more friars added their names to the list of adherents: eight of them from Italy, one possibly from Germany, and the incoming and outgoing regent masters (one of them from Hungary and the other from Provence).¹²

When compared to the letters of adhesion from the Franciscan and Dominican convents, the percentage of adherents from outside the

¹⁰ Paris, Arch. Nat., J. 480, no. 64; edited by Georges Picot, *Documents relatifs aux Etats-Généraux et assemblées réunis sous Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1901), pp. 379-380.

¹¹ The French group comprised Robert de Montreil-sur-mer, Barthélemy de Laon, Pierre de Malines, Guillaume d'Auffay, Michel de Gisor, Jean de St. Clair, Pierre de Doullens, Jean d'Arras, Nicolas de Fécamp, François de Metz, Pierre d'Abbeville, Thomas Lesbaudi, and Guillaume Leferon. Those from southern France were Aymeric de Toulouse and Pierre de Provence; from England, Ralph and Walter (de Anglia); from Italy, Renaldo di Caldana, Martino di Bologna, and Francesco di Narnia; and from Holland, a brother Maarten.

¹² The Italian group comprised Pietro di Siena, Giovanni di Montefalco, Bertolo di Firenze, Paolo di Castelleto, Gregorio di Siena, Giovanni di Pisa, Matteo di Sicilia, and Galvano di Ferrara. The two masters were Alexander de Ungaria and Arnaud de Toulouse. The possible German was Johannes de Augua (Au?).

realm of France is much higher for the Augustinian convent than for the other two mendicant convents, which may reflect a strong desire on the part of the Augustinians to retain the good will of the king. The Augustinian community at Paris was largely foreign, heavily Italian, and historically dependent on royal patronage. The property that they occupied had been given to the Augustinians in 1295 by Philip the Fair. The fact that one of the most vocal supporters of Boniface VIII, Giles of Rome, was not only an important prelate in his role as archbishop of Bourges but was the leading theologian of the Augustinian order, made their position (and future) in Paris even more precarious. The previous owners of their property, the Friars of the Sack, had been forced out of Paris by the king, and it was not in the long-term interests of the Augustinian friars to risk a repitition.

What we find in looking at the list of names on the letter of adhesion is that many of them are French, as one would expect, and that several of the provinces represented appear to have filled their quota for the lectorate program: eight friars from the province of France outside the Paris area (we may assume a few of these were involved in the university program); two from England; two from Provence (plus a regent master who was part of the university program); two from Siena; two from Romagna; and probably two from Germany. If those provinces were fulfilling their quotas, we may assume that most of the other provinces were as well. This means that some students involved in the lectorate and university programs from the provinces of Tuscany, Pisa, Rome, Spoleto, Sicily, and Hungary refused to adhere. Even more telling, we find no students from the provinces of Umbria, Marche, Lombardy, Venice, Spain, or Catalonia. Some names we know to have been at the Augustinian convent at the time are missing, such as the German, Henry of Friemar, and the Italian, Gregory of Lucca. And while the name of the subprior of the convent appears on the list, the name of the prior is missing.

We also know, through comparison with the initial list and subsequent "official" letter of adhesion from the Franciscan convent, that in the second, or final copy (to which the above letter is the Augustinian equivalent), the names of office holders present at the convent were placed at the top of the list, with title. Thus, while the first part of the document lists the subprior and the second part includes the names of the two regent masters, the absence of any bachelors of theology, of which there should have been four or five, is telling.

Several conclusions emerge from this analysis. First, the Augustinian convent did not support the royal position against

Boniface VIII en masse, but split, as did the other mendicant houses. At the same time, the portion of those choosing exile over adhesion was probably smaller than for either the Dominican or Franciscan convents. Second, it would appear that many provinces, probably most, were sponsoring two students at Paris, one at the expense of the order and one at the expense of the province, and thus more than fulfilling their quota. The same would appear to hold true for the province of France. Third, the total resident community at Grands Augustins in 1303, before the departure of the nonadherents, was probably closer to sixty.

The Procuration of 1326

Tenor autem dicte procurationis sive litterarum sigillatarum sigillo prepositure Parisiensis, de quibus supra fit mentio, talis est:

A touz ceus qui ces presentes lettres verront, Hugues de Crusy, garde de la prevosté de Paris, salut. Sachent tuit, que par devant Gile de Dynant et Pierre de Lieuviller, notayres jurez establiz de par nostre seigneur le roy ou Chestellet de Paris, aus quiex nous adiotons foy pleniére en cest cas, et en greneur et quant aus choses qui s'ensuivent oir, et a nous raporter commis et deputez de par nous et en lieu de nous, furent present par devant religieux hommes et honestes, frere Rogier de Lavel [*or* Lanell], prieur de la maison de freres de Saint Augustin de Paris; frere Denis de Bourc, mestre en divinité; frere Albart de Pade, frere Andrieu de Perruches, frere Jaques de Apens, frere Jehan de Mes, frere Nichole de Vinesch [*or* Wiesch], frere Thomas d'Argentuel touz bachalers en divinité; frere G. de Paris, frere Jehan de Bourges, frere Bernart de Orbeint, frere Andrieu de Florence, frere Angle du Chestel, freres Alides de Seras [*or* Feras], frere Guillaume de Grece, frere François de Isterant, frere Henri de Treves, frere Guillaume de Limos, frere Michiel de Treves, frere Bertrant dou Bordel, frere Bernart de Fuac [*or* Fuat], frere Fouché de Auchon [*or* Authon], frere Pierre d'Alait, frere Robert de Paris, frere Huguelin d'Escoube, frere Denis de Col, frere Jehan de Honguerie, frere Jehan de Magonce, frere Thomas de Honguerie, frere Nichole de Teram, frere Bartholomieu de Pade, frere Regnaut de Bresse, frere N. de St. Denis, et frere Jehan de Migaudel, touz freres et du convent de la dite maison de saint Augustin de Paris. ... Ce fu fait le

mercredi après la Saint Sauveur, vint et huit jourz de may, l'an de grâce mil ccc vint et sis.¹³

In this document, drafted and notarized on May 28, 1326, the prior and members of the Augustinian convent at Paris granted power of attorney to Jehan Migaudel on behalf of the convent to handle all legal and financial matters concerned with their income and property. Migaudel is referred to in the document as a friar and a member of the community who was probably exempted from the part of his vows that prohibited participation in such matters.

This document was imbedded in a legal opinion of title, required by buyers, confirming the right of the convent to sell one of its sources of income, and recorded in a royal register.¹⁴ The entire document, as it appears in the register, was composed in January 1329 in which is contained a series of earlier documents relating to the acquisition and eventual alienation or sale of a right to income derived from the prévôté of Amiens.¹⁵ The income, in the amount of 30 livres annually, came from the goods of Henri Taperel, prévôt of Paris, who was hanged on 25 July 1320 for having unjustly condemned several persons to death, and whose bodies were buried at the convent. In October 1320, a chaplaincy for the repose of their souls was established there. Then, in December 1328, the proctor of the convent, brother Jehan Migaudel, sold the income to two citizens of Amiens for a one-time payment of 720 livres paris., the convent having previously received from the king in December 1320 the right to sell it, should the need arise.

Fascinating as the full case and the issues it raises are for the handling of property and income given to support masses for the dead in late medieval society, our immediate concern is only with the letter granting to Jehan Migaudel the power to dispose of such property on behalf of the convent. In addition to his name and that of the prior, the document lists thirty-two other members of the community, which, as we have seen, has been viewed as the full list of convent residents at that time.

¹³ Paris, Arch. Nat., Registre JJ/65b, ff. 63v-64v (no. 208); calendared in *Registres du Trésor des Chartes*, vol. III: *Règne de Philippe de Valois*, pt. 1 (Paris, 1978), p. 62 (no. 499); full text edited in J. Viard, *Documents parisiens de règne de Philippe VI de Valois (1328-1350)*, vol. I (Paris, 1899), pp. 38-43.

¹⁴ Paris, Arch. Nat., JJ/65b, ff. 63v-64v. The presence of the document in a royal register resulted from the fact that the bequest from which the income was derived had gone to the Augustinian convent through a decision of a royal court.

¹⁵ The document of January 1329 was witnessed by the prior of the convent, Jean de Verdun.

The issue, of course, is whether all residents in the convent would be recorded in such a transaction, or whether there was a distinction among the residents between those considered members of the convent for legal purposes and those who were simply resident in the convent.¹⁶ It would have been unusual for students in the lectorate program, sent to the Paris convent by their provincial priors and chapters, to have been considered legal members of the community for purposes of property transactions. Who, then, were the members of the convent who gave their power-of-attorney to Migaudel? The first names on the list represent the administrative and academic leadership of the convent, arranged hierarchically. First named is Rogier de Lavel, who in that year was prior of the convent, followed by the regent master. Then there are the names of six bachelors of theology in alphabetical order, a category that would include the bachelor reading the *Sentences* in that year, along with those who had completed that task and were, as *baccalaurii formati*, awaiting promotion to the magisterium. The other twenty-six names on the list are mostly French, with two Italians (from Florence, Padua, and Teram), three Germans (from Trier and Mainz), two Hungarian friars, and one from Greece. Clearly those appointed by the order to pursue university study and degrees, that is the upper level of those who were at Paris for academic reasons, were considered legal members of the community for purposes of property matters. In fact, their listing in the document immediately after the prior and before those for whom Paris may have been their home convent, shows the importance of academic rank in the minds of the community. The presence in the list of several friars from outside the province of France and below the level of bachelor of theology can be explained by assuming they were either involved in pre-sentential lectures on the Bible, or were in their preparatory year before lecturing on the *Sentences*. Even by the "enrollment" levels in the lectorate program in 1303, without taking into consideration the increase in the quota by 1326, the number of names from outside the province of France is unacceptably low for the entire resident community of the convent.

The list of names that are recorded in the 1326 document are also of interest in their own right. Behind the orthography of the

¹⁶ For an excellent description of the administrative structure and composition of the Paris convent at the middle of the fourteenth century, see Pascale Farago-Bermon, *L'Assentiment et son objet dans le Commentaire des Sentences de Grégoire de Rimini (1300-1358)*, thèse de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, 2000, pp. 49-62, esp. planche I.

scribe, who was copying from an original document in which the names may have been in an abbreviated form, recorded verbally, or as individual signatures, the sequence runs as follows:

Named friars at Grands Augustins, May 1326:

1. Rogier de Lavel, or Lanel, prior
2. Denis de Bourc, MTh
3. Albart de Pade, BTh
4. Andrien de Peruches, BTh
5. Ja[c]ques de Apens, BTh
6. Jehan de Me[ti]s, BTh
7. Nichole de Vinesch, or Wiesch, BTh
8. Thomas d'Argentuel, BTh
9. G. de Paris
10. Jehan de Bourges
11. Bernart de Orbeint
12. Andrien de Florence
13. Angle du Chestel
14. Alides de Seras, or Feras
15. Guillaume de Grece
16. François de Isterant
17. Henri de Treves
18. Guillaume? de Limos, or Lunos
19. Michiel de Treves
20. Bertrant dou Bordel
21. Bernart de Fuac
22. Fouche de Auchon, or Authon
23. Pierre Dalait
24. Robert de Paris
25. Huguelin Descoube, or Desconbe
26. Denis de Col
27. Jehan de Honguerie
28. Jehan de Magonce
29. Thomas de Honguerie
30. Nichole de Teram
31. Bartolomieu de Pade
32. Regnaut de Bresse
33. N. de St. Denis
34. Jehan de Migaudel

Some of the names in the 1326 document are garbled. Thus, behind Denis de Bourc we should identify Dionysius de Borgo San

Sepulchro, whose regency has been dated to around 1323, but whom this document identifies as regent master in 1325-26. Among the group of bachelors of theology in that same academic year we find Albert of Padua, Andreas of Perugia, James of Pamiers (Appamiis), John of Metz, Nicolas of Vich?, and Thomas of Argenteuil. This information corrects the biographical accounts of several of these bachelors. Albert of Padua incepted in theology after 1326, not "around 1323" as is usually stated. Andreas de Perugia was a few years away from his inception and regency (by 1329). And James of Pamiers read the *Sentences* at Paris in or before 1325-26, not "around 1328".¹⁷

What is of equal interest are the names of those who do not appear in this document. Gerard of Siena, who was regent master at the Augustinian convent in 1329-30 was either not in residence in 1326 or had not yet been sent to Paris for his baccalaureate. Michael de Massa, whose term as bachelor of the *Sentences* was placed around 1325, is nowhere to be found in this list. In his case, as I have argued elsewhere, his baccalaureate should be placed later, after 1326.¹⁸

If, behind some of the poorly transcribed names at the head of the list, we are able to discern Augustinian theologians known to us from other documentation, further work on this list as well as that of 1303 may help to uncover additional useful biographical information on other members of the order in the early fourteenth century.

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¹⁷ For earlier biographical sketches of these figures, see D. Trapp, *Augustinian Theology of the 14th Century*, *Augustiniana*, 6 (1956), 146-274; A. Zumkeller, *Die Augustinerschule des Mittelalters: Vertreter und Philosophisch-Theologische Lehre*, *Analecta Augustiniana*, 27 (1964), 167-262, transl. into English in *Theology and History of the Augustinian School in the Middle Ages*, ed. John E. Rotelle (Villanova, PA, 1996), pp. 11-79.

¹⁸ Courtenay, *The Quaestiones in Sententias of Michael de Massa*, *OESA. A Redating*, *Augustiniana*, 45 (1995), 191-207.