

THE PAPAL CHAPEL 1288–1304:
A STUDY IN INSTITUTIONAL AND CULTURAL CHANGE

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I, Matthew Ross, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own.
Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been
indicated in the thesis.

ABSTRACT

This project is a study of the structure and personnel of the papal chapel, and the administrative, governmental, legal and cultural activities of papal chaplains in the period 1288–1304. It is based on a new repertory of the collective biographies of papal chaplains compiled for this project, and comprises detailed analysis of this biographical repertory and of information on papal chaplains from the papal curia's administrative and financial sources, new research concerning papal chaplains' function in cardinals' wills and as testators themselves, a comparison of the papal chapel with its contemporary counterpart at the English royal court – the chapel royal – and discussion of papal chaplains' cultural activities and their role in the production of a curial court culture. It combines two broad approaches. On the one hand, it aims to clarify the administrative and economic structure of the papal chapel and establish the collective biographies of the papal chaplains themselves in the period 1288–1304. On the other, it uses this constitutional, economic and socio-demographic analysis as context for comparison with the English chapel royal and for discussion of the papal chapel's cultural history in the same period. New information is brought to light on the role of the Roman *schola cantorum* in the papal chapel, on the history of honorary papal chaplains, on papal chaplains' musical function, and on the differing course and impact of constitutional rationalisation in the papal chapel and English chapel royal. The contextualisation of cultural activity in the papal chapel with constitutional change shows the decisive importance for cultural history – especially for the papal chapel's musical history – of dynamics originating outside the cultural domains.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BEFAR	Bibliothèque de l'École française d'Athènes et de Rome
BIHBR	Bibliothèque de l'institut historique belge de Rome
DBI	Dizionario biografico degli italiani
DDC	Dictionnaire de droit canonique
Reg. Vat.	Archivio Segreto Vaticano, <i>Registra Vaticana</i>
RSCI	Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia
QFIAB	Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken
ZRGKan	Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung, Weimar

PREFACE

This project is a study of the administrative and economic structure of the papal chapel and of the collective biographies of the papal chaplains themselves in the period 1288–1304, which covers the final four pontificates of the ‘long’ thirteenth century: Nicholas IV (1288–1292), Celestine V (1294), Boniface VIII (1294–1303) and Benedict XI (1303–4). This period, effectively closed by the accession of Clement V (1305–14), who moved the papal curia to Avignon in 1309, is noteworthy for papal chaplains’ position and function within and beyond the curia and also for the way ongoing changes taking place across the curia were manifest in the papal chapel. In addition, this constitutional, economic and socio-demographic analysis also comprises the context for the study of papal chaplains in last wills and testaments, for comparison of the papal chapel with its counterpart at the English royal court – the king’s household chapel, known as the chapel royal – and for discussion of the papal chapel’s cultural history in the same period. These two approaches in combination intentionally contextualise the cultural field in order to assert the importance for the papal chapel’s cultural history of dynamics originating outside the cultural domains.

I deal first with administrative, economic and socio-demographic questions, ordered by genre of source material. Chapter One outlines the origin, form, structure and function of the late-thirteenth century papal chapel and its relationship with the *schola cantorum*, and explains the rationale for the selection of the timeframe. In so doing, it also provides an account of the major scholarly literature on the subject, which is therefore not in its conventional location here in the Preface. Chapters Two and Three present the findings of a biographical repertory assembled for this project of all papal chaplains in the period

1288–1304; firstly (in Chapter Two) for the information it yields concerning the structure and function of the papal chapel and selected demographic questions, and secondly (in Chapter Three) concerning specific matters of geographical provenance and recruitment patterns. Chapter Four analyses the economic organisation of the papal chapel using prescriptive curial administrative documents and surviving accounting sources.

The remaining chapters turn to sociological and cultural questions. Chapter Five studies the place of papal chaplains in cardinals' wills and Chapter Six examines selected wills of papal chaplains themselves: together they discuss how testamentary practice and exchange, both economic and symbolic, underpinned aspects of curial society and culture. Chapter Seven compares the papal chapel with the English chapel royal, to consider developments in the organisation and function of rulers' household chapels in the broader European context, especially how comparable changes unfolded in differing ways in these two environments. Chapter Eight deals with the papal chapel's place in cultural life at the papal curia, especially papal chaplains' acquisition and reproduction of cultural proficiency and taste to maintain their place in curial society. This final chapter has two further aims: to ascertain whether a distinct court culture existed at the late thirteenth-century curia, and to provide examples of the important effect of institutional organisation and change on the cultural field and, indeed, the course of the papal chapel's ongoing musical history.

CHAPTER ONE

THE CHAPEL AND ITS PERIPHERIES: THE *SCHOLA* *CANTORUM* AND HONORARY CHAPLAINS

1.1 FOREWORD

The present chapter offers a description of the papal chapel as achieved by scholarship to date, and gives an account of the primary sources used to this end. Though the existing scholarship is good, there is much more to be said – and there will still be much more to be done after this thesis, which aims only to move the subject significantly further, not to provide a definitive study if such a thing is possible. This chapter also provides two necessary preliminaries to further discussion of the papal chapel. Firstly, it establishes the relationship of the papal chapel with another institution whose functions to some extent overlapped with it, in that they both had musical and liturgical duties at the papal court: the *schola cantorum*. Secondly, it introduces discussion of the difference between honorary and non-honorary papal chaplains in the thirteenth century, which has extensive implications regarding the chapel's structure and chaplains' function in and outside the papal household. The discussion requires analysis from different perspectives, and will be revisited several times in the course of this thesis before an answer will be attempted. The implications of both preliminaries underpin major issues in the overarching arguments concerning institutional and cultural change which run throughout this thesis.

The first documented appearance of a papal chaplain at the curia dates from 1026, when a bishop Amasus, also chaplain of Pope John XIX (1024–32), witnessed a bull investing the new bishop of Silva Candida.¹ Constitutions of Urban II (1088–99) attest the continued presence of papal chaplains at the curia.² These papal chaplains were priests who served some of the pope’s liturgical needs. Whether these were papal chaplains in the sense understood by the thirteenth century, that is, the staff of the pope’s private household chapel, is not clear. Urban’s successor, Paschal II (1099–1118) raised nine of his chaplains to the cardinalate, which indicates that papal chaplains held an elevated position at the curia even in the papal chapel’s early years.³ Papal chaplains’ primary function was at first liturgical; participation in papal liturgy and ceremonial. No service books of the pope’s private chapel prior to the thirteenth century have survived, but it is clear that a specifically papal rite developed within the papal chapel, distinct from the basilical tradition of the Roman Church.⁴ If liturgy lay partly in papal chaplains’ hands, then they were first-hand witnesses of this important change. With time, papal chaplains’ function grew clearer. Innocent III (1198–1216) has been credited with significantly augmenting the personnel of the papal chapel and broadening its administrative function, marked by a large increase in the number of papal chaplains who appear in his register and greater diversity in the tasks they undertook. From the early thirteenth century, with the quantitative increase in legal matters brought before the curia, papal chaplains began to take on legal cases in place of cardinals, who previously had been the pope’s only collaborators in curial jurisprudence. The cardinals and pope retained only cases of the highest importance, which in practice left in the chaplains’ hands cases relating to appeals

¹ “Amasus episcopus atque capellanus domini papae...”, *Joannis XIX Papae Epistolae et diplomata*, ed. Migne, J. P., *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 75, col. 90.

² Kehr, P. F. (ed.), *Italia Pontificia* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1906–75), vol. 1, p. 7.

³ *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, L., *Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, Introduction et Commentaire* (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1955–57), vol. 2, p. 312.

⁴ van Dijk, S. J. P., ‘The Urban and Papal Rites in Seventh and Eighth-Century Rome’, *Sacris Erudiri*, 12 (1961), pp. 411–87; van Dijk, S. J. P. & Hazelden Walker, J., *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1960), pp. 80–7.

and benefices. Innocent III played a determining role in this process, using members of the chapel as legal arbitrators more systematically than ever before, and under Innocent IV (1243–54) some chaplains, and indeed other curialists, also began to appear as ‘auditors of the Holy See’ (*auditores sacri palatii* or *auditores causarum palatii*).⁵

The people at the centre of this study are papal chaplains active in the period 1288–1304: the pontificates of Nicholas IV, Celestine V, Boniface VIII and Benedict XI. The papal chapel at this time was both the body of clerics entitled ‘papal chaplain’ by the pope, and an office of the curia. This distinction is fundamental to understanding the late thirteenth-century papal chapel. In the former and broader sense, a papal chaplaincy was a prestigious honour bestowed on a cleric for special service to the pontiff, political advantage, or specific personal attributes. Hundreds of papal chaplains in the broader sense, dispersed across Europe, are attested in sources between 1288 and 1304. In the latter and narrower sense, the papal chapel was the office of the curia responsible for liturgical service in the pope’s private household chapel, where papal chaplains participated in Mass and the liturgical hours, and sang parts of the liturgy. This office comprised between nine and twenty-five clerics at any one time, who were supposed to lead a sort of collegiate life at the curia, sleeping in a designated part of the papal palace termed the *capellania*.⁶ These incumbent papal chaplains received payment from the curia in comestibles, known as *vidandae* (or a cash substitute known as the *vadia* when the pope travelled outside Rome), provision for a horse known as the *anona*, and gifts in cash (known as the *presbyterium*), spices and sweetmeats on major liturgical feasts including Christmas, Easter and the anniversary of papal coronations. On occasion papal

⁵ Elze, R., ‘Die päpstliche Kapelle im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert’, *ZRGKan*, 36 (1950), pp. 187–204; van Dijk, *The Origins*, pp. 91–112.

⁶ The location of a *capellania* at either the Lateran or St Peter’s is unknown, but a *capellania* was certainly a recognised part of papal palaces, even outside Rome: a letter of Innocent IV was dated 29 November 1252 at Perugia: “ante capellaniam domini pape”, *Les Registres d’Innocent IV (1243–1254)*, ed. Berger, E., BEFAR, 4 voll. (Paris: Thorin, 1884–1921), 6133.

chaplains dined at the curial *mensa*, although the title ‘commensal chaplain’ (*capellanus commensalis*), used in some thirteenth-century sources, does not imply that papal chaplains routinely dined with the pope, which in fact occurred only on the highest feasts.⁷ Papal chaplains of both narrower and broader kinds also received indirect economic support from the Church in income from benefices, usually held in a state of pluralism and often those over which the pope had right of collation.

Papal chaplains also had additional functions and characteristics beyond their liturgical and legal responsibilities. Many had administrative and diplomatic roles at the curia and elsewhere in Europe, including important duties in Church government. High learning was a prerogative for appointment as a papal chaplain and was important in curial life: the dedicatory letter of the thirteenth-century papal chaplain and doctor Campano da Novara’s *Theorica Planetarum* relates how the chaplains of Urban IV (1261–4) would sit at the Pope’s feet after dinner to engage in scholarly debate.⁸ Papal chaplains were often also involved in cultural activity, both at the curia and elsewhere in Europe. Some were exceptionally prominent figures in textual and visual culture in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries; notably the mathematician Campano da Novara, the poet Bonaiuto de Casentino, the canon lawyer Guido de Basio, and the cardinal, patron of art, and writer Giacomo Stefaneschi.⁹

⁷ Elze, ‘Die päpstliche Kapelle’, p. 201.

⁸ “Sumptis namque fecundis dapibus placet ut illud uenerabile capellanorum uestrorum collegium quos sibi uestra coadesse clementia uoluit uos sequatur. Quibus ad uestre sanctitatis pedes sedentibus iocundum sapientie certamen indictis in quo militaribus armis accincti militariter dimicant partes agrediens et agressa. ... Habent itaque Philosophiam professi de uestre mense benedictione quo uentrem reficiant et quo mentem.” Campano da Novara, *Theorica Planetarum*, eds. Benjamin, F. S. & Toomer, G. J., in *Campanus of Novara and Medieval Planetary Theory. Theorica planetarum* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971), p. 132.

⁹ Papal chaplains’ contribution to court culture will be treated fully in Chapter Eight.

As a sociological phenomenon, then, papal chaplains are of considerable interest in several ways. They were multifunctional individuals who combined liturgical, musical, legal, administrative, and governmental responsibilities with individual high personal prestige, intellectual distinction and, often, cultural activity. Incumbent papal chaplains, in the narrower sense of those actively serving in the chapel, also had a privileged position as members of one of the innermost offices of the papal household or *familia*, which granted personal contact with pope himself. By extension, papal chaplains' activities were implementations and symbolic manifestations of papal power. Broadly speaking, this thesis examines how these intersecting attributes of the papal chapel fitted among the figurations of curial society.

1.2 SOURCES AND SCHOLARSHIP

Information on the structure and function of the thirteenth-century papal chapel mainly comes from surviving curial administrative documents describing the papal household. A roll dating from 1278 lists by name the entire household of pope Nicholas III (1277–80) and the allowances in comestibles its members received from the camera, and in so doing also lists the incumbent papal chaplains and their allowances that year.¹⁰ A household ordinance written around 1306 outlines the essential responsibilities of all personnel in the household, including the papal chapel.¹¹ Like the 1278 roll, the ordinance also prescribes the allowances to which householders were entitled whilst at

¹⁰ BAV, MS Vat. Ottobon. lat. 2516, ff. 168–85^v, ed. Baethgen, F., 'Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung unter Bonifaz VIII', *QFLAB*, 20 (1928–29), pp. 114–237.

¹¹ Archivio Storico del Vescovado di Aosta, MS uncatalogued, ed. Frutaz, P. M., 'La famiglia pontificia in un documento dell'inizio del secolo XIV', *Paleographica, diplomatica et archivistica. Studi in onore di Giulio Battelli*, 2 (Roma: Storia e letteratura. Raccolta di studi e testi, 139–40, 1979), pp. 277–323, edition at pp. 284–319; Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, MS Cod. IX, D. 15, ff. 67–73^v, ed. Frutaz, 'La famiglia', pp. 284–319; also ed. Haller, J., 'Zwei Aufzeichnungen über die Beamten der Kurie', *QFLAB*, 1 (1898), pp. 1–38, edition at pp. 8–31.

court. Account books of the Apostolic Camera for the years 1299–1300 and 1302–3 contain payments to and disbursements for papal chaplains (*vadia* payments, the *presbyterium*, and gifts in spices and sweetmeats) and expenses incurred for the books and sacramentalia of papal ceremonial and their upkeep.¹² Supplementing this administrative and financial material, the papal registers yield extensive information on papal chaplains' names, familial and other personal connections, benefices, and their administrative, legal and governmental responsibilities.¹³ Papal chaplains' liturgical and musical responsibilities are largely known from ceremonials pre-dating the period of study contained in the *Liber politicus* (c. 1140) of Benedict, canon of St Peter's, and in Cardinal Albinus' *Gesta pauperis scolari Albini* (1188), both contained in Duchesne's edition of the *Liber Censuum*, a record of the papacy's landed revenues in the years 492–1192, which contains a twelfth-century Roman *ordo*.¹⁴ A ceremonial compiled in Innocent III's pontificate between 1213–16 documents changes introduced by his liturgical reforms.¹⁵ A further ceremonial, especially concerned with performance of liturgy during periods of curial itinerancy outside Rome, was composed around 1273–4.¹⁶ Finally, a ceremonial

¹² ASV, MSs, Collectoriae 446 & Introitus et Exitus 5, ed. Schmidt, T., *Liber rationum camerae Bonifatii papae VIII (Archivum Secretum Vaticanum, collect. 446 necnon Intr. et. ex. 5)* (Città del Vaticano: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 1984).

¹³ Registers for the period 1288–1304 covering pontificates of Nicholas IV, Celestine V, Boniface VIII and Benedict XI are: *Les Registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. Langlois, E., 2 voll., BEFAR (Paris: 1905) [Reg. Nic. IV]; *Les Registres de Boniface VIII (1294–1303)*, eds. Thomas, A. et al., 4 voll., BEFAR (Paris: 1884–1939) [Reg. Bon. VIII]; *Le Registre de Benoît XI, recueil de bulles de ce pape publiées ou analysées d'après le manuscrit original des Archives du Vatican*, ed. Grandjean, Ch., (Paris: 1905) [Reg. Ben. XI]; *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab a. 1198 ad a. 1305*, ed. Potthast, A., 2 voll. (Berlin, 1874–5) [Potthast]. The registers of Honorius IV and Clement V were also surveyed (see Chapter Two p. 36 for discussion): *Les Registres d'Honorius IV*, ed. Prou, M., BEFAR (Paris: 1888) [Reg. Hon. IV]; *Monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti, Regestum Clementis papae V*, (Rome: 1892–1948) [Reg. Cle. V].

¹⁴ Fabre, P. & Duchesne, L., (eds.) *Le Liber censuum de l'Église Romaine*, 3 voll., BEFAR, series 2 (Paris: Fontemoing, 1910–52): the Roman *ordo* is in vol. 1, pp. 290–316; Albinus's *Gesta* is in vol. 2, pp. 85–137; Benedict's *Liber Politicus* is in vol. 2, pp. 139–77.

¹⁵ van Dijk, S. J. P. & Hazelden Walker, J., *The Ordinal of the Papal Court from Innocent III to Boniface VIII and Related Documents*, Spicilegium Friburgense, 22 (Freiburg: Éditions universitaires, 1975), pp. 87–483.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 536–90; also in Dykmans, M., *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge à la Renaissance*, vol. 1. *Le cérémonial papal du XIII^e siècle*, BIHBR, fasc. 24 (Brussels: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1977), pp. 154–218.

compiled in the early 1300s by Cardinal and former papal chaplain Giacomo Stefaneschi records late thirteenth-century liturgical practice.¹⁷

Full source criticism, as relevant to this analysis, follows in the relevant chapters. Hence the papal registers are dealt with in Chapter Two on chapel personnel, and household and accounting sources in Chapter Three's analysis of the chapel's financial and administrative structure. Discussion of ceremonial sources begins below, in discussion of the *schola cantorum*, and continues in Chapter Five, in comparison of the liturgical function of papal chaplains and English royal chaplains.

The only direct study of the late medieval papal chapel is a doctoral thesis by Reinhard Elze, who published his major findings distilled into a single article in 1950. This, and information on the papal chapel in a 1936 monograph on curial offices and officials in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by Borwin Rusch, provide essential information on the papal chapel that has informed most scholars of the late medieval curia since, and provides the basis for the foregoing summary overview of the papal chapel.¹⁸ A research project into the papal chapel as communicative link between Rome and wider Christendom in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is currently in progress at the Bergische Universität Wuppertal under the direction of Prof. Dr Jochen Johrendt. The project has generated two early publications, but its findings are in the main still forthcoming.¹⁹

¹⁷ Dykmans, M., *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge à la Renaissance*, vol. 2. *De Rome en Avignon ou le cérémonial de Jacques Stefaneschi*, BIHBR, fasc. 25 (Brussels: Institut Historique Belge de Rome 1981).

¹⁸ Elze, R., 'Die päpstliche Kapelle im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert', *ZRGKan*, 36 (1950), pp. 145–204; Rusch, B., *Die Behörden und Hofbeamten der päpstlichen Kurie des 13. Jahrhunderts*, (Berlin: Schriften der Albertus-Universität, Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe, 3, 1936).

¹⁹ Johrendt, J., 'Die päpstliche Kapelle als Bindeglied zwischen Kurie und Kirche', in Alberzoni, M. P. & Zey, C. (eds.), *Legati e delegati papali. Profili, ambiti d'azione e tipologie di intervento nei secoli XII–*

In other respects, the late thirteenth-century papal chapel has largely been studied indirectly, in the context of research into other curial offices, or covering the entire curia in individual pontificates. Thérèse Boespflug has published a prosopography of the whole curia under Boniface VIII, which takes the baton from an earlier such study in a 1934 doctoral thesis by Heinz Göring.²⁰ Notwithstanding the immense value of Boespflug's work as a whole and the great labour her project will have required, neither of which should be underestimated, her information on the papal chaplains needs refining. She overlooks nine of Boniface VIII's chaplains (sometimes important figures, including Matheus de Columna and Raynaldus Concoreggi de Mediolano, better known as St Rinaldo da Concorezzo) even when they are attested as chaplains in either Boniface's register or other well-known sources.²¹ In a number of cases when a chaplain of Boniface VIII also appears in the papal registers as a chaplain of an earlier or later pope, Boespflug overlooks many of the attestations under the additional popes. Furthermore, in the majority of cases when Boespflug has identified a curialist as a chaplain of any pope, she records only a few of the instances when the chaplain is attested as such in the register. (Often there is considerable difference between the number of attestations in the registers and the usually far smaller number of recorded attestations in Boespflug's prosopography.) Consequently one often cannot tell when a papal chaplain is recognised by his title for the first and last time; important information for this project because it is the closest we can get to knowing when a chaplain first and last held this office.

XIII (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 2012), pp. 257–78; *ibid.*, *Der Vierte Kreuzzug, das lateinische Kaiserreich und die päpstliche Kapelle unter Innocenz III* (forthcoming).

²⁰ Boespflug, T., *La curie au temps de Boniface VIII. Étude prosopographique*, (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il medioevo, 2005); Göring, H., *Die Beamten der Kurie unter Bonifaz VIII*, PhD, Königsberg, 1934 (published under same title Stallupönen: Klutke, 1934).

²¹ Arnaldus Rogerii, Berengarius Regis de Carcassonne, Gregorius Bonegentis de Genezzano, Guillemus Greenfield, Jacobus de Arras, Matheus de Columna, Pontius de Alayrico, Raynaldus Concoreggi de Mediolano, Stephanus Jordanus de Insula in Urbe.

A nineteenth-century study by Emmanuele Cerchiari of the Rota, the auditors who formed the highest appellate tribunal at the Apostolic See, from its origin up to the year 1870, provides lists of chaplains who were also legal auditors of the curia before the Rota acquired the name and form it still has today.²² Cerchiari called these lawyer-chaplains ‘*Capellani Auditores Causarum*’ and explained that they formed a tribunal college with a vice-chancellor at its head. This conflates circumstances in the late thirteenth century, when many but by no means all papal auditors were also papal chaplains, and conversely there were very many chaplains who were not auditors. Cerchiari’s term ‘*Capellanus Auditor Causarum*’, never appears in this form in the thirteenth-century papal registers. The two functions are always named separately, typically ‘*Capellanus et auditor causarum sacri palatii*’.²³ Furthermore, Cerchiari considered the papal vicechancellor to be the head of the conflated college of chaplain-auditors. But in the late thirteenth century the vicechancellor was not the head specifically of the college of chaplains or auditors, but of the papal chancery. True, the body of auditors fell within the compass of the chancery, so Cerchiari is correct that the vice-chancellor had authority over them. But the office of chaplain was separate from the chancery, and one can no more argue that there was a distinct body of chaplain-auditors under the express authority of the vice-chancellor than one could claim that chaplains who were also notaries formed another such distinct college.

A study by Gerd Friederich Nüske of the papal chancery in the period 1254–1304 provides biographical information about papal chaplains who also worked as notaries, and indeed those who had previously been chancery scribes or went on to become vice-

²² Cerchiari, E., *Capellani papae et apostolicae sedis, auditores causarum sacri palatii apostolici seu Sacra romana Rota ab origine ad diem usque 20 septembris 1870*, 4 voll. (Rome: typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1871).

²³ Variations on the term for auditors include: ‘*Auditor causarum sacri palatii*’, ‘*auditor causarum apostolici palatii*’, ‘*auditor causarum pape*’.

chancellors.²⁴ Nüske's work is complemented by an article by Bernard Barbiche on the same topic but covering a longer period, and a repertory of papal scribes under Boniface VIII, also by Barbiche, which identified many scribes by the *sigla* with which they signed the apostolic acts they produced.²⁵

Finally, Andrew Tomasello, whose doctoral research constitutes the only extant biographical repertory of papal chaplains at the Avignon curia, has also published research on late-medieval papal chaplains' liturgical function, based on assimilated references to papal chaplains in the aforementioned ceremonial sources.²⁶ The ceremonial sources provide individual tableaux of ceremonial practice at given points in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, rather than consistent evidence of year by year practice. Hence Tomasello's information is not all specific to the late thirteenth century, but allows one to trace some broad changes to aspects of papal chaplains' liturgical responsibilities through the centuries before the curial move to Avignon.

1.3 THE PAPAL CHAPEL AND THE *SCHOLA CANTORUM*

A major point of interest regarding both the cultural and the institutional history of the papal court is that papal chaplains gradually assumed full responsibility for the sung liturgy of the papal chapel. Originally this task fell entirely to the *schola cantorum*, one of

²⁴ Nüske, G., 'Untersuchungen über das Personal der päpstlichen Kanzlei 1254–1304', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 20 (1974), pp. 39–240 & 21 (1975), pp. 249–431.

²⁵ Barbiche, B., 'Le personnel de la chancellerie pontificale aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles', in Autrand, F. (ed.), *Prosopographie et genèse de l'État moderne*, Collection de l'École Normale supérieure de jeunes filles, 30 (Paris: École Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, 1986), pp. 117–30; idem., 'Les *scriptores* de la Chancellerie apostolique sous le pontificat de Boniface VIII (1295–1303)', *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes*, 128 (1970), pp. 115–87.

²⁶ Tomasello, A., 'Ritual, Tradition, and Polyphony at the Court of Rome', *The Journal of Musicology*, vol. 4, no. 4 (Autumn 1985–Autumn 1986), pp. 447–71. Tomasello published his doctoral thesis on the fourteenth-century papal chapel as: Tomasello, A., *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon 1309–1403* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983).

three colleges of Roman and papal subdeacons – the palatine subdeacons, the regional subdeacons, and the *schola cantorum* – whose origins far predate the chapel's.²⁷ But by the time some of the most important sources on the *schola's* liturgical function were compiled, these being Cencius's *Liber Censuum*, and the *Liber Politicus* of the canon Benedict and Albinus' *Gesta pauperis scholaris*, papal chaplains had already begun to take some part in liturgical singing.²⁸ One should therefore seek to determine what the respective roles of chaplains and *schola cantorum* were in the late thirteenth century, how these roles were changing, and why the changes happened at all.

The *schola cantorum* of the late thirteenth century was a very different creature to the papal chapel. It is fair to say that its role in papal liturgy and ceremonial was in demise, and the total replacement of the *schola's* musical function by the papal chaplains, probably complete by the 1330s, when the newly-named *capellani intrinseci* first appeared after 1334 under Benedict XII (1334–42), was already underway. To understand this change, certain points about the *schola's* early history need to be understood.

There are several theories concerning the foundation and early history of the *schola cantorum*. In the main, historians accept that it was founded by either Gregory the Great (590–604) or Vitalian (657–72). The plausibility of each possibility depends on whether one accepts John the Deacon's attribution of the *schola's* founding to Gregory the Great, as told in the *Sancti Gregorii Magni Vita*, written around 872.²⁹ Those who choose not to

²⁷ Elze, 'Die päpstliche Kapelle', pp. 153–4.

²⁸ For details of the *Liber Censuum*, *Liber politicus* and *Gesta pauperis scholaris*, see above nn. 14, 15, 16, 17. For a survey of attestations of papal chaplains' musical contribution to papal liturgy in these sources, see Tomasello, 'Ritual, Tradition and Polyphony'.

²⁹ "Deinde in domo Domini, more sapientissimi Salomonis, propter musicae compunctionem dulcedinis, Antiphonarium centonem cantorum studiosissimus nimis utiliter compilavit; scholam quoque cantorum, quae hactenus eisdem institutionibus in sancta Romana Ecclesia modulatur, constituit; eique cum nonnullis praediis duo habitacula, scilicet alterum sub gradibus basilicae beati Petri apostoli, alterum vero sub Lateranensis patriarchii domibus fabricavit, ubi usque hodie

accept this testimony rely instead on the appearance of the *schola* in the records of the pontificate of Adeodatus (672–76) and in the first *Ordo Romanus*, which together indicate a foundation date under Vitalian.³⁰ Van Dijk posited a third explanation, believing that the activities of Gregory the Great and Gregory II (715–31) had been conflated and some works of the latter attributed to the former when papal books were introduced into England and Gaul and combined with existing Roman ceremonial. By his account, Gregory I and Vitalian established separate institutions. The Gregorian *schola cantorum*, with one home at the Lateran and another at St Peter’s as John the Deacon attested, occupied itself with urban rites. Vitalian created his *schola cantorum* for papal (for which, at this point in time, read Gregorian) chant. His operated from the Lateran centre. Eventually, the Vatican branch of the urban *schola* gained predominance and, after a change of repertoire, perpetuated the Gregorian (old Roman) tradition.³¹

Since its foundation the *schola cantorum* had a very prestigious place in Rome and at the curia. In its early history, its membership comprised laymen, boys and priests in minor orders. Four subdeacons (the *prior/primus*, *secundus*, *tertius* and *quartus*) were attached to the *schola*. Their function is hard to discern but they probably undertook the education, musical and non-musical, of the *schola*’s boys. By the time Benedict composed his *Liber Politicus* around 1140, members of the *schola* sang almost every type of chant performed during full papal liturgy. They were also required to sing the *Pascha ieron*, a Greek sticheron, at the end of the ceremonial meal after Vespers on Easter Day, and had many

lectus ejus, in quo recubans modulabatur, et flagellum ipsius, quo pueris minabatur, veneratione congrua cum authentico Antiphonario reservatur, quae videlicet loca per praecepti seriem sub interpositione anathematis ob ministerii quotidianam utrobique gratiam subdivisit.”, *Sancti Gregorii Magni Vita a Joanne Diacono Scripta Libris Quatuor Lib. II*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 75, col. 90.

³⁰ For discussion of sources and chronological details see Tomasello, ‘Ritual, Tradition and Polyphony’, pp. 448–9, especially nn. 5–8.

³¹ van Dijk, S. J. P., ‘Gregory the Great: Founder of the Urban *Schola cantorum*’, *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 77 (1963), pp. 335–56.

duties outside the curia in urban ceremonial.³² At this time, the *schola* was headed by a *primicerius*, with the *secundarius* his immediate junior. Both had specific duties in ceremonial and in the mid twelfth century still held singing responsibilities.³³ Historically, the *primicerius* ranked very highly in the curia. He received the *presbyterium* immediately after the cardinals and was supported in the fourteenth century by an important benefice.³⁴ He was also a *familiaris* of the pope, as indicated by a letter of Innocent IV, dated 5 November 1250, which addressed Andreas the *primicerius* with special favour: “*sicut carissimum familiarum nostrum*”.³⁵ To this information, known to current scholarship, one may also add new evidence supplied by a letter of Boniface VIII, dated 28 October 1297, which in turn contains the text of a letter of Innocent III dated 10 December 1201. Innocent’s letter confirmed that “*dilectus filius J. primicerius scole cantorum de Urbe*”, had held and resigned from a benefice in the church of Santa Maria in Sassia, and received the church of Santa Maria in Monte.³⁶ Scholarship to date has not noted an important implication of these proceedings that is worth stating explicitly as an indication of the *schola*’s prestige at the time: the *primicerius* held a benefice in a Roman station church as early as the late twelfth century.

Not only was participation in papal ceremonial a prestigious privilege in itself, but the *schola* also received very generous financial support from the curia. Celestine III (1191–98) established an annual gift to the *schola cantorum* of 12 *lib.* (whether in pounds of Tours

³² Tomasello, ‘Ritual, Tradition and Polyphony’, p. 453 & (for discussion of the *Pascha ieron* and its manner of musical performance) pp. 454–65. A sticheron is a hymn genre of the Eastern and Orthodox Churches, consisting in hymn verses, usually metrical, which were sung alternately with psalm verses.

³³ For the roles of *primicerius* and *secundarius* in papal ceremonial, including their singing duties, see *ibid.*, pp. 450–3.

³⁴ Haberl, F. X., ‘Die römische *schola cantorum* und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts’, *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 3 (1888), pp. 204–5.

³⁵ *Cum iuxta antiquam*, unregistered but in ASV, Archivum Arcis, Armarium C, Fasc. 27, No. 2), ed. Haberl, ‘Die Römische *Schola cantorum*’, pp. 202–3, n. 1.

³⁶ *Reg. Bon. VIII*, 2173.

or Provins is not indicated) to be apportioned from oblations offered at the altar of St Peter's. Honorius III (1216–27) confirmed this gift, but at a lower rate of 10 *lib.* per annum, in a letter dated 20 April 1219.³⁷ Innocent IV later reinstated the initial gift of 12 *lib.* per annum in his letter of 5 November 1250. He also stipulated that the *primicerius* and his successors should receive 40 *sol.* of this gift according to rank (“*sicut digniores et maiores*”), that the rest be divided equally between the *scholenses*, and that the gift itself was intended for the provision of vestments. Half was to be paid on the feast of the Ascension and half on the Dedication of St Peter's.³⁸ Innocent IV seems to have had particular concern for the *schola*'s income, for when he gave the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli to the young Franciscan order in 1250, he transferred the income from the monastery's estates to the *schola* and its *primicerius*.³⁹

To date, scholarship seems not to have noted that the gift first established by Celestine III was still in effect in the late thirteenth century. In the almonry accounts of 1285–6, there is a gift by express mandate of Honorius IV (1285–87) in May 1286 of 24 *lib. prov.* to the *primicerius* and *schola cantorum* for unspecified services in the previous years at an annual rate of 12 *lib.*, paid on or for the period terminating on the feast of the Ascension.⁴⁰ The *primicerius* and *schola cantorum* also received the *presbyterium* at a rate

³⁷ “Dignum est, ut qui ministerii vestri munia laudabiliter exequimini, laudes Domini suaviter decantantes, exinde assequamini munera gratiosa, cum dantibus psalmum non sit tympanum denegandum. Cum itaque fel. mem. Caelestinus Papa praedecessor noster vobis de portione oblationum altaris B. Petri, quae contigit Romanum Pontificem, annuas duodecim libras de gratia contulit liberali; Nos ejusdem gratiae volentes addere gratiam, ut de virtute studeatis proficere in virtutem, de oblatione praedicta decem libras Vostro tantum tempore vobis annuatim duximus largiendas; ita quod ex hoc successores Nostri nullatenus obligentur. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum XII. Kal. Maii Pontificatus nostri Anno III.”, ASV, *Reg. Vat.* 3, f. 84, ed. Haberl, ‘Die Römische *Schola cantorum*’, pp. 201–2, n. 3.

³⁸ *Cum iuxta antiquam*, see above, n. 35.

³⁹ *Cum divines deputati*, 1 October 1250: “...monasterio ipso cum ortis, et emus septis, nec non et aliis appenditiis iunxta illud exceptis...”, *Reg. Vat.* 22, f. 18 (*Reg. Inn. IV*, 4848).

⁴⁰ “Item, primicerio et scolensibus Urbis, pro duobus annis preteritis completis in die Ascensionis Domini nostri Jhesu Xpisti de mense maii anno Domini MCCLXXXVI, indictione XIII, pontificatus domni Honorii pape IIII^{ti}, ejus anno II^o et de mandato ipsius domni Honorii

higher than even the most elevated papal householder. The *primicerius* received 22 *sol. prov.* at each distribution, worth some seven times the 1 *sol. tur. gross* average sum apiece among papal chaplains. Even the 16 *sol. prov.* given to each of the eight singers of the *schola* at the distributions in 1299 and 1301 was over five times the average receipt of a chaplain at the same events.⁴¹ As a point of comparison, in the year 1299–1300 the *primicerius* received from the Christmas and Easter *presbyteria* alone some ten times the yearly subsistence of 4 *lib.*, 4 *sol. prov.* paid to the servant of the almonry household in 1285–6.⁴² These exceptionally high receipts do not even take into account the provision from the *speciarius* and the gift of doves the *schola* and its *primicerius* received when they dined with the pope, nor payments received for participation in celebrations at churches elsewhere in Rome.

Scholars have generally attributed the disappearance of the *schola cantorum* to papal chaplains' growing importance in papal liturgy, and the itinerancy of the papal court and its eventual migration to Avignon. By these accounts, the *schola*, despite its longstanding affiliation with the curia, was an independent institution with singing duties in churches across Rome and could not follow the curia when it left the city. This opinion, expounded at length by Andrew Tomasello, is also implicit in Haberl's history of the institution and its successors, from its foundation until the nineteenth century, which remains today the most thoroughgoing single study on the *schola cantorum*.⁴³ Tomasello states only that the *schola's* function ceased once the curia left Rome entirely. Any textual

pape XXIII lib. prov., computatis XII lib. per annum.” ASV, MS Introitus et Exitus 1, f. 52^v, ed. Prou, M., *Compte de la maison de l'aumône de Saint-Pierre de Rome (Juin 1285–mai 1286)* (Paris: H. Champion, 1918), p. 84.

⁴¹ For a register of payments to papal chaplains, the *primicerius* and *schola cantorum* see Appendix One.

⁴² “Die veneris ultimo mensis maii, VII familiaribus domus pro salariis eorum per totum annum completum ipso die veneris computatis IIII lib. et IIII s. per quemlibet, excepto coquo qui recipit V lib. et XI s. per annum...” ASV, MS Introitus et Exitus 1, f. 50, ed. Prou, *Compte de la maison*, p. 78.

⁴³ Tomasello, ‘Music and Ritual’, especially pp. 461–3; Haberl, ‘Die römische *schola cantorum*’.

hints at the *schola's* continued involvement in ceremonial – Tomasello cites directions for the coronation of Clement V in Lyon in 1305 which state that “*scola sive cantores cantent introitum et Kyrieleison*” – he attributes to the “tenacity of the Roman tradition in the transmission of rubrics”, rather than considering them evidence for the *schola's* active participation in events so far from Rome.⁴⁴

However, the received idea in the existing scholarship that the *schola cantorum* could not leave Rome needs refining. As Haberl notes, the *schola* survived in form if not in function well into the fourteenth century. The office of *primicerius* came with a benefice that was still being assigned under Clement VI (1342–52), and it still existed as a sinecure in 1358.⁴⁵ Furthermore, until at least 1346, the formal position of singer in the *schola cantorum* still existed and, like that of *primicerius*, was now supported as a sinecure by at least one benefice.⁴⁶ As far as musical performance is concerned, if members of the *schola* and the *primicerius* did appear in procession at the imperial coronation of Charles IV (Holy Roman Emperor 1355–78) in Bonn on 5 April 1355, as Innocent VI's (1352–62) bull *Speciosus forma* stipulated, their presence was not vital to musical performance.⁴⁷ By this time the papal chapel at Avignon had musical performance in hand itself, its papal chaplains now responsible for most sung liturgy.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Tomasello, ‘Music and Ritual’, p. 467, citing Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal*, vol. 2, p. 288.

⁴⁵ Haberl, ‘Die römische *schola cantorum*’, pp. 206–8, referring to unpublished letters at, respectively, ASV, *Regesta Avenionensis*, vol. 26, f. 523 and *Innoc. VI. Communium*, Anno VI, no. 234, f. 59.

⁴⁶ Haberl, ‘Die römische *schola cantorum*’, pp. 206–7, referring to: ASV, *Regesta Avenionensis*, vol. 28, f. 21 & vol. 28, f. 274.

⁴⁷ “Quia vero propter nostram absenciam nonnulla solennia ex predictis personam nostram tangentia expedit intermitteri, volumus atque decernimus quod, non obstantibus hiis que superius describuntur, in gradibus scholarum dicte basilice principis apostolorum idem rex Romanorum solennitate et honorificentia debitis recipitur ad osculum per te ac legatum eundem stantes in ordinibus vestris, indutos tamen omnes pluvialibus processionaliter obviantes eidem cum subdiaconibus et acolitis, primicerio et cantoribus, astantibus circa te dictumque legatum magnatibus, nobiles et officialibus et ministerialibus aule nostre.”, *Reg. Inn. IV*, 1313.

⁴⁸ Discussed in full below in Chapter Eight, especially pp. 232–43. See also Anheim, É., ‘La grande chapelle de Clément VI: les hommes, les lieux, les pratiques’, in Vingtain, D. (ed.),

The *schola cantorum*'s presence at important ceremonies outside Rome was expected, even if in reality its office holders in the fourteenth century were not able to meet these demands. But more importantly, the cameral accounts under Boniface VIII show unequivocally that, at the turn of the fourteenth century, members of the *schola cantorum* did accompany the pope out of Rome for a period of summer residence at Anagni. In November 1299, some twenty chaplains in total travelled back to Rome from Anagni, where they had spent the summer with the pope. We know that thirteen of them had travelled there with the pope in April of that year.⁴⁹ However, in 1302, no chaplains received the *vadia* payments that would indicate that another such translocation of part of the chapel had taken place. The only indication in the cameral accounts that a chaplain travelled out of Rome is the fact that Onofrius de Trebis received his Easter *presbyterium* in the Mandatum of the fifth week of April, separately to nineteen other chaplains who had received it as normal. A likely explanation is that Onofrius had travelled to Anagni.

Who, then, was responsible for chapel liturgy during the summer residence in 1302? The best candidates are three singers of the *schola cantorum*. Whilst the *primicerius* and five members of the *schola* received the Easter *presbyterium* as normal in 1302, like most of the papal chaplains, another three singers received theirs separately, like Onofrius de Trebis, in the Mandatum of the first week of May.⁵⁰ It follows that these three singers, in the absence of papal chaplains to carry out the task, had travelled to Anagni to take care of the pope's private liturgy.⁵¹

Monument de l'Histoire. Construire, reconstruire le palais des Papes (XIV^e–XX^e siècle) (Avignon: Palais des Papes, 2002) pp. 123–9.

⁴⁹ "Item 13 capellanis qui venerunt per viam cum domino ad rationem 7 tur. per diem pro quolibet 37 sol. et 11 den. tur. gross." (among payments for the fourth week of April 1299), Schmidt, *Libri*, 568.

⁵⁰ "Item pro presbiterio 3 cantorum scole cantorum 49 sol. et 6. den prov." (among payments for the fifth week of April 1302), *ibid.*, 2182.

⁵¹ Unlike chaplains, one would not expect to see *vadia* payments to members of the *schola cantorum* for the journey to Anagni because *scholenses* did not customarily receive *vidandae*.

Not only do we therefore know that the *schola cantorum* could on occasion travel outside Rome, but also that the relationship between papal chaplains and the *schola* in executing the pope's private liturgy was flexible. While the curia was in Anagni in 1299, papal chaplains must have shouldered those parts of liturgy that the absent *scholenses* would otherwise have undertaken. But later, in 1302, members of the *schola* continued to undertake musical service outside Rome. Perhaps this explains why, as Tomasello notes, ceremonials of the early fourteenth century do not clearly indicate which parts of the sung liturgy fell to the chaplains and which to the *scholenses*.⁵² The relationship between them was, at this point, somewhat fluid.

If the formerly clean-cut edges of Tomasello's argument no longer seem so sharp, should one therefore seek additional explanations for the shift in responsibility for chapel singing from the *schola cantorum* towards the papal chaplains in the thirteenth century? Some received facts should not be disregarded. On occasion the *schola* did not accompany the pope out of Rome, so chapel liturgy could be accomplished without the *schola's* involvement. But this very fact introduces additional factors. It is inconceivable that papal chaplains, recruited for the pedigree of their administrative careers or family, would have had musical training comparable to that of the singers of the *schola*, recruited for their ability to carry out musical performances at the curia and churches in Rome. There is only one potential indication of a musically-trained papal chaplain in the thirteenth century: the papal chaplain Nicolaus of Aversa received the epithet '*cantor*' in the 1278 household roll.⁵³ Musical standards in the chapel must have been inconsistent at best.

⁵² Tomasello, 'Ritual, Tradition and Polyphony', p. 467.

⁵³ See Appendix Two, and further discussion of papal chaplains' musical competence in Chapter Eight, pp. 232–43.

If nurturing musical excellence was not foremost among the papacy's concerns, neither was the administrative health and longevity of the *schola*. Its structure and financial foundations belonged to a papacy of bygone days, when the college of chaplains, the basilical subdeacons, the principal household officials, and indeed the subdeacons of the *schola cantorum* were all arranged in imitation of the classical imperial court.⁵⁴ Unlike the papal chapel and much of the rest of the papal household, the *schola cantorum* had not undergone modernisation. In the late thirteenth century, its members were financed in an esoteric manner with a combination of gifts, one of which had to be renewed by each new pope, and (if the arrangement was still in place) income from the estates of Santa Maria in Aracoeli. Although benefices were a fundamental form of economic support for almost all high-level curialists, until the early fourteenth century, when papal registers attest the conferral of a benefice for the *schola cantorum* itself, only the *primicerius* is known to have held one.

Those curial offices that did evolve, including the papal chapel, did so under pressure to make each office better serve the papacy's ends, and the papacy's actions were determined by governmental, administrative, and financial need. Hence administrative tasks became more rationally arranged with clearer divisions between the responsibilities of different officials. Criteria for recruitment into the chapel became heavily determined by potential chaplains' ability to serve curial administration and papal government and law. The *schola cantorum* could play no part in administration, government or law, so lay beyond the reach of the dynamics driving change at the time.

Each of the late thirteenth century popes inherited a chapel in which the function of the *schola cantorum* was ill-defined. Though it had originally been founded by the pope,

⁵⁴ Rusch, *Die Behörden*, p. 75.

incorporated into the imperial model of the curia of the time, the *schola* was only loosely-integrated into the late thirteenth-century curia. That the papacy made no attempt to transfer the *schola cantorum* to Avignon is testament both to a lack of any apparent drive to standardise the quality of chapel music, and to the impact on musical culture of profound institutional changes that had left the *schola cantorum* behind.

1.4 HONORARY PAPAL CHAPLAINS

Scholars have already noted the disparity between the number of papal chaplains who held the title at any one time and the number in active service and on the payroll at the late-medieval curia, and also that, in the fourteenth century, the difference was codified in a growing distinction between papal chaplains of different kinds. From Benedict XII's pontificate, actively-serving papal chaplains were termed *capellani intrinseci*, differentiated from the pre-existing body of papal chaplains who became known specifically as *capellani commensales*, many of whom were honorary chaplains. Curial sources from the early 1300s did not initially make a clear terminological distinction between *capellani commensales* and honorary papal chaplains, just as in the thirteenth century there had been no clear terminological distinction between actively-serving and honorary papal chaplains. But differentiation did emerge: from Clement VI onward, honorary chaplains were termed *capellani honores*. Several works on the fourteenth-century curia have studied its honorary chaplains in great depth.⁵⁵ Yet, whilst scholars have repeatedly noted that differences between types of chaplain existed to some degree in the thirteenth century, no-one has

⁵⁵ For honorary chaplains in the fourteenth century, see Guillemain, B., 'Les chapelains d'honneur des papes d'Avignon', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 64 (1952), pp. 217–38; Schäfer, K. H., 'Päpstlichen Ehrenkapläne aus deutschen Diözesen im 14. Jahrhundert', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 21 (1907), pp. 97–113; Burns, C., 'Vatican Sources and the Honorary Papal Chaplains of the Fourteenth Century', in Gatz, E. (ed.), *Römische Kurie. Kirchliche Finanzen. Vatikanisches Archiv. Studien zu Ehren von Hermann Homberg* (Rome: Università Gregoriana, 1979), pp. 65–95. For fourteenth-century *capellani intrinseci* see Tomasello, *Music and Ritual*.

tried to determine in detail the extent to which the curia differentiated between the two types of papal chaplain in this earlier period.⁵⁶

There are four important indicators in the curia's administrative history of the formal difference between the different types of papal chaplain in the fourteenth century. First is evidence that Benedict XII re-articulated the intended function of his actively-serving papal chaplains in 1334.⁵⁷ Second is the appearance of regular payments to a distinct group of *capellani intrinseci* in cameral accounts.⁵⁸ Third is the development of papal privileges and discrete nomination procedure for honorary papal chaplains, which included the possibility for supplicants to petition for honorary papal chaplaincies.⁵⁹ Fourth is the increasingly-clear and eventual total differentiation in nomenclature between types of papal chaplain in the papal registers and other administrative documents, concurrent with the eventual complete procedural differentiation of honorary chaplains. The consummate attestation of the formalisation and differentiated documentation of honorary papal chaplains is a register of the nominations of two

⁵⁶ Guillemain ('Les chaplains d'honneur', p. 218) briefly compared the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, noting that it would have been impossible for all 240 chaplains mentioned in the registers of Innocent IV (1243–54) to have been part of the group who served in the pope's private chapel, and that Boniface VIII called 107 churchmen by the term chaplain but fed only 19–24. Guillemain took his global figure from Fawtier's list of 107 papal chaplains in the index of the register of Boniface VIII (*Reg. Bon. VIII*, vol. 4, pp. 400–1), which is lower than my reckoning of 122 (attested in all sources) for the same pontificate, of which 110 are directly attested in Boniface VIII's register. (One cannot tell what margin of difference there was immediately before our period, under Honorius IV, as household and accounting sources for these years have not survived. However, in the years immediately following, under Clement V, between 12–24 and on one occasion 34 chaplains received a wage from the camera whilst some 145 chaplains are mentioned by name in Clement's register: see Guillemain, B., 'Le personnel de la cour de Clément V', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 63 (1951), pp. 153, 156; *Reg. Cle. V, ad indicem*). The total number of named papal chaplains in Clement V's register surely includes some references to former papal chaplains of earlier popes, but the point of comparison remains valid.

⁵⁷ Schimmelpfennig, B., 'Die Organisation der päpstliche Kapelle in Avignon', *QFLAB*, 50 (1971), pp. 80–111. Guillemain, B., *La cour pontificale d'Avignon (1309–1376). Étude d'une société* (Paris, Éditions de Boccard, 1966), pp. 362–7. Tomasello considered that 1334 marked not a re-organisation of the existing chapel, but the institution of a new chapel modelled on the household chapel Benedict had kept as a cardinal: Tomasello, *Music and Ritual*, pp. 50–53; 'Ritual, Tradition and Polyphony', pp. 447–8).

⁵⁸ Tomasello, *Music and Ritual*, pp. 49–54.

⁵⁹ Guillemain, 'Les chapelains d'honneur', pp. 219–22.

thousand, six hundred and seventy-five honorary papal chaplains between 1316–84, arranged alphabetically and chronologically by pontificate from John XXII (1316–34) until the sixth regnal year of the Avignon antipope Clement VII (1378–94), which was compiled in the early fifteenth century from earlier lists of honorary chaplains in curial documents.⁶⁰

The first indicator, Benedict XII's supposed chapel reform of 1334, is a crucial fulcrum in this thesis' overarching discussion of honorary papal chaplains in the thirteenth century. Historians of the fourteenth-century papal chapel all accept that the texts stating the function of *capellani intrinseci* under Benedict XII, found in sources that document Benedict's wider curial reforms, are evidence of a decisive reform of the papal chapel.⁶¹ But when these texts are compared with the thirteenth-century household documents prescribing chapel structure and function (which will be discussed in Chapter Three), it emerges that Benedict's only unprecedented stipulation was that his *capellani intrinseci* not wear the rochet.⁶² This thesis will therefore question whether Benedict's reforms introduced a clear and decisive difference between honorary and non-honorary

⁶⁰ ASV, *Instrumenta miscellanea* 5827, cited in Guillemain, 'Les chapelains d'honneur', esp. pp. 223–7 and examined in detail by Burns, 'Honorary Papal Chaplains', pp. 65–95. Burns also provides the document's alphabetical indices of honorary papal chaplains appointed under Clement VII, with the corresponding lists in earlier curial sources from which these indices were compiled, at pp. 75–95.

⁶¹ See above, nn. 55, 56, 57.

⁶² "item, in domo seu hospicio suo XII capellanos absque rochetis habere voluit, qui decantabant cotidie horas diurnas pariter et nocturnas"; "multa in principio sui pontificatus ordinavit et statuit: inter que hoc unum fuit, quod capellani sui dicerent horas canonicas cum nota, et quod omnes dormirent in uno dormitorio, nec haberent alios redditus quam mense papalis victum et vestitum.", *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, ed. Baluze, É., new edn. Mollat, G. (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1916–1927), vol. 1, pp. 230, 233; "undecimo vult, quod omnes capellani sui horas canonicas dicant cum nota, et quod omnes domiant in uno dormitorio ac eciam comedant coram eo: quod dormitorio iam est in fieri pro eisdem: nec ipsi capellani habebunt redditus alios quam victum mense papalis et vestitum. Et si aliqui capellani aliquibus aliis indigent, possunt ab ipso domino pape requirere et non recipere aliunde.", *Cronicae s. Petri Erfordensis moderna*, in Holder-Egger, O. (ed.), *Monumenta Erpbesfurtensia*, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ac monumentis Germaniae historicis separatim editi*, 42 (Hannover: Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1899), p. 366. Discussion of the thirteenth century household roll and ordinance follows in Chapter Four, pp. 83–8. The rochet is a tunic-like vestment, usually white, worn by prelates and, by special papal privilege, sometimes by other ecclesiastics.

chaplains for the first time, or whether they were rather a formal articulation of the existing status quo based on a longstanding model of the papal chapel also evident in thirteenth-century household sources.

The answer, however incomplete, will clarify the extent to which the curial-wide systematisation of offices affected the papal chapel before textual sources began to record and enshrine changes from the 1330s onwards. By extension it will also determine the degree of fluidity and differentiation in the thirteenth century between chaplains actively serving at the curia and those not, which cannot be separated from analysis of the selection and function of papal chaplains, their function, and the social and cultural dynamics among them. The question will be examined in social-demographic terms in Chapter Two,⁶³ and its conclusions will be fundamental to discussion of specific recruitment patterns in Chapter Three, and of payment and economic rationalisation in Chapter Four.

⁶³ See especially Chapter Two, pp. 43–51.

CHAPTER TWO

PEOPLE

2.1 FOUNDATIONS

In 1986, Agostino Paravicini Bagliani published an article as a rallying cry urging historians to embark on research into the personnel of the thirteenth-century curia. The systematic use, he asserted, of biographical data on curial personnel could, when focused on specific questions, lead to the heart of important historical concerns about the administrative, political, ecclesiastical and cultural history of the papal court.¹

Chapter Two is the first of two consecutive chapters that draw on a biographical repertory prepared for this thesis of all papal chaplains in the period 1288–1304.² The chapter begins by introducing the place of this project's biographical repertory in the context of existing research, the questions it is intended to answer, and how the available sources were used to construct the repertory. It continues with discussion of questions overarching all four pontificates together, namely: the chapel's size and composition; functional differences between types of papal chaplain, revisiting the differences between honorary and non-honorary papal chaplains; demographic questions of age and

¹ Paravicini Bagliani, A., 'Pour une approche prosopographique de la cour pontificale du XIII^e siècle. Problèmes de méthode', in Bulst, N. & Genet, J.-P. (eds.), *Medieval Lives and the Historian. Studies in Medieval Prosopography* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), pp. 113–21. On the importance of prosopography as method in medieval history see the collected essays in Bulst's work itself: Bulst & Genet (eds.), *Medieval Lives and the Historian* (1986).

² The size of the total repertory prevents its inclusion here, though its data runs through the entire thesis. The total corpus of papal chaplains in the repertory, and key biographical information on them, is represented in the tables of papal chaplains in Appendix Five. For certain questions – notably recruitment patterns, and careers within and beyond the chapel – the pertinent data is also presented discursively.

education insofar as the current research permits; and the papal chapel's place in the trajectories of curial and ecclesiastical careers.

Whilst, in the first instance, the biographical repertory of papal chaplains provides the basis for the social and demographic analysis which constitutes the present chapter, it also lays the groundwork for administrative, social and cultural analysis in the chapters that follow. In particular, the analysis in chapters Two and Three of recruitment criteria and of social and geographical mobility among papal chaplains will be essential for ensuing questions in this thesis about the papal chapel's place in the dynamics of social cohesion and cultural activity at the thirteenth-century curia.

2.2 TIMEFRAME

Assembling the collective biographies of papal chaplains in the period of study creates several corollaries beyond the wealth of information it provides on the papal chapel itself. It expands the scope of existing scholarship on chaplains as they appear in other offices at the curia – the research by Nüske and Barbiche on papal scribes and the chancery, and Cerchiari's naïve work on thirteenth-century curial auditors mentioned in Chapter One – thus furthering understanding of the multifunctional and overlapping character of curial officials in the late thirteenth century. The repertory also undertakes the necessary refinement of Boespflug's work, also discussed in Chapter One, as it pertains to Boniface VIII's papal chaplains.

Data could be gathered from pontificates earlier than Nicholas VI's, for the papal registers available in the calendars of the *Bibliothèque de l'École Française d'Athènes et de Rome* which rendered the high-volume biographical data-gathering from the manuscripts of the

papal registers a feasible task in a doctoral research project, begin much earlier, with the calendar of Gregory IX (1227–41).³ But the present study concentrates on the final four pontificates of the ‘long’ thirteenth century for the particular interest of studying the immediate run-up to the fourteenth century; both because of its inherent interest *per se*, and because the more comprehensively-treated fourteenth-century chapel provides material for comparative discussion of longer-term changes in the papal chapel between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The end-point at the close of Benedict XI’s pontificate in 1304 brings the repertory of biographical information to a point where it meets research on chapel personnel for the fourteenth century. The earliest, in historical terms, is a survey of Clement V’s curia published in 1951 by Bernard Guillemain. Guillemain detailed the number of chaplains in the pay of the Clementine camera, their geographical provenance, and their role in the curia beyond their office as chaplain. His survey also included a list of chaplains identified by name as recipients of payments from the camera in the 1316–17 financial year, during the pontificate of John XXII.⁴ Following on from Guillemain’s study, Andrew Tomasello’s monograph on the papal chapel at Avignon includes a biographical repertory of the *capellani capelle pape* (but not honorary chaplains) from 1334 to 1378,

³ In the course of research, the searchable database of the BEFAR calendars, *Ut per litteras apostolicas Online* (LITPA–O), became available in subscribing UK research libraries and became an invaluable research tool.

⁴ Guillemain, ‘Le personnel’ (1951). Guillemain used both the cameral accounts edited by the Benedictines who in their edition of the register of Clement V (*Reg. Cle. V*) published ASV, MSs *Introitus et Exitus* 8 (expenses between 11 March 1307 and 17 November 1307) and *Introitus et Exitus* 10 (receipts between 14 November 1309 and early November 1310, and expenses from 8 November 1309 and 23 October 1310), and the then unedited *Introitus et Exitus* 75 (receipts for the period November 1308–1309 and weekly expenses from 22 November 1308 to 17 October 1309), which he himself later published: Guillemain, B., *Les recettes et les dépenses de la chambre apostolique pour la quatrième année du pontificat de Clément V (1308–1309) (Introitus et Exitus 75)*, Collection de l’École française de Rome, 39 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1978). John XXII’s cameral accounts are published as Schäfer, K. H., (ed.), *Die Ausgaben der apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII*, Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung, 1316–1375, 2 (Paderborn: Historisches Institut in Rom, 1911), which contains the payments to John’s papal chaplains at pp. 549–50.

assembled from the calendared registers and published cameral accounts of Benedict XII, Clement VI, Innocent VI (1352–62), Urban V (1362–70) and Gregory XI (1370–8).⁵ Because Tomasello took Benedict XII's 1334 statement of papal chaplains' duties as the foundation of a new, re-organised chapel, and therefore the start-date of his biographical repertory, a full biographical repertory of papal chaplains attested in the registers of Clement V and John XXII has yet to be attempted, but lies beyond the scope of this thesis.

2.3 SOURCES

The methodology conceived for this research was designed to answer a specific set of questions. In some ways it resembles prosopography, specifically that of the 'élite' school as opposed to the 'mass' school, in that it examines the small-group dynamics of a defined category of individuals in a high social echelon.⁶ But prosopography it is not, since its aim is not to assemble total biographies for all papal chaplains from birth to death, but to assemble a biographical repertory of papal chaplains and their activities during their time as chaplains and, where there are matters of particular note, look beyond the prescribed period for contextualisation. What follows is an account of how the repertory of papal chaplains and their activities was assembled: the sources chosen, the data-gathering methods, and the particulars of working with the selected source material.

⁵ Tomasello, *Music and Ritual* (1983).

⁶ The academic division between élite and mass prosopography was first propounded by Stone, L., 'Prosopography', *Daedalus*, 100 (1971), pp. 46–79. The problems arising from a rigid academic distinction between the two have been raised by Carney, T. F., 'Prosopography: Payoffs and Pitfalls', *Phoenix*, vol. 27, no. 2 (Summer, 1973), pp. 156–179, and Keats-Rohan, K. S. B., 'Chameleon or Chimera? Understanding Prosopography', in *ibid.* (ed.), *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, *Prosopographica et Genealogica*, 13 (Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, Linacre College, Oxford, 2007), pp. 1–32.

The biographical repertory was compiled primarily from references to papal chaplains in the registers of popes Nicholas IV, Celestine V, Boniface VIII and Benedict XI. The registers for pontificates preceding and following the primary period – so those of Honorius IV and Clement V – were also surveyed, primarily to ascertain which chaplains entered the chapel before Nicholas IV's accession and which continued in service immediately after Benedict XI's death.⁷ As the largest centralised collection of documents dealing with papal administration, the papal registers represent by far the most extensive single source for the repertory. Supplementary information was also gathered from the cameral accounts of 1299–1300 and 1302–3, the 1278 roll of the papal *familia* under Nicholas III, and the household ordinance of c.1306.⁸ Barbiche's biographical data on Boniface VIII's chancery scribes, which he gathered from both the register and original copies of acts, and Nüske's biographical data on chancery personnel, which he gathered from a huge range of archival and bibliographical sources extending well beyond the papal registers themselves, were also included to supplement data gathered directly from primary sources.⁹

In practical terms, the repertory of chaplains was assembled first with a comprehensive systematic search of the aforementioned papal registers for all attestations of papal chaplains, using onomastic indices in the printed calendars where available, including Fawtier's list of Boniface VIII's chaplains (just shy of complete) in the index to Boniface's register.¹⁰ The digitised version of the thirteenth-century papal registers,

⁷ See Chapter One, n. 13.

⁸ For the cameral accounts: ASV, MSs *Collectoriae* 446 & *Introitus et Exitus* 5, see Chapter One, n. 12. For the 1279 roll: BAV, MS Vat. Ottobon. lat. 2516, ff. 168–85^v, see Chapter One, n. 10. For the c. 1306 ordinance: Archivio Storico del Vescovado di Aosta, MS uncatalogued & Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, MS Cod. IX, D. 15, ff. 67–73^v, see Chapter One, n. 11.

⁹ Barbiche, B., 'Les *scriptores* de la chancellerie apostolique sous le pontificat de Boniface VIII (1295–1303)', *Bibliothèque de l'école de Chartres*, 128 (1970), pp. 115–87. Nüske lists his sources at 'Untersuchungen', pp. 40–3.

¹⁰ See Chapter 1, n. 56.

searchable by keyword, greatly aided the latter stages of this search.¹¹ The names of all papal chaplains were cross-checked against the registers of all pontificates in the period of study, to cover the frequent individual instances when the registers name known papal chaplains without mentioning their papal chaplaincy. Owing to the loss of Celestine V's manuscript register, searches of his acts were restricted to those letters calendared by Potthast.¹² Some otherwise missing information from Celestine V's pontificate was supplied by retrospective references to his papal chaplains in the registers of later popes. Names from lists of chaplains in Clement V's and John XXII's cameral accounts, the household roll of 1278 and ordinance of c. 1306, and the cameral accounts of 1299–1300 and 1302–3 were also cross-checked against the registers of the four key pontificates.

As the largest centralised collection of documents dealing with papal administration, the papal registers represent by far the most extensive single source for the repertory. They systematically record the names of hundreds of curialists, but they also challenge the researcher of the papal chapel with the threat of hidden information, for several reasons. The greatest potential threat comes from the large number of unregistered papal letters. The register of Boniface VIII contains some five and a half thousand letters, but Robert Fawtier, in his calendared edition, estimated that the total annual production of letters under Boniface was probably around the fifty thousand mark.¹³ Combined with a second factor, that, with the single noteworthy exception of John of Droxford (discussed below¹⁴) there are no extant records of the conferral of papal chaplaincies, this engenders doubt that the majority of papal chaplains have been identified and that the first attestations of papal chaplains in the registers are indeed the earliest. On the latter point,

¹¹ *Ut per litteras apostolicas Online* (LITPA–O).

¹² Potthast, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* (1874–5).

¹³ *Reg. Bon. VIII*, vol. 4, p. c.

¹⁴ See below, pp. 44–5.

the margin of error may be reduced by consulting records of personnel pre-dating the period under study; hence consultation of the 1278 household roll and inclusion of Honorius IV's register in the survey of papal chaplains. Concerning the end of chaplaincies, the degree of doubt is lesser. The office of chaplain did not automatically terminate at the end of a papacy. In many cases chaplains were promoted to higher offices that overrode the office of chaplain during our period, and in other cases the chaplain continued in office after 1304.¹⁵ The problem of possible lacunae in the source material owing to unregistered papal letters is, however, largely countered by aspects of curial administrative procedure itself.

To begin with, the way that many papal chaplains were employed in Church administration across Christendom at a high level means that they are already very likely to appear frequently in papal letters: they appear as legal auditors at the curia, as legates, tax collectors, messengers for the pope, and executors for the benefices of others. More reliable still is the system of papal provisions. The allowances in food and drink, provision for stabling a horse, and gifts in spices and money at Christmas and Easter, which chaplains received directly from the curia, could not alone suffice to sustain a lifestyle at the curia, which was extremely costly. The accumulation of multiple benefices was therefore a major source of income from the Church, and chaplains from well-endowed Roman families such as the Caetani, Stefaneschi, Colonna and Orsini engaged in this practice just as much – often even more so – than less well-established families. Indeed, there were few curialists in this period who were not beneficed, as the curia increasingly made recourse to these provisions to provide for the growing body of

¹⁵ Such higher offices include vicechancellor, bishop, archbishop and cardinal. I know of no example in the sources studied of the title chaplain reappearing after promotion to these offices, which indicates that a papal chaplaincy ended at the point of promotion.

personnel it had to support.¹⁶ A papal provision did not in itself guarantee an appearance in the registers: bishops rather than the pope himself could assign minor benefices, for example.¹⁷ But the conferral of a benefice required executors (chaplains frequently acted in this capacity, often for each other) and, more importantly for this research, simultaneous possession of several benefices required papal dispensations for pluralism. Given that chaplains' wealth was so dependent on benefices, and therefore on the existence of a record showing that they held the correct dispensations to defend the validity of their claims (contests over the validity of benefices were common), there can be few chaplains whose benefices never required registration of a papal rescript. So as long as one examines a sufficiently long time period, the registers offer a relatively complete record of the personnel of the chapel.

Two smaller problems are inconsistency in the application of the title used for papal chaplains, and variant spellings and forms of proper names. The responses to these problems are simpler. Firstly, a papal letter will often neglect to include the usual designation for a chaplain, usually '*capellanus*' or '*capellanus [domini] pape*', even when the designation is included in attestations immediately beforehand or after. By and large these omissions are not problematic. Surrounding attestations leave no room for doubt as to a chaplain's status: when an attestation is omitted in the middle of a pontificate, for want of any other evidence of a crisis, it is certain that the chaplaincy has not been

¹⁶ Paravicini Bagliani, A., 'Il personale della Curia romana preavignonese. Bilancio e prospettive di ricerca', in Kuttner, S. & Pennington, K. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Series C: Subsidia, vol. 7 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1985), p. 397. The standard English language work on the thirteenth-century benefice system is Barraclough, G., *Papal Provisions. Aspects of Church History Constitutional, Legal and Administrative in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1935). A new work on executors of benefices in the fourteenth-century also provides detailed information on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century canonical procedure for provisions: Hitzbleck, K., *Exekutoren: die außerordentliche Kollatur von Benefizien im Pontifikat Johannes' XXII* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009).

¹⁷ By contrast, major benefices could only be conferred by the pope.

revoked and later reinstated.¹⁸ Secondly, variation in proper names can make it unclear whether similar names are both variants on the same name or denote separate chaplains. Conversely, two or more chaplains sometimes appear under the same name, especially when identified only by their forename. Usually any query may be resolved by reference to chaplains' benefices. A benefice should only be held by one person at a time (though larger institutions may sport several benefices of the same type; for example a cathedral chapter will include several canons), so verification against repertories of churchmen; the *Fasti Ecclesie Anglicanae* for England; the *Fasti Ecclesie Gallicanae* for France; and supplementary works on individual Italian and French cathedral chapters usually settles the issue.¹⁹

There will always be a margin of error, the few that fail to appear in the registers or in any other known source, and the threat of hidden information, however small, should still be observed. The most powerful safeguard against it lies in analysis of the data. Paravicini Bagliani counselled, with his two articles in the 1980s appraising the state of play in prosopographical study of the late-medieval curia, that any quantitative research in this period can only ever be selective.²⁰ Sources relating to the thirteenth-century curia are far more abundant than for earlier periods, but they are not open to refined statistical

¹⁸ For example, Guillelmus Seguini de Got, brother of Bertrandus de Got (the future Clement V) first appeared as chaplain of Nicholas IV on 13 January 1290 (*Reg. Nic. IV*, 1994). Guillelmus was also a clerk of Edward I and we know from the Calendar of Patent Rolls that he died before 28 September 1299 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1292–1301, 440). In the interim Guillelmus appeared as chaplain of Boniface VIII on 23 August and 8 September 1297, but on 7 September 1297 appeared as executor for a case in Bazas, but not as a papal chaplain (*Reg. Bon. VIII*, 2074, 2085, 2124). There can be no doubt that he *was* a papal chaplain on this date, so the omission is clearly an inconsistency in the drafting.

¹⁹ *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300*, eds. Greenway, D. *et al.*, 9 voll. (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1968–2003); *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300–1541*, eds. Horn, J.M. *et al.*, 12 voll., (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1962–7); *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae. Répertoire prosopographique des évêques, dignitaires et chanoines de France de 1200 à 1500*, general ed. Millet, H., 13 voll. to date (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996–, in progress); notable among repertories of French and Italian cathedral chapters, too numerous to record in full, is Millet, H., *Les chanoines du chapitre cathédrale de Laon, 1272–1412*, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 56 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1982).

²⁰ Paravicini Bagliani, 'Il personale' (1985) & 'Pour une approche prosopographique' (1986).

analysis of curial personnel. Even the papal registers, the most plentiful of the period's sources, provide only a restrictive range of information (primarily because they largely deal with transfers of money and property, so their bias is overwhelmingly toward the economic aspect of curialists' lives). Our questioning must therefore be framed accordingly. We cannot draw statistical conclusions based on margins of difference that are so slight that the discovery of two or three additional chaplains in un-consulted non-curial sources – say, a bishop's register in England or an ecclesiastical cartulary in a French municipal archive – will disprove it. On geographical provenance, take the statement: “most chaplains came from diocese *A* in central Italy; the second most from diocese *B* in northern France; the third most from *C* in Flanders; and the fourth from *D* in northern Italy: *ergo* the largest single group came from central Italy, but most chaplains were from northern France and Flanders”. The statement is turned on its head if the discovery of three more chaplains from *D* puts it ahead of *B*, for now the chapel is dominated by northern and central Italians. So we need always to include a reasonable margin of error, and it is helpful to base conclusions not on individual but on groups of dioceses, as Tomasello did in his study of fourteenth-century papal chaplains, in order build a reliable overview.²¹

2.4 INSTITUTIONAL SIZE AND COMPOSITION

Basic, direct questions – the number and names of papal chaplains attested and appointed under each pope – orientate all subsequent analysis. They also direct attention to important key principles of chapel membership: how papal chaplaincies began and ended, and the degree of continuity in chapel personnel between pontificates. In addressing these questions, the researcher acquires the basic material to analyse both

²¹ Tomasello, *Music and Ritual* (1983)

changes in the papal chapel within the time period under investigation, and longer-term changes in the chapel in comparison with other periods.

Appendix Five, Figure One shows the composition of the chapel in the period 1288–1304. The date of the first and (for chaplains attested more than once) last attestation of each papal chaplain is provided, and indicates the minimum period of service in the papal chapel. (In many cases, service might well have extended beyond the first and last attestation, except for chaplains promoted as bishop, archbishop or cardinal, or in the event of death, all of which marked the end of a papal chaplaincy.) The information in Figure One on geographical provenance and *licentia testandi* registration is explained in later chapters. To aid analysis, the number of chaplains attested for the first time under each pope is extrapolated and presented in Appendix Five, Figure Two, and the total composition of the papal chapel under each individual pope is presented in Appendix Five, Figure Three.

Several facts about the continuity of the papal chapel's personnel are immediately apparent. A papal chaplaincy did not automatically terminate at the close of a pontificate, so when a chaplain is attested in non-successive papacies (for example, Nicholas IV then Benedict XI, omitting Celestine V and Boniface VIII), we may assume that the chaplaincy continued in the interim. The degree of overall continuity in chapel membership between papacies is proportionally small but not minor. Of the total number of chaplains (two hundred and forty-six), seventy served two or more popes, including those who had served Honorius IV or another predecessor and those who also

served under Clement V.²² Twenty-two of Nicholas IV's one hundred and nine chaplains (20.2%) had served a predecessor, and likewise thirty-eight of Boniface VIII's one hundred and twenty-two (31.1%) and twenty of Benedict XI's thirty-seven (54%). Of chaplains who appeared only in one pontificate – sixty-seven (61.5%) under Nicholas IV; sixty-eight (55.7%) under Boniface VIII; fifteen (40.5%) under Benedict XI – some will have served one predecessor or more but not appeared in earlier registers. Others will be new additions to the chapel, attested for the first time. It is impossible to judge the proportion of each, but suffice to say that the number of newly-attested chaplains under each pontificate is, with the exception of Benedict XI, proportionally in the majority: eighty-seven of a total one hundred and nine (79.8%) under Nicholas IV, three of four (75%) under Celestine V, eighty-four of one hundred and twenty-two (68.9%) under Boniface VIII, seventeen of thirty-seven (45.9%) under Benedict XI.

2.5 HONORARY PAPAL CHAPLAINS

The attributes of fourteenth-century honorary chaplains provide a starting-point for the important task, introduced in Chapter One, of differentiating between honorary and non-honorary papal chaplains in the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth century, honorary chaplains were extremely numerous. There were at least one hundred and one under John XXII, twenty-eight under Benedict XII (though Guillemain suggests raising these figures to four hundred and sixty respectively) and four hundred and eight under Clement VI.²³ Their function was purely honorary and involved no duties in the chapel itself, but if present at the curia they had the right, like ordinary chaplains, to receive the

²² Attestations later than Clement V are not included for the present purposes, because the increasing differentiation between types of papal chaplains in the fourteenth century prevents direct comparison.

²³ Guillemain, 'Les chapelains d'honneur', p. 227.

presbyterium and to share a ceremonial meal with the pope at Christmas and Easter.²⁴ The office was conferred on clerks of the curia or diocesan clergy who met certain eligibility criteria, usually in response to a supplication from the interested party or protectors working on his behalf. These supplications were not usually registered.²⁵ Most honorary chaplains were archdeacons, dignitaries of chapters, canons, priors of monasteries, and members of religious orders, whilst few were abbots or bishops. Priesthood was not a prerequisite.²⁶

Papal chaplains from the British Isles will be taken as a case-study to explore the degree of differentiation between honorary and non-honorary chaplains in the thirteenth century. These English and Scottish chaplains make for revealing study because the conferral of honorary chaplaincies might well have played a role in relations between the papacy and the English crown, and also because so many of these papal chaplains had only distant relations with the curia. The group comprises English and Scottish chaplains who first appeared under Nicholas IV: Henry of Clingemberch, John of Oseville, R. abbot of Croyland, Richard of Damfeld, Robert of Hulmo, Stephan of Mauloy; and three more who appeared under Boniface VIII: Walter of Langton, Philip of Bartone, Richard of Ferringes, and John of Droxford. Droxford and Langton are the most illustrative examples. Langton regularly served as Wardrobe clerk in the English royal household from 1281–2. By July 1288 he was acting as cofferer, in 1290 he became controller then keeper of the Wardrobe and in 1295 was raised to the treasurership of the Exchequer. He possessed twenty-four benefices in England (canonries, prebends, the hospital of St Leonard in York, and deanship of the royal free chapel of Bruges (probably Bridgeworth) in the diocese of Coventry), and was a papal chaplain from at least 1295 until 1296 when

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 221, and Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben*, vol. 2, pp. 550, 579.

²⁵ Guillemain, 'Les chapelains d'honneur', pp. 219–20.

²⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 219, 228.

he became bishop of Lichfield. John of Droxford was controller of the Wardrobe after Langton from November 1290 until he was appointed keeper of the Wardrobe in November 1295. He held this position until he became bishop of Bath in 1308. He was a papal chaplain from 1298 until at least 1300, possessed at least sixteen separate canonries and prebends in England during the period of study, and appears in the papal registers only infrequently, always in the administration of his own benefices.²⁷ Langton seems not to have travelled to Rome until his consecration as bishop of Lichfield, and John of Droxford not at all. Indeed, Droxford received a letter from Boniface VIII in 1298, presumably a rescript in response to a supplication from Edward I, inviting him to become a papal chaplain both in recognition of his favoured position at the English royal court, and so that his might enhance his future status and career.²⁸ These, and the less well-documented de Mauloy, for whom in 1291 Edward I (1272–1307) had petitioned for a dispensation for pluralism, enjoyed a close personal connection with the king of England.²⁹ Less extensively documented, the chaplains Clingemberch, Oseville, R. abbot of Croyland, Damfeld, and de Hulmo appear only once or twice in the registers, always in the context of administration of their own benefices. All their benefices, with the exception of the abbot of Croyland, were at the rank of canon or lower. De Mauloy held two prebends in the diocese of York, and was also archdeacon of Civildia (diocese of

²⁷ Letters regarding a dispensation for plurality in 1298 (*Reg. Bon. VIII*, 3255), and as executor in England of dispensations for plurality for two clerks and familiars of Edward I in 1300 and 1301 (*ibid.*, 3774, 4008).

²⁸ “Dilecto filio magistro Johanni de Drokeveford, canonico Eboracensi, capellano nostro. Quia laudabilibus meritis adjuvaris, sicut carissimi in Christo filii nostri Eduardi, regis Anglie illustris, cujus clericus et familiaris existis, et alias fame laudabilis tibi testimonium suffragatur, gratum sensimus de forma tue probitatis odorem. Per que et consideratione dicti regis ad tui honoris augmentum eo plenius et efficacius invitamur, quo circa nos et Ecclesiam Romanam devotionem gerens, premissorum intuitu promereris attolli nominis titulo dignioris. Tuam itaque personam paterno prosequentes affectu eamque intendentes favoris apostolici gratia prevenire te capellanorum nostrorum consortio duximus aggregandum, ut tanto libentius de cetero cultui bonitatis intendas quanto exhibitus tibi honor potioris onus maturitatis importat, quantoque facilius per hoc ad majora poteris, dante Domino, promoveri. Data Reate, x kal. octobris, anno quarto.”, *ibid.*, 2639.

²⁹ *Reg. Nic. IV*, 5172.

York). Indeed, his dispensation in 1291 allowed him to retain his archdeaconry even if he were not promoted to the priesthood within one year, as stipulated by the decrees of the Second Council of Lyons in 1274.³⁰ He was not an isolated case. At least four chaplains under Honorius IV, not all of them of insular origin, received dispensations that indicate they had yet to be promoted to the priesthood.³¹

As a whole, these thirteenth-century papal chaplains shared many of the defining attributes of fourteenth-century honorary chaplains. Their chaplaincies represented the conferral of a special status, especially those of chaplains in close relation with the English king, for whom the honour may well have marked a bond of diplomacy between the royal and papal courts. In at least one case, a chaplaincy was conferred in response to an unregistered petition from the chaplain's powerful protector (the king of England no less). The best-documented careers show that these chaplains did not travel to the curia, so did not serve in the pope's private chapel. With only few exceptions (the same exceptions that also appear among fourteenth-century honorary chaplains), they did not hold major benefices, and several were not priests.

The differences between thirteenth- and fourteenth-century honorary chaplains should also be considered. In the fourteenth century, honorary chaplains were more numerous, increasingly so as the century progressed, and the office was conferred with increasing laxity, such that its import was diluted. Some late fourteenth-century honorary chaplains

³⁰ "... infra annum a sibi commissi regiminis tempore numerandum, se faciat ad sacerdotium promoveri. Quod si, infra idem tempus, promotus non fuerit, ecclesia sibi commissa, nulla etiam praemissa monitione, sit praesentis constitutionis auctoritate privatus.", *Concilium Lugdunense II (1274), Constitutiones*, II, 13, ed. Tanner, N., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1, (Washington DC, Georgetown University Press, 1990), pp. 321–2.

³¹ Berardus de Fulgineo, Berardus de Podio, Guillelmus Cumyn, David de Haya (respectively *Reg. Hon. IV*, 110, 609, 820, 822).

were unaware that they had even received the honour.³² Administrative procedure for the appointment of honorary papal chaplains became more clearly recorded in the fourteenth century, and terminology pertaining to the office became increasingly precise. The term '*capellanus commensalis*', which in the late household ordinance of c. 1306 denoted both papal chaplains in general or those chaplains engaged in service in the pope's private chapel, from the 1300s onwards came to be used more precisely to mean those chaplains who were *not* part of the *capella intrinseca*. Initially honorary chaplains were not differentiated by a term of their own: use of the title honorary chaplain – '*capellanus honoris*' – began later under Clement VI.³³ However, as far as their role at curia is concerned, it is very clear that honorary chaplains existed in function if not in name far back into the 1200s.

Given that one of these important differences is nomenclatural, it is prudent to ask whether the lack of semantic clarity in the pre-fourteenth-century sources might conceal the fact that there was a distinction between types of honorary chaplain earlier than the sources initially seem to suggest. This may be approached by asking whether the non-honorary chaplains of the 1200s were a clearly differentiated group like the later *capellani intrinseci*, and how similar the duties of chaplains engaged in the pope's private chapel of the thirteenth-century were in relation to those after Benedict XII's restatement of papal chaplains' duties in 1334.

Long service in the chapel is one mark of difference between types of chaplain. Of eleven chaplains who received payments in Boniface VIII's accounts (discussed in full in the following chapter), three served both Boniface VIII and Benedict XI (of whom two

³² Guillemain, 'Les chapelains', p. 222.

³³ ASV, MS *Collectoriae* 456, ff. 2–13, 42–5, *cit.* in Guillemain, 'Les chapelains', p. 218, n. 1.

also served Clement V), and two others served Honorius IV, Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII. Therefore just under half were both employed in active service for the curia as chaplains, and definitely served in the chapel for two pontificates or more. Of all chaplains surveyed, six served from Nicholas IV until Benedict XI, in other words for the whole duration of the period of study.³⁴ Of these, one (Rogerius Donmusco de Salerno) had also served Honorius IV. Many chaplains also appeared before or after these core pontificates. Six of the chaplains who served a pope in our core period also appeared in the 1278 household roll or elsewhere under Nicholas III.³⁵ A further eleven were already in service under Honorius IV,³⁶ four under Martin IV (1281–5),³⁷ one under Gregory X (1271–6),³⁸ two under Urban IV,³⁹ two under Alexander IV (1254–61),⁴⁰ and two under Innocent IV (1243–54).⁴¹ Certainly more would be revealed by a systematic search of the registers of popes prior to Honorius IV.

A brief anticipation of the full discussion of provenance which will follow in a dedicated section is required here, to make the important observation that the majority of these long-serving chaplains came from Rome and the Papal State, and most of the rest from elsewhere in the Italian peninsula. Only five of these long-standing chaplains were not Italian (Berengarius Fredol, Berengarius Regis de Carcassone, Guillemus Cumyn, Guillaume de Mandagout, Raymundus de Pont). One more is of unidentifiable origin

³⁴ Gentilis de Collealto, Guillelmus Accursi de Bononia, Huguitio Borromeo de Vercellis, Leonardus de Flisco, Rogerius Donmusco de Salerno, Ticcus de Colle.

³⁵ Campano da Novara, Gentilis de Collealto, Huguitio, Nicolinus de Camilla, Odo Archionis de Urbe, Raynerius de Casulis.

³⁶ Alero Ricciardi, Berengarius Fredol, Bernardus de Carcassona, Consilius Gatto de Viterbo, Deodatus de Urbe, Franciscus Neapolenois Orsini, Guillemus Cumyn, Guillelmus de Mandagotto, Raymundus de Pont, Rogerius Donmusco de Salerno, Thedisius Revelli de Camilla.

³⁷ Berengarius Regis de Carcassone, Cristoforus Tolomei, Guillelmus Landulfi de Ceccano, Riccardus de Ferentino.

³⁸ Theodericus Rainerii.

³⁹ Guido de Collemedio, Percivallus de Lavania.

⁴⁰ Blasius de Anagnia, Rolandus de Ferentino.

⁴¹ Radulfus de Mirabello, Raynerius de Viterbo.

(Guillelmus Bodini). For most, especially those from Rome and the Papal State, close geographical proximity to the curia would have made regular personal service in the chapel more feasible in practical terms than for those from more distant parts of Europe and Christendom. In this respect these curialists appear good candidates for an inner core of chaplains who served regularly in the chapel. Fuller discussion of Roman and Campagnan chaplains as possible candidates for an actively-serving chapel core follows in Chapter Three.⁴²

The career typologies of this small core of chaplains supports the idea that they were part of a corpus of chaplains in active service at the curia. All were regularly employed in the workings of curial and Church administration. Take Rogerius Donmusco de Salerno, as good a representative of this group as any other. He was a subdeacon in 1286 and 1304 (probably in the interim too), an auditor at the curia in 1288, 1291 and 1292 (of this group, Guillelmus Accursi de Bononia and Hugutio Borromeo de Vercellis were also auditors), an executor in numerous beneficial matters, and was charged with specific tasks including implementing papal rulings regarding a loan to Charles II of Anjou (1285–1309) and investigation into the bishop of Toulouse's debts, both in 1297. For Rogerius, as for other chaplains in this group, residence in the *capellania* could not have been continuous. Another of these chaplains, Leonardus de Flisco, must have spent time away from court: tasks in northern France and Flanders, especially Bruges and Paris, suggest that his personal presence was required there as much as at the curia. Together, this group paints a picture of chaplains who passed in and out of period of liturgical service in the chapel, interspersed with time away from the curia on business. This was not a core of permanent residents, then, but a nucleus of men whose service was regular and prolonged, and who in nature were distinct from what one might call 'proto-

⁴² See Chapter Three, pp. 69–73.

honorary chaplains' of the thirteenth century, in the sense that these honorary office holders could well spend no time at all at the curia.

Between the two – honorary and non-honorary chaplains – lay an indistinct collection of chaplains of whom some were probably honorary (many of those who only appear once or twice, and performed no tasks within the curia's immediate ambit), and others who were probably of the non-honorary type (whose careers often brought them within the compass of the curia as auditors, collectors, executors, examiners for tabellionage). Some of the latter were very active administrators. Witness Giffredus de Vezzano: papal chaplain in 1288, clerk of the camera between 1288 and 1289, and in these years largely charged with important work in England, as papal legate, carrier of papal letters, arbiter of disputes over Church property, and administrator of loans between the royal and papal court. But concerning the distinctions between them we can say little with precision.

In summary, several points emerge about the degree of differentiation between honorary and non-honorary papal chaplains in the thirteenth century. Firstly, a type of proto-honorary chaplain clearly existed in function if not in name in the thirteenth century. Secondly, these proto-honorary chaplains were widespread, but not as numerous as they would become in the fourteenth century. Thirdly, there was no specific appointment procedure for honorary chaplains in the thirteenth century, but at least one honorary chaplaincy was secured by a petition from the English crown. Fourthly, the curia did not articulate the difference between honorary and non-honorary chaplains in its record-keeping. Finally, there was a large, ill-defined and fluid group of chaplains between those who were entirely honorary and others who represented a core of long-serving chaplains in relatively constant active service in the chapel.

When this information is set against that for the fourteenth century, it emerges that the effect of Benedict XII's 1334 statement of his chaplains' duties on the differentiation between honorary and non-honorary chaplains was not decisive. The differentiation manifested not as a sudden shift, but as a gradual evolution. Although Benedict XII's papal chaplains were new to the chapel, they did not constitute a new type of curialist. Several were already multifunctional figures at the curia, having exercised bureaucratic and administrative duties, or been embroiled in the inner workings of the papal household.⁴³ One such was Johannes Durandi who had been a scribe in 1332–3, a *familiaris* and *clericus intrinsecus* in the papal household, and in 1333–4 prefect of the papal library.⁴⁴ On occasion, the chaplains now known as *capellani commensales* – the chaplains who were already in office before 1334 and remained in office thereafter – also joined the chaplains of the *capella intrinseca* in performing chapel liturgy on feast days.⁴⁵ Benedict XII's accession did not therefore mark a wholesale reorganisation of the chapel which drastically altered the function of its staff with immediate effect. Analysis of provenance in the thirteenth-century papal chapel will show that changes to chapel's personnel of significant magnitude had taken place under every pope since at least Nicholas IV.⁴⁶ Instead, 1334 represents just one stage in a process of rationalisation in curial organisation, and was just one of several contributory factors that led to greater definition and autonomy of the chapel's musical and liturgical function.

⁴³ Tomasello, *Music and Ritual*, p. 54.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p. 53.

⁴⁶ See below, Chapter Three.

2.6 CAREER

Details of individual papal chaplains' careers will arise repeatedly in the following chapter's discussion of provenance, but a dedicated analysis of some overarching trends brings important information to the fore. Discussion of career also brings age and education into play. For lack of birth dates and information in curial sources about the early lives of most papal chaplains, this project cannot do full justice to the importance of age. Furthermore, the full biographical reconstruction of papal chaplains' lives from birth to death would require a different, prosopographical, methodology more suited to a larger-scale research project.⁴⁷ It is possible nonetheless to make several comments about educational prerequisites for appointment to the papal chapel and their implications regarding the age at which papal chaplains were appointed. Observations about career typologies after service in the papal chapel also reveal important facts about the papal chapel's place in curial administration and wider Church government.

The most common indicator in curial sources of educational background is the title '*magister*', which was applied to almost all papal chaplains. The epithet referred to a number of possible qualifications, including high artisanal proficiency among artists and craftsmen, but among papal chaplains referred to the completion of university education in liberal arts, which typically involved six years of study.⁴⁸ Having acquired the university *maîtrise*, future papal chaplains followed several entry routes into the papal chapel. Some served in a cardinal's household before advancing to the papal chapel, either directly or through increasingly-important administrative positions at the curia. A further proportion undertook further legal study at university, sometimes concurrently

⁴⁷ For this, we await the further results of Dr Jochen Johrendt's research project currently in progress at the Bergische Universität Wuppertal. See Chapter One, n. 19.

⁴⁸ Glorieux, P., *La faculté des arts et ses maîtres au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1971), p. 58.

with their early years in curial service. Among the four major university disciplines studied after the *maîtrise* – rational, moral and natural philosophy; theology; medicine; law – legal study was overwhelmingly the most common qualification among chaplains noted in curial sources. The papal registers, generally systematic in recording the university qualification of a letter’s recipient, show that papal chaplains often held the licentiate in civil (*professor juris civilis*) or canon law (*professor juris canonici*), or both (*professor utriusque juris*), which required presentation for a private examination after a year or two spent teaching at a university. A smaller proportion of papal chaplains were identified as doctors in the legal disciplines (most commonly indicated with the title *legum doctor*, but in some cases with the more specific *doctor decretorum* or *doctor utriusque juris*). The doctorate in law involved a further public examination beyond the privately-examined licentiate.⁴⁹

If papal chaplains began university from as young as thirteen or fourteen years old, as was common, they would after six years’ undergraduate study be at least nineteen or twenty before they entered the chapel. But in reality, the variety in papal chaplains’ careers meant that it was as usual to start a curial career in the chapel as it was to enter it later in life. Guido de Baisio, for example, received a doctorate in law from Reggio Emilia in 1276 and another from Bologna in 1282, appeared as a chaplain of Cardinal Gerardus Blancus in 1283, and first appeared as a papal chaplain in 1296. His birthdate is unknown, but he would have been at the very youngest twenty when he received his first doctorate in law from Reggio Emilia in 1276, and therefore at least forty when he became a papal chaplain twenty years later. At the younger end of the spectrum, the precocious Giacomo Stefaneschi, born around 1270, who reputedly completed his

⁴⁹ Brundage, J. A., ‘Legal learning and the professionalisation of canon law’, in Vogt, H. & Münster-Swendsen, M. (eds.), *Law and Learning in the Middle Ages* (Copenhagen: Djof, 2006), p. 25.

maîtrise in arts at Paris in record time between 1285–8, is first attested as a papal chaplain of Nicholas IV in 1291, when he would have been around twenty-one.⁵⁰

Patterns of career progression beyond the chapel show that a papal chaplaincy was an effective, but by no means guaranteed, route to higher curial office or the cardinalate. Many, but not the majority, of cardinals elevated in the period 1288–1304 had previously been papal chaplains. One of the six cardinals elevated by Nicholas IV, three of the thirteen elevated by Celestine V, six of Boniface's fifteen and none of Benedict's three had been papal chaplains.⁵¹ To the number for Boniface VIII one might add Cardinal Petrus Hispanus, who had been chaplain of Benedict Caetani before his election as pope. The second wave of elections under Boniface VIII, on 17 December 1295, is an exception to the overall trend. Four of the five cardinals elected at this time had been papal chaplains, two of them chaplains of Boniface himself.⁵² Boniface's appointment of cardinals who, as former papal chaplains, were already part of curial administration and could with greater confidence be trusted to support his rule, is consistent with his tendency to support his rule and policy with nepotistic and regionalist appointments. By contrast, service as papal vicechancellor was an almost universal path to future elevation to the cardinalate in these years. Of the seven vicechancellors between Nicholas IV and

⁵⁰ I accept the birthdate of c. 1270 proposed by Hösl rather than the revised date of 1261 proposed by Dykmans, as the latter would imply that Stefaneschi's university education at Paris began unusually late in life, at twenty-four years old (Hösl, I, *Kardinal Jacobus Gaietani Stefaneschi* Historische Studien, 61 (Berlin 1908); Dykmans, M., 'Jacques Stefaneschi, élève de Gilles de Rome et cardinal de Saint-Georges', *RSCI*, 29 (1975), pp. 536–54).

⁵¹ Neapoleo Orsini (Nicholas IV), Johannes Monachus, Guillelmus de Fererris, Guillelmus de Longhis (Celestine V), Franciscus Neapoleonis Orsini, Giacomo Stefaneschi, Franciscus Roffredi Caetani, Petrus Duraguerra de Piperno, Theodericus Rainerii (Boniface VIII). Cardinals elevated between 1288 and 1304 are listed in Eubel, C., *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, vol. 1 (Münster: Typis Librariae Regensbergianae, 1913), pp. 11–13.

⁵² Franciscus Neapoleonis Orsini, Giacomo Caetani Stefaneschi, Franciscus Roffredi Caetani, Petrus Duraguerra de Piperno. The latter two had been Boniface VIII's papal chaplains.

Benedict XI, only Papiano della Rovere never became a cardinal.⁵³ Three of these vicechancellors were former papal chaplains.⁵⁴

A papal chaplaincy was also a very common stage en route to a bishopric or archbishopric; an important fact for the papal chapel's strategic position in Church government which throws into relief just how many diocesan heads, with all the regional power inherent in their position, had a professional connection with the papal chapel. It is hard to give a precise figure for the number of papal chaplains who became bishops and archbishops since it is not always possible to establish a correct match between chaplains' names in curial sources and the names of bishops and archbishops in the main reference works on the medieval episcopate, notably the *Hierarchia Catholica*.⁵⁵ Nonetheless, there is a robust trend in the data. The elections of bishops attested in the papal registers show that some eighty-two of our two hundred and forty-six papal chaplains (one third) were appointed bishops or archbishops.⁵⁶ Indeed, many papal chaplains, such as those whom Benedict XI appointed bishops in 1304, progressed directly from a papal chaplaincy to a bishopric.

Papal chaplaincies were clearly one of several means of reaching the highest ranks of the papal court and the Church. Lest we forget, Clement V had been a chaplain of Celestine V and Boniface VIII. The relatively modest number of former chaplains among the

⁵³ Johannes Monachus (1288–92, former papal chaplain of Honorius IV), Petrus Peregrossus (1276–1286), Johannes de Castrocoeli (1294), Papiano della Rovere (1301–04, former papal chaplain of Boniface VIII), Petrus Valeriano de Piperno (1295–1301, former papal chaplain of Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII), Riccardus Petronis de Senis (1296–1300).

⁵⁴ Johannes Monachus (Honorius IV), Papiano della Rovere (BonVIII), Petrus Valeriani da Piperno (Nicholas IV, Boniface VIII).

⁵⁵ Eubel, *Hierarchia*, vol. 1 (1913).

⁵⁶ Note that the data comprises elections, including those subsequently rejected by the candidate or the pope, and not actual consecrations. This is the only way of gathering reasonably representative data on episcopal and archiepiscopal appointments from the papal registers, since the registers only sporadically record consecration dates.

cardinalate should not necessarily diminish one's perception of the chapel's prestige. Some of the most illustrious cardinals, not least Giacomo Stefaneschi, had once been chaplains. Rather, it indicates the way that ambitious curialists could use passage through the curia in differing ways to forge their careers. That the vicechancellorship provided exceptionally apt preparation for elevation to the cardinalate demonstrates this well.

Equally pronounced is the papal chapel's place as a stepping-stone that led, often directly, to a bishopric, and the important relationship this reveals between the papal chapel and papal influence over diocesan heads. For individuals who had served actively in the papal chapel, and enjoyed periods of direct personal interaction with the pope, there are grounds to believe that policies learned in person as a papal chaplain at the curia steered choices made later as a bishop. For others, whose papal chaplaincies had been honorary to varying degrees, the connection concerns more the value of papal favour as legitimation of a candidate's suitability for election to the episcopate. In both cases, papal chaplaincies were an important element in the connection between the curia and peripheral Church government.

CHAPTER THREE

PROVENANCE

3.1 FOREWORD

Short of presenting the story of how each chaplain found his way into the papal chapel, which would generate a bewildering array of facts, this chapter analyses this project's biographical repertory of papal chaplains pontificate by pontificate. It is the second of two chapters based on the biographical repertory, and looks for trends in the type of person employed by each pope to detect points of consistency or difference between each pontiff's use of his papal chaplains, and the effect of ensuing recruitment criteria on the composition of the chapel. The discussion concentrates on three main points of interest. Which were the largest groups of chaplains by geographical origin? Was there a single dominant group from one region? What is significant about chaplains who do not fit into prevailing patterns of provenance? In the course of the discussion, explanations for each trend in recruitment will be ventured.

A chaplain's provenance is identified by his diocese of origin. For chaplains who appear in Boespflug's prosopography, or whose diocese of origin is indicated elsewhere in scholarly literature, this secondary attribution of origin is accepted unless contradicted by a trustworthy source. In some cases it has been possible to supply information lacking in Boespflug's work. In these cases, and in others where diocese of origin is not indicated in the works of secondary literature consulted, an attribution of origin is often indicated in the chaplain's personal name. For example, one may be confident that Geuchardus

quondam Walteri Arnsten, whose origin Boespflug does not indicate, was from the area around Arnstein in the diocese of Trier, since he was clearly the son of Walter, count of Arnstein. Castellanus de Salamone de Tervisio, another example, was from Treviso, and Johannes de Syrkes from Sierck in the diocese of Trier. In other cases, origin may be determined or confirmed from family background. A typical example is the Bonifatius who from 15 December 1289 appears repeatedly as bishop elect and then bishop of Sion. According to Eubel, the bishop of Sion from 1289 to 1308 was Boniface de Challant. He is therefore son of viscount Godefroy I of Challant, of the baronial family based in the Aosta valley, and from the archdiocese of Sion.¹ The diocese of origin of a large number of chaplains remains unidentified (ninety-three of the total two hundred and forty-six chaplains). This should not be considered a threat to the conclusions drawn here since the majority of chaplains of unidentifiable origin are those who appear least frequently in the registers, often only once, so are most likely to be marginal figures in chapel life. Of course there remains a small margin of error of which one must be mindful at all times.

As an aid to discussion of recruitment patterns, Appendix Five, Figure One includes each papal chaplain's diocese or (if appropriate) city of origin when available, with an indication of the wider geographical region used for discussion of broader recruitment patterns. In addition, Appendix Five, Figure Two, which provides lists of papal chaplains divided by the pontificate in which they were first attested, and Figure Three, which lists all papal chaplains attested under each pope, show the data contained in Figure One in forms intended to illustrate the following analysis.

¹ Barbero, B., *Valle d'Aosta medievale* (Naples: Liguori, 2000), p. 177. Many of the medieval bishops of Sion were cadet sons of the noble families of Savoy and Valais.

3.2 NICHOLAS IV

The largest single group of Nicholas IV's papal chaplains came from dioceses in the Papal State: a total of twenty-three chaplains, of whom nine (just over one third) had served a previous pope. Next in size was a group of eight chaplains from England (all of whom appear in the papal registers as chaplains for the first time) and another group of eight from dioceses in the Languedoc (of whom four had served a predecessor as papal chaplain). After that come groups of chaplains from dioceses in modern-day Liguria, Piedmont and the Veneto (five, one and one from each respective area: a total seven, of whom two had served a predecessor). Dioceses outside the Papal State in the regions of modern Tuscany and Emilia Romagna provided four and five chaplains respectively (one Tuscan chaplain had served a predecessor; all chaplains from Emilia Romagna were new). There now follows a word on those chaplains who do not fit into these divisions, before we return to discuss the main groups in detail.

Papal chaplains who were lone representatives of their region share one or more of three characteristics. Some were from seigneurial or noble families, or were closely related to ruling dynasties.² Others spent time in or dealt with affairs of the largest Western European courts.³ Some were also legal practitioners.⁴ Two very eminent papal chaplains came from the Bordeaux area: Guillelmus Seguini de Got (brother of the future pope Clement V, Bertrand de Got) and Guillelmus Arnaldi de Mota (a doctor in law, of the de Mota seigneurs of Langon and Roquetaillade, who had further connections

² Bonifatius de Challant, Stephanus de Burgundia, Geuchardus q. Walteri Arsten, Geraldus de Malomonte, Helias de Malomonte, Robertus de Harcourt.

³ Geraldus de Malomonte, Helias de Malomonte, Egidius Aycelin, Simon Matifas (all had connections with Philip the Fair), Martinus Petrus (connection with the king of Portugal).

⁴ Egidius Aycelin, Simon Matifas.

with his compatriot de Gots since he was a former chaplain and householder of Cardinal Berardus de Got).⁵

A small but noteworthy group comprised three chaplains who originated in the Regno, specifically the area around Naples.⁶ They represent a legacy of links with the Angevin court which, in the papal chapel at least, was not again renewed in the remaining years of the thirteenth century, for although Raynerius de Casulis was still a chaplain under Boniface VIII, and Rogerius Donmusco de Salerno under Benedict XI, no further chaplains from the Regno entered the chapel. That no pope after Nicholas IV allowed men whose first home was in Angevin territory to become papal chaplains cannot be accidental, given that its doors were wide open to men from other European lands and courts. Whatever the underlying papal motivation, in practical terms this meant that those whose territorial and family interests lay in Angevin territory were denied the honour of the office of chaplain, the close personal access to the pope it could confer, and a foothold in the network of personal affiliations which papal chaplains – many of whom held influential administrative roles in Christendom – clearly shared.

Papal chaplains from northern Italy – a group of thirteen in all – were largely present because of either family connections or legal expertise. Hugutio Borromeo de Vercellis, possibly educated in Rome, was addressed as *'legum doctor'*, Clericus de Pisis was called *'juris civilis professor'*, Giffredus de Pecoraria de Placentia was a student in law at Bologna from 1281 until 1283, and Ottobonus de Placentia was a student at Bologna and, by 1282, was rector of Bologna university. The Genoan Nicolinus de Camilla may have had a legal education, but he had also been in the chapel since at least 1278. Another

⁵ *Reg. Bon. VIII*, 2080.

⁶ Matheus Protonobilissimus de Napoli, Raynerius de Casulis, Rogerius Donmusco de Salerno.

Genoan, Simon da Genoa, is a case apart. Famous for his medical writings, especially his medical dictionary, the *Clavis sanationis*, he was a leading light in a strand of academic interest in medicine at the curia. He never appears as a papal chaplain in the registers: the information that he was a chapel member comes from the preface to his own *Clavis sanationis*, which states that he was a chaplain and subdeacon of Nicholas IV.⁷ Two other Ligurians were of the Fieschi dynasty: Percivallus de Lavania and Leonardus Fieschi. Amongst chaplains from other major Italian cities – Parma, Piacenza, Pisa, Siena, Padua – who hailed from noteworthy families, the Sieneese chaplain Cristoforo Tolomei de Senis was an anomaly, for he came from a banking family. It was not at all common for the honour of a papal chaplaincy to be given to one whose familial status derived from financial services, rather than highborn lineage and longstanding control of territory.

The most intriguing groups in the chapel are the three largest: from England, the Languedoc and the Papal State. In the case of England, besides three chaplains with royal connections and one lawyer, it is unclear why England should have been so heavily represented. William of Montfort, besides being of the influential Montfort family and dean of St Paul's Cathedral, was *consiliarius* of Edward I and carried royal letters to Rome in 1291. Stefanus de Mauloy and Henricus de Clingemberch were also personally known to Edward I. Geoffrey de Launcells was a lawyer and collector of the tenth in Sicily. But for the remaining four, who only appear as recipients of dispensations or disputants in beneficial concerns, always in England, there is no clear indication why they held presumably honorary papal chaplaincies.

⁷ “Ego enim vestrum librum sic intitulavi Clavis sanationis elaborate per magistrum Simonem Januensem domini pape subdiaconum et capellanum, medicum quondam felicitis memorie domini Nicolai pape quarti qui fuit primus de ordine Minorum”, *Simonis Januensis opusculum cui nomen clavis sanationis simplicia medicinalia latina greca at arabica ordine alphabetico mirifice elucidans recognitum ac mendis purgatum et quotationibus Plinii maxime: ac aliorum in marginibus ornatum* (Venice: For heirs of O. Scotus by B. Locatellus, 1510), f. 2. For biographical information on Simon of Genoa, see Paravicini Bagliani, A., *Il corpo del Papa* (Turin: Einaudi, 1994), pp. 283, 291.

The Languedoc stands out for the eminence of two of the lawyers it gave to the chapel. Guillaume de Mandagout and Berengar Fredol both collaborated on Boniface VIII's *Liber Sextus*, and under Nicholas IV already boasted impressive portfolios of legal writings. This connection with the Languedoc was historic: Mandagout and Fredol had both been chaplains of Honorius IV, as had one lawyer of lesser eminence: Berengarius Regis de Carcassone, who had served under Martin IV. For at least one new chaplain, the Languedoc connection was familial: Bernardus de Languissel was the cousin of the identically-named cardinal of Santa Prassede and former papal chaplain Bernardus de Languissel. Interestingly, the Languedoc lawyers do not appear in the papal registers as papal auditors. By implication, they functioned at the curia not in the practical administration of papal jurisprudence, but for the more elevated task of shaping canon law itself.

We turn finally to the Papal State, which provided twenty-two chaplains; about one fifth of the total and by far the dominant group in the chapel. Nicholas IV was born in the Papal State and his interest in the territories in which he resided accounts in part for the preponderance of chaplains from this area. Nicholas' concern was not blindly regionalist. His chapel included only two chaplains from the March where his hometown of Lisciano lay. Rather, his use of chaplains from across the Papal State was an instrument for maintaining papal influence in the region. The chaplains from the Papal State, like those from other Italian provinces, were a mixture of legal experts and members of important seigneurial families. Reflecting Nicholas IV's well-known favour for the Colonna family, Matteo Colonna was a papal chaplain from 1289 (he was still a chaplain under Boniface VIII in 1298). Stephanus Surdus was nephew of Riccardo Annibaldi. The family names of Petrus Valeriano de Piperno, Pandulfus de Sabello, Francesco Orsini and Giacomo Stefaneschi are a roll call of some of the most powerful

families in Campania and Rome. Combining family name and legal reputation, Egidius Aycelin, papal chaplain from 1288 until his election as archbishop of Narbonne in 1290, was brother of the Cardinal Hughes Aycelin, and also professor of civil and canon law with a previous teaching career at Orléans.⁸

Of particular interest is Nicholas IV's innovative and experimental use of three papal chaplains as auditors for routine appeals arising in allotted areas in the Papal State.⁹ On 23 December 1288, Nicholas appointed Johannes de Sierck auditor for cases from the Patrimony of St Peter and Romagna, Raynuccinus de Murro for those from Campagna and Marittima, and Raymundus de Ponte for the March and the Duchy of Spoleto.¹⁰ None of the three chaplains came from the territories in their legal domain, or indeed from anywhere in the Papal State, nor are they recorded as having gained a university qualification in law. A desire for impartiality may explain the former. The latter raises the interesting point that a university degree in law was not a prerequisite for employment as an auditor at the curia.

It should be noted that it was possible to study law at university without obtaining a degree, so the absence of any indication of a university qualification in law is not decisive in all cases. But consider also the case of Nicolaus de Trebis, subdeacon and chaplain of Nicholas IV in 1288 and later chamberlain from 1289 until 1291. De Trebis was very active in Church administration in the Papal States, the March and at Cività Castellana in the early 1290s, hence his career is very well documented in the papal registers, but nowhere in them is the usual indication of university training in law (usually the

⁸ For Egidius Aycelin's life and career see McNamara, J., *Gilles Aycelin: The Servant of Two Masters* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1973).

⁹ Mentioned only briefly in Waley, D., *The Papal State in the Thirteenth Century* (London: MacMillan, 1961), pp. 220–221.

¹⁰ *Reg. Nic. IV*, 7204–6.

appellation ‘*doctor decretorum*’ or ‘*legum doctor*’) to be found. In at least some important cases, then, auditors with no apparent university training in law were employed at the front line of curial jurisprudence. In contrast, those chaplains involved in law formation itself, notably Berengarius Fredol, Guillaume de Mandagout, and Guido da Baisio, who all collaborated on the *Liber Sextus*, were titled ‘*doctor decretorum*’. (So for that matter were the three other lawyers who also collaborated on the *Sextus*.¹¹) This has two implications. Firstly, one therefore need not expect recruitment patterns among chaplain-auditors always to correspond to centres of legal training. Secondly it is noteworthy that the selection of auditors at the curia, whether chaplains or not, was not systematically regulated by candidates’ formal qualifications. This was no longer the case when the first statutes of the Rota were laid out in John XXII’s *Ratio iuris* of 1331. By then, auditors had to be lawyers of the highest repute, and were classified by age into three ranks.¹² This is, like the gradual formalisation of the office of honorary chaplain, another clear example of the increasing systematisation and regulation of a curial office during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

¹¹ Dinus de Rossonis de Mugello, Henricus Calori de Cremona, Riccardus Petronis de Senis.

¹² “Item statuimus et ordinamus, quod auditor eiusdem palatii a tempore sue receptionis antiquior primitus incipiat referre suis coauditoribus et causae quas audit, si ad hoc paratus existat, inter eos in relationibus ponere, ut est moris, sicque per consequens alii dicti palatii auditores successive secundum gradum receptionum eorum cuiuslibet similiter referant et causas, quas audiunt, in relationibus ponant, si ad hoc etiam sint parati, et quod, postquam una causa in relationibus huiusmodi posita fuerit, alia non ponatur, quosque partes allegaverint, que voluerint allegare.” Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Cod. Paris, lat. 4169, f. 81 & BAV, MS Cod. Ottobon. lat. 911, cit. in Tangl, M., *Die päpstliche Kanzleiordnungen von 1200–1500* (Innsbruck: Wagner’schen Universitäts-buchhandlung, 1894), p. 85. On the general history of the Rota see Lefebvre, C., ‘Rote Romaine (Tribunal de la Sainte), in Naz, R., (ed.), *DDC*, 7 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1935–65), pp. 742–71.

3.3 CELESTINE V

Analysis of Celestine V's chaplains by geographical origin is nigh-on impossible given the paucity of data for his pontificate. From the papal letters in Potthast and retrospective references from the registers of later popes, only four of Celestine V's chaplains may be identified with certainty. The most one can say is that they appear to be representative of typical recruitment patterns as witnessed under Nicholas IV. One, Guillelmus Landulfi de Ceccano, from Campania, had been a chaplain of Martin IV and was of the seigneurial de Ceccano family from meridional Latium. He was also nephew of Cardinal Riccardus Annibaldi. The three other chaplains appear to have been appointed by Celestine V himself. Petrus de Sora, from the southernmost part of Campania, had already been a clerk and *familiarius* of Nicholas IV, so any bias towards his home region probably reflects the earlier pope's preference. The remaining two chaplains were of exceptionally high standing: Guillelmus de Longhis from Bergamo, and Bertrand de Got (the future pope Clement V) from Villandraut in Gascony. Speculation about patterns in geographical origin for this pontificate may be difficult, but we can certainly conclude that the presence of de Got in Celestine's chapel upheld bonds of allegiance between the curia and the English royal court, for he had long been in the service of King Edward I, and his first appearance as a papal chaplain saw him on legation to Edward's court bearing the papal opinion on the current discord between the kings of England and France.¹³ That a legation regarding so weighty a matter of state was conferred to a papal chaplain indicates the high prestige that a papal chaplaincy could carry on occasion. By carrying out such exalted assignments chaplains could in turn enhance their cachet in both home and destination courts. Furthermore, the significant personal presence of papal chaplains at the English royal court, along with other prominent papal

¹³ Potthast, 23986, 23988.

householders such as Giffredus de Vezzano, clerk of the camera from 1288–98 and resident in England and engaged in ecclesiastical administration throughout this period, provided a clear line of communication between courts. As with Nicholas IV's appointment of chaplains from the Papal State, it also extended the arm of papal influence into another court.

3.4 BONIFACE VIII

Under Boniface VIII there were both high levels of continuity amongst personnel from some geographical regions, and a large influx of new chaplains from others. As noted above, the number of new chaplains in each pontificate tended to outweigh the number remaining from previous popes. Regions characterised by high continuity include territories in Romagna outside the Papal State (three of four chaplains had served Nicholas IV), Tuscan territories not in the Papal State (two of three chaplains remained from previous pontificates), northern parts of the Regno (two had served Nicholas IV, one Celestine V), and the Languedoc (two of three chaplains, including Berengarius Regis de Carcassonne, survived the change of pope). Both of Nicholas IV's high-status chaplains from Bordeaux (Guillemus Seguini de Got and Guillelmus Arnaldi de Mota) also remained. One may surmise from this a desire to maintain existing links with these regions. Against this, three contrasting trends stand out. One is the complete renewal of chaplains from England, or at least the appointment of seven new chaplains whilst existing English chaplains were side-lined or ceased to be given tasks that generated an appearance in the papal registers: they simply disappear from view. The new English chaplains had especially strong connections with the English royal court. Another is the appearance of a large faction from northern Italian territories in modern-day Liguria, Piedmont, the Veneto, and Lombardy. Foremost is a very large influx of chaplains from

Rome and the Papal State, and overwhelmingly from Campania. Quite different explanations underlie each of the three areas of influx.

If there was some uncertainty as to why certain Englishmen were chaplains under Nicholas IV, there is no such lack of clarity for Boniface VIII's pontificate. The one pre-existing insular chaplain, the Scotsman Guillemus Cumyn, who had served Honorius IV, appears in the administration of his benefices in Scotland and because he had renounced election as bishop of St Andrew's. For all the new Englishmen, the chaplaincies appear to have been of an honorary nature. Philip of Barton's primary allegiance was clearly to the bishop of Winchester since all but one of his appearances in the register saw him engaged in tasks for his bishop, and it was as the bishop's proctor and letter-bearer that he travelled to Rome in 1295 and to Rome and Orvieto in 1296. Walter of Langton, John of Droxford and William Greenfield were all intimately connected with the court of Edward I. Langton and Droxford's careers, already discussed as examples of honorary papal chaplaincies, unfolded primarily in important offices in the English royal household.¹⁴ Greenfield enjoyed an international career of broader scope. Unlike Droxford and Langton, neither of whom had a university education, Greenfield studied at Paris (probably in 1271) and by 1300 was a doctor of civil and canon law. His diplomatic service for Edward I involved negotiations with the kings of Naples and Aragon in 1289 and 1291, and in 1290 he was at the curia to secure a crusading tenth for Edward I. He was also a commissioner at Cambrai in 1296 for the truce agreed between the kings of England and France.¹⁵ His papal chaplaincy, conferred around 1299, must in part have been in recognition of his extensive diplomatic service. Boniface VIII

¹⁴ See Chapter Two, pp. 44–5.

¹⁵ Haines, R. M., 'Greenfield, William (c.1255–1315)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, accessed 24 June 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11421>.

therefore seems to have exercised a conscious policy of endowing important clerks of Edward I with honorary papal chaplaincies. This was a strong gesture of diplomacy between the two courts; a means of cementing allegiance with the English monarchy at a time when papal relations with Philip the Fair were strained. Clearly, the prestige of papal chaplaincies lent them value as political collateral. It is significant that Boniface appointed only one chaplain with a strong connection with the French royal court. This was Guido de Caritate, clerk and *familiaris* of Philip the Fair (1284–1305). Guido first appeared as a papal chaplain in 1295, but he had already been active at the curia under Nicholas IV so the French connection was not entirely of Boniface's creation. The chaplaincy might well have been intended to honour long service for the papacy rather than to reinforce a connection with the French royal court. In a similar vein, those clerks, legates or advisors of Philip the Fair who were papal chaplains at some point in their careers (Egidius Aycelin, Berengarius Fredol, Simon Matifas, Robert de Harcourt, Johannes de Wassigny) had either been promoted to higher offices or simply no longer appeared as chaplains under Boniface VIII. Longstanding connections between the papal chapel and the French royal court were therefore not being replenished.

Papal chaplains from northern Italy display two characteristics: family connections and high-level careers. There were five Ligurians, all from two baronial families. Two were Camillas, both already in the chapel at Boniface VIII's accession. Boniface supplemented one pre-existing Fieschi, Leonardo, with two more: Alberto Fieschi de Lavania (nephew of Hadrian V (1276)) and his brother Luca Fieschi (Cardinal of Santa Maria in via Lata from 1298). The single new Venetan, Altegradus de Catenis de Lendinaria, was both of baronial family stock (probably the Cattaneia family of Verona, who held Lendinaria as a fief) and had an extensive legal career. He had been a student of the renowned jurist Dino de Mugello, a professor at Bologna in 1289 and at Padua

between 1290 and 1299, was *auditor causarum* at the curia, and author of a now lost legal opinion on adultery mentioned by the Bolognese canon lawyer Johannes Andreae.¹⁶ The three new Piedmontese chaplains all had notable careers, of varying types. Bonifacius Thome de Saluciis, born in Turin but who spent most of his career in England, was clerk and 'king's kinsman' of Edward I. Thomas de Sabaudia (of Savoy), was in the inner lineage of the Savoy seigneurs of Piedmont: grandson of Thomas II of Piedmonte and his second wife Beatrice Fieschi, and son of Thomas III of Piedmont and Guye of Burgundy. The Fieschi connection was perpetuated in his uncle: cardinal (and former papal chaplain) Luca Fieschi.¹⁷ Notably, Thomas is only termed 'papal chaplain' in one letter of 8 April 1301, in which the pope confirmed his receipt of a canonry in Salisbury at the hand of his uncle, Luca Fieschi.¹⁸ He does not appear actively engaged in service for the curia until 1317. (All previous attestations concerned the administration of his benefices and his election, overruled by the pope, as bishop of Turin in 1301.) All signs suggest that his papal chaplaincy was honorary, probably conferred to honour the Fieschi connection. The third Piedmontese chaplaincy was far from honorary. This was for Papiano della Rovere, an administrator of exceptional prowess. At his first appearance in 1296 as a papal chaplain and *auditor causarum* he was named bishop of Novara.¹⁹ He was transferred to the see of Parma in 1301, and from 1301 was vice-chancellor of Boniface VIII and later of Benedict XI.

Chaplains from Rome and the Papal State constituted the largest single group in the chapel by an overwhelming majority. They were proportionally larger by far than the same group under Nicholas IV: forty-two of a total one hundred and twenty-two

¹⁶ Ciapparoni, F., 'Altigrado di Lendinaria', *DBI*, 22 (Rome: Treccani, 1974), pp. 412–3.

¹⁷ Boespflug, *La curie*, pp. 427–8.

¹⁸ *Reg. Bon. VIII*, 4037.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 914.

chaplains (34.43%) under Boniface VIII, against twenty-three of a total one hundred and nine (21.10%) under Nicholas IV. Already under Nicholas, Campagna supplied more chaplains than any other part of the Papal State. Under Boniface VIII the pattern was greatly magnified. Just over half (twenty-two) of all chaplains from these regions were Campagnans. As under Nicholas IV, the next largest group was from Rome itself. We know from the work of Daniel Waley, Maria Teresa Caciogna, and Sandro Carocci the importance of Boniface's personal involvement in his territorial policy, manifest in his strategic appointment of local figures to curial positions, and the pivotal function of support from municipal communes in a move towards homogenisation of governmental practice across the Papal State.²⁰ Three of Boniface's most far-reaching policies in this domain were the reforming constitutions for Campagna (1295), the Tuscan Patrimony (1300), and the March (1303). The Patrimony provided two of Boniface's chaplains, and the March three, though only one of these, Gotius de Orvieto, had not already served as chaplain of Nicholas IV. Against this, of the total twenty-two chaplains who came from Campagna, sixteen were new. Papal chaplaincies, then, were of all regions of Christendom most closely associated with policy in Campagna. As Waley has succinctly explained:

Handsome privileges went to Anagni and Velletri, and men from these and neighbouring towns received grants of papal fiefs and held manifold offices in the Papal State, as chamberlain and *missi*, as provincial rectors, vicars and treasurers, as *podestà* and castallans.²¹

To this list of offices, one could add papal chaplains. Unlike Nicholas IV, Boniface strongly favoured chaplains from his home town (all but one of six chaplains from Anagni were newly-appointed), though one should also recognise additional explanations

²⁰ Waley, *The Papal State*, especially chapter seven, 'The Papal State, the Colonna and the Caetani, 1285–1304', pp. 209–51; Caciogna, M. T., 'Le relazioni di Bonifacio VIII con i comuni dello Stato della Chiesa', in Bonincontro, I. (ed.), *Bonifacio VIII. Ideologia e azione politica* (Rome: Istituto storico per il Medioevo, 2006), pp. 370–98; Carocci, S., 'Bonifacio VIII e il comune romano', in *ibid.*, pp. 325–43.

²¹ Waley, *The Papal State*, p. 240.

for the strong faction from Anagni. Not least was the city's importance as physical seat of the papacy for a third of Boniface's pontificate, and that the city was a stronghold for the Caetani family who owned significant territory in the environs.²² It is no surprise that Boniface's nephews Francesco Roffredo Caetani (a papal chaplain in 1295) and Benedict Caetani junior (not a papal chaplain) were canons of Anagni's cathedral chapter.²³

The city of Rome itself was home to chaplains with similarly important family connections. Two new appointments of Orsini chaplains are characteristic of Boniface's well-known favour for this important family.²⁴ The same is true of the single appearance of Stephanus Jordanus de Insula in Urbe on 7 June 1298, when Boniface confirmed his election as provost of Poggibonsi by Matteo Rosso Orsini and Cardinal Neapoleo Orsini.²⁵

The sheer number of newly-appointed Roman and Campagnan chaplains, so significantly higher than in preceding pontificates (as mentioned, sixteen of Boniface's twenty-two Campagnan chaplains were new, as were seven of his ten Roman chaplains), throws into relief more than ever the importance of Roman and Campagnan networks. Examination of these networks and of chaplains' individual careers brings two important points to the fore.

²² Paravicini Bagliani, A., 'La mobilità della curia romana nel secolo XIII. Riflessi locali', in *Società e istituzioni dell'Italia comunale: l'esempio di Perugia (secoli XII–XIV). Congresso storico internazionale, Perugia, 6–9 novembre 1985* (Perugia: Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria, 1988), p. 163.

²³ Francesco Roffredo Caetani (canon of Anagni 1295–1317); Benedict Caetani junior (canon of Anagni 1286–1296). For the thirteenth-century cathedral chapter of Anagni see Montaubin, P., 'Entre gloire curiale et vie commune: le chapitre cathedral d'Anagni au XIII^e siècle', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Temps modernes*, tom. 109, vol. 2 (1997), pp. 303–442; information on the Caetani nephews on pp. 406, and 409–10.

²⁴ Giacomo Matteo Orsini and Neapoleo Fortibrachie Orsini.

²⁵ *Reg. Bon. VIII*, 2745.

The first question revisits the core of long-serving Roman and Campagnan chaplains, introduced in Chapter Two, and asks specifically whether career typologies among Boniface VIII's Roman and Campagnan chaplains might suggest that this subsection of the chapel was a likely core of actively-serving (as opposed to honorary) papal chaplains.²⁶ Some, such as Jacobus Normandi de Urbe, who was a papal chaplain between 1297 and 1301, and collector of the papal tenth in France until 1301, had active careers beyond the chapel that probably demanded frequent absence from the curia. There is only really one example from Rome and Campagna of another type of chaplain, who never appeared actively engaged in curia business, but only in the administration of his benefices and other assets. This is Stephanus Jordanus de Insula in Urbe, whose election as provost of Santa Maria of Poggibonsi was confirmed on 7 June 1298. Chaplains of both types appear to have played a marginal role in chapel life when compared to a third type, often from noble families but not of their highest ranks, whose careers kept them close to the curia. Examples include Gregorius Judicis de Alatro and Gregorius Bonegentis de Genezzano, who were both papal chaplains and treasurers in 1297 and received payment of 4 *lib. tur.* from the camera in 1299 for an unspecified purpose that probably represents a period accompanying the pope out of court (account entries in the same Mandatum for November 1299 indicate that the pope travelled from Anagni to Trevi and to Rome in this period). Indeed, ten other curialists received the same payment in this disbursement.²⁷ All were papal chaplains at the time, except possibly for two, a 'magister Michael' and a 'Dyomedes', impossible to identify from first names alone.²⁸ Of the remaining eight, six conformed to the same type: often of local noble families though not their preeminent members, and with careers concerned with

²⁶ See Chapter Two, pp. 48–50.

²⁷ "magistro Michaeli, magistro Petro de Guarceno, archipresbitero de Florentia [Antonius Ursi], Cinthio de Urbe, Johanni domini Landulphi, Dyomedi, P(etro) de Vallemontone, Gentili de Collealto, Bartholino de Cornazano, Deodato de Urbe", Schmidt, *Libri*, 1353.

²⁸ At least three papal chaplains were named Michael (Michael, Michael de Appoigny, and Michael d. As Cloketes).

affairs in the Papal State.²⁹ Nicholaus de Fraiapanatibus, also recipient of a payment in the November 1299 Mandatum, in this case for dealing with matters concerning the Lateran, had a similar career (and also compiled the one surviving inventory of the Lateran's property) though we know nothing about his family status.³⁰ Chaplains of this third type are ideal candidates for a core of regular chapel servers. They were of moderately high status, not often out of court for long and, if so, usually for matters closely associated with the curia, and they passed their lives in Rome and the surrounding area. Whether or not they lived communally in a chaplaincy is hard to say. Some certainly did not, at least not all the time, as one would expect in light of observations in Chapter Two about long-standing chaplains' residence at the curia.³¹ Petrus Leonardi de Guarcino kept a house, which he repaired or improved with the aid of payments from the camera in 1299.³² But the night-time and early-morning hours still had to be said, the pope in attendance or not, and a nucleus of men surely stayed close at hand at court to fulfill this obligation.

The second point arising from the high concentration of Roman and Campagnan chaplains is that with common geographical origins came dense networks of exchange and affiliation. Papal chaplains very often acted as executors for other curialists in beneficial matters. Bertoldus de Labro, for example, was proctor of Cardinal Neapoleo

²⁹ The two chaplains from further afield are the Florentine, Antonius Ursi, and the Parmesan, Bartolinus de Cornazano.

³⁰ "Item magistro Nicolao Fraiepani qui venit de mandato domini pro expeditio negotiorum ecclesie Lateranensis...", Schmidt, *Libri*, 1364. Though the account entry states that he received payment as if he was a chaplain ("*sicut capellanus*"), indicating that he was not usually paid as a chaplain at the time, he is also attested as a papal chaplain in Boniface VIII's register in 1297 and 1298 (*Reg. Bon. VIII*, 2164, 2177, 2407).

³¹ See Chapter Two, pp. 49–50.

³² "Item magistris Cassette et Nicolao de Pileo pro operibus factis per eos in scholis magistri theologie, scalis et coquina minori, domibus magistrorum P(etri) Yspani et P(etri) de Guarcino...", Schmidt, *Libri*, 1553.

Orsini in 1292 and witnessed an act for him in 1297.³³ The Orsini connection probably also explains why Bertoldus was executor in 1303 for the conferral of an abbacy in Aquila on Neapoleo Orsini's chaplain Gentilis de Piczulo.³⁴ One could list many such examples and a study of networks of affiliation manifest in papal chaplains' choice of executors in beneficial matters could well reveal informative connections, were time available for the considerable necessary labour.³⁵ So detailed a study is not needed to state with confidence that complex administrative and family bonds existed amongst chaplains from Rome and Campagna. The allegiances between Boniface's papal chaplains cannot have been without consequence for the political decision-making and implementation of Boniface's territorial policy in the Papal State on a local level. Extending the field of enquiry, administrative networks also underlie exchange networks in the cultural field, which are discussed in full in chapters Five and Six on wills, and Chapter Eight on the papal chapel's place in cultural life at the curia.

3.5 BENEDICT XI

The chapel in the nine months of Benedict XI's pontificate is quite different in character from that of his predecessors. Boniface VIII's chapel was that of a pontiff with intense interest in the exercise of local power through strategic employment policies. His successor's chapel lacked this strongly regionalist dynamic. Benedict XI's pontificate was short, so if few of Boniface's chaplains reappeared in Benedict's register, that is not to say that the rest had been removed from the chapel. Rather, there simply may not have been cause for them to reappear in the sources. But Benedict did not inherit Boniface's

³³ Boespflug, *La curie*, pp. 102–3; *Reg. Bon. VIII*, 2745.

³⁴ *Reg. Ben. XI*, 171.

³⁵ Hitzbleck, *Exekutoren* (2009), which concentrates on curial executors in John XXII's pontificate, is testament to the important insights such work can offer.

chapel passively. In the space of less than a year, he formed a chapel with a dynamic of its own, as is evident both from the sudden change in recruitment patterns and from a series of dispensations that indicate the selection of a select body of predominantly new chaplains for work at and on behalf of the curia.

Benedict XI employed no new chaplains from Rome and the Papal State. Only eight pre-existing chaplains from these regions appear in his register. All had served Boniface VIII, some earlier popes too, and the overwhelming concentration of Campagnan chaplains was not perpetuated. Benedict employed only one Campagnan, compared with three Romans, three chaplains from Sabina, and one from Romagna. This distribution accords with Benedict's political action in the Papal State, namely a general acceptance of those aspects of Boniface's legacy he deemed effective, but rescindment of policies considered unsuitable. Thus in January 1304, Benedict abrogated Boniface's constitution for the March, *Celestis patrisfamilias*, put an end to Nocera's right of exemption from the jurisdiction of the rector of the March, revoked grants of revenues to Assisi, Foligno and Bettona, and appointed new provincial rectors from northern parts of the Italian peninsula for Romagna, the March, the Duchy, the Patrimony and Campagna-Marittima.³⁶ As for the rest of the chapel (thirty seven chaplains are attested in total), the spread of chaplains by origin shows acceptance of many of Boniface's northern Italian chaplains (two from Lavagna in Liguria, three from Milan, one from Piedmont), together with the appointment of two new chaplains from the Veneto, two from Tuscany (a further Tuscan, Ticcus de Colle, remained in employment from the time of Nicholas IV), and one from Benedict's birthplace, Treviso. Five further new chaplains came from Alsace, Burgundy, Dalmatia, Toulouse, and Spain.

³⁶ Waley, *The Papal State*, p. 250.

Although many of Boniface VIII's chaplains will have remained in service under Benedict, soon after the start of his short pontificate the new pope himself also instigated the appointment of several chaplains to a central position. In January 1304, seven chaplains whom Benedict had inherited from his predecessors were appointed to bishoprics, and another was appointed that February.³⁷ Beginning that same January, selected chaplains, most of them newly-appointed, received dispensations for residence permitting them to be absent from their livings to perform duties at the curia or to travel on curial business. The dispensations were issued in two waves: two for new chaplains Armannus Mantellus and Socinus de Overgnachis on 18 January 1304, registered together,³⁸ and three for new chaplains Bittinus de Scottis de Conegliano, Sicardus de Vauro, and Castellanus de Salamone de Tervisio on 30 May 1304, registered together with one for pre-existing chaplain Beltramus de Mediolano on 2 May 1304.³⁹ Two other pre-existing chaplains also received dispensations for residence: Guidottus de Mediolano (10 November 1303) and Guillelmus Accursi de Bononia (1 December 1303).⁴⁰ These dispensations were all of the same type but increased in complexity and precision with each new issue. Crucially, they departed in a specific manner from the often very standardised form of dispensations for residence. Typical of the more standardised kind are dispensations issued by Benedict XI to pre-existing chaplains Bernardus Roiardi (on 19 and 25 March 1304) and Jacobus Matheus Orsini (on 25 January 1304).⁴¹

³⁷ Appointed 10 January 1304: Bertoldus de Labro (Agrigento); Leonardus de Flisco (Catania); Jacobus dictus Cardarellus de Narnia (Cefalu); Guidottus de Tabiatis de Mediolano (Messina, archbishopric); Rogerius Donmusco de Salerno (Monreale); Ticcus de Colle (Palermo); Dominicus de Saragossa (Siracusa). Appointed 19 February 1304: Hugutio Borromeo de Vercellis (Novara).

³⁸ Both at *Reg. Vat.* 51, ff. 60–60^v (*Reg. Ben. XI*, 261–2).

³⁹ All four at *Reg. Vat.* 51, f. 166 (*Reg. Ben. XI*, 907–8).

⁴⁰ *Reg. Vat.* 51, f. 7^v (*Reg. Ben. XI*, 22); *Reg. Vat.* 51, f. 59 (*Reg. Ben. XI*, 256).

⁴¹ Roiardi: *Reg. Vat.* 51, f. 137^v (*Reg. Ben. XI*, 717), *Reg. Vat.* 51, f. 125 (*Reg. Ben. XI*, 643). Ursi: *Reg. Vat.* 51, f. 86 (*Reg. Ben. XI*, 412).

Dispensations for residence were usually issued in response to a petition requesting permission for absence from specific named benefices, usually one or only few in number. Frequently they were issued at the time of conferral of a new benefice, so that the new living could be held *in absentia* from the outset. Alternatively, they could grant permission for a benefice to run by proxy for a given period of time (this was so with Roiardi's dispensation of 25 March 1304 and Orsini's of 25 January 1304), or for a generically-formulated trio of reasons: to spend time at the Apostolic See, for academic study, for residence in another living. The wording of Roiardi's dispensation of 19 March 1304 is a model of this latter kind.⁴²

Dispensations for residence issued to those in an inner position at the curia regularly conveyed in the *arenga* a gesture of gratitude for service to the papacy or curia, or recognition of the curialist's special position at court. A letter of 21 June 1297 from Boniface VIII to his chaplain and treasurer Gregorius de Genezzano provides a good example. Its *arenga* and *notificatio* allude to the service this curialist had performed in the past and the Pope's desire to reward it.⁴³ For recognition of a curialist's special position, see a dispensation of 8 September 1295 to the Pope's nephew, Franciscus Roffredo Caetani. Its *arenga* refers to the power of provisions to elevate a person so that he might reap greater spiritual rewards and its *inscriptio* specifies the recipient's special status as a

⁴² "... apud sedem Apostolicam moram trahens uel insistens scolasticis disciplinis in loco ubi studium uigeat generale, aut residens in aliqua ecclesiarum praedictarum uel in archidiaconatu tuo...", *Reg. Vat.* 51, f. 137^v.

⁴³ "Considerantes attentius grata et accepta seruitia que nobis ab olim dum nos minor status habebat uestris deputatus obsequiis fideliter impendisti et impendere non desistis et propterea uolentes personam tuam [ms *add.* tuam] speciali prosequi gratia et fauore auctoritate tibi presentium indulgemus ut apud Sedem Apostolicam moram trahens uel insistens scolasticis disciplinis ubi studium uigeat generale aut residens personaliter in aliqua ecclesiarum in quibus beneficiatus existis uel in aliquo ecclesiastico beneficio, quod te habere contigerit in futurum ...", *Reg. Vat.* 48, f. 244^v (*Reg. Bon. VIII*, 1869).

relation of the Pope.⁴⁴ Thus there was no radical departure from precedent in Benedict XI's dispensations of 1303–4. But at the same time, these dispensations for selected new chaplains are not simply of a stock type: they were written for a specific purpose with their particular recipients in mind. Their wording apparently developed from one dispensation or group of dispensations to the next. The development began with Guidottus de Mediolano's of 10 November 1303. After its *arenga*, "*Devotionis tue merita, nota nobis ex tue conversatione laudabili, promerentur ut personam tuam favore apostolico prosequamur*", it continued as a standard dispensation for residence: a specified benefice had been acquired (a canonry in Parma in this case); the benefice required the incumbent's residence; a petition had been submitted to the pope requesting permission for absence; the pope granted permission for absence on specified grounds (here the grounds were requirements of curial service: "*Apostolice Sedis insistens obsequiis...*", notwithstanding the statutes or customs of the benefice.⁴⁵ The next, Guillelmus Accursius de Bononia's of 1 December 1303, built on this precedent. Its *arenga*, "*Provenit ex devotionis et probitatis tue meritis, ut te favoris apostolici plenitudine prosequentes, tibi in hiis que digne postulas reddamur ad gratiam liberales*", established a type that the dispensations of 1304 followed.⁴⁶ The two of 18 January 1304, registered together, read: "*Provenit ex familiari notitia et tue meritis probitatis, ut te favoris apostolici plenitudine prosequentes, tibi in hiis que digne postulas reddamur ad gratiam liberales*",⁴⁷ and the four issued and registered together in May 1304: "*Devotionis tue merita commendanda et obsequiorum gratitudo que nobis et apostolice sedi ingiter impendis exposunt ut nos personam tuam paterna benevolentia [corrected from benevolentia] tua*

⁴⁴ "Dilecto filio Francisco nato dilecti filii nobilis uiri Loffredi Gaetani, comitis Casertan', nepoti et capellano nostro. Quanto potioribus prouisionibus ecclesiasticis tuam personam attolimus, tanto feruentius uirtutum cultui te vacare credimus et uberiores fructus in domo Domini germinare.", *Reg. Vat.* 47, f. 86^v (*Reg. Bon. VIII*, 380).

⁴⁵ *Reg. Vat.* 51, f. 7^v.

⁴⁶ *Reg. Vat.* 51, f. 59.

⁴⁷ *Reg. Vat.* 51, f. 60.

prosequentes tibi reddamur ad gratiam liberales”.⁴⁸ The wording of the start of the *dispositio* is common to all six dispensations of January and May 1304, with only minor textual variations.⁴⁹ In the combination of what they grant they are atypical: permission for absence from all benefices, for the requirements of curial service, and for an unspecified period of time. These six dispensations, then, seem to be the final product of a short process by which Benedict XI and his chancery established a form to be used for papal chaplains, primarily newly-appointed, whose personal service was required at the curia.

There is a dual purpose to this detailed discussion of diplomatic. These dispensations show the variety of response possible when a direct connection existed between pope and chaplain. With positions vacant in his chapel in early 1304 after he had appointed eight of his predecessors’ chaplains to bishoprics, Benedict took the opportunity to bring new chaplains of his choosing into his close entourage at the curia. It is reassuring, at the end of a long discussion of geographical provenance, to see this affirmation of the influence of the papal hand in the chapel, for it confirms that provenance is an important variable because it is rarely random. By contextualising the foregoing analysis with discussion of important recruitment trends in the pontificate immediately following the period of study, this statement is again confirmed.

⁴⁸ *Reg. Vat.* 51, f. 166.

⁴⁹ *Reg. Vat.* 51, f. 60 [A], *Reg. Vat.* 51, f. 166 [B]: “Hinc est quod nos, tuis supplicationibus inclinati, auctoritate tibi presentium indulgemus ut, quandiu in Romana Curia uel alibi obsequiis apostolice sedis^a de ipsius sedis speciali mandato duximus insistendum, fructus, redditus et proventus prebendarum et aliorum beneficiorum tuorum ecclesiasticorum, que nunc obtines et te obtinere contigerit in futurum, etiam si dignitates et personatus existant et curam habeant animarum^b, possis cum ea integritate percipere, cotidianis distributionibus dumtaxat exceptis, cum qua illos perciperes si personaliter in ipsis ecclesiis resideres, et interim^c ad faciendum in eisdem ecclesiis personalem residentiam minime tenearis, neque ad id a quoquam valeas coartari.”

a: obsequiis apostolice sedis] apostolice sedis obsequiis A

b: et curam habeant animarum] *om.* A

c: in ipsis ecclesiis resideres, et interim] in ecclesiis in quibus predictas et beneficia huiusmodi obtines et te obtinere contigerit resideres A

3.6 CLEMENT V

As far as we know from Guillemain's work on Clement V's court, his chapel seems to have contained a mixture of longstanding Italians and new Frenchmen, with a marked predominance of Italians in important curial administrative positions. Guillemain identified nine of Clement's chaplains already in office at his accession in 1305.⁵⁰ Seven of them were Italian. Similarly, the core personnel of the Chancery and camera were of central Italian origin and continued in office from Boniface VIII's pontificate.⁵¹ There was presumably safety in the continuity of key administrative personnel. The same preference for longstanding Italian staff is also evident in a list of functionaries present at consistory in Avignon on 27 January 1310.⁵² But at the same time, Clement V was a Frenchman and former archbishop of Bordeaux, who encouraged greater rapprochement with the French royal court and prelates, not least by trying to moderate Boniface VIII's bulls *Clericos laicos* and *Unam Sanctam*, issued during Boniface's dispute with Philip the Fair.⁵³ As one might therefore expect, several chaplains from south-west France appear early in Clement's pontificate. Several were the sons of important barons and others

⁵⁰ Gentilis de Collealto, Cinthius de Cancellariis, Bernardus Roiardi, Onofrius de Trebis, Guillelmus Accursi, Simone de Marvilla, Beltramus de Mediolano, Gregorius Biffa de Placentia (note however that Guillemain did not provide the dates of service for this chaplain, and he does not appear as a chaplain in my research in earlier registers), Castellanus de Salamone de Tervisio (Guillemain, 'Le personnel', p. 161, n. 3).

⁵¹ Jacobus de Normannis de Urbe, Matheus Carazulus de Neapoli (notaries of the Chancery); Odo de Sirmineto (notary public and *registrator*); Andreas Tacconi de Setia (scribe of the Chancery); Guido de Baisio (*auditor contradictarum*); Andreas de Eugubio (treasurer); Odo Leonardi de Sirmineto, Petrus de Eugubio, Petrus de Genezzano (clerks of the camera), (Guillemain, *Le personnel*, p. 161, n. 2). Of these, three were former papal chaplains: Jacobus Normannis de Urbe, Matheus Carazulus de Neapoli, and Guido de Baisio.

⁵² Johannes de Regio and Johannes de Lescarpono, clerks of the camera; Nicolas de Fractis, corrector; Johannes de Fumone, Manuele de Parma, Nicolaus de Firentino, scribes; Bandinus de Aretio, Symone de Podiobonici, Petrus de S. Laurentio, abbreviators; Grimerius de Pergamo, Thadeus de Eugubbio and Andreas de Mediolano, advocates at the curia (*Reg. Cle. V*, Ap., p. 96, n. 3).

⁵³ For Clement's treatment of the bulls *Unam sanctam* and *Clericos laicos*, and his papal policy regarding France more generally, see Menache, S., *Clement V* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), pp. 174–80.

prelates of the region.⁵⁴ Guillemain discussed the appearance of these Gascon chaplains in the same breath as a wave of promotions of chaplains in 1310, but the two were not the same: the Gascons named above all appeared much earlier, in the first year of Clement's pontificate.⁵⁵ Nonetheless, Guillemain's general point remains correct: chapel recruitment thus moved closer to prevailing recruitment patterns in domestic offices and the cardinalate, showing a marked preference for Frenchmen, especially Gascons.⁵⁶ To this may be added a further subtlety: the newly-appointed Gascons do not appear to have been employed in administrative roles, as Italians were. It would appear that Clement knew he could use the appointment Gascons as honorary-type chaplains to foster allegiances in his home territory without much altering the pre-existing workings of the chapel.

⁵⁴ Jean Raymond de Montfort, son of Bernard VI, Count of Comminges (*Reg. Cle. V*, 162, 568), Archimbaud, son of the Count of Périgieux (*ibid.*, 540), Bernard, abbot of Sarlat in the diocese of Périgieux (*ibid.*, 83); the bishop of Couserans and abbot of Saint-Sever (*Reg. Cle. V*, Ap., p. 121; Guillemain, 'Le personnel', p. 156, nn. 4, 5.)

⁵⁵ The number of resident chaplains from 1305 until 1314 varied between 12 and 21, averaging 15, but once on 10 July 1310 reached an isolated peak of 34: "Item XXXIII capellanis presentibus, computatis XVIII qui sunt assumpti de novo, VII libras, X solidos et II denarios Turonensium grossorum." *Reg. Cle. V*, Ap., p. 126.

⁵⁶ Clement replenished his domestic personnel with Gascon palefreniers, sergeants and valets who received weekly wages and occasional clothing allowances in the cameral accounts after their first appearance receiving the *vadia* on 22 November 1308 (ASV, MS *Introitus et Exitus* 75, fol. 4^v, cit. Guillemain, 'Le personnel', p. 157; see also Guillemain, *Les recettes*, p. 19). By Clement's death the College of Cardinals had been moulded by the same Gascon favour: ten cardinals were Gascons, six were Frenchmen, and seven Italians. All the Italian cardinals had been promoted before 1305. Indeed, Clement promoted only one cardinal who was not a Frenchmen: the Englishman Thomas Jorz, promoted cardinal of Santa Sabina on 15 December 1305.

CHAPTER FOUR

PAYMENTS

4.1 FOREWORD

This chapter is the last in the first part of the thesis, which has considered administrative, socio-demographic and economic questions following a structural logic dictated by source genres. It surveys all payments to papal chaplains in surviving curial accounting sources relevant to the period 1288–1304. Such a survey has not been presented before, and is discussed in conjunction with the financial information about the papal household contained in the household roll of 1278 and the ordinance of c. 1306.¹ Studied together, these documents and accounts provide valuable insight into papal chaplains' functions at the curia and in the wider world, and about the relationship between the organisation and financial regulation of the papal chapel and institutional changes at the curia. The first part of the chapter gives an account of the information each source contains. The second part of the chapter relates this information to socio-economic questions concerning papal chaplains' personal wealth, and discusses the importance of payment systems in long-term institutional changes in the papal curia.

¹ Both the household roll of 1278 and the ordinance of c. 1306 strictly speaking fall outside the dates of this study, but are essential sources nonetheless because, in conjunction, they yield useful information about papal chaplain's official function and remuneration and their continuity in the intervening period.

4.2 THE 1278 HOUSEHOLD ROLL

The household roll survives at folios 168–185^v of MS Vat. Ottobon. Lat. 2516 in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The only modern edition was compiled by Friedrich Baethgen in 1928.² As Baethgen noted, on the basis of the numerous additions and deletions, this manuscript appears to be the original document used by the camera. It lists all householders who received allowances in kind from the camera. The list is repeated four times, once for each of the curia's four household services: kitchen, pantry, cellar, and stables (*quoquina, panataria, botellaria, marestalla*). In each repetition, twenty-five chaplains are identified, by either personal name or their ecclesiastical position, and alongside each name appear the number of allowances to which each was entitled.³ Each listed chaplain received two *vidandae* from the kitchen, pantry, and cellar, but one only from the stables. This put their receipts on a par with those of other high curial offices: the *auditor contradictarum*, the corrector (*corrector*), the chamber-servants (*cubiculares*), noble lay officials (*domicelli*), the greater ostiaries (*ostiarum maiores*), the papal doctor (*medicus*) and the heads of the kitchen, pantry, cellar and stables (*supercoqus, panaterius, botellerius, marescalcus marestalle*). Minor exceptions are the *cubiculares* and *medicus*, who received nothing from the stables. This elevated level of receipts indicates that the chaplains were among the top-ranking curialists. In practice, this probably meant that, commensurate with their high status and unlike lower-ranking curialists, chaplains' allowances were intended to provide for a household servant too. This explains why the stable provided chaplains with only one allowance (known as an *anona* or *prebenda*): only the chaplain, and not his servant, needed a horse to ride for curial work. The chaplains, the list indicates, were accompanied in their work by other chapel staff: one clerk of the chapel (*clericus*

² Baethgen, 'Quellen und Untersuchungen', pp. 195–206.

³ See Appendix Two for the lists of names.

capelle) named Matheus, and one priest (*presbiter*) named Martinus who is identified as the chapel's ostiary (*hostiarius*) in the section of the roll pertaining to the kitchen.

Beyond the roll's explicit information, the ordering of its lists reveals further, implicit, facts. The order in which entire groups of householders appear does not seem indicative of chaplains' status within the wider household. Papal chaplains are listed as the first major household group under the sections for the kitchen and stables (preceded in each list by, respectively, six and nineteen named individuals not belonging to a named household office) but as the final group under the pantry and cellar. However, the internal order of the lists of chaplains is suggestive: despite variation in the order of each list, certain individuals appear toward either the top or bottom. Among the chaplains listed first in all four sections are Dom. Pandulfus, Nicolaus de Terracina, Dom. Marcellinus and Mag. Nicholaus de Thesauro, whilst among the last to be listed are Dom. Thomacius de Rieta, Dom. Thomacius de Rivo Frigido, Dom. Petrus de Supino and Gentilis de Collealto. Were it not for this general pattern, the variation in the order of names might suggest unsystematic record keeping on the part of the compiler. But more likely, it suggests that curialists were expected to submit a claim for their allowances from the papal household, as was also the case among officials of the English royal court in receipt of allowances from the royal Wardrobe.⁴ The order of names in the 1278 roll therefore reflects an internally-observed hierarchy among papal chaplains as to which were entitled to claim first and which last.

⁴ Bent, I., *The Early History of the English Chapel Royal ca. 1066–1327*, unpublished PhD, University of Cambridge, 1968, pp. 136–9.

4.3 THE c. 1306 ORDINANCE

The household ordinance of c. 1306, which outlines the core responsibilities of household personnel and details some of their remuneration from the camera, exists in a complete edition of 1979 by Amato Pietro Frutaz. In 1967 Frutaz came across an uncatalogued manuscript in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century archive of the see of Aosta. The manuscript provided a new and complete witness to a document already known from a copy in an early fifteenth-century manuscript now in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, edited by Johann Haller in 1898. The Naples manuscript lacked the beginning and end of the full text, which the Aosta manuscript supplied. The missing beginning concerned the chamberlain and some information on the clerks of the camera, and the missing section from the end included information regarding the feasts on which the almonry gave food to the poor, when the Mandatum (a section of the cameral accounts) should be drawn up, and the distribution of the four household services.⁵

Frutaz noted that the Aosta manuscript was compiled by an unknown scribe using an Italian chancery hand current in the late thirteenth and early decades of the fourteenth century. In the absence of any explicit indication in the text of a motive for its composition, Frutaz posits that it was prepared by a Roman curialist familiar with court administration, for the instruction of Arnolfo de Canteloup, Clement V's first chamberlain (in office 1305–7). He argues convincingly for a date of composition of 1306 on the basis of the named personnel who appear and the main currency used in the text. The author knew Scortimento, the head cook of Clement V's great kitchen (*cucina*

⁵ See Chapter One, n. 11.

grande),⁶ who had been attached to the kitchen in 1299 as *brodarius* and in 1302 as *magnus cocus*, and received payments as *cocus magne coquina* from Clement V's camera in 1307.⁷ The author also named five clerks of the camera, of whom one was absent from court (Petrus da Gubbio, who was at Perugia), and the remaining four also appeared from October 1306 in the register of Clement V. What conclusively fixes the composition date at the very beginning of these clerks' period in office, rather than later in Clement V's pontificate, is the currency used. The author expressed most payments in Roman currency; *denarii*, *solidi* and *librae* "*provisinorum*" or "*proveniensiium senatus*", which were replaced under Clement V by *denarii*, *solidi* and *librae* "*turonensium*".⁸

The c. 1306 ordinance does not specify how many chaplains were in the pay of the camera, but gives comprehensive details of their due payments and main responsibilities at court. Each chaplain received two *vidandae* in meat, spices, fish and eggs from the kitchen, and one *anona* from the stables. Receipts in comestibles therefore remained unchanged between 1278 and the turn of the thirteenth century. The ordinance further stipulates that a chaplain's *anona* did not include straw (*palea*) or ironwork (*ferris*), and was not given during the period from the kalends of May until the Feast of the Assumption (1 May–15 August) when it was substituted by a cash payment of 40 *sol. prov.* apiece. Chaplains received a weekly allowance of candles, and food from the great kitchen when they dined in hall (*in aula*). Each chaplain also received the gift in cash known as the *presbyterium* on Christmas and Easter Day and the anniversary of the papal coronation, worth two *malchini* at this time.⁹ Along with notaries (*notarii*), chamber-servants

⁶ "plene informatus est Scortichinus que omnia comunicat clericis camere", Frutaz, 'La famiglia', p. 285.

⁷ *Reg. Cle. V*, Ap., 1, pp. 4, 7.

⁸ This information on dating is largely drawn from Frutaz, 'La famiglia', pp. 280–2.

⁹ The *malachinus* was a gold coin in use since the twelfth century; one of the units of currency cited for the distribution of the *presbyterium* in the twelfth-century *Ordo romanus*, cf. Fabre & Duchesne, *Le Liber Censuum*, vol. 1, pp. 291–2 and *ad indicem* 'Presbyterium'.

(*cubicularii*), major and minor ostiaries (*magistri ostiarii* and *hostiarii minores*), and the stable hands (*palafrenii*), chaplains were entitled to whatever hospitality the curia received from the town in which it resided. Chaplains also received a portion of the common services (*servitia communa*) and petty services (*servitia minuta*).¹⁰

In liturgical and ceremonial life, chaplains took part in the divine office, slept in an assigned location called the *capellania* when one was available, rose to say matins in the appointed hall or chapel, and said mass and vespers. They took turns carrying the cross when the pope rode or left church, were required to accompany the chamberlain on demand if he rode, and to undertake tasks outside the curia (*ambaxiatas*) as requested. Some chaplains were graded by rank. A subdeacon chaplain read at table when the pope dined in hall, and served him at solemn mass. A chaplain priest (*presbiter capellanus*), selected by the pope, prepared the psalter for vespers, whether the pope said vespers in the hall or chapel, and prepared liturgical books for the cardinals when they said vespers and mass. The chaplains were assisted in their work by a clerk and an ostiary of the chapel, two ostiaries of the Sancta Sanctorum, and a dedicated water bearer. The clerk prepared the chaplains' altar for mass and vespers, in addition to his other responsibilities. The ostiaries looked after the chaplains' lodgings, provided candles and books for the divine office, and called the chaplains to matins, mass and vespers. The waterbearer was responsible for providing water for domestic activities such as washing, for the cellar and hall, and for the washing of chaplains' hands, presumably at ceremonial meals. Cellarers were also charged with providing water when chaplains dined in the hall.

¹⁰ Frutaz, 'La famiglia', pp. 314, 317–20. Common services were tributes paid by bishops, abbots and higher prelates on the occasion of their nomination, confirmation of election, or translation to another see or abbacy by the pope. Petty services were smaller fees, usually around one-fourteenth or one-twentieth of the common services. The returns were distributed among the college of cardinals and their households and the papal household. See Hoberg, H., *Taxae pro communibus servitiis ex libris obligationum ab anno 1295 usque ad annum 1455 confectis* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1949); Gottlob, A., *Die Servitientaxe im 13. Jahrhundert. Eine Studie zur Geschichte des päpstlichen Gebührenwesens* (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1903).

The scribe of the pantry prepared the ceremonial dining table (*mensa*) for chaplains. Some of the household's servants arranged for chaplains' silverware for meals in the hall and others accompanied the mule that carried the chapel's sacramentalia and books, and were responsible for the safekeeping of these items when the pope was travelling.¹¹

Two treasurers were also heavily involved in chapel life. To them fell the safekeeping of the papal treasure, preparation of the pope's paraments appropriate to the day, and other vestments, when the pope took part in liturgy. By mandate of the pope or chamberlain, treasurers also had to provide fabrics (wool and hide) and footwear for the pope, and to repair or replace items as required. When, on certain major feasts, the pope said vespers in the hall, the treasurers were to kindle torches that they placed in sconces for vespers, matins and mass, and remove them thereafter. They also distributed to the servants the furniture and textiles necessary when the pope took part in ceremonial in either hall or church.¹² The treasurers received the same *vidandae* as chaplains, except that their *anona* was continuous, and not substituted by cash between the kalends of May and the feast of the Assumption.

4.4 CAMERAL ACCOUNTS

The first cameral accounts known to have survived are those for the year 1279–80, the first in the *Introitus et Exitus* series in the Vatican Archive, though from an inventory of papal registers compiled in 1339 it is known that receipts were being recorded at least from the time of Alexander IV.¹³ Since these earliest accounts contain no payments to

¹¹ The above summarises information in the ordinance of c. 1306. The appertaining sections of the ordinance are provided in Appendix Four.

¹² Frutaz, 'La famiglia', p. 291; Appendix Four.

¹³ ASV, MS *Introitus et Exitus* 1, ff. 1–30, ed. Palmieri, G., *Introiti ed esiti di Papa Niccolò III. Antichissimo documento di lingua italiana tratto dall'Archivio Segreto Vaticano, corredato di due pagine in*

papal chaplains, the first evidence pertaining to this study appears in the next oldest accounts to survive, which are the account books of the papal camera for the years 1299–1300 and 1302–3. These accounts are contained in manuscripts ASV *Collectorium* 446 (accounting year 1299–1300) and *Introitus et Exitus* 5 (accounting year 1302–3).¹⁴ They comprised only the highest tier of papal accounting. Payments were received and disbursed by three Italian banking families: the Mozzi, Spini, and Chiarenti. Each month's account was handled by one of the three families in weekly rotation, and comprised the regular routine expenses of the four court offices, followed by assorted payments to individuals, disbursements for travel, clothing, goods and repairs, which were accounted under the heading *Mandatum*.

Payments to chaplains fall into six broad types, and not only yield information about papal chaplains' responsibilities, but also show that the papal treasurers were also papal chaplains, which raises an interesting point about differentiation between offices at the thirteenth-century curia.

First are payments to chaplains identified by name for time spent outside Rome with the curia, primarily at Trevi and Anagni but also for travel between these towns and Rome. These were cash substitutes for *vidandae*, which chaplains were unable to receive whilst away from Rome.¹⁵ Three of these payments were to the papal treasurers, Gregorius de Genezzano and Jacobus dictus Cardarellus, for accompanying the papal treasure on

eliotipia (Rome: Tipografia Vaticana, 1889). Denifle, H., 'Die päpstlichen Registerbände des 13. Jahrhunderts und das Inventar derselben vom J. 1339', *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, 2 (1886), pp. 1–105.

¹⁴ See Chapter One, n. 12.

¹⁵ Schmidt, *Libri*, 492, 1250, 1353, 1428, 1429, 1571, 2204, 2669. These, and subsequent payments to papal chaplains and the *primicerius* and *schola cantorum*, are also provided with Schmidt's editorial numbering in Appendix One. The location of the curia may be ascertained from the place of promulgation of papal letters, which Fawtier recorded for the pontificate of Boniface VIII in *Reg. Bon. VIII*, vol. 4, pp. 95–113.

journeys: both men were papal chaplains of Boniface VIII as well as treasurers.¹⁶ One of these payments was made to a group of twelve named curialists of whom only ten were known chaplains, two of them the papal treasurers Gregorius de Genezzano and Gregorius Iudicis de Alatro.¹⁷ Three further such payments were made to groups of between nine and thirteen unnamed chaplains.¹⁸ One further, atypical, payment was made to Nicolaus de Fraiapanatibus, who received a *vadia* payment as if he were a papal chaplain (“*sicut capellanus*”; indicating that he did not customarily receive chaplains’ allowances), for administering business at the Lateran.¹⁹ In total, this group represents the single most frequent type of payment to chaplains.

The second type of payment is represented by two disbursements, one to twenty and one to seventeen chaplains, for straw for their horses, which replaced the *anona* they would have received from the stables between the kalends of May and the feast of the Assumption.²⁰

Third are four payments to between twenty and twenty-four chaplains for the *presbyterium*, the gift in cash which chaplains and other curialists received from the pope at Easter and Christmas.²¹

¹⁶ *ibid.*, 492, 2204, 2669. Gregorius de Genezzano is also mentioned as a papal chaplain of Boniface VIII in letters of 21 June 1297 and 17 May 1301 (*Reg. Bon. VIII*, 1869, 4053).

¹⁷ “Item dominis **Gregorio** et **Gregorio** thesaurariis, magistro Michaeli, magistro **Petro de Guarceno**, archipresbitero de Florentia, **Cinthio de Urbe**, **Johanni domini Landulphi**, Dyomedi, **P(etro) de Vallemontone**, **Gentili de Collealto**, **Bartholino de Cornazano**, **Deodato de Urbe** ad 4 tur. pro quolibet 5 lbr. et 16 sol. tur. gross.”, Schmidt, *Libri*, 1353. Known chaplains are identified by text in bold.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 568, 1317, 1368.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 1364. See also Chapter Three, n. 30.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 1063, 2524.

²¹ *ibid.*, 507, 1638, 2151, 2962. A fifth payment, to papal chaplain Onofrius de Trebis in the Mandatum of the fifth week of April 1302 (*ibid.*, 2181) is clearly described as his ‘*presbyterium*’ and should be considered part of the *presbyterium* payment to nineteen chaplains the previous week (*ibid.*, 2151) which Onofrius had been unable to receive, probably because he was accompanying the curia, which left the Lateran for Anagni on 8 or 9 May 1302 (*ibid.*, p. 265, n. 1). This brings

Fourth are gifts of comestibles, separate to *vidandae*, in the form of spices and sweetmeats that chaplains received on major feast days, presumably because they took part in the ceremonial meal that followed vespers on such days. Payment for these comestibles usually went to the *speciarius* of the great kitchen, who was responsible for procuring the produce.²²

Fifth is a group of miscellaneous payments to individual chaplains for administrative and spiritual tasks, both in the chapel and in the wider curia. The papal treasurer Gregorio de Genezzano was reimbursed for providing undergarments, citron-wood and myrtle for the pope's use.²³ On one occasion a chaplain, whom the editor of Boniface VIII's cameral accounts tentatively identified as papal chaplain Guillelmus Bodini, received payment for dealing with a mule that came into the hands of the chapel.²⁴ Another, Consilius Gatto de Viterbo, heard confession with the papal penitentiaries.²⁵

Finally are payments to chaplains for important administrative missions outside the curia, perhaps what was meant by '*ambaxiatae*' in the 1306 ordinance. On 17 July 1299 Petrus Rolandi de Vallemontone, a papal chaplain of Boniface VIII since 1296, was reimbursed for expenses incurred administrating the possession of several of the Colonna family's *castra*, which the papacy had seized after the family's fall in 1297.²⁶ Similarly, on 23 March 1302, the three papal banking families received payment in recompense for

the total number of chaplains in the previous payment up to twenty. On a technical note concerning financial practice, the *presbyterium* was traditionally paid in *malachini*, an old Roman currency, but by the late thirteenth century when the *malachinus* was obsolete, it was probably paid in *libri Turonenses*, as indicated both by the inclusion of the exchange rate between the two currencies in the ordinance of 1306, and by the fact that the *presbyterium* payments of Easter and Christmas 1302 in the cameral accounts are expressed in *libri Turonenses*.

²² *ibid.*, 294, 1054, 1116, 1291, 1599, 2289, 2348, 2384, 2423, 2527, 2797.

²³ "lumbis, lumbonibus et citris et mirto", *ibid.*, 687.

²⁴ *ibid.*, 1975.

²⁵ *ibid.*, 470.

²⁶ *ibid.*, 945.

money given to Antonius Ursi, also a papal chaplain since 1296, for negotiations in the March.²⁷ Ursi was also provided with a horse for a mission in the March in February 1302.²⁸

These groups of payments provide an outline of the administrative responsibilities chaplains held, which ranged from the mundane – dealing with the acquisition of livestock – to others with a high degree of responsibility – administrating the seizure of Colonna property – to the spiritual – hearing pilgrims’ confessions with the papal penitentiaries.

The prestige of papal chaplains’ assigned tasks could be measured both temporally and spiritually. Petrus Rollandi de Vallemontone, for example, was a papal chaplain of high relative standing, who was entrusted with matters of high financial and governmental importance. In addition to his payment in July 1299 for seizing Colonna properties, he also received a further payment in November 1299 for another, unidentified, mission out of court.²⁹ In 1298 de Vallemontone also sent two of his own chaplains to help expedite a papal assignment in Zagarolo, a town close to Rome.³⁰ De Vallemontone had sufficient wealth to support a household that included two chaplains: his wealth and well-appointed household matched the importance of his curial assignments. Just as governmental missions went hand in hand with temporal high-standing, so too did spiritual responsibilities. The task of hearing pilgrims’ confession with the papal penitentiaries, of spiritual rather than material importance, fell in 1299 to Consilius Gatto

²⁷ *ibid.*, 2030.

²⁸ *ibid.*, 1912.

²⁹ *ibid.*, 945, 1429.

³⁰ Scandone, F., ‘Documenti sulle relazioni tra la corte angioina di Napoli, papa Bonifacio VIII e i Colonna’, *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, 41 (1961), p. 228.

de Viterbo who was no lowly curialist. He was at this time archbishop of Oristano, and in 1301 was transferred to the archiepiscopal see of Conza.³¹

At the same time, papal chaplains of varying status and career distinction were brought together by the task of accompanying the pope during periods of itinerancy. The payment in the Mandatum of November 1299 to the group of curialists including ten chaplains, the two aforementioned treasurers among their number, exemplifies this phenomenon.³² Each received payment of 4 *den. tur.* per day for a period of twenty-nine days, which must correspond to part of the period in September and October of the same year that the curia spent at Trevi (from 31 August until at least 8 September) and Anagni (from 25 October until a return to the Lateran on 28 October via Villamagna).³³

Internal curial and chancery administration and minor administrative tasks in the environs of Rome were the primary focus of some of these chaplains' careers. These chaplains tended to have only a small number of benefices. Petrus Leonardus de Guarcino was one such. He appeared only once in Boniface VIII's register, as witness of the powerful baron Petrus Caetani.³⁴ From the Caetani family register we also know that he was a proctor and *familiarius* of Petrus Caetani and on one occasion acted as notary.³⁵ He had only three canonries; in Patras, Anagni and Cambrai. Also of this nature were Cinthius de Cancellarius de Urbe, holder of canonries in St Marcel (in the diocese of Paris) and Soissons, on one occasion present at the assignment of a case to Bartholius de

³¹ Consilius Gatto de Viterbo's career in the period of study is marked by appearances in papal letters: *Reg. Hon. IV*, 974; *Reg. Nic. IV*, 1984; *Reg. Bon. VIII*, 3250, 3926, 3945, 4712, 5275; *Reg. Cle. V*, 5460, 5462, and in cameral account payments under Boniface VIII: Schmidt, *Libri*, 470, 1250.

³² *ibid.*, 1353. See above, n. 17.

³³ Location of the curia drawn from Fawtier's table in *Reg. Bon. VIII*, vol. 4, pp. 95–113.

³⁴ *Reg. Bon. VIII*, 3678. Petrus Caetani was Boniface VIII's nephew, count of Caserta and, by 1299, rector of the Patrimony of St Peter and of the March of Ancona.

³⁵ Caetani, G., *Regesta chartarum, Regesti delle pergamene dell'Archivio Caetani*, vol. 1 (Perugia: Unione Tipografica Cooperativa, 1922), pp. 112, 135–9, 141, 178, 183, 201, 205, 224.

Cornazzano, and on another responsible for the return of property seized by a Colonna partisan;³⁶ Petrus Rollandi de Vallemontone, whose career is mentioned above; and Gentilis de Collealto, a career-long courtier rather than a leading administrator, who was canon of Langres, an executor for two benefices and witness of a procuration under Boniface VIII, and also in the household of Charles II of Anjou.³⁷

Others in this group had mid-level careers. Johannes Landulphus Odonis Colonna, son of Landulphus Colonna, had a large portfolio of benefices in England, France and Rome, enjoyed the protection of the king of England for five years from 1296, and received the administration of the church of San Lorenzo in Lucino in Rome in 1301.³⁸ Bartholinus de Cornazzano had been witness in 1290 to an extensive agreement proposed by cardinals Gerardus Blancus and Benedictus Caetani between the archbishop and chapter of Lyon at Saint Germain des Prés, was named auditor in trials at Nantes in 1299, Basel in 1301, and Bayeux in 1302, and in the latter year was also legate of Cardinal Gerardus Blancus.³⁹

The final two recipients of this payment were papal chaplains with elevated administrative careers: Antonius Ursi, who enjoyed an especially glittering career as rector *in spiritualibus* of the duchy of Spoleto in 1301, bishop of Fiesole from 1301 (later also becoming rector *in spiritualibus et temporibus* of the March of Ancona in 1302), and also had a household of some thirty-five members and reportedly left a wealth of luxury

³⁶ *Reg. Bon. VIII*, 2166, 2407, 5476.

³⁷ *Reg. Bon. VIII*, 1322, 4067; Boespflug, *La curie*, pp. 146–7.

³⁸ His benefices in the late 1290s were as treasurer of York, and canon of Lincoln, Southwell, York, St Peter's in Rome, St Martin in Tours, and Troyes. *Reg. Bon. VIII*, 1734–5, 2166, 2752, 4049, 4156, 4518, 7242, 7250, 7265; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1292–1301, pp. 9, 81, 189.

³⁹ *Reg. Nic. IV* 6949; *Reg. Bon. VIII*, 3194, 3793, 3859, 4182, 4764, 4896, 4897, 4925.

objects in his will;⁴⁰ and Deodatus de Urbe, a papal chaplain since the pontificate of Honorius IV, and former rector of Campagna and Marittima and *podestà* of Ferentino.⁴¹

The cameral accounts are therefore wonderfully illustrative of aspects of curial court society, showing how men of differing status relative to each other were brought together under collective obligations within the papal chapel. As noted, papal chaplains were expected to sleep in the *capellania*, say and sing parts of the papal chapel's liturgy, and assume symbolic ceremonial function: the carrying of a cross, the preparation of service books, riding alongside the chamberlain. These ceremonial responsibilities were privileges, commensurate with papal chaplains' overarching high status at court. Papal chaplains' individual personal distinction was integral to the execution of papal ceremonial, since it helped substantiate the manifestation of the papacy's spiritual power in ritual. At the same time, papal chaplains were multifunctional figures whose administrative, legal and other responsibilities went hand in hand with spiritual and, as we shall see, cultural endeavours. This phenomenon of combined function, supporting both symbolic ritualised manifestation and the practical implementation of power, was a defining characteristic of the late thirteenth-century papal chapel. It is discernible both in its broad, conceptual form – as here – but also in the details of chapel organisation. The thirteenth-century papal treasurers provide one such example.

That the papal treasurers were also papal chaplains in the late thirteenth century raises an important point concerning the organisation of curial offices. These papal-chaplain treasurers could not have received the *vidandae* and *prebendae* of both offices at once, which would have yielded an income disproportionate with their status at the curia. The

⁴⁰ *Reg. Bon. VIII*, 4196, 4398–9, 5085–6; Boespflug, *La curie*, pp. 75–6.

⁴¹ *Reg. Hon. IV*, 488; *Reg. Nic. IV*, 241, 7079; *Reg. Bon. VIII*, 2218, 2225, 2826, 3145, 3206, 4093; Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 1, p. 248.

economic differentiation between the offices was therefore fluid, perhaps even absent in the likely event that the treasurers were included in the groups of resident papal chaplains who received the *presbyterium* in these years. (According to the c. 1306 ordinance, the treasurers did not ordinarily receive the *presbyterium*.) These papal-chaplain treasurers also assumed a degree of internal organisational responsibility for the papal chapel, procuring chapel sacramentalia, textiles and books. The cameral accounts contained itemised payments to the treasurers for such items, which are surely evidence that the treasurers kept subsidiary accounts for these disbursements, which they submitted to the camera. The rhythm of these itemised payments suggests that the accounts were usually submitted to the camera monthly, with a hiatus of two to three months in the summer.⁴² Incorporation of the treasurers into the papal chapel therefore initiated a degree of internal administrative and financial leadership within it. The emergence of designated financial administrators in the papal chapel also has wider ramifications regarding the differentiation of offices in curial administration, which will be discussed in full in the context of comparable phenomena in other European courts in Chapter Seven.⁴³

4.5 PAPAL CHAPLAINS' PERSONAL WEALTH

By the late 1290s the curia had fixed a relative monetary value for *vidandae* which remained stable well into the early 1300s. *Vadia* payments to papal chaplains between 1299 and 1302 were calculated on the basis that one *vidanda* was worth 2½ to 3 *den. tur.* per day. Similarly, a payment in May 1308 to nine penitentiaries who had been in Avignon for just over six months and therefore unable to receive their *vidandae* calculated a days' allowance at 6 *den. tur.* (penitentiaries, like chaplains, being entitled to two lots of

⁴² Schmidt, *Libri*, 296, 756, 901, 1296, 1444, 1524, 1603, 1916, 1995, 2053, 2157, 2561, 2637, 2775, 2868.

⁴³ See Chapter Seven, pp. 170–4, 178–85.

vidandae), as did two payments to the servant Tadiolus who received cash in place of *vidandae* in June and July 1308 at 5 *den. tur.* per day (twice the single allocation of 2½ *den. tur.*).⁴⁴ A year's *vidandae* for a papal chaplain were therefore equivalent to some 7 *lib.*, 12 *sol.*, 1 *den. tur.* This was the primary financial benefit provided by the curia, but the less sizeable additional receipts should also be taken into account. Cash in lieu of *anona* worth 40 *sol. prov.* for the one hundred and seven days between the kalends of May and the Assumption (1 May–15 August), over the course of a full year totalled just over 136 *sol. prov.*, equivalent to just over 4 *sol. tur.* at the prevailing rate of 34 *den. prov.* to 1 *den. tur. gross.* The *presbyterium*, at 6 *den. tur.* to each *malachinus*, and with 4 *malachini* apiece paid each year, came to a yearly total of 2 *sol. tur.* (Since there were no papal coronations between 1299 and 1302, only two *presbyteria* were paid in these years, at Christmas and at Easter.) In total, these revenues would be worth a total cash equivalent of 7 *lib.*, 18 *sol.*, 1 *den. tur.*. Add to this chaplains' portion of the common service and their half of the third of the petty services, and chaplains' income turns out to have been considerable, even without taking into account income from benefices.

Other curialists' wages make for a revealing comparison. A master mason received a daily wage of 3 *sol. prov.* (equivalent at the time to just over 1 *den. tur. gross*) for clearing an aquifer in the gardens of the almonry *domus*.⁴⁵ Each day this would buy a man more than enough to feed himself and a small household: a chicken bought by the almonry *domus* in 1285 cost between 1 *sol.*, 3 *den. prov.* and 1 *sol.*, 6 *den. prov.* per animal, and quarter of a

⁴⁴ "Item 14 penitentiariis 24 sol. et 6 den. tur. gross"; "Item Tadiolo pro vadiis suis 24 dierum 10 sol. tur. gross"; "Item Tadiolo pro suis vidandis 9 dierum 3 sol. et 9 den. tur. gross", Guillemain, *Les recettes*, pp. 89, 98, 102.

⁴⁵ "Die veneris, VII mensis septembris, uni magistro muratori qui laboravit ad evacuandum et purgandum conductum aque qui est in jardino de luto, quia non poterit fluere aqua, scilicet pro V diebus preteritis, videlicet die lune, die martis, die mercurii, die jovis et ipso die veneris, ad rationem III s. in die, XV s. prov.", Prou, *Compte de la maison*, p. 85.

sheep 1 *sol. prov.*⁴⁶ As another example, the board and lodging of the almonry servant in 1285–6 amounted to 4 *lib.*, 4 *sol. prov.*, the equivalent of 33 *den. tur. gross* for a whole year. A chaplain's daily income in *vidandae* was therefore five times a skilled mason's daily wage, and equivalent to a sixth of an almonry servant's annual upkeep. Many chaplains would not have been resident at the curia every day of the year. Nonetheless the lifestyle they could enjoy at the curia's expense was one of plenty. They were hardly an isolated example: the camera's weekly expenditure on food and drink was astronomical. In the fourth week of January 1299 alone the expenses of the kitchen were 1057 *lib.*, 8 *sol.*, 4 *den. prov.*, the pantry 301 *lib.*, 2 *sol.*, 3 *den. prov.*, the cellar 151 *lib.*, 3 *sol.*, 5 *den. prov.*, and the stable 477 *lib.*, 16 *sol.*, 8 *den. prov.*⁴⁷

4.6 PAYMENTS AS INDICES OF CHANGE

Guillemain has noted that a permanent system of monetary retribution was in place for a small number of curial officials by the pontificate of Clement V, and that earlier monetary payments, replacing allowances when out of court, are also to be found in the cameral accounts under Boniface VIII.⁴⁸ These payments – *vadia* – are worthy of detailed study.

Under Boniface VIII, the curia left Rome in the early summer each year for summer residence in Anagni and other cities in the Papal State. Boniface's cameral accounts show that, for papal chaplains, the *vadia* system was used only during periods of travel, and ceased when the itinerant court had reached its intended residence. The length of these periods of itinerancy varied; from the twenty-nine days for which a group of nine

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 34.

⁴⁷ Schmidt, *Libri*, 142–5.

⁴⁸ Guillemain, *La cour*, pp. 72–3.

chaplains and, separately, another group of twelve curialists including ten chaplains received cash payments, to as little as two days, such as the journey Gregorius de Genezzano made on his own, at some point during the curial move from Rome to Anagni via Montefrenello between 8 and 19 April 1302.⁴⁹ The number of chaplains who travelled with the pope could also vary. The chaplains who in November 1299 received cash for the aforementioned journey between Anagni and Trevi numbered nineteen in all, including the two papal treasurers. In 1302 only the two treasurers received payments for journeys between Anagni and Rome, in May and October.⁵⁰ In the face of these changing circumstances, a flexible system whereby chaplains, and indeed other curialists, would not be materially disadvantaged by journeys of ever-differing duration was a necessity, and an *ad hoc* salary system based on the pre-established value of *vidandae* and *prebendae* was implemented accordingly. Furthermore, the usual value in cash of a single *vidanda* remained the same between 1299–1300, 1301–2, and 1308–9: the stability in value suggests that the *vadia* system was fully-developed by the turn of the thirteenth century. A system of payment by wages had therefore been in use during the curia's frequent and extended periods of itinerancy well before the pontificate of Clement V, and indeed for some time before it appeared in the cameral accounts under Boniface VIII.⁵¹

In broad terms, the movement from payment in kind towards payment in wages was concurrent with a marked specialisation of papal chaplains' role at court. As noted, in the late thirteenth century, and probably earlier still, chaplains of varying and fluid

⁴⁹ The payments to groups of chaplains correspond to a period between 27 August and 25 September when the curia moved from Anagni to Trevi and back again.

⁵⁰ On 22 April 1302, when the curia was in Anagni, most of the chaplains remained in Rome. On this date, nineteen chaplains resident in the chaplaincy received their *presbyterium*. (Schmidt, *Libri*, 2151). Of the chaplains, only Onofrius de Trebis appears to have been away from Rome. He received a cash payment equivalent to his share of the *presbyterium* in May 1302. Most likely, he was in Anagni with the Pope. (ibid., 2181).

⁵¹ The equivalent monetary value of allowances under Clement V is recorded in the account of 17 March 1307 (*Reg. Cle. V*, Ap., vol. 1, p. 1).

prestige and function all received equal *vidandae* and *prebendae*, whether their career was largely dedicated to chapel service, or to wider aspects of curial administration and government. As the fourteenth century unfolded, payments to papal chaplains became increasingly rationalised. Concurrently, the difference between three types of chaplain – commensal chaplains (*capellani commensales*), a differentiated class of honorary chaplains, and chaplains who served in the chapel known then as *capellani intrinseci* or *capellani capelle* – became more clearly defined. *Capellani intrinseci* were, officially at least, still obliged to sleep together in the *capellania* and live by the rhythm of the liturgical hours but they were also relegated to a lower position at court. The locus of their work was restricted more to chapel service and involved some administrative tasks within the curia, but no legal or governmental concerns. Commensal chaplains on the other hand, continued in a range of governmental, administrative and legal tasks – some worked as auditors of the Rota – and on occasion could also be called to serve in the household chapel itself.⁵² With time, a clear class of honorary chaplains emerged, who were released almost entirely from the obligations of active service in the chapel. The process of differentiation was reflected in chaplains’ receipts from the camera. In Benedict XII’s accounts, the *capellani capelle* who served in the pope’s chapel remained beneficed clerics, like their thirteenth-century forebears, and received a wage of 4 *den. tur. gross.* per day. Commensal chaplains were paid as a separate group, and received twice the amount. The division between their wages reflected equivalent differences in their allowances in kind. As Schimmelpfennig has observed, these cash payments represented the value of one *vidanda* and one *prebenda* in the case of *capellani capelle* (a reduction by half against papal chaplains’ allowances in the thirteenth century), and two *vidandae* and *prebendae* for *capellani commensales*.⁵³

⁵² Guillemain, *La cour*, pp. 362–70.

⁵³ Schimmelpfennig, ‘Die päpstliche Kapelle in Avignon’, p. 92, referencing Schäfer, K. H. (ed.), *Die Ausgaben der Apostolischen Kammer unter den Päpsten Benedikt XII., Klemens VI., und Innozenz VI., Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung, 1316–1378*, vol. 3 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1914), pp. 24–6.

The phenomenon is concordant with the argument Guillemain propounded in 1962 that the curia's historic organisation and remuneration, structured as if curialists were the pope's private householders, was re-forged as the curia increasingly made recourse to payment by wages under the pressure of the progressive reinforcement of the papacy's spiritual capital by the exercise of power through administration.⁵⁴ Though he did not explicitly state his theoretical influence, Guillemain described a broad change concordant with a Weberian model of the movement of patrimonial models of governmental organisation towards bureaucratic rationalisation, in which specialisation in fields of administrative jurisdiction is concomitant with economic rationalisation.⁵⁵ Changes in the papal chapel seem to manifest this broad change very clearly, as the curia was forced to account for the huge increase in papal chaplains' administrative, legal and governmental responsibilities, with consequent profusion in their number and increased differences between types of chaplain. Examination of the place of papal chaplains in Boniface VIII's cameral accounts, the 1278 roll and the c. 1306 ordinance therefore allows us to trace possible aspects in the papal chapel of a much broader, more far-reaching change, taking place across the entire curia. The scattered sources for the papal chapel in the late thirteenth-century are not alone sufficient to draw robust conclusions. However, this thesis will return to the question of bureaucratic rationalisation from a comparative perspective in Chapter Seven, which will compare processes of change in the papal chapel with those in the Chapel Royal, and to a lesser extent, other European court chapels, to test these preliminary suppositions further.

⁵⁴ Guillemain, *La cour pontificale*, pp. 72–5.

⁵⁵ Weber, M., *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr–Paul Siebeck, 1922), pp. 1006–68.

CHAPTER FIVE

PAPAL CHAPLAINS AND CARDINALS' WILLS

5.1 FOREWORD

This is the first of two paired chapters examining papal chaplains and testamentary practice in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The present chapter examines the place of papal chaplains in cardinals' wills, with an introduction to their legal context and diplomatic. The following chapter will examine the wills and bequests of papal chaplains themselves. The small corpus of extant papal chaplains wills will be taken as a case study of both symbolic and capital exchange, drawing implicitly on Bourdieu's writings on cultural capital and distinction, to examine how this particular class of curialist participated in the exchanges that perpetuated – Bourdieu would say 'reproduced' – their society.¹

A thirteenth-century curialist's will was an intersection between an individual's highly personal concerns for the state of his soul and for the security of his patrimonial assets, for the redistribution of Church-derived capital, and for the passing-on of material goods. All were constrained by the rationalising formal legal procedures of canon law. Papal chaplains' and cardinals' wills offer insight into both the codified formal practices – legal and spiritual – and personal allegiances that helped perpetuate curial society. They

¹ A non-exhaustive list of Bourdieu's works of cultural capital and distinction includes: Bourdieu, P., *La reproduction. Éléments d'une théorie du système d'enseignement* (Paris: Éditions de minuit, 1970); *ibid.*, 'Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction', in Karabel, J. & Halsey, A. H. (eds.), *Power and Ideology in Education* (Oxford: OUP, 1977), pp. 487–511; *ibid.*, *La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: Les Éditions de minuit, 1979); *ibid.*, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. Thompson, R. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

also unmask exchanges of capital and networks of affiliation in which papal chaplains were instigators and facilitators.

Wills were heavily-formalised documents, with a homogeneity largely imposed by notarial practice, especially so among these élite members of curial society, in which notarial procedure regulated so many of the transactions essential to the administration of life.² As such, they share many common testamentary practices that cannot necessarily be read as straightforward evidence of collective personal concerns. But these wills do demonstrate how collective behaviour continually reproduced the bonds that held curial society together; how collective testamentary practices and legal strictures perpetuated papal authority in attenuated form; and how curialists negotiated these practices and strictures, so best to use their capital and personal networks to the advantage of their own departed souls and material legacies.³

² The primary reference point for curial notarial procedure is Rolandino Passageri's treatise on wills, written around 1255, in official use at the curia and inserted into the formulary in common use among apostolic notaries public in the thirteenth century. No modern edition exists; it is known primarily through two early editions: *Summa artis notariae Do. Rolandini Rodolphini Bononiensis* (Lyon, 1565); *Summa artis notarie* (Venice, 1498–9). Chapter Eight, *De testamentis et ultimis voluntatibus*, concerned testamentary procedure. For discussion of the formulary and its circulation at the curia, see Barraclough, G., *Public Notaries and the Papal Curia. A Calendar and a Study of a Formularium Notariorum Curie from the Early Years of the Fourteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1934), *ad indicem*, and Paravicini Bagliani, A., *I testamenti dei cardinali del duecento* (Rome: Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 1980), *ad indicem*.

³ In particular, Robert Brentano's work on wills from towns in the Roman environs shows how rich these documents are, for the evidence of individual sentiment and personal religiosity they contain, and the maps of piety they help draw, showing the relative pull on individuals of local church institutions. He mined the archives of Rieti and Gualdo Tadino, and showed how, for example, the increasing popularity of Franciscanism in Gualdo Tadino steered testamentary bequests towards the Order's foundations. Brentano, R., *A New World in a Small Place: Church and Religion in the Diocese of Rieti, 1188–1378* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), esp. pp. 275–320; *ibid.*, 'Considerazioni di un lettore di testamenti', in Bartoli Langeli, A. (ed.), *Nolens Intestatus Decedere. Il testamento come fonte della storia religiosa e sociale*, Archivi dell'Umbria, Inventari e ricerche, 7 (Perugia: Regione dell'Umbria, 1985), pp. 3–9.

5.2 CARDINALS' WILLS

The present chapter considers the importance of papal chaplains' special position in relation to the pope – appointed by personal papal favour, not examination – in the legitimation of cardinals' wills. It also examines cases in which papal chaplains were responsible for symbolic exchanges and culturally-important bequests in cardinals' wills, all the while bearing in mind the importance of testamentary procedure as the attenuated exercise of papal authority. It is the result of a survey of papal chaplains as they appear in cardinals' wills, codicils, and post-mortem inventories published by Paravicini Bagliani, Enzo Pini, and Valentina Brancone. Paravicini Bagliani completed the herculean task of assembling all extant cardinals' wills and codicils drawn up between 1198 and 1305, scattered among regional archives and in the historiography, rarely systematically referenced, of previous centuries.⁴ Sixteen years later, Enzo Pini published the will of Cardinal Pietro Peregrino, which Paravicini Bagliani had not found.⁵ Brancone added an assembled corpus of all known inventories of cardinals' households, usually compiled in the post mortem valuation and sale of testators mobile assets, and documents of sale and execution, and other *inter vivos* and *post obitum* donations.⁶ Between them, these wills, codicils and inventories provided information on testamentary practices at the curia, and in some cases extremely detailed accounts of cardinals' assets, both mobile and immobile, even down to the contents of their libraries and chapel treasuries. Study of papal chaplains' place in this corpus will show how these high status officials functioned within and between households affiliated with the curia, as beneficiaries of bequests, and as

⁴ Paravicini Bagliani, *Testamenti* (1980).

⁵ Pini, E., 'Il testamento «disperso» di Pietro Peregrino', in Tartari, C. M. (ed.), *Il cardinale Pietro Peregrino e la fondazione francescana di Pozzuolo Martesana (1295–1995)* (Pozzuolo Martesana: Comune di Pozzuolo Martesana, 1996), pp. 61–72. For text of the will see Pini (ed.), 'Edizione del testamento di Pietro Peregrino', *ibid.*, pp. 173–205.

⁶ Brancone, V., *Il tesoro dei cardinali del Duecento. Inventari di libri e beni mobili*, Micrologus Library, 31 (Florence: Sismel–Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2009).

executors and witnesses of others, thereby administrating the high-value households of cardinals at the point of their dispersal. Wills are such formal documents, subject to particular legal constraints, that some of the legal background and the diplomatic of will-making must be explained before the documents are examined.

5.3 THE RIGHT OF SPOIL AND THE *LICENTIA TESTANDI*

Cardinals were legally obliged to procure a license to make a will (*licentia testandi*) from the pope if their will, or any modification to it, was to be valid. The origin of the legal constraint is hard to date, but was already recognised as common practice by the time Hostiensis recorded it in his *Summa super decretalibus* (also known as the *Summa aurea*), written in the late 1250s or early 1260s.⁷ Indeed, many other clerics resident at the curia also sought *licentiae testandi* to secure the legal validity of their wills should they die at the Apostolic See. For cardinals and other curialists, the legal validity of their wills safeguarded their assets from the papal right of spoil, by which the property of any cleric who died intestate at the curia reverted to the Church of Rome. The beginning of this legal convention at the curia is, likewise, hard to determine: it was considered an ‘ancient’ practice by the time it was first mentioned in a papal letter, issued by Urban IV on 18 November 1262.⁸

⁷ For literature on the *Summa super decretalibus*, see Kuttner, S., ‘Decretalista’, *ZRGKan*, 26 (1937), pp. 460–1; Pennington, K., ‘A *Quaestio* of Henricus de Segusio and the Textual Tradition of his *Summa super decretalibus*’, *Bulletin of the Institute for Medieval Canon Law*, 16 (1986), pp. 91–6 (repr. in *ibid.* (ed.), *Popes, Canonists and Texts, 1150–1550*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 412 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1993)); *ibid.*, ‘An Earlier Recension of Hostiensis’ *Lectura* on the Decretals’, *Bulletin of the Institute for Medieval Canon Law*, 17 (1987), pp. 77–90 (repr. in Pennington (ed.), *Popes, Canonists and Texts*); *ibid.*, ‘Enrico da Susa’, *DBI*, 42 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1993), pp. 758–63 (repr. in English translation as ‘Henricus de Segusio (Hostiensis)’ in Pennington (ed.), *Popes, Canonists and Texts*).

⁸ Paravicini Bagliani, *Testamenti*, pp. xlvi–xlvii, citing *Les Registres d’Urbain IV (1261–1264)*, vol. 1, eds. Guiraud, J. & Clémencet, S., BEFAR (Paris, 1899), 20.

The *licentia testandi* enshrined papal authority in several important ways. From the second half of the twelfth century, the papal *licentia testandi* protected the succession of clerics, at least in theory, from the right of spoil also exercised by lay sovereigns. The oldest *licentia*, issued by Celestine III to Pietro da Piacenza in 1191, coincided, as Paravicini Bagliani has observed, with the period in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century when the papacy's claim for plenitude of power became more concrete with the progressive renunciation by the Holy Roman Emperors of the secular claim to right of spoil over clerics in Italy.⁹ When, beginning in the pontificate of Innocent IV, the papacy tried to extend its right of spoil over all ecclesiastics, it met tremendous opposition in local bishoprics. So, by the period in hand, the papal *licentia testandi* applied only to clerics who died at the Apostolic See.

Originally, the papal right of spoil pertained only to assets a testator had received from the Church on the ancient canonical premise that clerics were not owners but administrators of assets acquired *per ecclesiam* during their careers. The Third Lateran Council of 1179 forbade clerics from making free disposition of Church assets, but permitted free testamentary provision for assets of patrimonial origin. The same ruling was contained in letters of Alexander III, later included in Gregory IX's Decretals in 1234.¹⁰ But by the late thirteenth century, owing to the difficulty of separating ecclesiastical from patrimonial assets for many clerics, *licentiae testandi* extended the papal sanction to dispose appropriately of assets over a testator's patrimonial as well as

⁹ *ibid.*, pp. xlvi–xlvii.

¹⁰ Concilium Lateranense III, canon 15 in Leonardi, C., et al. (eds.), *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, 3rd ed., (Bologna: Istituto per le scienze religiose, 1972), p. 219; *Decretal. Greg. IX*, III, 26, 8 (*Ad haec presentibus*); III, 26, 9 (*Quia nos tua*); III, 26, 12 (*Relatum est*) in Friedberg, A. (ed.), *Corpus iuris canonici editio Lipsiensis secunda post Aemilii Ludouici Richter curas ad librorum manu scriptorum et editionis romanae fidem recognouit et adnotatione critica instruxit Aemilius Friedberg*, vol. 2, (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959), pp. 540–1. For a fuller account of canonical theory on will-making, see Sheehan, M., *The Will in Medieval England* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1963), pp. 119–35.

ecclesiastical assets. This legal right was codified in *licentiae testandi* with increasing regularity. The *licentia* issued to papal chaplain Stefano d'Anagni, included in his will of 4 December 1256, gave Stefano unqualified permission to draw up his will.¹¹ By contrast, the *licentia* Nicholas III issued to Campano da Novara on 10 June 1278 was more precise in its wording, encompassing both Church and worldly assets.¹² Variations on this unambiguous wording were included in the most frequently-issued recorded *licentiae* of cardinals in the last quarter of the thirteenth century and early fourteenth century.¹³

The rationalisation of the legal terminology of *licentiae*, by which ambiguity and legal loopholes were minimised, helped secure papal plenitude of power over will-making, both legally and spiritually. Consequently, the process of drawing up, and indeed executing, a will increasingly enshrined papal power in the enactment of bureaucratic procedure. Legitimation of wills in curial circles depended on acceptance of papal authority over all their composite parts. So executors, agents of testators' pious wishes, also became agents of papal authority in attenuated form, it being their duty to ensure the legal fulfilment of testators' instructions. As persons invested with personal papal favour – not legitimated through appointment by examination or official procedure regulated by

¹¹ "...testandi ac disponendi de bonis tuis liberam tibi auctoritate presentium concedimus facultatem.", Caraffa, F., 'Il testamento di Stefano d'Anagni capellano di Alessandro IV (4 dicembre 1256)', *ASRSP*, 104 (1981), p. 113.

¹² "... de bonis tuis ex industria propria vel ratione quarumvis ecclesiarum seu de beneficiis ecclesiasticis obtentis et obtinendis aut alias quomodolibet acquisitis vel etiam acquirendis testari libere valeas, plenam tibi auctoritatem presentium concedimus facultatem.", Paravicini Bagliani, A., 'Un matematico nella corte papale del secolo XIII: Campano da Novara († 1296)', *RSCI*, 27 (1973), p. 120.

¹³ *Licentiae* beginning *Dum nichil sit* ("...de bonis tuis mobilibus ecclesiasticis et mundanis mobilibus et immobilibus..."), *Quia presentis vite conditio* ("...de bonis mobilibus ecclesiasticis tue dispositione seu administratione commissis...necnon et quibuscumque bonis mobilibus a te per ecclesiam seu ecclesias licite acquisitis ...", but more specifically the variant issued to Napoleone Orsini: "...ut de bonis mobilibus et immobilibus, que tibi tam de proventibus et redditibus dignitatum et beneficiorum tuorum quam alias obvenerunt et obveniant, libere testare valeas..."); *Quia humana fragilitas* ("...de bonis tuis tam ecclesiasticis quam mundanis..."), especially the variant issued to Giacomo Stefaneschi: "... de omnibus bonis tuis tam ecclesiasticis quam aliis quibuscumque ad te spectantibus, que ad te hactenus pervenerunt et habes ac pervenerint in futurum..."). The texts of these *licentiae* are compiled at Paravicini Bagliani, *Testamenti*, pp. liii–lvi.

court officials – papal chaplains were invested with a form of charismatic authority, to use Weberian terminology. Theirs was a form of charisma mitigated by the routine economic and social structures of court life, necessary for the continuation of curial society. (As Weber observed, societies based on ‘pure’ charismatic authority are rare, since the officials and fixed administrative procedures on which so many established societies depend are anathema to ‘pure’ charisma.) Papal chaplains’ position in testamentary procedure will therefore reveal how aspects of their routinised charismatic authority were enacted, appropriating papal authority for legitimation of wills, and in the interlinked dynamics of bureaucratic routine and exchange, both economic and symbolic.¹⁴

5.4 DIPLOMATIC OF WILLS

Rolandino Passageri’s treatise on notarial procedure, in official use among curial notaries in the thirteenth century, distinguished three types of wills: nuncupative, solemn, and oral.¹⁵ Cardinals’ wills were either nuncupative or solemn: there is no evidence that curialists used oral wills at this time. The nuncupative, or *sine scriptis*, will was most common among thirteenth-century cardinals. (Twenty-one of the twenty-nine cardinals whose wills Paravicini Bagliani compiled used this form.) They were drawn up by a notary, and no formalities were needed beyond those of a standard notarial document drawn up in the presence of witnesses. The solemn, or *in scriptis*, will was written by the testator or a non-notarial delegate in his own hand. Since the solemn will was a private document, a notary was not obligatory for its composition, but a set procedure for its

¹⁴ For Weber’s explanation of charismatic authority in its various permutations see: Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (1922), pp. 753–78, especially, for the routinisation of charisma, whereby a charismatically-led society adopts conditions and organisational techniques of everyday life to achieve a degree of permanence and stability, pp. 760–3.

¹⁵ See present chapter, n. 2.

opening upon the testator's death, at which point the solemn will had to be transcribed as a notarial act, constituted the final stage of its legal validation. (The remaining seven of Paravicini Bagliani's cardinals' wills, including that of Pietro Peregrino later found by Pini, were of this type.)¹⁶

Nuncupative and solemn wills are broadly the same in form, despite the aforementioned differences in their drafting procedure. Their form itself represents the codification of canonical concepts assimilated over centuries of providing for one's estate after death. Most important for this analysis are the classes of bequest that could be made. They were determined by canonical constraints and procedural convention, and so provided guidelines for testators' choices from which, in some cases, departure was impossible. Typically, first came the institution of the heir, usually one of the testator's clerical male relatives, though one cardinal, Ottobono Fieschi, appointed Christ his universal heir. There sometimes followed a recommendation of the soul and profession of faith. Next tended to come provision for the testator's tomb, usually stipulating its intended location and cost, for his funeral, and sometimes also for transport of his corpse. There followed, with variations in order, provision for debts and ill-gotten gains, provision for members of the testator's household and other individuals, monetary bequests to ecclesiastical institutions, provision for moveable and immoveable assets, and for residual contents of the estate. Wills concluded with the nomination of executors, and validation by witnesses (seven were generally required for both solemn and nuncupative wills) and, if relevant, the acting notary.

¹⁶ For further formalities in the composition of nuncupative and solemn wills, see Paravicini Bagliani, *Testamenti*, pp. lxxx–lxxxiii.

The constraints imposed by canon law particularly affected cardinal testators' disposition for their tombs, the repayment of debts and ill-gotten gains, monetary gifts to members of their households, and bequests for the salvation of their souls, such as anniversaries, masses for the dead, and the foundation of chantries. (This last class was effectively the return to the Church of part of the testator's wealth derived from benefices.) These four types of bequest were partially detailed in the two most detailed and most common forms of *licentia testandi* issued to curialists in the late thirteenth century: those beginning *Quia presentis vite conditio* and *Quia humana fragilitas*.¹⁷

Papal chaplains were affected by these constraints in several ways. For a start, this framework guided the movement of large sums of money from curialists to ecclesiastical institutions, and to relatives and associates. It similarly affected the distribution of collections of material goods, especially the treasure and books of personal chapels, and cardinals' personal libraries. Thus the curial landscape itself, within which papal chaplains acted, was shaped to a great extent by these testamentary practices. Furthermore, in this landscape, papal chaplains could only appear in a restricted range of functions, precisely because testamentary bequests took only a fixed number of accepted forms.

¹⁷ *Quia presentis vite*: "...pro decentibus et honestis expensis tui funeris, ac pro remuneratione illorum qui tibi viventi servierint, sive sint consanguinei sive alii, iuxta servitii meritum, testari ac disponere possis...", especially the *licentia* issued to Nicolaus de Pratis: "...moderate tamen diponere ac erogare, et alias prius de ipsis earundem ecclesiarum ere alieno deducto, ut ipse ecclesie non remaneant debitis obligate, in pios usus convertere possis...", *ibid.*, p. lv; *Quia humana fragilitas*: "...pro decentibus et honestis expensis tui funeris et pro remuneratione illorum qui tibi viventi servierint, sive sint consanguinei seu alii, iuxta servitii meritum...", *ibid.*, p. lvi.

5.5 PAPAL CHAPLAINS IN CARDINALS' WILLS

5.5.1 WITNESSES

Eight incumbent papal chaplains witnessed cardinals' wills from this corpus.¹⁸ It is immediately clear that papal chaplains were not prolifically used in this capacity. Nonetheless, a witness primarily served to legitimate a will, and in this regard the selection of papal chaplains was highly dependent on their status at the curia.

A combination of canon law and common practice governed the choice of these legitimising figures. Witnesses had to be *viri legitimi*, canonically defined: men of sufficient age and intelligence to be capable of making a legal act. No cardinal named another incumbent cardinal his witness; apparently the result of societal convention rather than legal stricture since the practice was not formally proscribed. A will's beneficiaries and executors were forbidden from witnessing the same document. Witnesses were not subject to further administrative requirements (except in the case of some solemn wills when, not by legal obligation but apparently by preference, the witnesses of the original document also witnessed the formal opening) so the administrative competence of those chosen had no practical relevance in their selection.

Jean Cholet's two solemn wills and his codicil illustrate the implementation of these criteria well. The three documents were written between 1289 and 1292, and the second will with its codicil was formally opened on 4 August 1292. The witnesses at the opening were the same as had witnessed the original will, and comprised: the incumbent papal

¹⁸ Adam de Nigella, Berengarius Regis de Carcassonne, Petrus de Turrice (will of Jean Cholet); Nicolinus de Camilla (Ottobono Fieschi); Henricus de Gibleto de Biblio (Giacomo Stefaneschi); Jacobus dictus Cardarellus de Narnia (Bentivegna Bentivegni); Raymundus de Pont, Radulfus de Bosco (Hugh of Evesham).

chaplains Adam de Nigella, Berengarius Regis de Carcassonne, and Petrus de Turrice; the papal vice-chancellor (and former papal chaplain) Johannes Monachus; the bishop of Aversa; Bartholomeus the dean of Poitiers (and future bishop of Autun); Cholet's own chaplain (and future papal chaplain) Bartholomeus Bradazeyre de Rosiaco; Cholet's penitentiary and chaplain Riccardus de Columbeyo; Bartholomeus the Benedictine prior of Milly-sur-Thérain; Pietro da Songeons; and finally the laymen Johannes de Courcellis, Johannes de Senlis, and Humbertus de Morvillers. Witnesses were party to a will's contents, so the more tightly-controlled their selection, the greater was the guarantee of privacy. Choice of witnesses therefore implied trust in them. The variety of status among Cholet's witnesses was clearly an important criteria in their selection: it is a feature common to the witnesses of several cardinals' wills. Among Cholet's witnesses, clerics of varying natures, papal chaplains' privileged status in literal and symbolic proximity to the pope was surely a determining factor in their selection.¹⁹

Moreover, certain witnesses had additional qualities relevant to the legitimation of wills, which influenced their selection. Cardinal Pietro Peregrino chose six Friars Minor (of whom one was bishop of Veglia and another was a papal penitentiary) and one Benedictine (who was also bishop of Caserta). Peregrino, though never a Franciscan brother himself, was closely associated with the Order. He assisted Glusiano di Casate in the commission to revise the rule of the Friars Minor in 1279, and used his will to found the Franciscan convent of Pozzuolo Martesana in the diocese of Milan. His overwhelming preference for Franciscan brothers as witnesses invokes the implicit idea that as members of the Order their vested spiritual integrity reinforced their legitimising facility.²⁰

¹⁹ Edition of the Cholet will and opening document in Paravicini Bagliani, *Testamenti*, pp. 250–67.

²⁰ Edition of the Peregrino will and codicils in *ibid.*, pp. 271–5.

So papal chaplains must have had a legitimising weight of their own, lower than archbishops and bishops, but above cardinals' householders and chaplains. Their status came not from an established process of election and appointment, as for bishops and archbishops, nor from a papal penitentiary's particular spiritual proximity to the pope as confidant and intercessor. (The importance of soundness of spirit was enshrined in testamentary procedure: cardinals were required to make personal confession to the pope before he granted them a *licentia testandi*.)²¹ Instead they were directly imbued with a charismatic authority instilled in them by the pontiff's symbolic choice to appoint a candidate to the ranks of his personal chapel.

5.5.2 EXECUTORS

Incumbent papal chaplains were named formal executors in this body of cardinals' wills on nine occasions.²² The number may be small but each individual executorial nomination was of great importance. Executors of a will were personally responsible for effecting the testator's bequests, so carried huge responsibility. Bequests could involve enormous sums of money: Pietro Peregrasso's foundation in his hometown Pozzuolo established a flow of money that would have brought employment and welfare of life-changing magnitude to the town's inhabitants.²³ A rare sole survivor of the material gifts Peregrasso left to his foundation exemplifies the value of even a single item left in the care of his executors. This was a filigree cross of Italian make, now in the Metropolitan

²¹ *ibid.*, p. li.

²² Bernardus Roiardi (Giacomo Stefaneschi); Guillaume de Esseio, Guillaume de Polleio (Guillaume de Bray); Giacomo Stefaneschi (Latino Malabranca, codicil only); Leonardo Fieschi (Gerardus Blancus); Percivallus de Lavania (Ottobono Fieschi); Pandulphus de Sabello (Giacomo Stefaneschi 1308 will, Giovanni Boccamazza); Stefanus Jordanus de Insula in Urbe (Latino Malabranca). It is worth noting that, if the scope were broadened to include all executors who had previously been papal chaplains, or who would later become papal chaplains, the number would be twenty-eight.

²³ Pini, 'Il testamento «disperso»', p. 71.

Museum of Art, which Peregrusso commissioned for his Pozzuolo convent.²⁴ Executors were also guarantors for the testator of his soul's wellbeing after death: bequests in this field, such as the foundation of chantries or payments for masses to be sung annually for the deceased's soul, would be spiritually ineffective if left incomplete. Tasks entrusted to executors therefore required the highest administrative trustworthiness. Giacomo Stefaneschi went so far as to state explicitly the special trust he placed in those executors who had been his chaplains and householders.²⁵

The selection of executors was partly determined by the requirement that they be present at the moment of death for a will's effective execution. Consequently, most executors were curialists closely associated with the court, who could likely attend quickly in the event of a cardinal's impending death. This was more than regard for correct procedure. At the moment of death, the bonds of *obsequium* and *fidelitas* that united a cardinal's household could dissolve. Commonly, beneficiaries of money or material gifts bequeathed in return for personal service to a cardinal only received the bequest if they remained in the cardinal's household when he died. Consilius Gatto de Viterbo, before he became a papal chaplain, served as legate for Cardinal Bentivegna Bentivegni. The Cardinal left him ten gold florins and two tunics, which he would not receive if he left the Cardinal's household before the latter's death.²⁶ On the death of Pietro Collemezzo,

²⁴ For the Metropolitan Museum's acquisition of Peregrusso's cross, see: Gardner, J., 'French patrons abroad and at home: 1260–1300', in Bolgia, McKitterick & Osborne (eds.), *Rome Across Time and Space: Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas, c. 500–1400* (Cambridge: CUP, 2011), p. 277; Rorimer, J. J., 'Acquisitions for the Cloisters', *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series, vol. 11, no. 10 (1952–53), pp. 276, 278.

²⁵ "Executores facio... dilectos capellanos et familiares meos antiquos... de quibus habeo fiduciam specialem.", Paravicini Bagliani, *Testamenti*, p. 443.

²⁶ "Item fratri Consilio X flor. auri, et due tunice nostre de inferioribus, si in nostra familia inveniatur tempore [mortis] nostre", Paravicini Bagliani, *Testamenti*, p. 239.

the dissolution of these bonds had more nefarious effect: after his accidental death at Assisi in 1253 his householders attempted to plunder his estate.²⁷

Cardinals' choices of executors were clearly made with great care, so selection criteria are very revealing. Unlike their witnesses, cardinals' testamentary executors could be and often were chosen from among their cardinal colleagues. Of the whole corpus in question, only the wills of Paltanieri, Jean Cholet, Tomasso d'Ocre and Giacomo Colonna had no cardinal executors. Executors were otherwise members of the cardinal's own household and family (the latter were usually also clerics of high rank and notable curialists), and high curial functionaries; especially papal chaplains, papal penitentiaries, and papal notaries.

In addition to their charismatic status, already discussed, the select group of papal chaplains who were named as cardinals' executors either shared close family or professional ties with the testator, or – hindsight providing an overview of their careers – were exceptional administrators. Some had all three attributes. Bernardus Roiardi, named executor of Giacomo Stefaneschi's 1308 will, had been the Cardinal's own chaplain and householder. He had been a papal auditor on numerous occasions since 1301, had been entrusted with negotiating the recovery from Campania in 1302–3 of the papal treasure stolen from Anagni in 1297, and was noted as a counsellor of Edward I of England in 1306. His death before 1320 prevented him from fulfilling his role as executor: indeed, Stefaneschi had to select anew all but one of the executors for his codicil of 1329, the previous appointees having died.²⁸ Giacomo Stefaneschi, who was still a papal chaplain when named executor of Latino Malabranca's codicil in 1294, was

²⁷ Oliget, L., *Liber exemplorum fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII*, Antonianum, 2 (1927), p. 247, cit. in Paravicini Bagliani, *Testamenti*, p. 11, n. 1.

²⁸ Edition of the 1329 Stefaneschi codicil in Paravicini Bagliani, *Testamenti*, p. 447.

one of the most powerful and culturally-active curialists of his time.²⁹ He became Cardinal Deacon of San Giorgio in Velabro the very next year, and as cardinal was testamentary executor of the wills of Francesco Orsini (1304) and Luca Fieschi (1336).³⁰ Guillaume de Esseio, executor of Guillaume de Bray's 1282 will, had been a clerk, counsellor, *familiaris* and doctor of Charles of Anjou in 1277–8.³¹ Leonardo Fieschi, executor in Gerardus Blancus' 1302 will, was himself a notable Fieschi of the family's preeminent Genoese branch, a nephew of the Fieschi Pope Hadrian V (12 July–18 August 1276), and a longstanding aide to Blancus.³² At Saint Germain des Prés in September 1290, he witnessed the composition proposed by Gerardus Blancus and Benedict Caetani as cardinal legates between the archbishop and chapter of Lyon, which established the archbishop's temporal jurisdiction over the chapter in the city of Lyon.³³ Fieschi was generously provided with significant benefices: by 1295 he held no fewer than eleven.³⁴ Percivallus de Lavania, named executor in the 1275 will of Ottobono Fieschi (later Hadrian V), was also Ottobono's brother and nephew of Innocent IV (1243–54).³⁵ He was a longstanding papal chaplain (first attested as such in 1264), was with Ottobono Fieschi when the Cardinal met Charles of Anjou and Edward I at Ceprano in 1273, had been a candidate for the vacant archbishopric of Genoa in 1274, and, as the Cardinal's brother, received a bequest of a fief in Vigolo and other property in

²⁹ Edition of the 1294 Malabranca codicil in *ibid.*, pp. 268–70.

³⁰ Orsini will in *ibid.*, pp. 340–51; Luca Fieschi will in *ibid.*, pp. 451–8.

³¹ Filangieri, R. (ed.), *I registri della cancelleria Angioina*, vol. 19 (1277–1278), Testi e documenti di storia napoletana pubblicati dall'Accademia pontiniana, 19 (Naples: L'Accademia, 1964), p. 267 (Reg. lxxxi, no. 574). Partial edition of the de Bray will (now lost) in della Valle, G., *Storia del Duomo di Orvieto* (Rome, 1791), p. 83, cit. in Paravicini Bagliani, *Testamenti*, pp. 34–5.

³² Only a fragment Gerardus Blancus' will survives, as a copy of thirty-four of his bequests in an executorial act in Parma's Archivio di Stato, which is edited in *ibid.*, pp. 336–9.

³³ *Reg. Nic. IV*, 6949–50.

³⁴ He held canonries in Paris, Chartres, Cambrai, Bayeux, Lisieux, Coutances, Avranches and Genoa, was secular prior of St Cosmas du Mont (Coutances), provost of San Salvatore di Lavania (Genoa) and secular provost of Bruges.

³⁵ Edition of Ottobono Fieschi will in Paravicini Bagliani, *Testamenti*, pp. 142–63.

Parma and Corneo.³⁶ Pandulfus de Sabello, executor in Giacomo Stefaneschi's 1308 will and Giovanni Boccamazza's 1309 will, was Stefaneschi's nephew and, although not administratively energetic (his only administrative appearance in the papal registers is as a notary in 1304), was generously endowed with benefices.³⁷ His Savelli family pedigree made him an ideal executor of Giovanni Boccamazza, whose family history was intertwined with the Savelli.³⁸ Latino Malabranca's choice of Stefanus Jordanus de Insula in Urbe as executor was based not on family but household loyalty, for this papal chaplain was his household chamberlain.³⁹ Furthermore, the chamberlain's Roman provenance, evident from his name, and ties with Matteo Rosso Orsini and Napoleano Orsini, who presented him for the benefice of Santa Maria in Poggibonsi, confirmed by Boniface VIII in 1298, suggest this was a papal chaplain who moved in elevated circles.⁴⁰

The proportion of papal chaplain executors who advanced to the cardinalate or episcopate is small compared to the proportion among all papal chaplains. Only one of these chaplain executors, Giacomo Stefaneschi, became a cardinal. Only two became bishops: Bernardus Roiardi (bishop of Arras from 1316), and Leonardo Fieschi (bishop of Catania from 1314). This seems a highly plausible sign that cardinals avoided selecting their executors from the higher-status members of the papal chapel, whose future career progression might prevent their presence at the curia at the cardinal's death. (Unlike

³⁶ "...item Vigolonum cum his que habeo in civitate et diocesi Parmensi, item terras et possessiones quas habeo in Corneto et districtu, Precivallus, frater meus, habeat et teneat in vita sua...", *ibid.*, p. 154.

³⁷ Edition of the Boccamazza will at *ibid.*, pp. 353–82. See above, n. 28 for the Stefaneschi codicil.

³⁸ Traces of the Savelli-Boccamazza connection among cardinals' testamentary executors extended even to benefices in England. Cinthius de Pinea, executor in Onorio Savelli (Honorius IV)'s will, held canonries and prebends in Farndon and Balderton (York) from at least 16 August 1285 until Pandulfus de Sabello, executor of Giovanni Boccamazza's will, succeeded him in these benefices on 28 July 1287. ('Prebendaries: Farnham-cum-Balderton', *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300: volume 3: Lincoln* (1977), pp. 69–70.)

³⁹ For edition of Malabranca's 1294 codicil see above, n. 29. For further discussion of Malabranca's executors, see immediately below, p. 118–9.

⁴⁰ *Reg. Bon. VIII*, 2745.

witnesses, whose personal presence was not again required after the legally valid completion of a testament unless they were called upon again to witness codicils, executors' presence was required at the time of the testator's death, as mentioned above.) Two of the three chaplain-executors who were exceptions to this pattern, Fieschi and Stefaneschi, were from the innermost Roman nepotistic circles, which may have overridden the risk of selecting these extremely high-status chaplains.

In addition to trust, *obsequium* and papal chaplain's inherent prestige and charisma, a further, practical, factor for the selection of papal chaplains as executors was pure administrative expediency. Cardinal Latino Malabranca's codicil of 1294 (his will has not yet been recovered) was almost exclusively concerned with gifts of his own house and its appurtenances to St Peter's in Rome. Revenues of the estate were to finance the foundation in St Peter's of a feast of the ordination and election of Pope Gregory IV and a feast of St Dominic, with monetary distributions to the church's clergy on these feasts and on Sundays.⁴¹ All this was intended to aid the Cardinal's passage past the Apostle Peter and into Heaven.⁴² Giacomo Stefaneschi, one of only three executors in Malabranca's codicil, was canon of St Peter's, which surely influenced his selection as an executor, and certainly meant that he was responsible for overseeing these financial transactions. He was, by implication, also responsible for the fulfilment of the Cardinal's efforts to secure his soul's salvation. Malabranca left his third executor unnamed: it was to be his chamberlain at the time of his death. As administrative head of the Cardinal's

⁴¹ The bequests are summarised in the Vatican basilica's *Liber Anniversariorum*: "Ob d. Latinus Ostiensis ep., qui multum dilexit.... n. bas. et familiam ipsius, qui donavit nobis palatium suum cum claustro, domibus, et vineis, posita iuxta eccl. S. Michaelis, mandans quod camera n. distribuat inter cann. et benef. .i. fl. au., de fructibus dictorum palatii, claustrum, domorum et vinearum." Egidi, P. (ed.), *Necrologi e libri affini della provincia di Roma*, vol. 1: *Necrologi della città di Roma*, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, 44 (Rome: Forzani, 1908), pp. 240–1. See also obit entries on the relevant feast days: *ibid.*, pp. 191, 239, 247.

⁴² "... ut ipse beatus Apostolus meritis et precibus suis pandat michi ingressum in domum celestem, cuius est claviger.", Paravicini Bagliani, *Testamenti*, p. 269.

household, the chamberlain would be best placed of all to oversee the estate's dispersal. When Malabranca died in 1294, this was still the chamberlain named in the codicil itself: Stefanus Jordanus de Insula in Urbe, also a papal chaplain. Either he or Stefaneschi, if they were executors of the original will too, may have dealt with a bequest of liturgical books and paraments and alms for the poor to the convent of San Domenico in Orvieto.⁴³ Since, from its proximity to his death, Malabranca's codicil was apparently written *in articulo mortis*, the Cardinal probably knew that Stefanus Jordanus would most likely still be his chamberlain. Indeed, the prestige of Stephanus' papal chaplaincy may have factored in his employment and retention as Malabranca's chamberlain. But the naming of one's chamberlain as executor is common to several cardinals' wills: Malabranca's choice was a meeting of two complementary motives.⁴⁴

On one occasion, proximity of kin was the overriding factor. In a significant pious bequest, Ottobono Fieschi left a precious relic, a finger of John the Baptist, to Notre Dame of Paris.⁴⁵ If the gift was not precious enough already, its symbolic importance increased when Ottobono Fieschi became pope, as Hadrian V. Percivallus de Lavania, the Pope's only brother, took responsibility for this prized item. Notre Dame's own archive contains several attestations by cardinals and other curialists that in August 1278 the papal chaplain Percivallus de Lavania personally delivered a "*digitum S. Iohannis Baptiste*" housed in a gilded silver reliquary to a canon of Paris, to a *magister* Roberto de Bergencuria, according to the wishes of the departed Hadrian V.⁴⁶ The bequest of the finger was accompanied by 200 *lib. tur.* for the deceased's anniversary, and a gift of

⁴³ Viel, A. M. & Girardin, P. M. (eds.), *Chronique du couvent des Prêcheurs d'Orvieto*, (Rome: Agnesotti, 1907), p. 35.

⁴⁴ Ottobono Fieschi, for example, did likewise: "Executores meos relinquo... et camerarium meum quem habuero...", Paravicini Bagliani, *Testamenti*, p. 161.

⁴⁵ "Item Parisiensi ecclesie lego... digitum Sancti Iohannis Baptiste.", *ibid.*, p. 147.

⁴⁶ Paris, Archives Nationales, MSs L 463 n. 76; L 463 n. 77; L 463 n. 86; L 463 n. 87, cit. in Paravicini Bagliani, *Testamenti*, p. 147.

vestments: a chasuble (*casula*), a dalmatica and a tunic (*tunicella*). Ottobono had named Percivallus his chief executor, responsible for all his testamentary dispositions, always assisted by at least two other executors.⁴⁷ Trust, family connection, individual prestige and the competence of the executor (Percivallus had an extremely active curial career) all united in support of the fact that this was the Cardinal's closest kin.

Certain papal chaplain executors found themselves handling matters of diplomatic delicacy. In August 1276, as executor of Hadrian V's will, Percivallus de Lavania found himself responsible for a collection of precious stones belonging to the English crown – known as the “*rubini balasi*” – from among the dead Pope's possessions. De Lavania sought advice from Edward I's proctor at the curia, Henry of Newark, who wrote to the King from Viterbo on 9 September that year, on the recommendation of the abbot of Westminster, Richard de Ware, seeking royal instruction on the matter.⁴⁸ In a more diffuse task, Pandulphus de Sabello was expressly appointed arbitrator by Giovanni Boccamazza for any disputes between family beneficiaries over the contents of the Cardinal's will.⁴⁹ This was no small task given that Boccamazza appointed as his universal heirs for immovable assets no fewer than ten of his nephews, by three different brothers, including the well-connected, generously-beneficed papal chaplain Giacomo Boccamazza di Savelli.⁵⁰ Pandulphus was also charged with distributing Boccamazza's

⁴⁷ “Et volo quod duo ex ipsis cum Precivale predicto possint predicta omnia executioni mandare, ita quod non sit conditio occupantis.”, *ibid.*, p. 161.

⁴⁸ London, National Archives, SC 1, ‘Ancient Correspondence of the Chancery and the Exchequer’, vol. 19, no. 152, cit in. Kern, F. (ed.), *Acta Imperii Angliae et Franciae ab anno 1267 ad annum 1313* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1911; repr. Hildesheim-New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1973), p. 5, no. 8

⁴⁹ Paravinici Bagliani, *Testamenti*, pp.379–80.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 364.

books of canon and civil law among the clerical students of canon and civil law from the same group of male relatives.⁵¹

As a consequence of this assembled testamentary activity, papal chaplains as cardinals' executors left an important mark on the cultural landscape of the time. Julian Gardner has noted that the papal chaplains Guillaume de Esseio and Guillaume de Polleio, executors of Guillaume de Bray's will, were responsible for overseeing the Cardinal's tomb in San Domenico at Orvieto after his death in 1282. De Esseio's connection with the Angevin court may even have been the reason for the choice of Arnolfo di Cambio as the tomb's sculptor, Arnolfo having been active previously in Angevin court circles.⁵² Thus as testamentary executors, the two papal chaplains were responsible for a monument accepted as a truly pioneering case in thirteenth-century Roman tomb design.⁵³

A similar case, not previously noted by scholars, concerns the aforementioned Percivallus de Lavania as executor in the will of Ottobono Fieschi, which was enacted after his death as Pope Hadrian V. Since the will specified that Percivallus was to oversee all its dispositions, assisted by two other executors, there can be little doubt that Percivallus

⁵¹ "Item relinquo libros meos iuris canonici et civilis nepotibus et pronepotibus meis clericis, descendentibus ex fratribus meis masculis, studentibus in iure canonico vel civili, secundum discretionem domini Pandulphi de Sabello, alioquin vendantur et dentur pro anima mea.", *ibid.* p. 362.

⁵² Gardner, J., 'French patrons abroad and at home', p. 266.

⁵³ "It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of Arnolfo's design for the tomb of Cardinal Guillaume de Bray... A thoroughly novel programme informs the Orvieto tomb. The dramatic content has received a heightened change... Arnolfo di Cambio... appears to have been the first Italian sculptor to have worked out the upper level group in three dimensions, and this formulation was of seminal importance for the future... the de Bray monument is an essentially novel creation. The integration of effigy zone and upper register composition as successive stages in the salvation of Cardinal de Bray are crucial for subsequent development.... (the) tomb must have set new levels of expense.", Gardner, J., *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), pp. 100–1. For full discussion of the de Bray monument see *ibid.*, pp. 97–102.

had a hand in Hadrian V's magnificent tomb.⁵⁴ The tomb was designed and built some two decades after the former Cardinal's death as Hadrian V, not in Genoa cathedral as he would have preferred, but in the church of San Francesco at Viterbo in accordance with the qualifying disposition that he be buried in the nearest Franciscan church, should he die outside the Genoa region.⁵⁵ The monument is rich in innovative detail and, as Gardner has observed, the detail of the regalia in which the recumbent pope is vested must have been the brainchild of the tomb's executor or sculptor. As in several other cases, this is another example of a curialist just below the top echelon of his society taking responsibility for artistic commissions that were instrumental in stylistic change in art in the Roman milieu. Additionally, since he was Hadrian V's chief executor, Percivallus' death at Rome shortly before 22 April 1290 plausibly provides a *terminus post quem* for the problematic question of the tomb's exact dating, not yet resolved by art historians.⁵⁶

5.5.3 BENEFICIARIES

A select band of incumbent papal chaplains were beneficiaries of cardinals' wills. Bequests to them took only four forms: gifts in cash, precious items, books, and legacies in property. These intimate, personal gifts are of quite different nature to gifts to ecclesiastical foundations because, above all, they rewarded loyal service and familial affection. They also reveal that the papal chaplains who received these legacies were from the heart of Roman aristocratic networks, providing additional insight into the

⁵⁴ "Et volo quod duo ex ipsis cum Precivale predicto possint predicta Omnia executioni mandare, ita quod non sit melior conditio occupantis.", Paravicini Bagliani, *Testamenti*, p. 161.

⁵⁵ "... sepulturam eligo in cathedrali ecclesia Ianuensi, ubi ipsius Precursoris diu cineres conservantur..."; "Item volo, quod si extra districtum Ianuense me mori contigerit, quod corpus meum ponatur in ecclesia fratrum Minorum si ibi fuerit...", *ibid.*, p. 143. Hadrian V died at Viterbo on 18 August 1276.

⁵⁶ For discussion of the problematic dating, see Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara*, pp. 72–4.

mechanisms that bound the political *cum* ecclesiastical networks amongst a core of Italian baronial families attached to the curia.

Bequests of books were among the most powerful statements of personal esteem and affection a cardinal could make in his will. Cardinals' libraries themselves are rich witnesses to intellectual culture at the curia. The wholesale movement of entire libraries between curialists also testifies to their desirability as market items.⁵⁷ Book bequests represent only a fraction of cardinals' libraries: wills were not the place to inventory a library, but to specify the *post obitum* destination of especially significant items. Percivallus de Lavania received a glossed Bible, formerly the property of the papal notary Alberto da Parma, in his brother Ottobono Fieschi's will. It was, the Fieschi will states, Alberto da Parma's wish that Percivallus have it as a keepsake of his brother. Ottobono also bequeathed to his nephew, Alberto de Flisco de Lavania, a glossed Bible that formerly belonged to Innocent IV, which, Ottobono stated, Innocent had used himself. Ottobono also left his nephew a copy of Innocent IV's *Apparatus in quinque libros decretalium* that had likewise belonged to that Pope.⁵⁸ These were books of the highest value; presumably display copies of the Bible used in the Cardinal's personal chapel, and Innocent IV's very own copy of his celebrated work on canon law. Similar bequests of prestige books took place between cardinals themselves, and between cardinals and their

⁵⁷ For curial libraries, see Paravicini Bagliani, A., 'Testamenti e biblioteche cardinalizie duecentesche', in *ibid.* (ed.), *Il potere del papa. Corporeità, autorappresentazione, simboli*, Millennio Medievale, 78. Strumenti e simboli, 21 (Florence: Sismel, 2009), pp. 355–72; *ibid.*, 'Le biblioteche dei cardinali Pietro Peregrino (†1295) e Pietro Colonna (†1326)', *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte*, 64 (1970), pp. 104–39; Mather, R., 'The Codicil of Cardinal Comes of Casate and the Libraries of Thirteenth-century Cardinals', *Traditio*, 20 (1964), pp. 319–350; Mercati, A., 'I codici di Cristoforo Tolomei, priore di Saltiano, in pegno presso il cardinale Pietro Peregrino (1295)', *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, 41 (1934), pp. 13–37.

⁵⁸ "Item Precivali, fratri meo, do Bibliam que fuit magistri Alberti notarii, glosatam in uno volumine, cum onere suo quod post semper habeat eum aliquis de genere meo, sicut idem notarius voluit.", Paravicini Bagliani, *Testamenti*, pp. 150–151; "Item Albertino, filio domini Nicolai fratris mei, do Bibliam que fuit domini Innocentii, qua utor, cum glossis parvulis, et Decretales cum Apparatu domini Innocentii que fuerunt ipsius domini.", *ibid.*, p. 152.

family members. Cardinal Leonardo da Guarcino bequeathed a large bound Bible to Cardinal Francesco Caetani. To his nephew, the papal notary Leonardo da Guarcino, he left a Bible in gallic script, Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, Petrus Lombardus' *Liber Sententiarum*, and a volume comprising four books of Augustine.⁵⁹ Cardinal Guillelmus Longhi left to Martino d'Ivrea his '*librum Gregorii super Egiptielem*' (possibly Gregory the Great's letter to Abbot Melitus mentioned in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book 1 Chapter 30) purchased from the post obitum sale of Papiano della Rovere's moveable goods. Longhi had also bought a volume of St Augustine's sermons from della Rovere's executors, for twenty-four florins (together with certain other books), which he left to Mateus, son of his kinsman Bonhominus de Canali, along with a volume of patristic texts or readings and his small Bible.⁶⁰ The predominant characteristic of these cardinals' book bequests to chaplains is family connection: the Bible left to Percivallus de Lavania to preserve the memory of his brother; Ottobono Fieschi's attempt to keep prestigious books from the personal collection of his uncle, Innocent IV, within the Fieschi family by leaving them to his own nephew. In contrast with other books, which could be gifted to ecclesiastical institutions or sold, these items had personal, hereditary value: they constituted a part of the family legacy, strong evidence of the sense that one generation inherited the intellectual patrimony of its forebears in addition to name and material inheritance.

⁵⁹ "Item relinquo reverendo in Christo patri domino Francisco Sancte Marie in Cosmedin d[iacono] cardinali Bibliam meam magnam cum coperto[rio...] que est penes venerabilem virum dominum Leonardum domini pape notarium, nepotem meum...", *ibid.*, p. 389; "Item relinquo eidem domino Leonardo, domini pape notario... Bibliam meam parvam de littera gallicana, Istorias Scolasticas, librum Sententiarum, et quator libros Augustini [in uno] volumine.", *ibid.*, pp. 389–90.

⁶⁰ "Item magistro Martino librum Gregorii super Egiptielem quem emimus nuper ab executoribus episcopi Parmensis.", *ibid.*, p. 417; "Item de predictis libris nostris legamus Matheo, filio Bonom(ini) de Canali Bibliam nostram minorem, et librum sermonum sancti Augustini quem emimus ab executoribus episcopi Parmensis pro viginitiquatuor flor. Cum quodam alio libro, et librum de colacionibus patrum, qu<i> penes se, quem sibi concessimus ad usum." *ibid.*, p. 415.

Cardinals' wills are littered with bequests of individual objects such as items of sacramentalia and vestments, so it is notable that papal chaplains only appear twice as beneficiaries of such bequests. One bequest, to Consilius Gatto de Viterbo, is discussed in the following paragraph. The other was the gift by Cardinal Giovanni Boccamazza of a ring valued at twenty-five florins to his executor Pandulphus de Sabello. Indeed, rings of the same value were left to all Boccamazza's executors.⁶¹ Similarly to the aforementioned book bequests, made within the testator's close family, the giving of rings was a deeply honorific gesture, usually made only to the testator's family members, to other cardinals, or indeed to the pope himself.⁶² Twenty-five florins, furthermore, was a considerable sum. Boccamazza's other executors were Cardinal Niccolo Albertini da Prato, two representatives of the major religious houses in Rome (the prior of the Dominican house of Santa Maria Minerva and the guardian of the Franciscan house of Santa Maria in Aracoeli), and one of his former chaplains, the Dominican friar Scambio da Viterbo. All these remaining executors were members of religious orders. The ring-

⁶¹ "Item cuilibet exequutorum meorum relinquo unum anulum valoris vigintiquinque flor.", *ibid.*, p. 381.

⁶² Ottobono Fieschi gave one of his best rings to each of his brothers Nicolaus, Fredericus and Albertus, to his nephew Thedisio, and to his sisters Beatrice Fieschi, countess of Savoy, Margareta, marchioness of Carreto, and Agneta, also marchioness of Carretto: "Item dominis Nicolao, Frederico et Alberto, fratribus meis, et Thedisio, nepoti meo, item B., comitisse Sabaudie, item M., marchionisse de Carreto, et domine Agnete, sororibus meis, et cuilibet ipsorum fratrum et sororum meorum do unum anellum de meis melioribus.", *ibid.*, p. 152. (For Fieschi genealogy I rely on Schöpp, N., *Papst Hadrian V (Kardinal Ottobono Fieschi)* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters, 1916), p. 13). Bentivegna Bentivegni left his best ring '*cum balascio melior?*', which had belonged to Nicholas III, to Cardinal Giordano Orsini, and his ring with the best and most beautiful sapphire to Cardinal Girolamo Maschi. Both men were his testamentary executors: "Anulum nostrum cum balascio meliori, qui fuit felicitis recordationis domini Nicolai, relinquimus venerabili patri domino Iordano diacono cardinali. Anulum cum pulchriori et meliori sphero de nostris relinquimus venerabili patri domino I., episcopo Penestrino.", *ibid.*, p. 240. Hugues Aycelin left his best ring to Boniface VIII: "Sane legamus sanctissimo patri et domino nostro domino Bonifatio, divina providentia pape octavo... anulum meliorem quem habemus.", *ibid.*, p. 299. Francesco Orsini left rings to all incumbent cardinals, valued at no less than ten florins apiece: "Item relinquit omnibus dominis cardinalibus omnes anulos suos, et si dicti anuli non essent boni aut non sufficerent, voluit et mandavit quod emerentur boni, ad valorem ad minus decem flor. pro quolibet; ita quod quilibet dictorum cardinalium habet unum.", *ibid.*, p. 347. Guillelmo Longhi left his niece Verdina his everyday ruby ring; this distinct from the pearls to be divided equally between all three of his nieces: "Item tribus neptibus nostris Franzeschine, Verdine et Ghisline pernas nostras quas habemus separatas equaliter dividendas eas. Item predictae Verdine anulum nostrum rubinum quem portamus cotidie...", *ibid.*, p. 417.

giving probably had little to do with Pandulphus de Sabello's papal chaplaincy, but shows the esteem in which one of this select group of papal chaplain executors was held, in the company of a cardinal and brothers of religious orders, whose trustworthiness, as discussed above, came in part from their special religious status.

Monetary rewards for service in a cardinal's household or other important administrative service were among the canonically-sanctioned ways of redistributing ecclesiastical income, so were an important element in many cardinals' wills.⁶³ Gerardus Blancus left sixty-six florins to Bartholomeus de Cornazano who, like Leonardo Fieschi, had witnessed the Cardinal's composition between the Lyon archbishop and chapter at Saint Germain des Prés in September 1290, and had served as the Cardinal's legate again in 1302. Consilius Gatto de Viterbo received ten florins and two tunics, should he still be in Cardinal Bentivegna Bentivegni's household at the latter's death.⁶⁴ (Consilius almost certainly did receive this bequest: there is no indication that he had left the household before Bentivegni's death in 1290.) Goffredo d'Alatri left 18 *lib. tur. parv.* to Gregorius Judicis de Alatro, specified as commensurate with the nine years Gregorius had served as the Cardinal's chaplain.⁶⁵ The financial codification of personal merit, by status and length of service, was as Paravicini Bagliani observed, a new development in late thirteenth-century wills.⁶⁶

⁶³ As expressed in two of the most fully-expounded *licentiae testandi* used by the papal chancery: *Quia presentis vite conditio*: "pro remuneratione illorum qui tibi viventi servierint, sive sint consanguinei sive alii, iuxta servitii meritum, testari ac disponere possis..."; the *licentia 'Quoniam humane fragilitatis'* has minor variations to the same text that do not alter the meaning (Paravicini Bagliani, *Testamenti*, pp. lv–lvi).

⁶⁴ "Item fratri Consilio X flor. auri, et due tunice nostre de inferioribus, si in nostra familia inveniatur tempore [mortis] nostre.", *ibid.*, p. 239. The monetary bequest and covenant regarding membership of the cardinal's household is also mentioned above, p. 114.

⁶⁵ "Item domine Gregorio de Iudice, cappellano suo, XVIII libr. tur. parvorum pro VIII annis quibus stetit in servitio suo.", *ibid.*, p. 229.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, pp. cxvi–cxxxii.

Bequests in property fall into two kinds. The first comprise direct bequests to family members, intended to preserve dynastic control over patrimonial assets. They could be viewed as an applied use of familial affiliation to uphold control over patrimonial territories. Jacobus Boccamazza di Sabello was granted numerous portions of his uncle Giovanni Boccamazza's extensive estates, as one of the ten universal heirs in the Cardinal's will.⁶⁷ Likewise, Ottobono Fieschi left to his brother, Percivallus de Lavania, considerable family holdings: the *palazzii* of Trigoso and Roccatagliata and all other immobile assets in the city and diocese of Genoa (except the towers and houses of San Ambrosio of Genoa), in addition to the aforementioned fief of Vigolone, possessions in the city and diocese of Parma, and lands and possessions in the town and district of Corneto. These patrimonial holdings were secured with both a clause of inalienability and the covenant that after Percivallus' death they should pass to the eldest clerical son of Ottobono's other brother, Nicolaus count of Lavania.⁶⁸

The second type combined reward for service and practical necessity. Latino Malabranca left the income of his house and appurtenances to St Peter's in Rome, but granted Stefanus Jordanus de Insula in Urbe tenure of the house he had built, in his capacity as Malabranca's chamberlain, on the Cardinal's estate.⁶⁹ This act had several implications. It bestowed charity on one who had served the Cardinal in life, according to canonical directive, avoided the eviction of a notable Roman curialist, and probably also intentionally secured the continued administration of Malabranca's estate after his death by the very person who had been its chief administrator during his lifetime. As an aside,

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 364–8, 374.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p. 154.

⁶⁹ "In quo domum meam quam edificavi iuxta ecclesiam Sancti Michaelis Frisonum in portico Sancti Petri de Urbe, cum omnibus domibus, vineis, ortis et areis que circa ipsam habeo vel habiturus sum, preter domum quam Stephanus Iordani, camerarius meus, de voluntate mea edificavit in solo meo iuxta ipsam domum mean, relinquo basilice Principis Apostolorum de Urbe...", *ibid.*, p. 268.

this is also an important witness to papal chaplains' living arrangements. Stefanus Jordanus, papal chaplain, was not always resident in the curial chaplaincy, but had a *domus* of his own very close to St Peter's.⁷⁰

5.6 CLOSING WORD

Cardinals' wills, and the exchanges of mobile and immobile assets they initiated, provide evidence of the partial unravelling and reforming of large portions of the economic capital that underlay curial society. These documents reveal both the spiritual and the worldly concerns of testators. The process of exchange was brought under papal authority by a legal framework striving for incontrovertibility, which enforced papal authority in an attenuated way through its formal procedure. Individuals' enactment of this procedure was, in turn, embroiled in the maintenance of nepotistic alliances – so ensuring the future security of noble patrimonies – and employed for symbolic gift-giving that rewarded recipients' administrative and personal service.

Papal chaplains' place in cardinals' wills reveals much about the legitimation of testamentary acts and the choices individuals made to negotiate exchanges between nepotistic affiliates. Papal chaplains' charismatically-derived power was evidently important, albeit not predominantly so, in the legitimation of wills. Proportionally few of the total number of papal chaplains appeared in cardinals' wills in any capacity and papal chaplains were a minority proportion of the total number of curialists in cardinals' wills. Yet, as agents at a crossover of charismatic authority inherited from the papacy's past as

⁷⁰ The Malabranca *domus* and its grounds were near the church of SS Michele e Magno in Borgo, as indicated in Malabranca's will (*ibid.*, p. 268) and the documents of purchase and sale of the land, preserved as Archivio del Capitolo di San Pietro, caps. LVII, fasc. 210, and published in *Collectionis Bullarum SS. Basilicae Vaticanae*, I (Rome: Typographus Pontificius Vaticanus, 1747), pp. 208–211 (Potthast, 22578).

a patrimonial structure and the increasingly (if never fully) bureaucratized structures of its future, papal chaplains' contribution to the landscape of will-making was indicative of their place in curial society. Through them, we see the intertwined dynamics of certain charismatically-derived manifestations of papal power and of the increasingly rationalized bureaucratic processes gaining ground at the curia, and their place in the reproduction of curial society.

CHAPTER SIX

THREE PAPAL CHAPLAINS' WILLS

6.1 FOREWORD

Papal chaplains' wills, like those of cardinals, constitute testators' instructions for the handing-down of accumulated wealth and possessions, and witness the social connections they accrued during their lifetimes. As with cardinals' wills, the legal constraints that governed the redistribution of assets, especially Church wealth and personal patrimonial legacies, could also be turned to personal advantage: beneath the most visible and strongly-controlled endowments lay covert means of transmission. Building on foregoing discussion of cardinals' wills, this chapter analyses the way papal chaplains' wills functioned in the reproduction of curial society. Beginning with an explanation of some important technicalities of papal chaplains' wills, this chapter then analyses bequests as means of societal reproduction, and the forms of capital exchange that lay behind them. The term 'reproduction' will be defined first. Then will follow analysis of the importance of the *licentia testandi* and selection of executors, and of specific types of bequest, namely: those to ecclesiastical institutions; to householders and relatives; of material goods and books; and of tomb and funeral provision.

6.2 SOURCES

A formal distinction must be made between wills written by incumbent papal chaplains and those written by former papal chaplains in higher office. That a papal chaplaincy

was so often a step on the way to a higher ecclesiastical position means that few wills exist for those who were papal chaplains at their time of death, the rest having died in other offices. A cardinal's will might well contain vestiges of his former career as a papal chaplain. But it is extremely difficult to distinguish assets accumulated as a papal chaplain from a testator's total estate when he wrote his will as a higher churchman; great circumspection is required when considering any traces in such wills of the testators' earlier careers as papal chaplains. Papal chaplains' wills are therefore defined here as those written by incumbent papal chaplains only.

Few who wrote a will as a papal chaplain could match their superiors' economic means. Only the papal chaplain Stephanus Surdus left a tomb of comparable magnificence to the finest cardinals' funerary monuments, though his will has not been recovered.¹ But transmission of assets from one generation to the next occurred at all echelons and the wills of papal chaplains, a tier below cardinals, are equally worthy of study for the methods used to hand over the accrued capital, economic and material, of a lifetime.

Various groups of papal chaplains could be studied to determine how their wills helped perpetuate society within their immediate milieu and through their curial connections. Papal chaplains from England, for example, or the Languedoc-Roussillon chaplain lawyers, could be studied as exemplar groups to identify local particularities in their bequests. Early analysis of wills surviving in central Italian archives suggested that surviving papal chaplains' wills must be spread throughout Europe's archives, to the extent that the field of search had to be pre-defined, knowing that it might only yield a small corpus of sources. Because the largest single group of papal chaplains,

¹ See Gardner, J., 'Arnolfo di Cambio and Roman Tomb Design', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 115, no. 844 (July 1973), pp. 430 & 432, n. 70; *ibid.*, *The Tomb and the Tiara* (1992), p. 51.

geographically defined, came from Rome and its satellite towns, and this region was also the focus of curial activity in this period, inquiry was directed to the wills of papal chaplains whose bequests affected the most central institutions of Rome and three of the most important surrounding towns: Orvieto, Anagni, and Viterbo.

As with cardinals' wills, the papacy did not automatically register papal chaplains' wills in the late thirteenth century. Indeed, there are no papal chaplains' wills in the registers of Nicholas IV, Celestine V, Boniface VIII and Benedict XI. The wills therefore had to be sought in the archives of beneficiary institutions, where a copy of a will or even a note of a bequest that profited the institution might have been kept. Even so, copies of wills were recorded and preserved sporadically, often without correlation to their importance. For example, the will of Rinaldo da Concorezzo, papal chaplain in 1295–6 before his election as bishop of Vicenza in 1296, was not registered in Vicenza cathedral's archive after his death on 3 August 1321, even though the archive contains his commissioners' *post obitum* inventory of his household.² The search for papal chaplains' wills would always yield sparse returns but the wills themselves are such revealing documents that bringing together even a few, especially since they never been studied comparatively, offers potential for interesting discoveries.

Accordingly, systematic searches of cartularies available in published editions, and of catalogues of the modern-day archives, from Rome and its surrounding towns revealed three complete wills: from Viterbo, Orvieto and Anagni.³ These wills – of Campano da

² Inventory edited in Caravita, R., *Rinaldo da Concorezzo. Archivescovo di Ravenna (1302–1321) al tempo di Dante* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1964), pp. 250–4.

³ For the institutional archives that yielded wills, the published sources are: Savignoni, P., 'L'archivio storico del comune di Viterbo', *ASRSP*, 18 (1895), pp. 5–50, 269–318, 19 (1896), pp. 5–42, 225–94, 20 (1897), pp. 4–43, 465–78; Egidi, P., 'L'archivio della cattedrale di Viterbo', *Bullettino dell'istituto storico italiano*, 27 (1906), pp. 7–382, 29 (1908), pp. 83–103; Fumi, L., *Codice diplomatico della città di Orvieto* (Florence: G. P. Vieusseux, 1884); *ibid.*, *Statuti e registri dell'opera di*

Novara, Pietro Colonna (not the Cardinal, but a homonymous nephew of his) and a papal chaplain, Stefano d’Anagni, who predates the study period but whose will is included for comparison and breadth of survey – are known to scholarship. Only Pietro Colonna’s is not available in modern edition, but only in an early twentieth-century publication of the register of the monastery of San Silvestro in Capite, which contains many silent editorial abridgements to the will, and an older edition of the will in a late eighteenth-century antiquarian history of Palestrina. The present discussion of the Colonna will is therefore based on first-hand study of a facsimile of the original manuscript.⁴ The three complete wills constitute this chapter’s source material.⁵

Unearthing papal chaplains’ wills in archives across Christendom for quantitative analysis of as many documents as possible would require the erudition and work of a lifetime. But qualitative analysis can still reveal what types of individual action were possible within the strictures imposed by canon law and custom, and indicates how individuals played their role in the reproduction of societies. Even a small number of individual

Santa Maria di Orvieto (Rome: Topografia Vaticana, 1891). Paschal Montaubin surveyed the unpublished cartulary of Anagni cathedral in Anagni’s *Archivio capitolare* for Montaubin, P., ‘Entre gloire curiale et vie commune: le chapitre cathédral d’Anagni au XIII^e siècle’, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Moyen-Âge*, 109 (1997), pp. 303–442.

⁴ Edited cited sections of the manuscript are provided in footnotes, with editorial capitalisation and punctuation, silent expansion of scribal abbreviations, except expansion of proper names indicated by round brackets (), editorial omissions indicated by square brackets [], lacunae indicated by round brackets surrounding full stops (...), line-ends in the manuscript marked with forward-slash /, and preserving the manuscript’s own orthography.

⁵ Pietro Colonna will: Archivio di Stato di Roma, MS, Roma-Clarisse in San Silvestro in Capite, Cassetta 39, ff. 171-171^v, ed. Federici, V., ‘Regesto del monasterio di S Silvestro de Capite’, *ASRSP*, 23 (1900), pp. 426–8. The older edition of the will is in Petrini, P., *Memorie Prenestine disposte in forma di annali* (Rome: Pagliarini, 1795), pp. 415–8. Campano da Novara *licentia testandi* and will: Viterbo, Biblioteca Comunale, Archivio Storico Diplomatico, MSs 3524 (*licentia testandi*) & 2533 (will), ed. Paravicini Bagliani, ‘Un matematico’ (1973), edition of *licentia testandi* at p. 120, edition of will at pp. 124–7. Stefano d’Anagni will: Archivio Capitolare d’Anagni, MS, Armadio I, fasc. IV, n. 292, ed. Caraffa, F., ‘Il testamento di Stefano d’Anagni cappellano di Alessandro IV (4 dicembre 1256)’, *ASRSP*, 104 (1981), pp. 97–117, edition of will at pp. 113–7. For further information on Stefano d’Anagni, see Mercantini, A., ‘Stephanus d’Anagnia, domini pape capellanus’, *Latium*, 11 (1994), pp. 113–90.

cases show how constituent parts of a legacy combined to form the economic, social, cultural, and spiritual landscape of a testator's heirs.

6.3 DEFINITIONS OF REPRODUCTION

Wills are exceptionally useful for the study of local structures underpinning societies attached to the curia, especially how they were reinforced and used as the means for the formation of further structures. These documents lay bare bonds between people and institutions that had been established and maintained in the course of a lifetime. A testator passed on the acquisitions of his life and career – his capital – for the establishment of future bonds by those around him. All members of a given group or society had to recognise the meaning of acts of transmission, or at least accept the importance of reproducing them with codified practices, if bonds were to be upheld, renewed and created by subsequent generations. Taking the movement of economic capital in money, land, and in some cases material goods as a study of the reproduction of these bonds, we see how the movement of economic capital allowed one's successors to recreate bonds for themselves. The way in which capital was passed on, and transformed from one form into another, reveals the parameters a society used to define itself; signs that were mutually-recognised by those who accepted them and relied on them to construct their society.

Strategies for passing on capital – for reproduction, to adopt explicitly Bourdieu's terminology – varied according to the type of capital concerned.⁶ Social capital, manifest

⁶ Bourdieu's main work on reproduction, focusing especially on the role of formal education, is Bourdieu, P. (with Passeron, J.-C.), *La Reproduction* (1970). The following relies heavily on Bourdieu's definitions of capital set out in Bourdieu, P., 'The forms of capital' in Richardson, J. G. (ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (New York: Greenwood, 1986), pp. 241–58.

explicitly in wills, consisted in interlinked and often institutionalised family and social networks, especially evident in individuals' and families' relationships with ecclesiastical institutions. Economic capital, too, was clearly manifest in wills. It took two forms: the first was wealth of family origin, the second Church-derived wealth. Clerics, although in theory only custodians and not owners of income received from the Church (primarily that from benefices), could still use Church wealth as a form of economic capital in wills. Cultural capital in its institutionalised state – material objects or media such as sculpture or texts, transmissible in their physical entirety – was manifest in bequests of books, items of treasure and provision for sculpted tombs.

A further form of capital appears in these wills, in cases when economic gifts were made to profit the spiritual afterlife of the testator and selected beneficiaries, directly converting economic capital into a form of symbolic capital which will be called 'spiritual capital'. Examples abound: its clearest examples are the foundation of a chantry, or bequests to an existing foundation – for masses to be sung for the testator's soul. Bequests made for the sake of spiritual capital are an interesting convergence of material and spiritual life, for many of these bequests, under the ostensible and socially-inculcated belief that they converted economic into spiritual capital, also perpetuated elements of curial society's economic infrastructure.

This methodological separation of distinct forms of capital in papal chaplains' wills assumes that spiritual capital is perceived and not real. Nonetheless, the spiritual legitimation of making a will was of overwhelming importance since it constrained testators' possible actions in every bequest. Papal legitimation of papal chaplains' wills must therefore be examined first.

6.4 PAPAL CHAPLAINS' *LICENTIAE TESTANDI*

Papal chaplains, like cardinals, obtained *licentiae testandi* in an attempt to guarantee control of their testamentary bequests in case they died at the curia. However, individuals did not always follow procedure for legitimation of their wills correctly. Even in the fourteenth century, when curial procedure for the administration and collection of spoils by collector or special commissioner reached a standardised state not evident in the thirteenth century, curialists, including papal chaplains, were still caught out.⁷ Former papal chaplain Bernardus Roiardi, who died as bishop of Arras in 1320 and had obtained a *licentia testandi* on 1 February of the same year, exceeded the terms of his licence, and his brother had to pay the curia five hundred florins.⁸ Pandulphus de Sabello obtained a *licentia testandi* in 1318, but for lack of a will or papal overruling of the licence, the curia still reckoned accounts of his spoils in 1335.⁹ Successful use of the *licentia* and will-making protocol depended entirely on individual acumen and action and was not institutionally-guaranteed.

The point at which papal chaplains sought their *licentiae*, in the absence of formalised practice, is therefore a good guide to their individual concerns. Of this project's total corpus of two hundred and forty-six chaplains, thirty-six paid the registration fee for their *licentia testandi* (hence their licence was recorded in the papal register). Appendix Five, Figure One includes the date on which each of these thirty-six chaplains' *licentiae*

⁷ For administration and documentation of spoils in the fourteenth century, see Williman, D., *The Right of Spoil of the Popes of Avignon, 1316–1415*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 78/6 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1988), pp. 19–22.

⁸ Göller, E. (ed), *Die Einnahmen der apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII*, Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung, 1316–1378, 1 (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1910), p. 309. See also Mollat, G., 'A propos du droit de dépouille', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 29 (1933), p. 320.

⁹ *Jean XXII (1316–1334). Lettres communes analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*, eds. Mollat, G. & de Lesquen. G., BEFAR (Paris: Fontemoing, 1905, vol. 2, 7486 (*licentia testandi*); ASV, MS *Collectoriae* 29, f. 199^v, cit. Williman, *Right of Spoil*, p. 190.

were registered: the date of registration may immediately be compared against (when known) the date of appointments as cardinals, bishops or archbishops, and date of death. Sixteen of these *licentiae* were issued within five years of the applicant's promotion to a bishopric, archbishopric, or to the cardinalate; indeed, the majority of these within between one and two years of the promotion. A further five papal chaplains obtained their *licentia* less than a year before their death: very likely they sought it in the knowledge that death approached.

In addition to these registered *licentiae*, we should also consider the *licentiae* of Campano da Novara and Stefano d'Anagni, which were recorded in their wills but not registered.¹⁰ Nicholas IV issued Campano's *licentia* on 10 June 1278, eighteen years before the chaplain's death in 1296.¹¹ The *licentia*'s date does not correspond to a significant promotion, but may well have been a gesture to mark the protection of Cardinal Gerardus Blancus, Campano's executor and universal heir, which Campano acquired in 1278 on Blancus' elevation to the cardinalate. Stefano d'Anagni's *licentia* was issued on 9 November 1255, just over a year before Stefano made his will on 4 December 1256.¹² Stefano died in 1257, the year of his final appearance in the papal register, or soon thereafter. He probably requested his *licentia* and made his will in the knowledge that he had not long to live.

A general but important observation may be drawn from this information. Curialists whose careers included time in the papal chapel, and who were concerned to guarantee a record of their will's validity by paying the chancery registration fee, sought a *licentia*

¹⁰ Pietro Colonna's will does not contain a copy of his *licentia testandi*, nor was the license registered. An unknown number of further, unregistered, *licentiae testandi* were without doubt granted to other papal chaplains.

¹¹ Paravicini Bagliani, 'Un matematico', p. 120.

¹² Caraffa, 'Il testamento', p. 114.

testandi at career milestones when increases in personal wealth and in spiritual authority made papal legitimization of a will highly desirable.

A future testator most often sought his *licentia* many years before obtaining an official copy of his will: acquisition of a *licentia* immediately before drawing up a will was far less common. Except for occasional cases when curialists sought a *licentia* immediately before writing a will on the brink of death, seeking a *licentia* does not therefore imply immediate preoccupation with one's estate *post mortem*. Instead, for those who sought their *licentia* soon after a major ecclesiastical promotion, it should be considered a preparation arising from awareness of current or future increase in one's estate and perhaps, with elevation to greater spiritual authority, an increased sense of responsibility for the successful disposition of spiritual affairs. On a practical level, obtaining a *licentia testandi* signals concern for individual control over the afterlife of what had been accumulated in the course of a career, and an understanding of the administrative processes necessary for legitimization.

Papal legitimization of curialists' wills certainly facilitated means of reproduction, but not always in the canonically-intended manner. Legitimation relied on universal application of canon law: as it applied to cardinals, so too it applied to chaplains. As among cardinals, a chaplain's *licentia testandi* authorised him to use his personal discretion in the testamentary division of Church and personal assets. It must be stated that adherence to bureaucratic procedure in the acquisition of a *licentia testandi* was not a failsafe way to secure legitimating papal authority. The overarching meta-authority of papal plenitude of power could on occasion rise above canon law. In the late thirteenth century, the papacy was formalising its authority to overrule law and, in selected cases, exercise the papal

right of spoil despite the presence of a *licentia testandi* and will.¹³ Nonetheless, in general terms, adherence to bureaucratic procedure implied the appropriation of the papacy's spiritual authority so that, in theory, testamentary bequests were always spiritually proper. However, the law could be used for personal advantage, and papal authority used to legitimate the transmission of family as well as Church patrimony. Analysis of the choices papal chaplains made within the constraints imposed by canon law will show how papal legitimation of bequests constrained reproduction in curial society, but could also be appropriated to legitimate unsanctioned forms of reproduction.

6.5 EXECUTORS AND COMMISSIONERS

Legitimation of a will was of no practical consequence unless its executors carried out its dispositions successfully, so selection of executors was of the highest importance. Although a global survey of papal chaplains' executors in a large corpus of wills is not possible, studying individual testators' criteria in their choice of executors reveals their concerns very strongly. Interestingly, there was little consistency between the three wills studied here regarding the people selected for the final reckoning and administration of a papal chaplain's estate.

¹³ Williman identified that Boniface VIII's chancery began using the principle of unspecified 'reasonable cause' to justify papal appropriation of spoils above and beyond the strict terms of the law as early as 3 February 1296 (Williman, *Right of Spoil*, p. 17). The idea of 'reasonable cause' reached full expression in Boniface VIII's decretal *Praesenti* (1298), when it was used to define certain conditions by which a cleric could identify property that was exempt from the obligation to return goods somehow pertaining to a benefice to the Church.: 'Such goods ought to be spent in ways useful to the churches, or faithfully preserved for the successors, unless it is determined that this right belongs to them by special privilege or by custom already legitimately prescribed, *or for another reasonable cause.*' [italics mine], *Sexti Decretalium*, I, 16, 9 in Friedberg (ed.), *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2nd ed. (1959), vol. 2, pp. 989–90, trans. Williman, *The Right of Spoil*, p. 10. For full discussion of the papacy's use of this principle to justify the right of spoil, see *ibid.*, pp. 13–8.

Stefano d'Anagni named four executors of wide-ranging status. Two shared professional affiliation with Anagni cathedral: Nicola, bishop of Anagni and Rinaldo, sacrist and canon of Anagni cathedral. A third was one of the highest-ranking curial officers: the papal chamberlain Nicola de Anagni, who had himself been a papal chaplain and subdeacon under Innocent IV.¹⁴ The fourth, much lower in status, was a local cleric, magister Giacomo, clerk of Piperno.¹⁵ Stefano's choice of the pre-eminent churchman in the diocese of Anagni – the bishop – brought the cachet of episcopal status. Most likely, bequests to the cathedral would have been administered not by the bishop but by the sacrist and canon Rinaldo; hence the second choice. The papal chamberlain brought both administrative proficiency and a high-status connection to the curia. He was also, in his elevated position at the heart of curial administration, well-placed to oversee Stefano's many bequests to Lazio's ecclesiastical foundations. The local cleric Giacomo was well-placed to carry out administrative legwork at grassroots level. Beyond these concerns, is noteworthy that Stefano's professional or personal affiliation with Anagni's bishop and the papal chamberlain were sufficiently strong for him to impose the burden of testamentary execution on them. Concern in Stefano's lifetime for affiliation with high-status members of Rome and Lazio's ecclesiastical community paid off in his will.

Campano da Novara's selection of executors showed similar concern for prestige and expediency, though manifest differently. He named Cardinal Gerardus Blancus and his own *domicellus* Petruccio his executors; choices both practical and tactical.¹⁶ Blancus' position as executor reinforced his role as protector of two important clauses in the will:

¹⁴ *Reg. Inn. IV*, 3395, 3729, 3958, 4613, 7851.

¹⁵ "... per fidei-commissarios infrascriptos, scilicet venerabilem patrem dominum Nicolaum episcopum Anagninum, dominum Nicolaum domini pape camerarium, dompnum Raynaldum sacristam et canonicum Angninum et magistrum Iacobum clericum Pipernensem ...", Caraffa, 'Il testamento', p. 114.

¹⁶ "... ad hec omnia legata distribuenda reliquid suos executores adque (!) fidei commissarios predictum venerabilem patrem dominum Gerardum Dei gratia episcopum Sabinensem et Petrucium predictum familiarem suum ...", Paravicini Bagliani, 'Un matematico', p. 123.

that Petruccio not be disrupted in his usufruct of Campano's *domus*, and that, after Petruccio's death when this house would devolve to a college of canons Blancus had founded in Parma, the Cardinal's permission be sought for the house to be used for anything other than the intended purpose on penalty that it otherwise would devolve to the bishop of Viterbo.¹⁷ Blancus, as founder of this college of canons, could not have been better-placed for this. Campano's selection of executors was efficient: he combined a cardinal's social and spiritual cachet with the administrative expediency of one testator with power over a beneficiary institution (Gerardus Blancus) or intimate professional knowledge of Campano's household and its management (Petruccio).

Pietro Colonna chose the most authoritative and highest-born members of his family as his executors: cardinals Giacomo and Pietro Colonna, and senator of Rome Giovanni Colonna.¹⁸ The three Colonnas were explicitly entrusted with the valuation and sale of Pietro's estate. (In reality men of this standing must have appointed proctors to work on their behalf.) An all-Colonna selection of executors kept administration of Colonna assets within the family. Therefore, the transmission of family estates, which represented the highest net-worth transactions of the will, could not be disturbed by external

¹⁷ "Item reliquid eidem [Petruccio] coadvixerit habitationem usum et usufructum domus sue Viterbiensis cum omnibus suppelletilibus suis ... et quod in predictis campo vinea cum terra et domu cum suppelletilibus nullus ipsum Petruccium in tota vita sua impediatur vel molestetur et quod post ipsius Pe[trucci] mortem voluit et mandavit quod ipsa domus cum suppelletilibus supradictis sit ecclesie quam predictus dominus G(erardus) episcopus Sabinensis fac(eret) edificari Parme / in baptisterio Parmensi; et inhybet canonicis ipsius ecclesie quod dictam domum non vendant nec permutent neque alienent et si alienare vel vendere vel permutare presumpserint quod in continenti ipso iure cadant ab omni iure ipsius rei et quod statim ipsa domus devolvatur ad episcopum Viterbiensem nisi forte dominus Sabinensis predictus de ea voluerit aliter ordina/re.", *ibid.*, p. 125.

¹⁸ "Item insuper relinquo et committo in manibus venerabilium in Christo Patrum et Dominorum J(acobi) de Columpna et domini Petri de Columpna / Sancte Marie in Via Lata et Sancti Eustachii diaconorum Cardinalium ac etiam strenui viri domini Johannis de Columpna alme Urbis illustris Senatoris bona / mea mobilia expendenda et distribuenda eorum arbitrio pro anima mea [...] quos etiam / meos commissarios huius testamenti et executores meos esse volo.", *Archivio di Stato di Roma, MS, Roma-Clarisse in San Silvestro in Capite, Cassetta 39, f. 171.*

factions. The choice of the very highest-status Colonnas of the time also marks Pietro's concern that his will be executed by eligible men of the highest possible status.

Pietro's place in the Colonna dynasty led to a selection of executors in many ways distinct from those of Stefano d'Anagni and Campano da Novara. Pietro chose three executors of the highest status, who would have operated by proxy, whereas Campano and Stefano chose executors of widely differing status, comprising some chosen primarily for administrative skill and others mainly for status. Yet the same two fundamental concerns emerge strongly: administrative expediency and high status. At the moment of will-making – a summation of life and career – these papal chaplains chose the most prestigious churchmen around them as their executors. The choice signalled clearly that testamentary execution was an elevated act that required elevated delegates. Thus the status – the accrued social, if not also economic and spiritual capital – of prestigious executors reinforced the testator's perceived social position, both to himself and to others.

6.6 BEQUESTS

6.6.1 CHURCHES, CHAPELS, CHANTRIES

Bequests to religious institutions are cumulatively the highest net expenditure in these papal chaplains' wills. They took the form of direct monetary donations, donations for works to the fabric and for the decoration of churches and their appurtenances, the allocation of income from other properties, and not least endowments for the singing of masses for the testator's soul (commonly also for his family and other individuals). If

means allowed, a testator might also choose to endow a new chapel staffed with chaplains responsible for singing these masses.¹⁹

The donation of economic capital to Church institutions fulfilled the canonical obligation that clerics return these assets that they had held as guardians, but not owned. The exchange was both economic (money returned for money received) and symbolic. The sum returned could never equal the sum received in life: the difference had, in theoretical terms, been converted into administrative and spiritual care of the living. In practice, the fulfilment of this exchange varied and was sometimes enacted as canonical premise intended, but other times not.

Campano da Novara's bequests largely complied with canonical intentions. He made bequests only to a small circle of institutions with which he was professionally connected. Campano founded a chapel in the church of the Santissima Trinità in Viterbo (not one of his benefices, but his adopted home see and diocese) which received the income of two fields, one field near the tower of Ferento in the appurtenance of Pantano, and another with pertaining vineyard and lands towards Viterbo, which would revert to the chapel after Campano's *domicellus* Petruccio had enjoyed usufruct of it until his death.²⁰ Campano also gave Petruccio usufruct of his own household for the latter's lifetime: after Petruccio's death it would pass to a college of canons founded by Cardinal Gerardus Blancus near Parma's baptistry.²¹ Thus the revenues of an estate close to the curia reverted to the institutions connected to Campano's curial life. However, in a

¹⁹ Gifts of material goods were also made to church institutions and are considered separately below, pp. 152–6.

²⁰ "Item reliquit Petruccio predicti / domini [Campani olim domicello campum] quid est citra fontem sive fossatum predictos versus Viterbium et vineam suam cum terra sibi coniuncta et reliquit sibi usum et usumfructum ipsorum / campi et vinee cum terra predicta [in] vita sua; et post mortem ipsius Petruccii voluit et mandavit quod dicti campus et vinea cum terra sint cappelle Sancte Anne superius nomi/nate.", Paravicini Bagliani, 'Un matematico', p. 125.

²¹ For usufruct of Campano's own household, see present chapter, n. 17.

symbolic division between revenues accrued in curial life and assets held in his diocese of origin, he bequeathed the proceeds of the sale of all his mobile and immobile property in Novara, to the sum of 1,000 *libras imperialium*, to the church of Novara. The division of Campano's estate was a straightforward example of the way that a *licentia testandi*, with its clause encompassing distribution of both Church and personal assets, resolved the difficulty of untangling the two types of capital.

In contrast, Pietro Colonna's bequests to ecclesiastical foundations blended capital derived from personal and Church assets. Pietro made numerous bequests to ecclesiastical institutions in his patrimonial seat of Gallicano, financed from a lump sum of 1,500 florins drawn from Colonna family holdings there.²² Pietro also bequeathed his third of Colonna holdings in the *castrum* of San Giovanni in Campo Oratii (two of his nephews each held another third) to the monastery of San Silvestro in Capite in Rome.²³ These gifts to religious foundations, ostensibly fulfilling the economic and symbolic exchange imposed by receiving income from benefices, also kept Colonna assets within the family patrimony and turned the return of economic capital to the Church to his family's advantage.

²² "instituo in heredem Johannem de Columpna nepotem meum filium quondam Landulfi de Columpna fratris mei in tota scilicet / parte mea totius Castris Gallicani cum omnibus suis pertinentiis et tenementis ita quod dictus dominus Johannes heres meus de hac hereditate se / intromittere [...] donec mille quingentos florenos [...] infrascriptis commissariis seu executoribus meis pervenire faciat; de quibus mille quingentis florenis lego [... etc.]", Archivio di Stato di Roma, MS, Roma-Clarisse in San Silvestro in Capite, Cassetta 39, f. 171.

²³ "In toto vero Castro Sancti Johannis in Campo Oratii Tibur/tine diocesis cum rocca, territorio, tenementis, et omnibus juribus et pertinentiis castris predicti, et casali meo de Pantano posito in tenimento Castris Gallicani / quod quidem Castrum Sancti Joannis, cum casali predicto meum est ex integro proprie proprium ut pote mihi appropriatum per divisionem ex eo et castro Sancti Cesarei inter me / olim ex una parte ac dictos nepotes meos ex altera celebratam pro ut est publicum et notorium [...] et in aliis quoque omnibus bonis meis mobilibus ac immobilibus corporalibus ac incorporalibus juribus et act/ionibus in heredem instituo monasterium Sancti Silvestri de Capite de Urbe ubi pauperes quedam spiritu moniales existunt.", *ibid.*

The monastery of San Silvestro in Capite was at the time occupied by the order of nuns originally founded at Palestrina by Margherita Colonna, the sister of cardinals Pietro and Giacomo Colonna. Honorius IV had given the foundation to the nuns, who became Franciscan Minoresses, in 1285. The future Nicholas IV, Girolamo Masci, had facilitated the donation, and the monastery remained a node in the Colonna web throughout the 1290s. Nicholas IV appointed Cardinal Giacomo Colonna the monastery's protector, and Giacomo remained in this office until 1297 when, during the Colonna dispute with Boniface VIII, the Pope discharged Giacomo as protector and Giovanna Colonna, niece of Giacomo and Margherita, from the position of abbess.²⁴

Thus, the intended purpose of restitution of Church property after death – the fulfilment of a final obligation imposed by career-long exchange between cleric and Church – also concealed ulterior economic motives serving Colonna nepotism. Not only could secular capital of family origin be directly exchanged for symbolically-imbued Church capital without forfeit, but the symbolic restitution of Church capital could directly profit family interests without comment or censure. Pietro Colonna turned canon law to his family's advantage, diverting economic capital to a family-controlled institution; economic capital became social capital, which reinforced the family's social position.

Stefano d'Anagni's bequests to Church institutions, albeit preceding the period in hand, exemplify further forms of exchange. He provided a settlement of 28 *lib.*, above 36 *lib.* given during his lifetime, to Anagni cathedral for works to its loft (*solarium*), and made additional cash gifts of between 3 *solidos* and 15 *libras*, most commonly 3 *libras*, to almost

²⁴ Brentano, R., *Rome Before Avignon. A Social History of Thirteenth-Century Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 242 & 245–6. For the Colonna affiliation with the monastery of San Silvestro in Capite, see Barone, G., 'Margherita Colonna e le Clarisse di S. Silvestro in Capite', in Romanini, A. M. (ed.), *Roma Anno 1300*, Atti della IV Settimana di Studi di Storia dell'Arte Medievale dell'Università di Roma 'La Sapienza', Roma 19–24 maggio 1980 (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1983), pp. 799–805.

every major church, religious house and hospital in meridional Lazio.²⁵ Stefano was generously-beneficed but these bequests, predominantly local, were not in the main to his benefactory institutions, which were spread across Europe.²⁶ Therefore, his widespread largesse did not directly fulfil obligations of exchange with institutions that had supported him. The symbolism of the gestures itself became instrumental, without the direct relationship they were initially intended to signify necessarily being present.

Stefano's economic gifts were signs whose meaning was recognised by beneficiary and benefactor, but which did not require actual economic interchange between the two for the testator to fulfil his economic and symbolic obligations to the Church. Instead, the economic capital could be used to support institutions of the testators' choice. The testator could therefore provide economic support to chosen sections of society in which he had special interest. In Stefano's case, the wide distribution of economic capital also brought him a theoretical return in symbolic, specifically spiritual capital, because receiving institutions would sing masses for his soul on the anniversary of his death each year to commemorate the donation. Thus, the restitution of Church capital by canonical stricture could be turned to the testator's own spiritual advantage.

The conversion of economic into spiritual capital found clearest expression in the foundation of chapels and chantries to commemorate one's death. Campano da Novara provided for a chapel dedicated to St Anna, to be built in Viterbo's church of the Holy Trinity. It was to be beautiful and fitting, and therein masses were to be sung for the dead, for St Anna, and for the souls of Gerardus Blancus, for any pope who had given

²⁵ "In primis relinquo ecclesie Anagnine sexaginta quatuor libras pro opere ipsius ecclesie usque ad solarium prolongande, remissis eidem ecclesie triginta sex libris in quibus iam predem tenebatur mihi...", Caraffa, 'Il testamento', p.114. For the full itemisation of donations to institutions, see *ibid.*, pp.114–5, grouped by type of institution by Caraffa at *ibid.*, pp. 108–11.

²⁶ For Stefano's benefices, see *ibid.*, pp. 100–2.

him a provision, and for his and his family's souls, by four friars who served in the chapel.²⁷ Pietro Colonna directed that an altar be erected in the church of San Silvestro in Capite, with a perpetual chantry to the honour of God and the Virgin, in praise of St Pastor, and in remission of his own sins. Masses for the dead were to be sung on Mondays, and for the Virgin on Saturdays. He ordered Requiem masses to be celebrated in Sant'Andrea in Gallicano too, for his soul and those of his ancestors, and to commemorate the anniversary of his death.²⁸ Stefano d'Anagni ordered thirty masses to be sung for his soul on the anniversary of his death every year for thirty years, the practice to be enforced by the bishop of Anagni, and that the bishop and canons of Anagni receive five *solidos* on the anniversary of his death for singing a vigil and mass for his soul.²⁹

The foundation of chapels and masses for the souls of the departed was customary, indeed encouraged by churches themselves, in late thirteenth-century Rome and its environs.³⁰ The necrology of St Peter's in Rome records that, like so many of their

²⁷ "Item [...] sepulture ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis de Viterbio, in qua ecclesia voluit et mandavit quod fiat una cappella pulcra et decens que vocetur Sancta Anna in qua [cotidie celebretur officium defunctorum et officium] sante Marie a quatuor fratribus, primo pro anima predicti domini Sabinensis et pro animabus omnium pontificum Romanorum Romanorum a quibus bonum habuit (...) et pro anima sua et parentum / [suorum ... p]arentum suorum ...", Paravicini Bagliani, 'Un matematico', p. 124.

²⁸ "ita tamen quod ejusdem / ecclesie [Sancti Andree de Gallicano] clerici post obitum meum celebrare teneantur annis singulis die scilicet lune pro mortuis missam solempniam in quibus animarum mee / ac defunctorum meorum ibidem quiescentium memoratio semper fiat, et insuper anniversarium mee depositionis diem comemorare [...]"; "ac in remissionem peccatorum meorum quoddam in ecclesia Sancti Silvestri erigatur altare in quo capellanus perpetuus / habeatur, qui [...] obedientie teneatur in hunc modum missarum sollempniter celebrare die lune pro mortuis ac die sabati pro Beata Marie / Virginis", Archivio di Stato di Roma, MS, Roma-Clarisse in San Silvestro in Capite, Cassetta 39, f. 171

²⁹ "volo etiam et mando quod predictus Stephanus omni anno in die anniversarii mei faciat cantari XXX missas pro anima mea usque ad triginta annos et ad hoc compellatur per episcopum Anagninum; quod fiat de fructibus de Puctico, et de ipsis fructibus det V solidos in die mortis mee episcopo et canonicis Anagninis ut decantent sollempnes vigiliis et missam in mane pro anima mea.", Caraffa, 'Il testamento', p. 117.

³⁰ For a case study of chapels in the diocese of Rieti see Brentano, *A New World*, pp. 296–300. For later history of memorial chapels and anniversaries in late medieval Europe, focusing on the Avignon region, see Chiffolleau, J., *La comptabilité de l'au-delà. Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la*

colleagues, a clutch of papal chaplains, most of them canons of St Peter's, provided the basilica with grants for the celebration of the anniversaries of their deaths. Most grants were gifts in cash; in one case the cash gift was used to purchase two *domi* with the intention of using their revenue, and one chaplain similarly assigned a portion of revenue of properties left to St Peter's *in commendam*.³¹ The economic capital in these gifts for one part converted into spiritual capital, for the health of the deceased's soul after death, but also supported the beneficiary institution. Sufficiently generous gifts would support one or more chaplains in an endowed chantry for several years. Besides the formal purpose of care for the testator's soul, these bequests also played roles of varying magnitude in the on-going support of Church infrastructure in their chosen territories.

6.6.2 DEPENDENTS

All three wills contain gifts to the testators' dependents, which used economic exchange in settlement of a testator's obligations both to the Church and to his associates in life. The legal framework guiding these bequests was underpinned by a symbolism of exchange that testators did not always make manifest in their choices. However,

région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Âge (vers 1320-vers 1480) (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1980), pp. 323–56.

³¹ January 7: “Ob. d. Iacobus d. Mathei Rubei de filiis Ursi concan. n. qui rel. n. bas. .C. fl. au., qui conversi fuerunt in emptionem domus cum signo sudarii [MS b add. ‘site in Porticu, et domus cum signo mustelle site’] iuxta portam Viridariam. Exp. pensio dictarum duarum domorum.” (Egidi, *Necrologi*, vol. 1, pp. 174–4); February 2: “Ob d. Stephanus Iordani de insula Varbii prepositus Podii Boniçi, qui rel. bas. n. domos iuxta palatium d. Latini ad signum sacerdotis habentis in mano çonam. Pro an. e. duas partes pensionis dicte domus.” (ibid., pp. 182–3); March 25: “In isto festo exp. pro d. Asulo... de Parma cappell. [d.] pp. soll. XXXII. den. .VI. bone [mon.]; et post mortem eius distribuan[tur] pro an. s. in die [ob]itus sui et pro aa. dd. [lo]h[annis] Yspani et Francisci Guarnerii S. R. E. olim cardd.” (ibid., pp. 194–5); September 8: “Ob. d. Matheus de Ylperinis d. pp. cappellanus, concan. n., relinquens bas. plurima bona. Pro an. s. .xl. soll.” (ibid., p. 250); October 17: “Ob. d. Gentilis de Collealto olim can. bas. cappellanus d. pp., qui rel. n. bas. fl. au. .xxx. Pro c. an. exp. soll. .xxx. us. mon.” (ibid., pp. 264–5); November 1: “Ob d. Petrus de Pofis concan. n., qui rel. nobis .L. fl. Exp. soll. .XL. prov.” (ibid., pp. 266–7); November 8: “Ob pbr Benedictus d. pp. cappellanus, relinquens bas. XX. lib. prov. Pro an. s. .VII. soll.” (ibid., pp. 268–9). Note that the *domus* by St Peter's left to Stephanus Jordanus de Insula in Urbe is the same property previously granted him in usufruct by Cardinal Latino Malabranca (see Chapter Five, pp. 127–8).

canonical endorsement of these bequests certainly served the wider interests of the structure of aristocratic households that, together, constituted the domestic bedrock of curial society.

In their most generous form, bequests to dependents consisted in the grant of the testator's house, sometimes with additional property, to his senior household member. As Cardinal Latino Malabranca did for his chamberlain (the papal chaplain Stephanus Jordanus de Insula in Urbe) so Campano da Novara gave his *domicellus* Petrucchio use of his house, a field with vineyard and adjoined land, until the latter should die.³² The gift was one of practical charity: it supported the householder until death, so sparing him the task of finding a new living at a perhaps already late stage in life. Likewise, Pietro Colonna left Johannes de Paulia a fief in the *castrum* of San Giovanni in Campo Oratii.³³ Stefano d'Anagni, however, granted property only to blood relatives and not to non-family dependents.³⁴

³² "Item reliquid Petrucio predicti / domini [Campani olim domicello campum] qui est citra fontem sive fossatum predictos versus Viterbium et vineam suam cum terra sibi coniuncta et reliquid sibi usum et usumfructum ipsorum / campi et vinee cum terra predicta [in] vita sua...", Paravicini Bagliani, 'Un matematico', p. 125.

³³ "Insuper Johanni de Paulia relinquo feudum quod habet et tenet in Castro sancti Johannis / in Campo Oratii liberum, et ab omni servitio absolutum, et idem eidem affranco ut ipsum feudum donare possit vendere et alienare tanquam rem suam / in proprietate.", Archivio di Stato di Roma, MS, Roma-Clarisse in San Silvestro in Capite, Cassetta 39, f. 171. This strongly implies that Johannes was another of Pietro Colonna's senior householders.

³⁴ He left houses and land to his nieces Maria and Johanna, to revert to his nephew Stephanus after their death, a house to his brother Petrus Thomasius, to devolve to Stephanus after his death, and to his nephew Jacobus a property and land which, if he died without a male heir, would also devolve to Stephanus: "... item Marie nepti mee relinquo domum que fuit Petri Iohannis de Baldino et terras de Cirreto; item Iohanne nepti mee domum positam ad Sanctam Cristinam, et domum cum furno, et domum que fuit Berardi Oliverii, et vineam que fuit domini Theobaldi ad Sanctam Crucem et terras ad Vallem Peregrinam, quas terras relinquo eidem in vita sua tantum; post mortem vero suam ad Stephanum nepotem meum libere devolvantur. Iacobo domini Andree, nepoti meo, relinquo domum quae fuit patris mei cum pertinentiis suis iuxta domum ipsius Iacobi. Et volo quod si sine legitimis filiis decesserit ad dictum Stephanum perveniat.", Caraffa, 'Il testamento', p.115.

The destination of a bequeathed *domus* after the dependent's death differed among these wills. Whilst income from the Malabranca and da Novara houses reverted to ecclesiastical foundations after the dependent's death (Malabranca's to St Peter's, da Novara's to Gerardus Blancus' college of canons in Parma), Pietro Colonna granted his *domus* to de Paulia free of all servitude and fully alienable. The Malabranca and da Novara examples upheld the idea that Church-derived income remained only in the guardianship of its temporal custodian. Canon law recognised the gift of property and of its usufruct as a legitimate use of Church property.³⁵ However, Pietro Colonna's grant of a *domus* to his dependent de Paulia conveyed the symbolism of this gift – a final fulfilment in the exchange between servant and employer of servitude for financial support – without involving Church property at all. This gift consisted in the full alienation of a property from Colonna landed estates, which yielded their own income independent from the Church. Thus, Pietro Colonna appropriated the gesture of bequeathing property to a dependent, even though the content of this particular bequest actually differed from the symbolic use of Church property to fulfil the sanctioned exchange that papal legitimisation of this type of bequest was meant to uphold.

Legitimation of this phenomenon – not unique to Pietro Colonna's will – came from papal authorisation of the use of individual discretion in separating Church from secular assets. Authorisation of the testator's individual discretion originally developed to help avoid confusion and litigation regarding the origin – Church or otherwise – of a testator's property after his death, the owner himself being the best-informed judge of the

³⁵ “No one, prelate, cleric, nor layman, can bequeath the goods, even the movables, of the church, as it says here and in the following canon, although they can, even from the deathbed, allot some things, for the sake of alms and in repayment for services rendered to them by their relatives as well as by others.”, trans. Williman, *The Right of Spoil*, p. 5, from Johannes Andreae, *Novella commentaria in quinque libros decretalium* (Venice: Apud F. Fransicum, 1581; reprinted Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1963), vol. 3, 107^v–108, with reference to *Decretales Gregorii IX*, III, 26, 12 (*Relatum est*) (see above, Chapter Five, n. 10).

distinction.³⁶ To enforce an uncompromisingly strict division of Church from secular assets would have disabled the transmission of property and undermined the future economic basis of the society that burgeoning testamentary law aimed to support and regulate.

Testators also made cash gifts to their dependents. Campano da Novara left 500 and 200 *marabotinos* respectively to his household members Franciscus Mutinensi and Ursellus, and 100 *libras imperialis* to his *domicellus* Petruccio.³⁷ Stefano d'Anagni made thirteen precisely-calculated cash gifts to his dependents, comprising 10 *libras* to two of his, presumably longest serving or most senior, householders; 7 *libras* (of which 4 was the write-off of a loan) to another householder; 100 *solidos* to a further two; 20 *solidos* to another two, 10 *solidos* to three, and further gifts of 3 *libras* to his sacrist and 3 *solidos* to each of the two (or more) boys who kept his livestock.³⁸ Pietro Colonna left the distribution of cash to householders entirely to his executors, each disbursement to be commensurate with length of service.³⁹ Canonically, as has been stated, the repayment of services endorsed the exchange of household service for economic reward. By extension, it also made employment in a curialist's household highly desirable since, if employment lasted until an employer's death, its termination brought a golden handshake. Loyalty of householders to employers therefore involved a measure of

³⁶ Williman, *The Right of Spoil*, pp. 9–11.

³⁷ "Item / reliquid (...) Petrucii familiaris sui predicti centum libras imperialiam (...) Item reliquid Franciscino Mutinensi familiari suo quingentos marabotinos. Item reliquid Ursello familiari suo / ducentos marabotinos (...)", Paravicini Bagliani, 'Un matematico', p. 126.

³⁸ "Item relinquo Roberto Silvemollis C solidos; magistro Iacobo de Piperno X libras; Adinulfo dicto Lallo X libras; Roggerio XX solidos et solidos suos, si non fuerint ei soluti; pueris qui custodiunt bestias III solidos et solidos suos; Thomasino coco X solidos et solidos suos; Andree cellerario X solidos et solidos suos; Sergio et Iohanni Amatonis X solidos et solidos suorum; Petro Thomasii fratris mei filio Sprecaimici (...) decem libras; Iacobo Gregorii C solidos; Mathie qui fuit cellararius XX solidos; sacriste Anagnino III libras...", Caraffa, 'Il testamento', p. 115.

³⁹ "Item servientibus meis volo et dispono dari mercedem suam secundum quod mihi toto tempore servierunt.", Archivio di Stato di Roma, MS, Roma-Clarisse in San Silvestro in Capite, Cassetta 39, f. 171.

purely economic interest on the employees' part. Thus the intended symbolism of the law also reinforced the very practical fact that, the more attractive curial households were as sources of employment, the more the households themselves would flourish, and curial society as a whole too.

Among these papal chaplains' wills, the relationship between economic and spiritual capital in landed and cash bequests to dependents reinforced the connection between papal legitimation of testamentary procedure and the economic exchanges underpinning curial life. The understood or stated intention of bequests to dependents was the fulfilment of symbolic exchange. Their outcome in real terms was the strengthening of the economic structure behind curial society and provision for its future survival. The established and legitimated practice of directing capital back to a testator's dependents fostered a culture of household service in which loyalty to an employer until his death was rewarded with extra economic recompense. Capital directed back to ecclesiastical foundations profited the very institutions whose benefices provided curialists with a large part, and in cases like that of Campano da Novara practically all, of the wealth they needed to participate in curial society.

6.6.3 MATERIAL GOODS AND BOOKS

Material goods accumulated in life entered into the system of economic and symbolic exchange at death. The way in which the exchange was calculated varied between curialists. For Campano da Novara and many like him, the sacramentalia of one's personal chapel could furnish a newly-founded memorial chapel. Campano left his whole personal chapel, including paraments and chalices, books and other items, to the

chapel of St Anna in the church of the Santissima Trinità in Viterbo.⁴⁰ Reinforcing a general pattern in his will that his bequests match the symbolism behind canonical regulation of them, he directly perpetuated the material prosperity of a foundation for future Christians' use. At the same time, he aided the future acquisition of spiritual capital for his soul: the items would be put to use in the singing of masses for his soul.

Whatever Pietro Colonna's personal chapel might have comprised in books and other items remained unspecified. Presumably it was therefore itemised and sold to raise funds, as was customary among curialists, for the 1,500 florins drawn against the Gallicano estate. Pietro's decision to leave his chapel treasure to be itemised along with the rest of his household reveals his recognition of the expression of spiritual or symbolic exchange through movement of economic capital, but only in so far as common practice recommended it. His lack of concern for the details of the bequest shows, above all, the strength of societal custom in determining testamentary behaviour.

Stefano d'Anagni made no direct bequests of household treasure but his will included statements of the economic value of items loaned and due for collection. Stefano had loaned to Angelo Iudeus and his daughter Lia a chalice and two hanaps valued in gold at 11 *libras*, and to *dominus* Iacobus Ursi gold vessels worth 7½ *libras*.⁴¹ This contrasted the more oft-noted practice of bequeathing individual items to dependents as specially-selected gifts or even, as in the case of Campano da Novara, the explicit bequest of

⁴⁰ "(...) reliquid totam cappellam suam tam in paramentis et calicibus quam in libris et aliis rebus pertinentibus ad cappellam.", Paravicini Bagliani, 'Un matematico', p. 124.

⁴¹ "item ab Angelo Iudeo et Pia filia eius... unam cuppam et duos sciphos... quod argentum est appretiatum XI libras"; "item a domino Iacobo Urso tantum argentum in vasis, quod valet VII libras et mediam", Caraffa, 'Il testamento', p. 116. Chalices (*cuppe*) appeared in many cardinals' treasuries and, usually made of gold and richly decorated, were likely part of the utensilia of an aristocratic table. (Brancone, *Le domus dei cardinali nella Roma del Duecento. Gioielli, mobile, libri* (Rome: Viella, 2010), p. 232). A hanap (*sciphus*) was a large drinking vessel, usually for ceremonial use. The term '*vas*' denoting Iacobus Ursi's gold vessels is a generic term for vessels.

chapel sacramentalia and books for the use of another favoured or specially-founded institution. It thereby revealed a practicality behind any donation of household items as a gesture of affection or spiritual intent, be they for chapel use or other purpose: all relied ultimately on economic exchange and transmission.

As frequently occurred among curialists, Stefano also bequeathed selected books to favoured householders. An ‘old’ breviary went to magister Silvestro, which after his death reverted to the Friars Minor of San Francesco in Assisi. Stefano’s nephew Gregorius would, if he became a cleric, receive all his uncle’s books (*i.e.* chapel books) except the aforementioned breviary and Stefano’s ‘*bibliotecam*’, which went to the will’s executor, Giacomo da Piperno.⁴² These bequests were, as historians have observed of book bequests in other wills, evidence of personal affection.⁴³ The expression of affection was expressed partly in the pure economic value of a book, but also in the symbolic gesture of gifting books of elevated status; books for worship presumably used by the testator in his own household.

Stefano also itemised specific books on loan to others, treating them not as personal items imbued with sentiment (which they may have been at the time of the original loan), but as capital in economic transactions. Stefano had borrowed a volume of Decretals from Adenulphus de Bectio against a guarantee of one silver mark, and in turn had lent

⁴² “Item Gregorio filio Vite nepoti meo relinquo omnes libros meos in vita sua, si fierit clericus, preter breviarium vetus quod habet magister Silvester, quod post mortem ipsius magistri, relinquo fratribus minoribus Sancti Francisci de Anagnia; et preter bibliothecam, quam relinquo magistro Iacobo de Piperno.”, Caraffa, ‘Il testamento’, p. 115. The linguistic distinction between ‘*libros*’ and ‘*bibliotecam*’ must divide chapel books from a library of scholarly but non-liturgical codices: the covenant that Gregorius be a cleric to inherit the ‘*libros*’ indicates so beyond reasonable doubt.

⁴³ For book exchanges between thirteenth-century curialists, see Paravicini Bagliani, A., ‘Le biblioteche curiali duecenteschi’, in Lombardi, G. & Nebbiai dalla Guardia, D. (eds.), *Libri, lettori e biblioteche dell’Italia medievale (secoli IX–XV)*. *Fonti, testi, utilizzazione del libro* (Rome: Istituto central per il catalogo unico delle biblioteche italiane, 2000), pp. 263–75.

the volume to Rinaldo, son of magister Bulgarelli, who agreed by notarial act to take on the debt. Stefano listed the transmission of this debt at the top of the list of debts he recalled in his will.⁴⁴ This use of books as loanable items, valued economically rather than for their cultural content, occurred more spectacularly with the library of papal chaplain Cristoforo Tolomei de Senis. In his lifetime, Cristoforo had used his library as security against a loan from Pietro Peregrusso. Cristoforo's will has not yet been uncovered, but on his death, the loan not yet repaid, the entire library passed to Peregrusso.⁴⁵ The book collection was exchanged not for the individual intellectual value of its constituent volumes, but for its economic capital in financial terms, and objectified cultural capital as a collection (which partly determined its economic value). Likewise, when Cardinal Pietro Colonna acquired the same library wholesale, as Paravicini Bagliani has demonstrated, he did not select individual volumes but bought the collection as a whole, presumably from Peregrusso's executors.⁴⁶ His interests appear to have been collectionism and the acquisition of a valuable economic and objectified cultural asset, rather than careful selection of the body of knowledge the collection contained.

A huge difference in financial value separates Stefano's individual book loans from the whole-scale exchange of the Tolomei library, but both demonstrate the treatment of books and book collections as capital, rather than individual items of intellectual interest. Similarly the household and chapel acquisitions of a lifetime, and their use in life and in wills as gifts that could express personal favour or bring a return in spiritual capital, all relied on economic capital in the end. A sense also persists that certain possessions, notably books, were accumulated in the knowledge that some would have a pre-

⁴⁴“(…) item a domino Adinulfo de Bectio unam marcem de argento pro qua habui in pignore decretum suum, quod decretum recommendavi Raynaldo magistri Bulgarelli, qui est fideiussor per instrumentum Nicolai Sancti Germani scrinarii (…)”, Caraffa, ‘Il testamento’, p. 116.

⁴⁵ Mercati, A., ‘I codici di Cristoforo Tolomei’, pp. 13–37.

⁴⁶ Paravicini Bagliani, A., ‘Le biblioteche dei cardinali Pietro Peregrusso (d. 1295) e Pietro Colonna (d. 1326)’, pp. 104–39.

determined destination after their owner's death (deserving householders, a newly-founded memorial chapel) or would be disposed in return for hard cash in the sale of household goods, or in settlement of debts. Curialists spent their lifetimes accumulating the same kinds of possessions as their peers, to display the signs of participation in curial society. In wills, the economic origin of all was revealed.

6.7 TOMBS AND FUNERAL DISPOSITION

Tomb and funerary dispositions reveal concerns for commemoration and the spiritual afterlife, and the display of visible signs of family status. In the late thirteenth century tomb provision was standard testamentary practice, and commonly one of the first dispositions in a will after the institution of a universal heir. For a testator, a tomb meant commemoration. It was also, in the context of wider societal custom, a conversion of economic capital into a non-exchangeable item: a tomb could not be transformed directly back into economic capital. It was an expression of the deceased's place in the hierarchy of a larger, transcendent spiritual order, whose source on Earth was the papacy.

The form and location of testators' tombs could therefore convey powerful messages. However, wills contained a restricted range of tomb dispositions. Commonly, testators stated their preferences regarding their tomb's location, dependent on whether the testator died in or outside Rome. But typically, neither the cardinals' wills collected by Paravicini Bagliani nor the papal chaplains' wills discussed here gave instructions regarding tombs' stylistic design, or even for the choice of sculptor or workshop. At most, the degree of a tomb's ostentation was specified.

Stefano d'Anagni made no tomb provision in his will, but even the two remaining papal chaplains' preferences for the location of their tombs reveal quite differing concerns. Campano da Novara stated that his tomb should be in the church of the Santissima Trinità in Viterbo.⁴⁷ It is reasonable to presume that he intended it to be in the chapel of St Anna he founded there, though he did not state this. He preferred to be buried in his town of residence, rather than the seat of his main benefices. Securing a position in the most important church in the town where he spent much of his life therefore appears to have been his main concern. Pietro Colonna wished to be buried either in the church of Sant'Andrea in Gallicano, if he died away from the curia, or in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, if he died in Rome.⁴⁸ Both possibilities reinforced Colonna prominence by locating their intended place of commemoration in the foremost churches under Colonna influence, be it through the creation of a tomb in the main church of the Colonna stronghold of Gallicano, or an addition to the Colonna chapel in the foremost Franciscan church in Rome. In the event, Pietro was buried in the Colonna chapel in Santa Maria in Aracoeli. The construction of his tomb monument there (lost when the chapel was dismantled) reinforced the reinforced Colonna allegiance to Franciscanism also evident in Pietro's aforementioned property bequest to Margherita Colonna's Franciscan nunnery at San Silvestro in Capite.⁴⁹ Equally, a tomb in Santa Maria in Aracoeli secured Pietro a commemorative place in the pantheon of the Colonna dynasty in Rome: an entire chapel in one of Rome's most important stational churches.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ "Item [.....] sepulture ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis de Viterbio (...)", Paravicini Bagliani, 'Un matematico', p. 124.

⁴⁸ "et volo dari ecclesie Sancti Andree de / Gallicano ubi meam eligo sepulturam si extra curiam decessero (...); "si vero in Urbe dece/ssero volo me sepelliri apud ecclesiam Beate Marie Fratrum Minorum de Capitolio cum parentibus meis sepultis", Archivio di Stato di Roma, MS, Roma-Clarisse in San Silvestro in Capite, Cassetta 39, f. 171.

⁴⁹ See above, present chapter, n. 24.

⁵⁰ For discussion of the Colonna family chapel in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, and of family chapels, ostentation, and family status in late medieval Rome more generally, see Bolgia, C., 'Ostentation, Power, and Family Competition in Late-Medieval Rome: The Earliest Chapels at S. Maria in

The two papal chaplains also made differing financial instructions for their tomb and burial. Campano, concerned that his tomb avoid improper display, directed that his monument not be excessively costly. It was to be nothing more than a floor slab inscribed with the words, in no way aggrandising: “Here lies such a sinner: may his soul rest in peace”.⁵¹ Compared with the significant cost of a conspicuous and grand tomb like that of papal chaplain Stephanus Surdus in Santa Balbina in Rome, Campano’s tomb provision consciously demonstrated humility and a refusal or financial inability to reproduce the ostentation of some of his peers’ monuments.⁵² Pietro Colonna simply left the cost of his tomb and exequies to his commissioners’ discretion; in other words to two cardinals and a senator of Rome.⁵³ Either the Colonna family had been given prior instruction, or the commissioners instructed as they saw fit. Whichever, Pietro abided by the practice of giving instruction for a tomb in his will without leaving any trace of its costliness. What emerges clearly from instructions regarding cost and location is that, though testators made strong statements with tomb dispositions that were deemed acceptable for inclusion in wills, they also left much unsaid.

Wills said very little about burial, which is perhaps surprising given the information tombs could potentially convey about the testator and his family, and the large financial outlay they required. Pietro Colonna and Campano da Novara, like many cardinals, already articulated more about tomb provision than testators in other parts of Italy. (Sam

Aracoeli’, in Bolton, B. & Meek, C. (eds.), *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, International Medieval Research, 14, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 73–105.

⁵¹ “voluit et mandavit quod constructio sue sepulture non sit multum honerosa in expensis et quod sepelliatur corpus suum in planitia terre et [...] pedes ad capud ipsius et quod in ipsa sepultura non sit subscriptio aliqua pomposa nisi subscriptio talis: Hic iacet talis peccator cuius anima re[quiescat in pace ...]”, Paravicini Bagliani, ‘Un matematico’, p. 124.

⁵² For Stefanus Surdus’ tomb, see Gardner, J., ‘Arnolfo di Cambio and Roman Tomb Design’, *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 115, no. 844 (July 1973), pp. 11 & 13, n. 70; *ibid.*, *Tomb and the Tiara*, p. 51.

⁵³ “Expensas autem funeris / mei ac ejus exequiarum fore dispono ad meorum commissariorum arbitrium faciendas.”, Archivio di Stato di Roma, MS, Roma-Clarisse in San Silvestro in Capite, Cassetta 39, f. 171.

Cohn has noted that Sieneſe teſtators very rarely gave directions for their funerals, the dressing of their bodies until the mid fourteenth century, and tomb provision became common only in the late Quattrocento.⁵⁴) A tomb in a family chapel, like Pietro Colonna’s in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, was a manifestation of economic and symbolic capital that reinforced and enhanced a dynastic family’s social standing. For future generations, a tomb was a dead-end in economic exchange, ſince it could never be ſold and the economic capital committed for its construction thereby retrieved. However, a lavish tomb was a ſign of wealth, and diſtinguiſhed the deceased (and his family) from thoſe of lower means, for current and future generations. Therein lay the value of investing economic capital in a symbolic monument. Creation of a tomb monument alſo transformed economic capital into a form of objectified cultural capital that, likewise, could not revert to its original economic form. Executors reſponsible for high curialiſts’ tombs in late medieval Rome and its environs, as evident in Julian Gardner’s work on curial tomb design, preferred to chooſe highly-ſought and ſtyliſtically-innovative ſculptors.⁵⁵ Design and ſtyle – moreover innovatory and modern ſtyle – were therefore marks of diſtinction. But given that the choiſe of ſculptor was left to executors it ſeems that, whiſt teſtators were concerned that a fitting ſign of diſtinction be created, connoiſſeurſhip of the details of ſtyle was not as important as the exiſtence of the ſign itſelf. Conveſely, Campano da Novara’s explicit reſuſal to uſe a large amount of economic capital to create a coſtly monument ſhowed awareness, even at the time, that coſtly tomb monuments involved a conſpicious conſumption of capital that was not in keeping with the ideal of apoſtolic poverty and the original canonical premiſe for allowing teſtators to uſe Church capital for their tombs.

⁵⁴ Cohn, S., *Death and Property in Siena, 1205–1800: Strategies for the Afterlife* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Preſs, 1988) pp. 60–61.

⁵⁵ See eſpecially Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara* (1992); *ibid.*, ‘Arnolfo di Cambio’, pp. 420–39.

6.8 CLOSING WORD

This small corpus of papal chaplains' wills is rich in information about these testators' personal and professional concerns and networks, and capital and symbolic exchanges. Individuals' choices in the implementation of formal procedure are highly revealing. Applications for licences to testate largely coincided with significant promotions in ecclesiastical careers, which augmented clerics' spiritual and temporal estates. Attenuated papal authority was used to legitimate wills whose bequests often appropriated testamentary convention and procedure for personal, patrimonial and nepotistic ends. Bequests also reveal exchanges of material items and books that helped reinforce the tissue of curial society through gestures fulfilling symbolic obligation or expressing personal affection, but which also perpetuated the capital exchanges on which curial society depended. Through testamentary bequests, papal chaplains also left a legacy to the cultural landscape, notably in the form of tomb monuments; prominent signs of distinction that, combined with the bedrock of economic exchange, produced and reproduced societal figurations.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE PAPAL CHAPEL AND THE CHAPEL ROYAL

7.1 FOREWORD

The present chapter compares the papal chapel against a contemporary counterpart institution, the private household chapel of the king of England, known as the *capella regis*, and now referred to as the chapel royal.¹ The comparison combines the findings of this project on the papal chapel with existing work by the musicologist Ian Bent, whose 1968 doctoral thesis is the only systematic research to-date on the late medieval chapel royal.² The two chapels shared much in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Broadly summarised, both had similar functions: service of the pope or monarch's daily liturgical needs combined with administrative responsibilities within and outside the household. Both had an increasingly-formalised hierarchical structure that came to be headed by a senior administrator, himself a member of the chapel. Co-existing systems of payment – in kind, gradually moving towards payment by wages, and in revenue from benefices – operated in both.

This analysis of the two institutions considers some important points of difference in the administrative and economic organisation of both chapels, to determine how a

¹ The *capella regis*, or chapel royal, should be distinguished from two other types of chapel associated with the English king: royal free chapels (*'libere capelle regis'* or *'cominice capelle regis'*) – permanent religious houses under the direct jurisdiction of the king rather than a bishop; and royal chapels (*'capelle regis'*) – local stations of the itinerant chapel royal with a minimal resident personnel.

² Bent, *The Early History*, 1968. Bent published some of his principal findings in *ibid.*, 'The English Chapel Royal before 1300', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 90th session (1963–1964), pp. 77–95.

comparable process of institutional change unfolded in each chapel's particular environment. The comparison also considers the wider importance of the dynamics of wider constitutional changes in relation to rulers' household chapels: its findings constitute the groundwork for further discussion of the use of each chapel to convey ideals of power. These matters are also considered in the context of a wider historiographical debate. A classic reading of the constitutional development of the English royal household, in the model of T. F. Tout, reads the structures of the thirteenth-century household, and indeed its form in the preceding centuries, through their resemblance to the offices of the more rationally-organised household of the late fourteenth century and beyond, in which the highest householders constituted the royal civil service.³ Historians in the later twentieth century have increasingly regarded this model as misleadingly teleological in the way it assumes functional differentiation between household offices at a time when royal government worked through individuals who assumed several official roles simultaneously.⁴ The following discussion will reassert an argument in favour of the chapel royal's corporate identity, not wholly in Tout's terms but in relation to the chapel's symbolic expression of ideals of power. It will also consider why the papal chapel, for all its prestige and importance, was not used to convey symbolic ideals of papal power in so direct a manner.

³ See especially Tout, T. F., *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History*, 2nd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1914, 2nd ed. 1936); *ibid.*, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England. The Wardrobe, the Chamber and the Small Seals*, vol. 2 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1920).

⁴ For recent discussion of historiography on the topic, see Amt, E. & Church, S. (eds. & trans.), 'Introduction to the *Constitutio Domus Regis*', in *Dialogus de Scaccario, and Constitutio Domus Regis / The Dialogue of the Exchequer, and The Establishment of the Royal Household* (Oxford: OUP, 2007), pp. xlvii–liv.

7.2 SOURCES AND STRUCTURE

As with the papal chapel, the sources that describe the chapel royal's structure are individual household documents, somewhat separate from each other in time. Two documents long predate the period in hand, but are taken into account for the information they yield on the household's earlier structure, and because copies of both were incorporated into household records in the thirteenth century. Incidentally, it is these copies, not autograph documents, that have survived for scholarship. The earliest the *Constitutio domus regis*, was a handbook written around 1136 that listed the main offices of the royal household and householders' wages and allowances in kind under Henry I (1100–35).⁵ The next, the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, was conceived and begun by Richard fitzNigel, treasurer of the royal household, in Henry II's (1154–89) twenty-third regnal year (19 December 1176–18 December 1177), and completed over several years before fitzNigel's death in 1198. The *Dialogus* primarily outlined the workings of the lower and upper Exchequer, and did not mention the chapel royal.⁶ Both documents were copied into the Red Book of the Exchequer by Alexander de Swerford, Exchequer clerk, in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, and were copied again into the Black Book of the Exchequer in the mid- to late thirteenth century.

Concerning the chapel, the *Constitutio* stated that one man, called *capellanus, custos capelle et reliquiarum*, was responsible for the equipment for worship. He oversaw four chapel

⁵ London, National Archives, MS PRO E 164/2, ff. 51^{r-v}; MS PRO E 164/12 ff. 75^v–77; London, British Library, MS Hargrave 313 ff. 1–2. Most recent edition and translation in Church, S. (ed. & trans.), 'Constitutio domus regis' in *ibid.*, pp. 195–218.

⁶ London, National Archives, MS PRO E 164/2, the 'Red Book of the Exchequer', ff. 52–67^v; MS PRO E 36/266, the 'Black Book of the Exchequer', ff. 20–40^v; London, British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra A.xvi, ff. 3–40. Most recent edition and translation in Amt, E. (ed. & trans.), 'Dialogus de Scaccario', in Amt & Church (eds.), *Dialogus de Scaccario, and Constitutio Domus Regis*, pp. 1–194.

servants, who transported the chapel's liturgical equipment and tended to its horses.⁷ After the *Dialogus*, the next surviving document of this type is an ordinance of Edward I's household, of 1279, known as the Household Ordinance of Westminster. It provided the names of five men in that year, two of them identified as chaplains, and one as clerk of the chapel (the remaining two, we are left to infer, would also have been clerks of the chapel) and the monetary payments and allowances in kind they were due.⁸ A later document, known as the Household Ordinance of York, dated 1318, provides similar information regarding the chapel of Edward II (1307–27). It stated that there was a chief chaplain, five chaplains and six clerks of the chapel. It too indicated the chapel staff's entitlements in kind, but not their monetary dues.⁹

⁷ “*Capellanus custos capelle et reliquiarum*

corridium duorum hominum et quatuor seruientes capelle unusquisque duplicem cibum, et .ii. sumarii capelle unusquisque .i. denarium in die, et .i. denarium ad ferrandum in mense; ad seruicium capelle .ii. cereos die Mercurii et .ii. die Sabbati, et unaquaque nocte .i. cereum coram reliquiis et .xxx. frusta candelarum et .i. galonem de uino claro ad missam, et .i. sextarium de uino expensabili die Absolutionis ad lauandum altare; et die Pasche ad communionem .i. sextarium de uino claro et .i. de uino expensabili.”, Church (ed.), ‘*Dialogus de Scaccario*’, pp. 196–8.

⁸ London, National Archives, MS PRO C 47/3/15. Most recent edition in Tout, *Chapters*, vol. 2, pp. 158–63. The section concerning the chapel reads:

“Clers de la chapel le rei –

Sire Jon le Chapeleïn, ke rens ne prent, mes ke viij m. pur robes.

Sire Nicole le Chapeleïn, } dunt chescun prent vij de. e ob. le jur, e vj m. pur robes.

Mestre Nicole de Araz, }

Sire Richard de Salesbury, ke rens ne prent, mes ke vj m. pur robes.

Robert le clerc de la chapel, ke prent iiij d. e ob. le jur, e iiij m. e demi pur robes.”

Tout, *Chapters*, vol. 2, p. 160.

⁹ London, British Library, MS Additional 32097, ff. 46^v–70; London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius E VIII ff. 54^v–74^v. Most recent edition in Tout, *The Place of the Reign of Edward II*, pp. 244–81. The section concerning the chapel reads: “Items vn chief chapellein, qi eit vn esquire mangeant en la sale, et serra as gagez le roi tanque il soit auancez du roi ; et v chapelains, chescun a vij d. ob., et vj clercs, chescune a iiij d. obole le iour tanque ils soient auancez de roi. Et entre eux toutz prendront pour lour coche ij piche de vin, ij galoun de seruoise, vj chaundelx, j tortis, et littere pour lytes par tout lan, et fouail pur lour chambre en la seisoun dyuer de la vssher de la sale. Et si le chief chapellein soit seigne ou maladez, prengne pour liere ij dare de pain, j piche de vin, ij messe de gros de la quissine, et vn messe de rost. Et si nul dez autrez chapelains et clercs soient seigne ou maladez, prengne pour liere j dare de pain, j galoune de seruoise, j messes de gros de la quissine, et vn messe de rost. Et si le chief chapellein prendra ij robez par an en drap, ou viij marcz en deniers ; et chescune autre chapellein ij robez par an en drap, ou iiij marcz et demye en deniers ; et chescune clerc ij robez par an en drap, ou xl s. en deniers.”, Tout, *The Place of the Reign of Edward II*, pp. 250–51. The 1318 document is supplemented by a further ordinance compiled in 1323, also at York, and edited in *ibid.*, pp. 281–84. The 1323 ordinance is not discussed here because it contains no information concerning the chapel royal.

These ordinances need careful treatment owing to the information they omit and their prescriptive nature. The documents of 1136 and 1279 both described only the innermost household: the former listed by name, title or association over one hundred and fifty individuals whereas the latter, its special concern the innermost household officials who had accounting responsibilities, mentioned by name or title only sixty-four. By contrast, by Michael Prestwich's reckoning, Wardrobe account books of the mid 1280s show that up to five hundred and seventy courtiers were entitled to claim robe allowances (so indicating the likelihood that they were in current court service).¹⁰ The 1318 Ordinance provided details of core householders' wages and allowances, and for some (but not the chaplains or chief chaplain) described some of their principle responsibilities at court. It was more thoroughgoing than previous documents, giving account of all allowances in food and drink, horses, clothing, and of monetary payments. None of these documents gave a reckoning of the knights and squires of the household's military wing who represented a large additional part of the royal entourage, though their number varied. During the first Welsh war, in 1277, just short of fifty household knights were paid from royal accounts, whereas in 1288–9 the household included only twenty-seven.¹¹

To supplement these ordinances, and in so doing ascertain how accurate a representation of the chapel royal they provide, Ian Bent turned to the increasingly extensive rolls and accounts of the English royal household to compile a survey of the chaplains and, where possible, also the subordinate staff, of the English chapel royal from the Conquest in 1066 until the death of Edward II in 1327.¹² Only after 1199, when the royal household began to keep duplicate copies of outgoing correspondence as a matter of routine, especially in this context the Charter Rolls, Close Rolls and Patent Rolls, could Bent

¹⁰ Prestwich, M., *Edward I*, new edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 136.

¹¹ *ibid.*, pp. 147–8.

¹² Bent, *The Early History*, 1968.

employ a judiciously detailed method. From this date until the accession of Edward I in 1272, he traced the chapel royal's personnel through Writs of Liberate to courtiers identified as clerks of the king's chapel.¹³ Bent noted in particular that the recipients of a particular series of payments included in Liberate writs – disbursements between 1200 and 1245 for singing *Christus vincit* acclamations at royal coronations and crown-wearings, probably the most important of chaplains royal's duties – constituted the total number of chaplains royal at court.

In the reigns of Edward I and Edward II (hence the total period 1272–1327), Bent also used records of robe and shoe allowances in the Wardrobe accounts. Each year they catalogued the members of the household under a separate heading for each department, so provided clear lists of chapel personnel, and indeed of other household officials. Bent also crosschecked every member of chapel staff he had identified against the published enrolments of Letters Close and Patent, charters, papal letters relating to England, and Chancery Warrants.

Bent ascertained the following. From 1199 until they ceased in 1245, between two and four men received *Christus vincit* payments, and from then until 1272 the number of chapel staff remained fixed at four. Under Edward I the chapel typically comprised eight men, four of whom bore the title 'chaplain'. The remaining four were titled 'clerk of the king's chapel'. The full complement of Edward II's chapel was larger: six chaplains, of whom one was known as 'chief chaplain', and six clerks of the chapel.¹⁴ Thus, consistent

¹³ Before 1226 Writs of Liberate were enrolled on the Close Roll, and thereafter became a branch of their own.

¹⁴ See *ibid.*, pp. 86–104 & 131–50 for Bent's account of the basic structure of the chapel royal, and *ibid.*, Appendices, pp. 42–79 for year-by-year lists of the chapel royal's staff between 1199 and 1327. The number of chapel staff who appear as recipients of payments and allowances in the sources surveyed varied year by year. In some years the chapel royal could apparently exceed its usual size considerably, as in 1305–6, when there were ten chaplains and two clerks of the

with recent historiographical observations on the documents' reliability, whilst the 1318 Ordinance of York represented the chapel royal's typical size reasonably accurately, the 1279 Ordinance of Westminster, because it listed the chaplains present in that year only, is a less reliable guide to the chapel royal's average size.¹⁵

Growth was accompanied by the elaboration of hierarchical structure codified in payments and allowances. Under Edward I, three separate robe allowances were indicated in the 1279 ordinance (8 marks, 6 marks, and 3½ marks per annum). The records of the allowances themselves show that in Winter 1296–7 distributions were set at 4 marks each season for chapel staff designated as 'chaplains', and 2 marks each season for those termed only 'clerk of the chapel'. The wardrobe book of 1294–5 provides an explanation of the wages of different ranks of esquires at the royal court. On the basis of their wages, in that year, most chaplains were esquires of the first rank. One, Sir John, received a higher wage on a par with the very highest household officers. The chapel clerk's wage indicated that he was an esquire of the second order.¹⁶

By the later years of Edward II's reign, the system of wages and robe allowances had reached a further level of sophistication. Bent was able to identify five levels of robe allowances, an allowance for Winter and Summer shoes given to the lowest ranking staff associated with the chapel (sumpterers and servants), and four ranks of wages. This picture is slightly distorted in relation to Edward I's chapel, because Bent included the

chapel, whilst in other years very few chapel personnel made claims, as in 1283–4, 1291–2, or 1293–4 when only a single chaplain submitted claims. However, these variations do not indicate that the actual size of the chapel varied to the same extent; one large variable was that chaplains needed to submit accounts to the Exchequer, and if they failed to do so would not appear under the relevant account. See Bent, *The Chapel Royal*, pp. 138–9 for discussion of variability in the submission of accounts among chapel staff.

¹⁵ The names of chaplains who claimed payments and allowances in 1279–80 match the names in the 1279 ordinance: the chaplains were John of Witham, Nicholas Donel, Nicholas of Arras and Richard of Salisbury; the clerk was Robert Ayleward (*ibid.*, p. 50).

¹⁶ Bent, *The Early History*, pp. 134–5.

sumpterers and servants in his chapel lists under Edward II, even though they were not clerks of the chapel but other household staff who had some duties related to the chapel.

The predominant changes in the English royal household, as they affected the chapel royal, were increasing sophistication and therefore clarity in the means of recording payments to householders, both in the accounts themselves and in regulatory household documents, coupled with a general inclination in the latter towards more accurate description of the existing condition of the household. These ideas are familiar from Tout's classic account of the growth of English royal administration. As the secretarial and accounting functions of the household crystallised, the chapel and its staff also become more clearly defined. In broad terms, the chapel, which in the twelfth and early thirteenth century shared some Chancery responsibilities, grew from a loosely defined number of men at court who were associated with worship, into a clearly defined office of the household. Its staff was graded by rank and became separated from the Chancery, not least because by this time the Chancery increasingly remained at Westminster while the chaplains perambulated with the king.¹⁷

Bent added further that the evolution of the term 'chapel' (*capella*) in central records serves as a 'barometer' of the chapel's formalisation as a distinct office of the household, rather than the mere function of a group of householders.¹⁸ He also attributed expansion of the chapel royal under Edward I to its consolidation as a monarchic chapel with a corporate identity. By this, he meant that the chapel royal developed an autonomous identity and became codified as a group of courtiers with a dedicated, officially-

¹⁷ Tout, *Chapters*, vol. 2 (1920). The day books of Edward I and Edward II show, from details of the chapel's itinerary included in its transport accounts, that the chapel followed the itinerant king (Bent, *The Early History*, p. 154).

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 151.

recognised function. This was the result of a process in operation since at least 15 April 1214 when Innocent III granted a privilege prohibiting interdiction of the king's chapel.¹⁹ Bent's interpretation has been criticised, partially for identifying chaplains royal before 1272 primarily by payments for musical services – singing the *Christus vincit* – before musical performance was a defining function of the chapel, and more broadly for fitting evidence regarding the chapel royal before 1327 into a mould shaped by the institution it later became.²⁰ These criticisms also touch the heart of this thesis, for it similarly considers the extent to which structures and practices in the papal chapel before 1304 laid the framework for its later form.

Turning the question on its head, however, the emergence of a monarchic chapel with a musical identity could equally be considered the corollary of wide-ranging changes at court, especially so if it can be shown chapels in different princely courts underwent comparable changes as the result of common developments in administration and function. The following discussion attempts to do so by comparing the papal chapel and the chapel royal through their organisational structure (especially the emergence of a senior administrator), financial regulation, the emergence of wage systems and codification of hierarchy, chaplains' function at court, and finally chaplains' role in conveying ideals of rulership. On the latter point, the discussion concentrates on sung acclamations that conveyed ideals of papal or royal power: the *Christus vincit* and equivalent lauds.

¹⁹ Rymer, T. (ed.), *Foedera, conventions, litterae et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes, vel communitates*, vol. 1, part 1 (London: Record Commission, Rolls Series, 1816), p. 119. Gregory IX confirmed the privilege in a letter dated 27 February 1228: *ibid.*, p. 189.

²⁰ Wathey, A., *Music in the Royal and Noble Households in Late Medieval England. Studies of Sources and Patronage*, Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities (New York & London: Garland, 1989), pp. 65–8.

7.3 THE CHIEF CHAPLAIN AND *MAGISTER CAPELLE*

Historians of the English royal and papal chapels have considered the emergence of a formally-appointed senior administrator in each chapel separately, but never comparatively. Prior to the fourteenth century, neither the English chapel royal nor the papal chapel had a senior administrator drawn from its own ranks. In the chapel royal a figure called the ‘chief chaplain’ first appeared in Wardrobe accounts in 1312. Brother Walter of Ashridge was the office holder at that time. Ashridge was succeeded, probably in 1316, by Thomas of Burton, but then returned to office from 1319 until 1320, when John of Woodford became his successor.²¹ In the papal chapel, a head chaplain first appeared with the title ‘*magister capelle*’ in a cameral account payment of 15 October 1336. The first incumbent was Pierre Sintier.²²

Historians of each court, working on their respective institutions without knowledge of the other, reached conflicting conclusions about the origin of the office in each court. Ian Bent suggested that the chapel royal’s chief chaplain was a figure adopted from the household chapel of Isabella of France (1295–1358; Queen consort 1308–27), when her household travelled to England after her marriage to Edward II in 1308. Thus the creation of a chief chaplain with a discrete title and rank was, in Bent’s view, “a French concept, borne by a Frenchman from the French royal court”.²³ Étienne Anheim concluded that the papal chapel invented the office of ‘*magister capelle*’, the first of its kind

²¹ Evidence for the succession of the early chief chaplains is set out in Bent, *The Early History*, pp. 189–93.

²² Pierre Sintier’s emergence as *magister capelle* in the papal chapel is traced in Anheim, É., ‘Naissance d’un office. Pierre Sintier, premier maître de chapelle du pape (1336–1350)’, in Jamme, A. & Poncet, O. (eds.), *Offices et papauté (XIII^e–XVII^e siècle). Charges, hommes, destins*, Collection de l’École française de Rome, 334 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2005), pp. 267–301, which slightly revises information on the *magister capelle* in Tomasello, *Music and Ritual*, pp. 77–100 and Guillemain, *La cour pontificale*, pp. 363–6.

²³ Bent, *The Early History*, p. 272.

in Europe and the model for all such offices in other courts.²⁴ However, the appearances of the chapel royal's chief chaplain in 1312, of a chief chaplain in Isabella of France's own chapel in 1316, if not earlier in 1313 or 1310,²⁵ and indeed of a 'master chaplain of the king' in the Sainte Chapelle under Philip the Fair (though not in the Capetian kings' household chapel, which was distinct from the Sainte Chapelle) as early as 1296 all conflict with Anheim's claim.²⁶ One cannot claim unique innovatory quality for either the papal chapel or the English chapel royal.

The 1318 Ordinance of York provided the earliest statement of the chief chaplain's position at the English royal court. He was an esquire of the first rank, entitled to eat in hall, and was entitled to a wage until he had sufficient income from benefices. During

²⁴ "La Curie de Benoît XII «invente» le maître de chapelle, car il s'agit apparemment de la plus ancienne mention d'un tel office dans tout l'Occident. Pierre Sinter, «proto-maître de chapelle», occupe cet office de 1336 à 1350, année de sa mort, mais il apparaît quelques années plus tôt dans la documentation pontificale.", Anheim, 'Naissance d'un office', p. 272.

²⁵ See discussion of the wages and responsibilities of Buchard of Vernoun, called "capitalis capellanus Regine" in a payment made in 1316 for his winter and summer robes for the previous two years, in Bent, *The Early History*, pp. 262–65.

²⁶ For source attestations of the Sainte Chapelle's master chaplain, see Fawtier, R. (ed.), *Recueil des historiens de France. Documents financiers II: comptes du trésor (1296, 1316, 1384, 1477)* (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1930), p. 20 (item 400): "Magister capelle Regis Parisius, pro necessariis ejusdem capelle et percamenno: 180 l. 100 s.". The Sainte Chapelle's master chaplain appeared again in Capetian royal accounts at All Saints 1299: Fawtier, R. (ed.), *Comptes royaux (1285–1315)*, t. 1 *Comptes généraux* (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1953), pp. 165–6 (nos. 3486–3535). Robert Branner has remarked on the subtle distinction in Capetian sources between the French royal household chapel, called the *capella regis*, and the Sainte Chapelle, called the *capelle regis Parisius*: Branner, R., 'The Sainte-Chapelle and the Capella Regis in the Thirteenth Century', *Gesta*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1971), pp. 19–22. Branner, citing Vidier, A., 'Notes et documents sur le personnel, les biens et l'administration de la Sainte-Chapelle du XIIIe au XVe siècle', *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, 28 (1901), p. 237, states that there was a chief chaplain in the *capella regis* – i.e. the king's private household chapel, not the Sainte Chapelle – in 1285. However, neither of Vidier's sources, an ordinance of Philip the Fair's household of 1285 (Leber, C. (ed.), 'L'ordonnance de l'hostel le roy et la reine (1285)', *Collection des meilleurs dissertations, notices, et traités particulières à l'histoire de France*, 19 (Paris: Dentu, 1838), pp. 24–5), and two entries in Philip VI's treasury accounts (Viard, J., (ed.), *Les Journaux du trésor de Philippe IV le Bel* (Paris: Imp. nationale, 1940) nos. 3719, 3771, pp. 551, 557), mention a senior chaplain. Between 1285 there seem only to have been three chaplains and two or three clerks of the chapel. The ordinance of 1285, together with a list of royal officials' wages in 1329, both indicate that there were only three chaplains. In the ordinance of 1285 each chaplain was paid "6 s(?) de gages, ij provendes I vallet manjant a court et I a gages"; there were also two clerks of the chapel who received collectively "xviii s (?) de gages iij provendes I vallet manjant a court et ij a gages", (Leber, 'L'ordonnance', p. 24). A list of royal officials' wages of 1329 stated that there were three chaplains, who each received 3 s. per day, and three clerks, each paid 2 s., 3 d. per day (Viard, *Les journaux*, pp. 265–6).

Edward II's reign, the chief chaplain's duties included daily celebration of mass (attested by lists of masses in Wardrobe books and payments to the chief chaplain for oblations, which were made every time the king celebrated mass), care of the chapel's sacramentalia (as stated in a heading of a 1324 inventory), including the purchase of new liturgical objects and vestments, and supervision of the chapel's transport.²⁷ Bent acknowledged that the first named chief chaplain, Walter of Ashridge, had a predecessor in all but name in John of Witham, who undertook most of the later chief chaplain's duties before the title itself appeared. Witham claimed for oblations, vestments and service books, and authorised duties of the chapel clerk Robert Aylward. He also tended to appear at the top of lists of chaplains in Wardrobe accounts.²⁸

Anheim noted that Pierre Sintier was already present at the curia, as chaplain of Cardinal Pierre Fournier, before he first appeared in cameral accounts; first in a list of payments to papal chaplains on 11 February 1335, then at the top of a list of payments to chaplains of the *capella intrinseca* on 13 January 1336, and finally, titled *magister capelle* for the first time, receiving a payment for the repair of three chapel books, on 15 October 1336. Payments to the *magister capelle* in the early years of the office's existence were sporadic: Sintier received payments from the cameral accounts for purchasing items of sacramentalia, vestments, incense, on one occasion the metal for a bell, and the repair of vestments. In these early years, other curialists also performed similar tasks: the *magister capelle*'s responsibilities were not clearly differentiated from other offices.²⁹

²⁷ Summarising Bent, *The Early History*, pp. 193–206.

²⁸ “Hence his leadership of the chaplains may have been officially, or even unofficially, recognised, although he bore no title to this effect.”, *ibid.*, p. 211.

²⁹ Anheim, ‘Naissance d’un office’, pp. 272–6.

However, the prior history concerning executants of these tasks suggests that designated members of the papal chapel already assumed a degree of financial and administrative responsibility in the late thirteenth century. As noted in Chapter Four, Boniface VIII's cameral accounts show that the papal treasurers, who were also papal chaplains, effected many of the same duties as the later *magister capelle* as early as 1299. Between 1299 and 1302 they procured wax for high feasts and mass and matins in the papal chapel, furs for the chaplains, cord for the chapel, luxury textiles to decorate the pope's private chapel (at the Lateran or Vatican, depending on time of year), coffers for transporting the chapel's material effects, and many luxury textiles and liturgical objects. Payments for these items were included in the regular itemised disbursements to the papal treasurers, which were issued each time the treasurers submitted their own subsidiary account to the cameral account.³⁰ Sometimes lower-ranking chapel staff also assisted the treasurers in these tasks. Matheus, the chapel clerk, purchased incense, covering for the chapel coffers, and one ordinary for the chapel.³¹ Giffredus, the chapel ostiary, obtained stoles for the chapel, and on one occasion received a collection of payments usually paid to the treasurer, for diverse items.³² Stephanus Guercius, not a chapel member but papal *speciarius*, provided wax and incense when the curia was in transit between Rome, Trevi, Anagni and Villamagna during September and October 1299.³³ As noted in Chapter Four, the papal-chaplain treasurers in Boniface VIII's accounts provide evidence that there was a degree of financial and administrative leadership within the papal chapel in the late thirteenth century.³⁴ They predate the formal appearance of the *magister capelle* by over thirty years.

³⁰ The itemised payments are in Schmidt, *Libri*, 296, 756, 901, 1296, 1444, 1524, 1603, 1916, 1995, 2053, 2157, 2561, 2637, 2775, 2868. For discussion of these payments as evidence of the treasurers' subsidiary account, see Chapter Four, pp. 95–6.

³¹ *ibid.*, nos. 389, 2197, 2507.

³² *ibid.*, nos. 389, 1313, 2197, 2507.

³³ *ibid.*, nos. 1114, 1115, 1290.

³⁴ See present chapter, n. 30.

In neither the papal chapel nor the English chapel royal was the formal codification of the *'magister capelle'* or 'chief chaplain' as a discrete position with recognised status at court a unique moment of innovation. Rather, it was a stage in a process both courts shared, by which tasks formerly shared by several designated chapel staff were gradually subsumed under one person's authority. The lack of sources pertaining to the thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Capetian royal chapel and Sainte Chapelle restrict knowledge of these institutions but, as noted above, a chief chaplain figure seems to have had a well-developed range of equivalent responsibilities in the Sainte Chapelle by 1299, long before Isabella of France brought her own household chapel with its senior administrator to England in 1308. Were French royal accounting sources more abundant, they would surely reveal the same process, by which designated chapel members performed the later master chaplain's tasks before the title first appeared. It is intriguing that this position should have emerged in both English and papal courts, with a close counterpart in the Sainte Chapelle, in the same three decades, given that bureaucratic changes – notably the replacement of payment in kind with wages – typically occurred earlier in the English royal court than in the papal court. One explanation would be that the emergence of an administrative head of the chapel was not an immediate corollary of the change in payment systems, but was instead closely related to growth in the household chapel's size and stricter differentiation of chaplains' liturgical function at court.

7.4 FINANCIAL REGULATION

So far the cameral accounts have been used to determine the membership of the papal chapel, and the economic support the curia provided for its chaplains. However, the cameral accounts also reveal information about curial accounting practices: specifically

whether and how individual household departments, including the papal chapel, kept autonomous accounts of their own, and the process by which these subsidiary accounts were reconciled against the main cameral account. Anheim has convincingly argued for the existence of differentiated account-keeping within the fourteenth-century papal chapel, and it had been common practice in the English royal household for some time. When accounting practices in the thirteenth-century papal chapel are scrutinised and compared with counterpart institutions, important changes in financial accountability and regulation come to the fore.

In Boniface VIII's cameral accounts a formulaic summary of the expenses of each of the four principal household offices – kitchen, pantry, cellar, stables – heads each week's account, which indicates that each of the four offices kept a more detailed account of its own expenses, totted up into global sums by regular categories, and submitted it to the appropriate banking family for payment each week. Following this system, routine expenses for daily chapel activities were accounted under the heading of the household department responsible for their respective tasks. Thus, to take two services specific to chapel activity, the *panetaria* received payment directly from the camera for washing the chapel's laundry, along with payment for the rest of the household's laundry.³⁵ Likewise, the camera paid the stables directly for the costs of transporting the chapel's material goods, including the provision of a boy to lead a mule, along with other stabling expenses not related to the chapel.³⁶ Chapel expenses that did not naturally fall in the compass of one of the household services were accounted in the Mandatum. Expenses for most chapel books and additional provisions for specific feasts, typically extra wax,

³⁵ Schmidt, *Libri*, nos. 465, 1607, 2116, 2930. These four payments, for extremely large volumes of laundry were accounted at the end of April and December in both 1299 and 1303, which suggests that six months' laundry expenses at a time were submitted at fixed points in the accounting year.

³⁶ *ibid.*, nos. 1087, 1105, 1125, 1140, 1247.

were arranged through the two treasurers.³⁷ (As mentioned, because the treasurers were also papal chaplains, in practice there was crossover between the chapel's and treasurers' expenses.) The ostiaries and clerk of the chapel submitted claims for expenses *ad hoc*, for incense, occasional repair and purchase of chapel books, and for textile coverings for chapel coffers. The ostiary Giffredus was also reimbursed for the payment chaplains received in place of their *anona* between the kalends of May and the Assumption (1 May–15 August).³⁸

By contrast, the fourteenth-century *magister capelle* clearly prepared a single set of accounts for the whole chapel. From 1345–6 he submitted regular claims for standard expenses directly to the camera two to three times annually, the expenses divided into five discrete budgetary areas at source: laundry, object repairs, transport, books, and incense. Increasingly, non-standard payments for individual chapel items, especially the purchase of objects, were also systematised into these routine payments.³⁹ The chapel under Pierre Sintier and his successors must have paid other household departments, such as the pantry and stables, directly for their services, from a subsidiary account it managed itself whose own accounting books have not survived. Furthermore, the practice of submitting a clearly organised account, differentiated by area of expenditure – the chief chaplain compelled to budget and account for chapel expenditure in each area – permitted accountability and regulation directly from the cameral account.

The chapel royal, and indeed the other officials of the English royal household had long operated individual accounts of their own, which were reckoned against relevant sections of the Wardrobe account. By the accession of Edward I, chaplains and clerks of the

³⁷ See present chapter, n. 29.

³⁸ Schmidt, *Libri*, nos. 389, 428, 1313, 2179, 2507, 2524.

³⁹ Anheim, 'Naissance d'un office', pp. 276–85.

chapel submitted their claims for allowances to the Wardrobe, not to individual household departments. When John of Witham began to take on directorial administrative tasks from within the chapel royal, these too were all accounted through the Wardrobe.⁴⁰ Thus, overall expenditure for the chapel royal was regulated using a single and sophisticated account which offered direct lines of accountability. Accounting procedure for the king's oblations at daily mass is especially indicative of the importance of direct accountability. Because the act of paying these royal oblations fell under the chief chaplain's domain (in reality other chaplains royal shared the duty too), expenditure for this key obligation in royal piety was not regulated through the almonry, as might be expected for alms-giving, but from within the chapel royal through the office of the chief chaplain himself.⁴¹

Between 1302 and 1345–6, there was a marked change in the papal chapel's accounting practice, corresponding to a broader change across the whole curia, which improved accountability and financial regulation. As noted, it is likely that the papal chapel was already keeping subsidiary accounts of some kind between 1299–1302, but the two-stage process by which each of the four household departments carried out its portion of work for the chapel, and then claimed the cost from the curia along with work for other offices, made for inefficient regulation since the papal chapel's overall annual expenditure could not be drawn from the cameral accounts without extrapolating a series of individual subtotals spread across the year. Furthermore, the fact that the papal treasurers were also papal chaplains, although it introduced a degree of administrative and financial leadership into the chapel, also introduced an additional accounting complication, since some chapel expenses were claimed along with treasury expenses for

⁴⁰ For discussion of chaplains royal's allowance claims to the wardrobe, see Bent, *The Early History*, pp. 136–45.

⁴¹ For payments to the chief chaplain, including for oblations, see *ibid.*, pp. 194–204.

the wider papal household. The change in chapel accounting between 1302 and 1345–6, such that the *magister capelle* claimed all chapel expenses directly from the cameral account, increased the accountability of the chapel within the curia. For the first time, the expenses of the chapel could be appraised and therefore regulated directly from the top tier of curial accounting.

7.5 WAGES

This drive for expediency affected other aspects of chapel finance, most notably the emergence of payment by wages. In both chapels, payment by wages gradually replaced allowances in kind, though the first recorded signs of the process appeared over one hundred and fifty years earlier in England than at the curia. Regular wages to papal chaplains, first explicitly recorded in Clement V's cameral accounts in March 1307, had developed from the thirteenth-century *vadia* system, implemented to replace payments in kind when chaplains were out of court, and the first wage payments equalled in monetary terms the market value of allowances in kind.⁴² Records of the basis on which chaplains royals' wages were initially calculated is lacking and the wage rates themselves were still subject to adjustment between 1288 and 1327, but they too had initially emerged to replace food allowances under Henry I.⁴³ An analogous change from a system of

⁴² Regular weekly wage payments to papal chaplains in Clement V's accounts, along with wage payments to other papal householders, were recorded under a section of each weekly account titled 'Mandatum in vadiis', and began on 17 March 1307: "Item XVI capellanis commensalibus presentibus dictis sex diebus ad rationem VII Turonensium grossorum in die pro quolibet LVI solidos Turonensium grossorum veterum.", *Expensa Camerae Clementis Papae V, Reg. Cle. V*, Ap. 1, p. 3.

⁴³ See Green, J., *The Government of England under Henry I*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Thought and Life (Cambridge: CUP, 1986), pp. 19–37; Round, J. H., *The King's Sergeants and Officers of State with their Coronation Services* (London: Nisbet & Co., 1911), pp. 52–68; White, G., 'The Household of the Norman Kings', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fourth Series, 30 (1948), pp. 127–55.

payment in kind to a combination of goods and cash also took place in the kingdoms of Aragon.⁴⁴

There were notable differences between the papal chapel and chapel royal in the organisation of their emergent wage systems. Papal chaplains' wages were initially strictly based on a day rate, unlike chaplains royal, whose wage comprised claims in the form of prests, or proportional payments in advance, against an annual total. Papal chaplains received their wages in addition to their benefice income, whilst from at least the reign of Edward I chaplains royal were no longer entitled to claim wages once their income from benefices was deemed satisfactory, and accordingly stop appearing in wage accounts.⁴⁵ At the turn of the fourteenth century, papal chaplains received *vadia* payments only when out of court, when they could not receive allowances in kind. When *vadia* payments began to be made weekly under Clement V, it is unlikely that papal chaplains continued to receive full *vidandae* and *prebendae*, but the cameral accounts do not provide conclusive evidence. It is equally likely that papal chaplains continued to receive their portion of the common and petty services. Conversely, by 1318 there was no lack of clarity at the English royal court: the royal household gave the chief chaplain and chaplains only wine, beer, candles, torches and straw whilst in court; full food allowances were only paid if the householder was ill, letting blood, or out of court.⁴⁶

The clearer differentiation in England relative to the curia between payment by wages and the benefice system, characteristic of the greater financial expediency of the English royal household in general, is also indicative of a wider difference between the courts. By

⁴⁴ See VanLandingham, M., *Transforming the State: King, Court and Political Culture in the Realms of Aragon (1213–1387)* (Leiden, Boston & Cologne: Brill, 2002), pp. 201–11.

⁴⁵ Hence the Ordinance of York stipulated the wages of three members of the chapel, but stated that the remaining two drew no wages. Presumably their benefice income was deemed adequate. For chaplains royal's wages and benefices, see Bent, *The Early History*, pp. 173–7.

⁴⁶ See Chapter Seven, n. 9.

differentiating between benefice income and wages, English royal government operated on the basis that one or the other system could be used independently to remunerate for and retain householders' loyalty but that it was not necessary to use both. Indeed, the differentiation between the benefice system and wages was doubly advantageous: not only because less costly for the household, but also because the appointment of royal householders to ecclesiastical positions strengthened the influence of royal power in regional ecclesiastical administration. The papal court, meanwhile, retained an undifferentiated system in which the wages continued to be paid in addition to often extensive benefice income. This remained the case throughout the fourteenth century.

As noted in Chapter Four, Guillemain held that the development of the wage system at the curia was an important index of movement away from a patrimonial system of remuneration and towards bureaucracy.⁴⁷ The comparative discussion above supports the Weberian interpretation that implicitly underpins Guillemain's argument. In a Weberian model, the wage system, characteristic of a bureaucratic organisation, replaced payment in kind, an aspect of a patrimonial society. As a lord's household grew too large for every member to be supported from the household's own coffers, a commensal system whereby all householders were provided for from the lord's table would be replaced by provision of landed benefices and, in the case of a bureaucratic order, by pecuniary wages. Landed benefices allowed the lord to retain subordinates' loyalty because these provisions remained at the lord's discretion and could be withdrawn if the holder fell out of favour. Wages, on the other hand, were a reward for service to the lord, in which the contract of loyalty was formalised in economic form.⁴⁸ As Le Goff noted in *La civilisation de l'Occident médiéval*, payment in kind and a system of monetary

⁴⁷ See Chapter Four, pp. 98–101.

⁴⁸ Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (1922), pp. 1006–68.

wages could co-exist perfectly well.⁴⁹ The papal chapel and the chapel royal demonstrate how this theoretical model manifests in differing ways in real processes of institutional change. In both chapels, the wage system (characteristic of a bureaucracy) co-existed with the benefice system (characteristic of a patrimonial order) and payments in kind (a vestige of the commensal household). Yet, whilst the English court and chapel royal differentiated between the patrimonial and bureaucratic payment systems, sensitive to the powerful leverage that benefices offered as an alternative to wages, the papal court made no such distinction, indicating retention of the symbolic importance of wages as a continuation of payments in kind, perhaps reflected in the fact that wages continued to be called *vadia*, the old name for the cash substitute for *vidandae* and *prebendae*.

7.6 HIERARCHY

There were significant differences between the English royal and papal courts in the way each court recorded hierarchy among its chaplains. The question of whether the historian should read backwards from record-keeping to draw conclusions about the society behind it is contentious, especially in light of the surely significant loss-rate of curial administrative records from the thirteenth century. A literal interpretation of the two courts on such a basis would conclude that the English royal court differentiated chapel hierarchy in economic terms (its household sources generally lacking information about chaplains' royal duties) whilst the curia marked hierarchy among its chaplains by ceremonial function (there being little evidence of financial differentiation in curial allowances or *vadia* payments among papal chaplains). Close analysis will assess whether deeper disparities underlie this broad and initially superficial point of difference.

⁴⁹ Le Goff, J., *La civilisation de l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Arthaud, 1967), pp. 309–13.

Surviving administrative records of the thirteenth-century English royal household differentiated between householders in overwhelmingly economic terms. The *Constitutio* recorded only minimal information about the duties of chaplains royal and chapel clerks, and the ordinances of 1278 and 1307 were entirely silent on the matter. Instead, in the chapel royal, as throughout the English royal household, hierarchy was carefully codified by divisions in wages and allowances. In the regal year 1294–5, chaplains received a daily wage of 7½ d. They were also provided with two horses and a servant. These receipts indicate that they were esquires of the first rank. Bent also noted that further divisions between chaplains were discernible from livery lists towards the end of Edward II's reign, which show an upper class of chaplains who received a robe allowance of 4 marks, and a second class who received 2 marks for their Winter robes and 20 shillings for Summer robes.⁵⁰ The clerks of the chapel were divided even further, into three or possibly even four ranks. The most elevated earned the same daily wage as a chaplain, 7½ d., and the same robe allowances as the second class of chaplains. The lowest received 4½ d. as a daily wage and 20 shillings annually for robes. Between the two, a middle rank of clerks received wages of 4½ d., and one of two divisions of robe allowances: 2 marks for Winter and 20 shillings for Summer, or 20 shillings for Winter and 20 shillings for Summer.⁵¹

Conversely, no source in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century suggests that papal chaplains' direct remuneration from the curia was graded by status. All papal chaplains received the same in *vidandae* and *prebendae* (or *vadia* payments) in 1306, at levels unchanged since 1278. Likewise, all papal chaplains received the same from the petty and common services. The only suggestion of hierarchical differentiation among papal

⁵⁰ See Bent, *The Early History*, pp. 172 – 3

⁵¹ See *ibid*, pp. 218–9. Allowances of almoner, chief chaplain, chaplains, clerks, sumpterers and servants are also summarised in *ibid.*, p.147–9.

chaplains in a financial source is the approximate order in which chaplains' names were recorded in the 1278 roll.⁵² Only after the papal chapel's structure was clarified and papal auditors segregated into the Rota in the 1330s did a connection emerge between wage levels and status within the chapel: the wages of *capellani intrinseci* were reduced by half, reflecting a corresponding reduction in their allowances, whilst *capellani commensales* continued to receive wages corresponding to allowances at their foregoing rate.⁵³

Instead, surviving thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century curial sources differentiated status among papal chaplains by ceremonial function and clerical status. Chaplain subdeacons and chaplain priests were allotted especially prestigious tasks. One from the former group read at the pope's table when he dined '*in aula*' and served him when he attended solemn mass. One from the latter prepared the pope's psalter for vespers, and the lectionary for the cardinals who served the pope at vespers and mass. The exact distinction between chaplain priests and ordinary papal chaplains is not clear. Those chaplains who were also subdeacons had to be ordained to the subdiaconate by the pope himself, and their special prerogatives as subdeacons included exemption from episcopal jurisdiction and authority to perform ordinations.⁵⁴ Papal chaplains' elevated function also clearly separated them from subordinate chapel staff, who performed duties that supported papal chaplains' liturgical functions. The chapel clerk prepared the altar for the chaplains' mass and vespers, and assisted the treasurer. The ostiary was responsible for ministering candles and routine preparation of liturgical books. The treasurers handled routine preparation of vestments and paraments, assisted by servants.⁵⁵

⁵² See Chapter Four, p. 84.

⁵³ See discussion above, Chapter Four, pp. 98–101 and references in Chapter Four, n. 53.

⁵⁴ Elze, 'Die päpstliche Kapelle', pp. 155–6.

⁵⁵ See Appendix Four.

The difference in the recording of hierarchy between the chapels is to a certain extent illusory. If the curia is taken as a whole, it is clear that differences between curialists' allowances in kind, and consequently their *vadia* payments, did mark differences in status. Furthermore, in both courts, payments in kind had fixed equivalent values in money, so were equally open to valuation against present or expected market circumstances.

The more important difference revealed by comparing the two courts' methods of recording status differentiation lies in the relationship between the size of each chapel and internal regulation. The papal chapel was considerably larger than the chapel royal, yet had no economic value-system for marking status internally. Thus the potential existed for a status value-system independent from market value indices to flourish. Papal chaplains therefore competed for status using two variables that were highly subject to individual proficiency: appointment to prestigious clerical positions at the curia, and wealth derived from benefices. Appointment to the historically-prestigious position of papal subdeacon was as open to the vagaries of personal, nepotistic and political favour as many other curial positions. Furthermore, success in securing lucrative benefices depended both on individual skill in negotiating the process of petitioning for a provision (in which personal connections with executors were instrumental), and on the petitioner's standing in relation to the cleric with authority over the collation of the given benefices – often cardinals, heads of baronial families, and the pope himself.⁵⁶

In this respect, the inherent flexibility of the papal chapel's value system and its openness to advancement by individual proficiency were inextricable from papal chaplains' multifunctional place at the curia and in wider Christendom. As a large office without

⁵⁶ For executors of benefices, see Hitzbleck, *Exekutoren* (2009).

internal financial regulation of status, clerics of differing wealth and clerical status could pass through the chapel with relative freedom. Competition for wealth, much more open in the papal chapel than in the chapel royal, left a legacy in the papal chapel's material and cultural history, evident not least in the wills examined in Chapters Five and Six, but also in the cultural activities that will be studied in Chapter Eight. Notably, this important characteristic of the papal chapel, not shared to the same extent by the chapel royal, is only partially linked to the differences in record-keeping between the two courts. Certainly the clear differentiation of hierarchy in allowance and wage rates was symptomatic of the sophisticated state of English governmental administration. But it is a moot point whether the papal chapel would have been structured differently had papal accounting procedure been as finely differentiated as that of English royal government. The most important difference was that the papal chapel was a very much larger office that, without internal financial regulation of status, remained open to other, less regulated, indices of status.

7.7 FUNCTION

Differences in the function of chaplains at court are important manifestations of more extensive differences between the wider curia and English royal court. In particular, disparity between chaplains' function outside their respective chapels is symptomatic of the papacy's more extensive use of its household chapel to combine household, governmental and legal administration relative to the English royal court. Papal chaplains, as discussed in Chapter Two, included practitioners and makers of law, lynchpins in government of the papal states, tax collectors, legates and men valued for their intellectual prowess. Owing to the papacy's extensive use of papal chaplains as nodes in its web of influence across Christendom, proportionally few of the very large

total corpus of papal chaplains were bound to life at court. By contrast, most chaplains royal in England travelled with the royal court: only one or two spent significant periods of time out of court.⁵⁷ The relationship between management of household and kingdom through the chapel royal was accordingly restricted.

In comparison with the extra-curial tasks conferred on papal chaplains, the highest comparable task among chaplains royal – custodianship *sede vacante* of monasteries and estates – was apparently less a mark of the appointee’s individual administrative skill as it was a tactical procedure. The crown profited *de facto* from the installation of a king’s clerk as custodian: revenues of the estate or monastery could be redirected to the crown and a tallage levied against the vacant property; election of a permanent successor could be delayed and, if the vacancy was a bishopric or archbishopric, the right to present its benefices reverted to the king.⁵⁸

As in the papal chapel, chaplains royal were also used as attorneys. But this practice, which had initially been widespread under Henry III (1216–72), had dwindled by the reigns of Edward I and Edward II to the extent that only one chaplain royal arbitrated in a legal case between 1272 and 1327.⁵⁹ Chaplains were more commonly used for domestic tasks. Chaplains shared responsibility with the chief chaplains for making oblations and, as Bent noted, they seem to have undertaken other regular duties at mass.⁶⁰ Even assignments that took them out of court were domestic in nature: the purchase and repair of liturgical textiles and objects, purchasing wax and carrying wax

⁵⁷ For chaplains royal’s out-of-court duties, see Bent, *The Early History*, pp. 180–2.

⁵⁸ For examples of this practice among chaplains royal, see *ibid.*, pp. 93–4. The classic work on *jus regalis*, the principle on which this practice was founded, is Howell, M., *Regalian Right in Medieval England* (London: Athlone, 1962).

⁵⁹ On 17 January 1292, Roger of Clare pardoned Richard le Fevre for a murder: Bent *The Early History*, p. 185.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, 179–80.

tapers, making oblations with the king, duties as messengers, and as chaperones for the king's daughters on overseas voyages.⁶¹

In contrast to the numerous honorary papal chaplains, there seems to be only one isolated example of an honorary king's chaplain: Petrus de Sancto Georgio, a monk of Monte Cassino, who was appointed king's chaplain on 28 May 1276. The appointment was made at the behest of his brother Stefanus de Sancto Georgio, who in a career encompassing the English and Aragonese royal courts and the papal curia, including a period as chaplain of Cardinal Hugh of Evesham, was a king's clerk of Edward I and, in 1282, Edward's proctor in Rome.⁶² Given that Petrus never received payment as a king's chaplain and did not impinge on English royal administration in any way, his single appearance in the Patent and Close Rolls being his appointment as chaplain royal, his position was undoubtedly honorary.

The connection between the ruler and his ceremonial entourage appears to have been more restricted, relying less on chaplains' individual agency, in the chapel royal than in the papal chapel. Pragmatic reasons partially explain the difference: the English chapel royal was the smaller institution by far, and chaplains royal were closely bound to itinerant service with the king. But beneath these pragmatic considerations lie subtler differences concerning the connection between ruler and chapel in the symbolic expression of authority, which merit further discussion.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, pp. 180–3.

⁶² "Admission of Peter de Sancto Georgio, monk of Monte Cassino, in consideration of the merits of Master Stephen de Sancto Georgio, king's clerk, his brother, as one of the king's chaplains, so that henceforth he may have the title of one of the king's household." (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1272–1281, p. 143.) For aspects of Stefano de Sancto Georgio's career, not yet subject to dedicated study in itself, see: Brentano, R., *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 51–6; Paravicini Bagliani, A., *Cardinali di Curia e 'Familiae' Cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254*, *Italia Sacra, Studi e Documenti di Storia Ecclesiastica* 18–19 (Padua: Antonore, 1972), vol. 2, pp. 490–1.

7.8 IDEALS OF POWER

Chaplains royal had two duties that symbolically asserted ideals of kingship: they bore the standard of St John of Beverley on military campaigns and performed acclamatory lauds – the *Christus vincit* – at royal crown-wearings. Both had counterparts in curial ceremonial. The banners of the city of Rome and the Roman garrison were borne before the pope in the solemn procession to the Lateran palace after the pope's coronation, and acclamatory lauds to the pope – beginning *Exaudi Christe* – were performed on papal crown-wearing feast days. Comparison of the roles of the chapel royal and the papal chapel in these assertions of authority will explore the nature of the connection between household chapel and ruler in the construction of ideals of power. The discussion will also contribute to a historiographical debate. A criticism of Bent's method, voiced by Andrew Wathey, is that by identifying the staff of the chapel royal by musical payments, Bent defined the chapel by musical parameters and assigned it a corporate identity long before music was one of its important identifying features.⁶³ Comparison with performance of lauds in the papal chapel will provide a comparative reference point for assessing this criticism.

English kings had invoked St John of Beverley's spiritual power in military campaigns ever since King Aethelstan (927–39) paid homage at the former abbot's tomb in Beverley in 934 when leading his army against invasion by the king of Scotland, which culminated in the defeat of the Scottish army at the battle of Brunanburh in 937.⁶⁴ Edward I took

⁶³ Wathey, *Music in the Royal and Noble Households*, pp. 65–8.

⁶⁴ St John of Beverley, bishop of Hexham (687–705) and of York (705–718) founded a monastic community in Beverley in c. 714 and was canonised in 1037. The monastery's estates received royal privilege from at least September 1069 when King William confirmed their freedom from royal demands. At the Battle of the Standard in 1138, when King Stephen's army repelled the forces of King David I of Scotland, the standard of St John of Beverley, along with those of York and Ripon minsters, was flown from a pyx to mark the English position. By 1266 the

particular care to invoke the military power of the Beverley saint, and on 16 September 1296 he founded a chapel dedicated to St John in Beverley Minster, endowed with forty pounds annually from the revenues of Scotland.⁶⁵

Under Edward I and Edward II, three chaplains royal, Gilbert of Grimsby, Bernard of Kirkby, and John of Rolleston carried the standard on royal military campaigns against the Scots. Gilbert of Grimsby (also recorded as Gilbert of Lafford), precentor and formerly vicar choral of Beverley, and in particular chaplain of the king's chapel at Beverley from 30 March 1304 until at least 30 May 1305, carried the standard to Edward I in Scotland in October 1296 and remained with it throughout the war. He was a king's clerk in 1296, but by the regnal year 1300–1 at the latest had been appointed a chaplain royal and remained so until 1302–3. (He appeared first as a chaplain of the king's chapel in an establishment list of 1300–1, and then between 1300–1 and 1307 as a clerk of the chapel.)⁶⁶ Bernard of Kirkby, vicar choral of Beverley from April 1303, possibly even before July 1301, is recorded as staying at court with the standard of St John of Beverley and received prests to this end as a chaplain royal between 29 December 1305 and 14 June 1306. Kirkby received expenses for carrying the banner a second time, in the Scottish war of 1319–20, though by this time he had vacated his vicarship at Beverley, and between the regnal years 1307–8 and 1309–10 ceased to be a chaplain royal and

church of Beverley would send a representative with the banner of St John whenever the shire of York joined the king's army. The banner was with Edward I in the Scottish campaigns of 1296 and 1300, and Edward II took the standard to war again in 1310. The foregoing is drawn from the fuller history of the association between St John and Beverley Minster in: Horrox, R. E., 'Medieval Beverley: Beverley and St John', in Allinson, K. J. (ed.), *A History of the County of York East Riding: Volume 6: The borough and liberties of Beverley* (Oxford: OUP, 1989), pp. 2–11. For the life of St John of Beverley see also: Wilson, S. E., *The Life and After-life of St John of Beverley: The Evolution of the Cult of an Anglo-Saxon Saint*, Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

⁶⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1292–1301, p. 204

⁶⁶ Leach, A. F., *The Chapter Act Book of the Collegiate Church of St John of Beverley A.D. 1286–1347*, vol. 1, Publications of the Surtees Society, 98 (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1898) [*BCA*, 1], pp. 53, 73, 73, 113, 143, 148; Bent, *The Early History*, Appendices, p. 123.

became a royal almoner, which he remained until the Winter Term 1319–20.⁶⁷ John of Rolleston, vicar choral of Beverley from 1301 until 1320, was granted special license to be absent from his vicarship in the church of Beverley to carry the standard in Edward II's northern campaign of 1311–2. He received payments as a chaplain royal in this year, and though he did not again receive payment as a chaplain royal, kept the title until at least August 1315.⁶⁸ After Bernard of Kirkby's last appearance as royal almoner in 1320, the connection between vicars choral of Beverley and the chapel royal continued in the person of John of Copland, who was appointed vicar choral of Beverley on 30 August 1312. Copland vacated the vicarship by 20 May 1320, received payments as a chaplain royal in the regnal years 1319–20 and 1321–4, and travelled with Edward II in his Scottish campaign in 1322.⁶⁹ Neither the Beverley cartulary nor the Patent Rolls indicate that Copland carried the standard of Beverley, but his presence in the chapel royal is evidence of continued royal favour towards the current and former vicars choral of Beverley.

The connection between the king's spiritual entourage and the invocation of an ideal of God-given military kingship is undeniable. Clerics of Beverley sent to the royal court to carry the banner of St John on military campaigns became chaplains royal, sometimes as a result of, but mostly in order to undertake this assignment. Furthermore, Edward I and Edward II used the chapel royal to invoke St John of Beverley's martial power: the sight of a chaplain royal bearing the standard with the king's army would also have been

⁶⁷ *BCA*, 1, pp. 18, 26, 52, 92, 99, 101, 128, 173, 211, 288; Bent, *The Early History*, Appendices, pp. 212–2.

⁶⁸ *BCA*, 1, pp. 52, 68, 92, 93, 96, 17, 118, 173, 212, 221, 285, 288, 291, 295–7, 321, 327; Bent, *The Early History*, p. 184; *ibid.*, Appendices, p. 136. In addition to carrying St John's standard, John of Rolleston was also named 'king's chaplain' in a writ of aid dated 9 March 1314 for the cost of timber to repair houses and other munitions in the castle of Scarborough, of which he was keeper (*Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1313–1317, pp. 90, 141), and was named master of the hospital of Newton on 1 August 1315 (*ibid.* p. 339).

⁶⁹ *BCA*, 1, pp. 295, 298, 302, 315, 341; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1321–1324, pp. 184–5; Bent, *The Early History*, Appendices, p. 105.

a public display of the same idea of divinely-bestowed military kingship for those who beheld it.

The counterpart at the curia to the English royal practice of bearing its military cross – the custom at papal elections by which, in the solemn procession to the Lateran after the act of investiture itself, the banners of the city of Rome and of the Roman garrison were borne before the pope – is mentioned in the eighth-century Donation of Constantine, but had probably been customary for some time. The triumphal procession had previously been a privilege of the Romo-German Emperor himself (though after the Investiture Contest the papacy denied the emperor the right to hold the Roman banner procession), and was a potent symbol of the investiture of power upon the pope.⁷⁰ In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the banner procession was detailed in the ceremonials of Gregory X and Giacomo Stefaneschi (in 1303 for the coronation of Benedict XI, and 1316 for the coronation of John XXII when the procession ended at Lyon cathedral), but the ceremonials did not assign responsibility for carrying the Roman banners to any specific office.⁷¹ In contrast to contemporary practice in England, the papacy used neither the papal chapel nor indeed any specially-designated household office for this important ceremonial expression of papal authority.

Performance of *Christus vincit* lauds was, for Bent, chaplains royal's most important symbolic duty. No sources bear witness to the form of *Christus vincit* lauds as performed in the thirteenth-century chapel royal. It is certain, nonetheless, that they would have comprised acclamations invoking Christ's kingship – thereby evoking an ideal of

⁷⁰ See Kantorowicz, E., *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), pp. 128–9.

⁷¹ Dykmans, *Le cérémonial*, vol. 1 (1977) pp. 171–3; *ibid*, *Le cérémonial*, vol. 2 (1981), pp. 281–2, 299–300. Innocent III's ordinal does not provide information on papal coronations.

temporal kingship modelled on Christ's spiritual kingship – interspersed with litanies of saints. The closest approximation to the *Christus vincit* as it would have been performed in the chapel royal – *Christus vincit* lauds from thirteenth-century Paris – is provided in Appendix Six. *Christus vincit* payments, which first began to appear in Writs of Liberate, initially to 'clerks of the king', but after 1204 to 'clerks of the king's *capella*', confirmed an early general association between the *Christus vincit* and the chapel royal. Bent found no reference to clerks who might have belonged to the chapel but who did not appear in *Christus vincit* payments in any category of the English royal archives he examined. (Because *Christus vincit* payments were not a wage, but a gift – like the *presbyterium* – payment would not cease as wages might have done once royal clerks were adequately beneficed.) He therefore reached the important conclusion that "the recipients of money for singing *Christus vincit* do appear to be the total clerical staff of the *cappella* – but a single exception may yet disprove the rule."⁷² Forty-five years later, no exception has yet been found. The chapel royal remains the only office in the English royal household charged with performing these acclamations of Christ-like kingship.

The performance of comparable lauds at the curia is documented by the same ceremonial sources that in earlier chapters provided information on papal chaplains' liturgical function.⁷³ The lauds as they were performed in the thirteenth century resulted from the abolition by Innocent III of an older form of episcopal lauds to the pope, and the assimilation of papal and imperial lauds which created a single form performed after the cavalcade during the papal coronation, and during mass on

⁷² Bent, *The Early History*, pp. 89–90.

⁷³ For these sources – Benedict's *Liber politicus* [Benedict], Albinus' *Digesta* [Albinus], the *Liber Censuum* [Censius], ceremonials from the pontificates of Gregory X and Innocent III, and Giacomo Stefaneschi's ceremonial – see Chapter One, nn. 14, 15, 16, 17.

crown-wearing feast days.⁷⁴ Albinus, in a series of excerpts whose provenance he attributed to Benedict's *Liber politicus*, but which are not in fact recorded there, indicated that papal crown-wearings took place on eighteen days during the liturgical year. He provided the text of lauds beginning *Exaudi Christe*, which included the *Christus vincit*, and which were to be performed on these days by two deacons and two singers (of the *schola cantorum*).⁷⁵ However, in his account of the Roman *ordo*, Albinus recorded a second set of *Exaudi Christe* lauds for the papal crown-wearing on Easter Day, which do concur with an earlier record of lauds in the *Liber politicus*: they omitted the *Christus vincit* but included lauds for nineteen saints and were performed by an archdeacon with deacons, subdeacons and other ordained clerics (“*archidiaconus cum diaconis et aliis ordinibus*”), and notaries as responders.⁷⁶ Subsequent ceremonials recorded only the latter variant of the *Exaudi Christe*, which leaves Albinus as the only source attesting performance of the *Christus vincit* at the curia. Censius, who provided the *ordo* for the coronation of new pope, stated only: “*Et notandum quod laudes ab archidiacono cum cardinalibus, subdiaconis et scriniariis, epistola latin cum greca, et evangelium latinum cum greco, et omnes alie sollempnitates tunc fiunt, sicut in feria secunda post Pascha.*”⁷⁷ His text for the second Sunday after Easter merely refers to an already extant practice: “*sicut moris est, pergit at Sanctum Petrum; ibique celebrata missa de more et laudibus atque sollempnitatibus universis sicut esterna die peractis, [viz. Easter Sunday, which is the immediately preceding day in Censius] coronatur ad gradus*”.⁷⁸ Likewise, the text for

⁷⁴ For the history of acclamatory lauds at the curia, see Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae* (1946), pp. 112–46.

⁷⁵ The feasts of the Four Crowned Martyrs, St Martin, St Clement, on Advent Sunday, the second and third Sundays in Advent, on Christmas Day, the feast of St Stephen, Epiphany, Laetare Sunday, Easter Day and Easter Monday, the fourth Sunday of Easter, on Ascension Day, Pentecost, the feast of St Peter (and St Paul), the anniversary of the pope's coronation, and the feast of St Sylvester (Albinus, p. 90). See Appendix Six for Albinus' text of the *Exaudi Christe* performed at these feasts.

⁷⁶ For Albinus' text of the Easter Day *Exaudi Christe*, see Appendix Six.

⁷⁷ Censius, p. 312.

⁷⁸ Censius, p. 299.

Easter Sunday referred back to the practice for St Stephen's (Christmas) Day, which in turn referred to the *ordo* for Advent Sunday, where the acclamations followed the form Albinus gave for Easter Day, with acclamations to saints but no *Christus vincit*.⁷⁹ All subsequent *ordines* contained with minor variations the same tradition of *Exaudi Christe* lauds without *Christus vincit* acclamations. Stefaneschi recorded the ceremonial for the inaugural coronations of popes Benedict XI (27 October 1303) and John XXII (5 September 1316), customary ceremonials for the coronation of a bishop elected pope (according to two texts, one of 1273 and another of 1303), and for the consecration of a new pope at St Peter's in Rome according to the Roman Rite. All included the *Exaudi Christe* with lauds to saints, but omitted the *Christus vincit*. Stefaneschi also recorded that there were lauds at the first Mass on Christmas Day, but did not record their form, and stated that the lauds at Mass on Easter Day were performed as in the *Liber politicus*. His ceremonial also includes the rubrics for the coronation of the Holy Roman Emperor, and for the coronation of Robert of Anjou (1309–43) and Sancha of Majorca (c. 1285–1345; Queen consort 1309–43) by Clement V at Avignon on 3 August 1309. The imperial lauds omitted the *Christus vincit*, and no lauds at all were recorded for the royal coronation.⁸⁰

It therefore appears that the *Christus vincit* was known at the papal curia in the 1140s, when Benedict compiled the *Liber politicus*, but had fallen out of use by the time the *Liber Censuum* was compiled in the 1190s, and possibly earlier still, since Albinus does not record the *Christus vincit* in his *ordo* itself but only records a fragment of an older text attributed to Benedict, not included in the known manuscripts of the *Liber politicus*. Furthermore, the fact that the performers of *Christus vincit* variant of the

⁷⁹ For Cencius's text of the Advent Sunday lauds, see Appendix Six.

⁸⁰ Dykmans, *Le cérémonial*, vol. 2, pp. 271, 279, 296, 313, 337, 399, 444.

Exaudi Christe recorded by Albinus are entirely different from the archdeacons, subdeacons, deacons and notaries (in the later *ordines* judges (*iudices*) replace or join the notaries as responders) who performed the standard form of the lauds, suggests that Albinus' text was a fragment of discontinued ceremonial. The reason for the change of usage is surely the most obvious. The older *Christus vincit* lauds contained acclamations to the Holy Roman Emperor and his military forces, vestiges of the *Christus vincit's* origin as military cheers, which espoused a Christological interpretation of imperial power. After the long struggle of the eleventh and twelfth centuries between papal and imperial supremacy, this was entirely unacceptable.

As the *Christus vincit* was the paramount expression of kingship in English royal crown-wearings, so the *Exaudi Christe* was the central statement of God-given papal authority in papal crown-wearings. However, contrary to practice at the English royal court, papal chaplains were not the sole executants of the *Exaudi Christe*. Instead, the curial performers were drawn from across the curia: archdeacons, deacons, subdeacons, notaries and judges. Since some papal chaplains were also subdeacons some would have performed the lauds, but there was no distinctive connection between the papal chapel and the *Exaudi Christe's* acclamation of monarchic papal authority. Instead, long-standing ceremonial precedent determined the lauds' executants. By extension, neither was there a connection between superior musical ability and the performance of acclamatory lauds at the curia. The *Exaudi Christe* executants were drawn from a diverse body of curialists recruited for their administrative, governmental or legal specialism, not for specialist musical skill.

At the English royal court, there was a strong connection between the symbolic expression of ideals of power and the chapel royal which was clearly differentiated

from other household offices. At the curia, comparable expressions of ideals of power were not limited to the papal chapel: the development of a differentiated connection with the papal chapel was inhibited by the strength of ceremonial precedent and recruitment criteria across the papal curia. One might expect as much, given the functional and administrative differences between the two chapels; the chapel royal being the smaller by far, financially more tightly-regulated, and staffed with chaplains of more restricted career typologies who, as a cohesive group, travelled constantly with the royal household. In comparison with the undifferentiated expression of papal power at the curia, where no single office was responsible for bearing the banners of Rome and the Roman garrison or for singing the *Exaudi Christe*, the exclusive use of the chapel royal to perform counterpart rituals at the English royal court supports the argument that it had a separate corporate identity of its own. Yet whether this corporate identity corresponded to special musical skill is hard to discern from the performance of *Christus vincit* lauds alone. Certainly, as the sole performers at the royal court of these chants, chaplains royal might potentially have incorporated them into a wider specialist musical repertory. But the *Christus vincit*, like other contemporary acclamatory kingship lauds, was a monodic chant and, as Kantorowicz's survey of acclamatory lauds in courts across Europe has shown, its executants could be drawn from diverse backgrounds, not necessarily associated with musical specialism. Certainly, then, there was a corporate identity in the chapel royal, regarding ceremonial assertions of divine kingly power, which was notably absent from the contemporary papal chapel but, for differing reasons, in neither chapel is the performance of acclamatory lauds persuasive evidence for a corporate identity associated with specialist musical skill.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE PAPAL CHAPEL

8.1 FOREWORD

This chapter describes the papal chapel's place in court culture at the thirteenth-century curia. It asks whether a distinct 'court' culture existed at the curia in the late thirteenth century, and how membership of the papal chapel affected papal chaplains' cultural activities. The analysis goes beyond the parts of chapters Five and Six that broached cultural aspects of exchange between individuals in wills, to attempt an account of court culture in a wider institutional context.

A working definition of thirteenth-century curial court culture begins the discussion. Then will follow discussion of the importance of contemporary educational practice for court culture, and of papal chaplains' roles in the predominant areas of cultural activity at the curia: law, literary culture, the visual and plastic arts, and music. The discussion will particularly consider how individuals' curial function both constrained and supported their cultural activities, which will open the way to broader questions about the influence of institutional structure and change on the course of cultural history.

8.2 TOWARDS A CURIAL COURT CULTURE

Norbert Elias expounded a model of an early modern court society in *Die Höfische Gesellschaft* which provides a useful point of departure for discussion of earlier court

societies. Working on the French royal court in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially that of Louis XIV (1643–1715), Elias proposed that a court society comprised structured offices of household and government arranged around a ruler. Geographically-fixed, centralised territorial rule was a precondition of its formation, and successful participation in a court society required adherence to its rules: constraints on behaviour to be learnt and mastered. Participation in Elias' model of a court society consisted in the enactment and re-enactment of practices constrained by the society's norms. (Elaborate and rigid etiquette and manners are among the foremost examples of such constrained behaviour in Elias' model.) Courtiers identified themselves and others as members of the same court society by competition in these constrained practices, generating a form of internal distinction in which individual proficiency determined a courtier's social and political success at court.¹

If a court society *à la* Elias comprises the social practices permitted within a society's constraints, then a court culture could be described as the set of cultural activities permitted within a court. At the thirteenth-century curia, 'permissible' meant both papally-sanctioned and also acceptable by common norms: the two sometimes diverged. Just as previous chapters on wills and codicils showed how individuals negotiated the top-down papal constraints on individual practice to weave the fabric of their society, so too cultural practice is worthy of analysis for the means by which competitors in curial society competed in constrained practices, so generating the forms of internal distinction that comprised their court culture.

¹ Discussed in Elias, N., *Die höfische Gesellschaft: Untersuchungen zur Soziologie des Königtums und der höfische Aristokratie*, Soziologische Texte, 54 (Berlin: Luchterhand, 1969), published in English as *ibid.* (trans. Jephcott, E.), *The Court Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), and earlier treated at length in *ibid.*, *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen*, 2 voll., (Basel, Haus Zum Palken, 1939), published in English as *ibid.* (trans. Jephcott, E.), *The Civilizing Process, Vol. I. The History of Manners* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969) and *ibid.* (trans. Jephcott, E.), *The Civilizing Process, Vol. II. State Formation and Civilization* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982).

Étienne Anheim has already undertaken analysis of late-medieval curial society under the influence of Elias' model. Working on fourteenth-century curial culture, especially under Clement VI, Anheim has argued that a new type of court culture was born at the Avignon curia, with a strategy of political representation expressed through music, painting, art and literature; an early matrix for the court cultures of other great European courts.² For Anheim, notwithstanding differences between the Avignon curia and the seventeenth-century Sun King's court, many aspects of Elias' model of an early-modern court society are discernible in the fourteenth-century papal court. (The primary differences were that the hierarchical organisation of the curia, as a clerical court, was quite unlike any lay court; that the curia had no dependent domestic nobility; and that responsibility for Church government imposed additional demands on territorial rule for the curia which were less important in lay territorial government.) Notably, the curia's clerical basis, far from being a hindrance, actually aided its development as a court society because clerical education taught the literacy that was fundamental to the written systematisation of complex court structures and financial organisation. Anheim has further argued that a court culture – a corollary of a court society – grew at the Avignon curia precisely because of its territorial stability (in contrast with the largely itinerant thirteenth-century curia) and its systematic household record-keeping (especially accounts with clear differentiation between household offices). In conjunction, autonomisation of the field of cultural production occurred through the concurrent organisation of musicians, court painters and, to a lesser extent, literary producers in differentiated court offices, under the leadership and administration of superintendents.

² Anheim, É, 'La Curie pontificale d'Avignon, une société de cour?', *Mélanges Hélène Millet: Église et État, Église ou État? Les clercs et la genèse de l'État moderne*, forthcoming; *ibid.*, *La Forge de Babylone. Pouvoir politique et culture de cour sous le règne de Clément VI (1342–1352)*, unpublished PhD, École pratique des hautes études, Paris, 2004, esp. pp. 577–9.

This autonomisation of differentiated offices was, for Anheim, a defining precondition of a court culture.³

Papal chaplains' privileged position at the curia, in close relation to the pope both personally and symbolically, makes the papal chapel a particularly apt case-study in curial court culture. Papal chaplains represented papal power, both temporally in their governmental, administrative and legal functions, and symbolically because the very existence of the papal entourage in itself, and the type of man it contained, conveyed important messages. In a theological reading of court organisation, not confined to the thirteenth century nor even to Western Europe, court offices were the earthly counterparts to the heavenly spheres and bodies of the cosmos.⁴ The functioning of court offices may also be read, following the example of sociologist Edward Shils, as the perpetuation of a ruler's charismatic authority in bureaucratic procedures.⁵ Most

³ Anheim's argument implicitly equates cultural production at the Avignon curia with Bourdieu's theory of the emergence of autonomous and closed fields of cultural production; measurable by the degree to which they function as independent markets; generating their own cultural values without relying on definitions of their function external to their own independent markets; and whose emergence corresponds with the appearance of a socially-distinct category of professional artists and intellectuals. Ultimately, the closed field of cultural production creates a relatively autonomous artistic field in which the function of art and the figure of the artist are self-defining, free of external political or religious exigency. See Bourdieu, P., 'Le marché des biens symboliques', *L'Année sociologique (1940/1948-)*, series 3, vol. 22 (1971), pp. 49–126.

⁴ Geertz has described, for example, how the main political text of fourteenth-century Indic Java, the *Negarakertagama* (literally translated: "manual for the cosmic ordering of the state") relates the "basic principle of Indonesian statecraft – that the court should be a copy of the cosmos and the realm a copy of the court, with the king, liminally suspended between gods and men, the mediating image in both directions...", Geertz, C., 'Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power', in *ibid.*, *Local Knowledge. Further Essays in Interpretative Sociology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), p. 130. For broader discussion of the symbolism of court organisation and kingship in Western society, see Kantorowicz, E., *Laudes Regiae* (1946) and *ibid.*, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).

⁵ Shils, E., 'Charisma, Order, and Status', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 30, no. 2 (Apr., 1965), pp. 199–213. Shils initially counterposes Weber's ideal-types of charismatic authority and rational-legal authority in order to argue that charisma can in fact be found in the routine functioning of institutions: "It seems to me that an attenuated, mediated, institutionalized charismatic propensity is present in the routine functioning of society. There is, in society, a widespread disposition to attribute charismatic properties to ordinary secular roles, institutions, symbols, and strata or aggregates of persons. Charisma not only disrupts social order, it also maintains or conserves it.", (*ibid.*, p. 200). The counterposition of charismatic and rational-legal

important for cultural history is Geertz' idea that a governing élite uses a set of symbols to express the fact that it is governing. His words are worth citing in full:

At the political center of any complexly organized society (to narrow our focus now to that) there is both a governing elite and a set of symbolic forms expressing the fact that it is in truth governing. No matter how democratically the members of the elite are chosen (usually not very) or how deeply divided among themselves they may be (usually much more than outsiders imagine), they justify their existence and order their actions in terms of a collection of stories, ceremonies, insignia, formalities, and appurtenances that they have either inherited or, in more revolutionary situations, invented. It is these – crowns and coronations, limousines and conferences – that mark the center as center and give what goes on there its aura of being not merely important but in some odd fashion connected with the way the world is built. The gravity of high politics and the solemnity of high worship spring from liker impulses than might first appear.⁶

The implications of papal chaplains' contribution to a curial court culture therefore extend beyond the purely cultural sphere: they are also integral to an understanding of the symbolic reproduction of papal authority through cultural activity.

This chapter's bid to describe curial court culture in the thirteenth century will use aspects of Elias' model as a questionnaire. Strong correspondence between Elias' figuration and the thirteenth-century curia would, for example, allow the historian to extend Anheim's argument that the Avignon curia was the first European 'princely' court further back in time than Anheim dared. But the inquiry also posits another possibility: that internal distinction through cultural activity alone might be sufficient grounds to argue for a distinct type of court culture that did not depend on territorial stability and the advancements in administrative and financial bureaucratisation that were integral to Anheim's definition, based on differentiated cultural offices, of fourteenth-century curial

authority is academic, as Weber did not stipulate that his ideal-types need exist in their pure forms: rather, they would co-exist, manifest to varying degrees.

⁶ Geertz, 'Centers, Kings, and Charisma', p. 124.

court culture. After all, why *should* a permanent base be an essential element in court society?

Anheim's doctoral thesis comprised a survey of Avignon curial culture based on fifty-nine figures he identified as cultural producers at the curia under Clement VI. Anheim studied their organisation at court, geographical provenance, distribution of benefices, and educational background. He then studied selected cultural products – notably *ars nova* polyphony – for the technical relationship between form, content and meaning.⁷ In the thirteenth century, precisely because the domains of cultural production were not as discretely organised as they would be by the mid-1300s, such neat separation between cultural producers is unfeasible.⁸ An attempt to describe thirteenth-century curial culture therefore demands its own methodology.

This study selects the most widely-practised categories of intellectual, literary, musical and artistic activity in the late thirteenth-century papal chapel: law, the production of non-legal learned texts, patronage of the visual arts, the scholastic study of theoretical music and (separately) musical performance. Medical and scientific culture are not considered in detail only because Paravicini Bagliani has published extensive research on the foremost curial practitioners in these fields.⁹ Through study of these areas of cultural activity, especially the acquisition of proficiency and taste, which when exercised at the curia created the constraining field in which curialists competed, and the degree to which

⁷ Anheim, *La Forge de Babylone* (2004).

⁸ The *schola cantorum* was admittedly a distinct organisation of its own by the late 1300s, but is considered a case apart because by this time it was entirely separate from the papal household.

⁹ Paravicini Bagliani, A., *Medicina e scienze della natura alla corte dei papi nel Duecento*, Biblioteca di Medioevo, 4 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1991); *ibid.*, 'Scienze della natura e cura del corpo alla corte di Bonifacio VIII', in Tosti-Croce, M. R. (ed.), *Bonifacio VIII e il suo tempo. Anno 1300 il primo Giubileo* (Milan: Electa, 2000), pp. 61–4; *ibid.*, *Il potere del papa. Corporeità, autorappresentazione, simboli*, Millennio Medievale, 78. Strumenti e studi, 21 (Florence: Sismel–Edizioni del Galuzzo, 2009).

institutional differentiation affected each area of cultural production, the following analysis will both describe cultural life in the thirteenth-century papal chapel and attempt to pinpoint its position in the course of cultural history.

8.3 EDUCATION AND CULTURAL PRACTICE

An oft-cited passage in the *Liber de statu Curie Romane*, a poem written between 1261 and 1265 by Henricus of Würzburg, related how papal chaplains would sit at Urban IV's feet after ceremonial meals and entertain the Pope in scholarly discussion.¹⁰ Education was a prerequisite for participation in learned clerical culture, and the curia was a centre of scholarly excellence whose centralised clerical authority derived in part from the academic learning needed for admission to major orders. Appointment to benefices enshrined this idea in formal procedure. Historically, candidates examined for suitability for a benefice were tested in grammar, music, and literature, and benefice appointments involving papal intervention confirmed from the highest issuing point of power the formal requirement of learning.¹¹ Boniface VIII, for example, confirmed the famous canon lawyer Guido de Baisio as archdeacon of Bologna in 1296, specially commending de Baisio's learning in the letter's *arenga* and *narratio*, along with his high birth and other celebrated attributes.¹² Furthermore, admission to some benefices required a university qualification in theology or law, canon or civil. After his papal chaplain Percivallus de

¹⁰ Grauert, H., *Magister Heinrich der Poet in Würzburg und die römische Kurie* (Munich: Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1912), pp. 95–100, vv. 773–882.

¹¹ For examinations of the personal qualities of petitioners for benefices see Barraclough, *Papal Provisions*, pp. 129–31 and, specifically pertaining to papal chaplains, Rusch, 'Päpstliche Behörden', pp. 85–6.

¹² "Consuevit apostolica sedes viros litterarum scientia peditos, generis nobilitate / claros, et aliarum virtutum muneribus decoratos precipuis favoribus prosequi et condignis provisionibus ecclesiasticis decoratos honorare. [...] Nos litterarum sufficientem scientiam, nobilitatem generis et alia virtutum dona que tibi suffragare didicimus attendentes ac volentes propter hoc personam tuam in prefata ecclesia honorare..." (editorial punctuation mine), *Reg. Vat.* 48, part 1, ff. 109^v–110 (calendared at *Reg. Bon. VIII*, 467).

Lavania's death, Nicholas IV made such requirements clear to the new candidates for de Lavania's former benefices in York and Lincoln.¹³

Scholars have identified some sociological trends in educational practice that were specific to the curia. In particular, Peter Classen identified a pattern in the twelfth century whereby aristocratic Roman families sent their male children to centres of learning in northern France – Laon, Chartres, Reims and, increasingly, Cluny and Paris – to obtain a schooling in '*litteratura*', '*honestas*' and '*religio*', which was a prerogative for high position in curial society.¹⁴ The same trend, but in attenuated form, persisted at the thirteenth-century curia. The majority of papal chaplains of Roman origin (who, because so many came from or went on to other curial offices, are also representative of a much wider cross-section of the curia) dispersed to Europe's major centres of learning before returning to forge careers in and around the curia. The extensive recruitment of curialists from across Europe, manifest in the wide geographical provenance of papal chaplains in the period of study, brought further influx of university-educated clerics, not returning but migrating to the curia in order to invest the cultural capital they had accrued through education towards an advantageous career. The socio-economic demographic remained, as in Classen's twelfth-century phenomenon, dominated by individuals from aristocratic families.¹⁵

Curialists' clerical learning rested on a pan-European educational system that far

¹³ "...mandat quatenus capellam seu sacristiam quam in civitate Eboracensi quondam Percivallus de Lavania, Adriani papae germanus, obtinuit et cujus provisionem sibi reservavit Nicolaus papa alicui discreto viro, de Anglicanis partibus oriundo, qui de legitimo matrimonio procreatus et in theologica facultate magister, aut in decretis doctor, aut in jure civili professor sit, conferat...", *Reg. Nic. IV*, 2529.

¹⁴ Classen, P., 'Rom und Paris: Kurie und Universität im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert' in Fried, J. (ed.), *Studium und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 29 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1983), pp. 144–5.

¹⁵ See discussion of recruitment into the papal chapel in Chapter Three.

outweighed the impact of the curia's own school, the *studium curiae*. The legacy of the curia's indigenous educational centre is therefore difficult to ascertain. Certainly, the *studium curiae* formally founded by Innocent IV in 1244–5, partially to rival the Angevin *studium* in Naples, was not a commonly-used educational route into curial careers. It existed primarily to provide the many visitors from other academic centres with a place of learning while they were affiliated with the curia, and not as a destination exerting a strong pull of its own. It was not a *studium generalis*, as were the universities of Paris or Bologna at this time. Nor did it confer the *licentia ubique docendi* as universities did. Furthermore, no candidates in the chapters of religious orders were assigned to the curial *studium* to obtain their degree, whilst many went to Paris for this very purpose.¹⁶ If Italian members of religious orders had been able to acquire their masters in a local centre with such prestigious visiting and home scholars, their continued migration to Paris would need another, so far unidentifiable, explanation. Whilst scholarly learning was a prerequisite of cultural life, the curial *studium* could not start to become a significant pole of educational attraction until it began to issue recognised qualifications after it became a full *studium generalis* in the fourteenth century.¹⁷

The *studium curiae*'s place in learned culture at the curia was instead to extend and refine the knowledge of scholars accumulated there. However, it is important to note that the term *studium curiae*, in the thirteenth century as now, often referred to both the curia's own *studium* and the loose conglomeration of religious orders' *studia* that variously

¹⁶ Information on the Roman *studium curiae* is drawn from Creytens, R., 'Le «Studium Romanae Curiae» et le maître du sacré palais', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 12 (1942), pp. 5–83; Paravicini Bagliani, A., 'La fondazione dello "Studium Curiae". Una rilettura critica', in *ibid.*, *Medicina e scienza della natura* (1991), pp. 363–90. Brigide Schwartz has also produced a major new study of the *studium* of the papal curia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, issued too late to be incorporated into this thesis: Schwarz, B., *Kurienuiversität und stadtrömische Universität von ca. 1300 bis 1471* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

¹⁷ The curial *studium* became a full *studium generalis* under Clement V, at some point before it appeared in this capacity in the acts of the council of Vienne in 1312 (Creytens, 'Le «Studium Romanae Curiae»', pp. 30–1).

travelled with the itinerant curia and flourished in the towns where it resided at length. The Dominican *studium* at Orvieto flourished particularly in the 1270s and 1280s, when the curia resided there for long periods and built itself papal palaces. In these decades, several of Europe's foremost scholars visited the curia for periods of varying duration, and found a place of intellectual exchange in the *studium curiae*. It was the Dominican *studium*, and not the curia's own school, that welcomed the eminent learned visitors of those years: William of Moerbeke and Campano da Novara in the scientific domain, Albertus Magnus in natural philosophy and Thomas Aquinas in scholastic theology. On the tide of Dominican learning, the Dominican cardinals Hugh of Saint Cher, Annibaldo Annibaldi della Molara, Guillaume de Bray and Eudes de Châteauroux were especially prominent in academic life.¹⁸

The legacy of this fecundity in the Dominican *studium* remained present through the turn of the fourteenth century, manifest in continued interest in medicine, natural philosophy, and the translation and study of classical and Arabic texts. However, the papacy relied on the mutually beneficial relationship between curia and the *studia* that orbited it, and did not incorporate even the curia's own *studium* into the papal household, which would have resulted in some degree of bureaucratic formalisation and economic support. The reader in theology was the only member of the *studium curiae* to receive gifts or a stipend from the papal camera, but even then only because of the position's apparent, albeit inconsistently-recorded, affiliation with the papal chapel. In Boniface VIII's accounts the reader in theology received the Easter *presbyterium* in April 1302, clearly classed as a resident papal chaplain. The c. 1306 ordinance, however, listed the reader in theology as

¹⁸ Ricetti, L., 'La cultura artistica in Orvieto all'epoca dei papi (1260–1310)', in Garibaldi, V. & Toscano, B. (eds.), *Arnolfo di Cambio: una rinascita nell'Umbria medievale* (Milan: Silvana, 2005), pp. 165–6; Refice, P., *Pulchra et luna. La Madonna de Braye in San Domenico a Orvieto* (Rome: Euroma La Goliardica, 1996).

an independent official with no indication of an associated papal chaplaincy.¹⁹ The curial *studium* was not an organisation deliberately constructed by the curia but, in a responsive way, became the appropriate meeting place for top scholars whose careers brought them to the curia. In turn it appeared a pole of attraction to scholars seeking to share learning. The resulting assembly of renowned scholars bestowed the curia with prestige by association so that, as an apex of the very clerical learning that gave clerics their authority over the lesser-learned, the curia stood as a powerful totem in learned society. But, crucially, this arrangement of distinction relied on self-perpetuating mutual benefit, itself reliant on economic support by the papacy and the strength of the connection between those aspects of learning valued highest by the curia and Europe's educational tradition.

The papal chapel, in this heartland of clerical learning, in which academic expertise was as much a mark of distinction as the wealth of one's household or magnificence of one's tomb, accordingly had no monopoly in any one domain of the clerical learning acquired by the many masters in arts and theology in the thirteenth-century curia. Rather, it supported many who were drawn to the curia to participate in all aspects of its activities, including learning, without formal economic differentiation between learning and other curial functions. Medical culture at the curia demonstrates this well: some scholarly medicine was fostered in the chapel (notably in the person of Campano da Novara and, in less concentrated form, in Simon of Genoa), but much medical activity also flourished among the large number of papal doctors attached to the curia.²⁰ In most spheres of activity, the foundations of curial culture lay in pan-European educational practices,

¹⁹ "Item 19 capellanis residentibus in capellania computato lectore 19 sol. tur. gross", Schmidt, *Libri*, no. 2151; Frutaz, 'Un documento', p. 291.

²⁰ Paravicini Bagliani, A., 'Medici e ricette mediche alla corte papale del Duecento', in *ibid.*, *Medicina e scienza della natura* (1991), pp. 1–51.

rather than a specially-favoured educational centre within the curia. Law, however, is an important exception.

8.4 LEGAL CULTURE

Jurisprudence, both academic and applied, was one of the most common activities reported among papal chaplains in the papal registers and had a hugely-important place in the education of many clerics. The concentration of legal activity in the papal chapel, above other curial offices, brought specific expertise in jurisprudence under the auspices of this one office. Legal activity has in general been studied as a domain of its own, which has set it apart from other intellectual, literary, artistic and musical pursuits at the curia. But, given papal chaplains' multivalency at the thirteenth century curia, legal scholarship and practice in the papal chapel should be studied alongside papal chaplains' other learned activities in order to understand how the different kinds of activity were interrelated.

There was extensive crossover, like the overlapping spheres of a Venn diagram, between papal chaplains and curial auditors of all kinds. As has been stated, every successive *auditor litterarum contradictarum* between 1288 and 1304 was also a papal chaplain, as indeed was Bernardus Roiardi who succeeded from Guido de Baisio, the last *auditor litterarum contradictarum* in the period of study. In addition to the five *auditores litterarum contradictarum* in the period of the present study (who could also be curial auditors of other kinds at other points in their careers), some twenty-six further papal chaplains from this period were named as auditors, at the curia or elsewhere in Europe, in the papal registers. Furthermore, in twelve cases, a papal chaplain's first appearance in the papal register coincided with his first appearance as an auditor (including the first appearance

in earlier popes' registers of papal chaplains attested between 1288 and 1304), which suggests that some new auditors might also have been appointed to the papal chapel.²¹ This connection, representative of the broader relationship between the papal chapel and papal auditors in these years, was reciprocal. The value of high learning and administrative prowess among papal chaplains made them excellent candidates as auditors. Conversely, bestowal of a papal chaplaincy, with admission not by examination but as an expression of personal favour (for specific service, learning, birth, or personal characteristics) was a very apt means of providing an auditor with a mark of prestige to help legitimate his legal work on behalf of the pope.

The strong connection between the papal chapel and papal auditors helped perpetuate conditions which brought many expert lawyers, with expertise acquired and taught in university milieux, together at the curia. At least eight chaplain auditors in this period taught law in universities during their careers; a further ten are attested in the registers as *doctor* in canon or civil law, or as having studied law at university. These élite lawyers produced legal works of their own.²²

There is no indication that these works were predominantly produced during curial

²¹ *Auditores litterarum contradictarum* were (asterisk (*) indicates concurrent first appearance as papal chaplain and auditor): Guido de Baisio (also *auditor* for case in Nantes, 1301); Hugutio Borromeo de Vercellis (also *auditor causarum sacri palatii*)*, Guido de Novavilla*, Ottobonus de Placentia, Raynuccinus de Murro (also *auditor causarum*). The further twenty-six papal chaplain-auditors were: Altegradus de Cataneis de Leninaria*, Bartolomeus Brazdareyre de Rosiaco, Bartolomeus de Cornazano, Beltramus de Mediolano*, Bernardus Roiardi (later *auditor litterarum contradictarum* 1313–16), Bosulus de Basolis de Parma, Giffredus de Pecoraria de Placentia*, Guidottus de Tabiatas de Mediolano, Guillelmus de Accursi de Bononia, Guillelmus de Godorio, Henricus de Gibeletto de Biblio, Johannes de Syrkes, Matheus Carazolus*, Matheus de Columna, Mathaeus Protonobilissimus de Neapoli, Nicolaus de Trebis*, Nicolinus de Camilla, Onofrius d. Papa de Trebis*, Papianus della Rovere*, Peregrinus de Andirano*, Raymundus de Ponte, Raynerius de Casulis*, Raynerius de Vichio, Riccardus Petronis de Senis, Rogerius Donmusco de Salerno, Simon de Marvilla*.

²² Appendix Seven provides a list of legal works produced by curialists who served as papal chaplains during their curial careers.

sojourns, but beyond the merely speculative (albeit plausible and highly likely) suggestion that the meeting of legal minds in the papal chapel contributed to exchange of legal ideas, the process of meeting was important in itself. A pattern comparable to that which Classen identified, of migration for university learning away from and back to Rome, existed among jurists, but in reverse. The concentration of legal activity in the papal chapel brought jurists who trained and taught predominantly in the main legal schools of Italy together at the curia where they worked as auditors, usually in clusters of cases spread intermittently over one, two or three years, with the exception of the *auditor litterarum contradictarum* who held his office stably for the duration of its tenure. (The chaplain-auditors whose education and teaching can be identified were mostly affiliated with Bologna, Padua, Reggio Emilia, Naples, and Siena.) Thereafter, these jurists either continued in higher careers at the curia or migrated elsewhere in Europe. Thus the concentration of legal activity in the papal chapel, combined with the close association between appointment as a papal chaplain and curial auditor, was a dominant factor contributing to the curia's position as a turntable in Europe, attracting and sending out courtiers who were putting their expertise into practice and advancing their careers.

In addition to this general pattern, former papal chaplains helped produced the *Liber Sextus* (1298), the most important decretal collection since Gregory IX's *Liber Extra* (1234).²³ Two of Boniface VIII's three collaborators on the work – Guillaume de Mandagout and Berengar Fredol (respectively archbishop of Embrun and bishop of Beziers at the time) – had reached their elevated positions by way of papal chaplaincies. Furthermore, of the three glossators on the *Sextus*, Johannes Andreae, Johannes Monachus and Guido de Baisio, Monachus was a former papal chaplain, and de Baisio

²³ Van Hove, A., 'Liber Sextus Decretalium', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 9 (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1913), p. 227.

both an incumbent papal chaplain and *auditor litterarum contradictarum* when they produced their glosses. These legal experts were responsible for a large proportion of the global number of legal texts produced by papal chaplains surveyed above.²⁴

Out of necessity – because legally-expert curialists needed to be found to handle the increasing burden of legal cases coming before the curia, and because the production of so important a legal work as the *Sextus* required the best jurists available – legal expertise became a means of distinction at the curia. Legal auditors had made closely comparable investments in the same type of education which, in the curia, combined with the prestige bestowed by the close association between law-making, legal practice, and the papal chapel to become a form of cultural capital. Together, these factors gave the curia an institutionalised cultural capital of its own, turning it into a prestigious and powerful centre of legal activity, without rival among European courts for the extent of its employment of lawyers or for the importance of the major legal texts it produced.

The institutional connection between jurisprudence and the papal chapel was also instrumental in the course of curial careers. The papal chapel's position as a turntable in European legal activity – as in other spheres of activity – relied heavily on the fluidity of appointment criteria to a papal chaplaincy and the permeability of boundaries between the chapel and several other curial offices and functions. Without a formal entry exam either for the chapel or for work as an auditor (this would change by 1331 when criteria for employment as an auditor were carefully defined²⁵), or strict enforcement of the obligation of residence at the curia among all papal chaplains, there was great flexibility in the way a cleric could use work as a papal chaplain *cum* auditor to enter curial society,

²⁴ See Appendix Seven.

²⁵ See Chapter Three, p. 64.

maintain his position in it, and achieve promotion internally or higher appointments further afield.

The production and reproduction of legal activity, and its importance as a sign of distinction, depended on a combination of adequate economic support and prestige from the existing administrative structure, but also inherent flexibility in the economic and administrative structures providing this support. The lack of a clear-cut institutional division between curial law and the papal chapel was therefore an enabling force in the late thirteenth century. The overlap between curial auditors and papal chaplains meant that legal practitioners were blended in an unsystematic way with the papal household. Although the papacy did not deliberately initiate a policy of using the papal chapel to support legal culture (the law/chapel connection grew gradually from long-standing practice), the partial incorporation of jurisprudence into the papal chapel provided economic support and proximity to the apex of papal power.

The same law/chapel connection also constrained papal chaplains' activities in a way rendered apparent by comparison with the chapel from the 1330s onwards. By this time, the formalisation of the Rota had turned the formally loosely-organised papal auditors into a formally-organised and distinct appellate tribunal. Several papal chaplain auditors from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries continued in legal service as part of the new Rota, and new auditors of the Rota were appointed honorary or commensal papal chaplains. But in a process marked by increasing nomenclatural consistency in the papal registers as to the difference between honorary papal chaplains (*capellani commensales*) and actively serving papal chaplains (*capellani intrinseci* / *capellani capelle intrinseci*), by the time the appellate tribunal was first termed the Rota in 1336, it was clear

that its auditors were only ever commensal chaplains, and never *capellani capelle intrinseci*.²⁶ Actively-serving papal chaplains ceased to work as papal auditors completely. Crucially, the separation of responsibility for legal cases from active service in the papal chapel removed the requirement of legal expertise from *capellani intrinseci*. Without the broad requirement that papal chaplains have high legal education and expertise, clerics with different educational specialism were able to enter the chapel in greater numbers. The primary new specialism among actively-serving papal chaplains (*i.e. capellani intrinseci*) became music. The increase in papal chaplains' musical expertise, mentioned earlier, which could only happen once the connection between service in the chapel and legal expertise had dissolved, is discussed in full below.²⁷

8.5 LITERARY CULTURE

Implementation of learned knowledge was important not only in law, but also in wider intellectual culture. Paravicini Bagliani's extensive work on medical and scientific culture has highlighted the extent to which these intellectual pursuits flourished at and were valued by the thirteenth-century curia. Literary writing as a genre in itself – that is, works produced with primary emphasis on their aesthetic and expressive merit, and narrative or poetic content, rather than legal or natural philosophical enquiry – also flourished at the thirteenth-century curia. This literary culture demonstrated learned knowledge and expertise just as much as non-literary writing, and its place at the curia should be considered alongside legal and natural philosophical culture. Its foremost surviving manifestations, which will be studied here, were the verse epitaphs of high curialists, and

²⁶ Guillemain, *La cour pontificale*, pp. 346–9, 367–8.

²⁷ See below, pp. 239–44.

individual works of poetry and prose written for the pope or by curialists themselves.²⁸

The study of literary production and reception at the curia will also consider the extent to which we can truly describe them as a component of a distinct court culture.

The thirteenth-century papal library, attested by inventories drawn up in Rome in 1295 and at Perugia in 1311, before the contents of the papal treasury were divided between Avignon and Assisi, exemplifies the scope of learned interest and provides necessary context for any discussion of textual culture at the curia.²⁹ Under Boniface VIII, the papal library consisted of books assembled under his predecessors as gifts, purchases, or by the right of spoil, together with Boniface's own collection. Hence it contained works presented to the pope, items the pope specifically wished to purchase, and books acquired responsively (largely by right of spoil) whose inclusion in the library was still subject to criteria regarding suitability. Only a brief overview of its contents is possible here, but it suffices to demonstrate the breadth and size of the collection: bibles; biblical commentaries and patristic works; theological works including Peter Lombard's *Sentences*; sermon collections; works of civil and canon law including the *Corpus juris canonici*, the *Corpus juris civilis* and the *Liber Sextus*; histories of the crusades and instruction manuals for pilgrims by Jacques de Vitry, Humbert de Romans and Eudes de Châteauroux; anti-

²⁸ Marco Guardo has provided an edition and discursive introduction to many, but not all, of the surviving thirteenth-century cardinals' and popes' epitaphs in Guardo, M., *Titulus e tumulus. Epitafi di pontefici e cardinali alla corte dei papi del XIII secolo* (Rome: Viella, 2008). One specific genre of writings directed at the papacy – panegyric verse – is the subject of the monograph Haye, T., *Päpste und Poeten: die mittelalterliche Kurie als Objekt und Förderer panegyrischer Dichtung* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2009).

²⁹ Ehrle, F., *Historia bibliothecae Romanorum pontificum tum Bonifatianae tum Avenionensis enarrata et antiquis earum indicibus aliisque documentis illustrata*, vol. 1, Biblioteca dell'Accademia storico-giuridica, 7 (Rome, Typis Vaticanis, 1890) (includes edition of the inventory of 1311); Pelzer, A., *Addenda et emendanda ad Francisci Ehrle Historiae bibliothecae Romanorum pontificum tum Bonifatianae tum Avenionensis Tomum I* (Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, 1947) (includes edition of the inventory of 1295). Two further inventories drafted at Assisi in 1327 and 1339 are not considered because, although they repeat many items of the 1295 and 1311 inventories, they are less reliable witnesses of the thirteenth-century collection owing to additions in the interim and, in the case of the 1327 inventory, because it is clearly not as complete as its two predecessors.

heretical texts; historical works including Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*; saints' lives; *dictamina* including Rolandino Passageri's *Summae dictaminis*; scientific and medical texts including several Aristotelian treaties in their original language or in Greek translation; works from classical antiquity, including those of Cicero, Seneca, Macrobius, Ovid, Suetonius, Lucan, Palladius and Virgil (but not Livy), and a collection, remarkable for its time, of Greek manuscripts including commentaries by Aristotle and Plato, scientific works and etymologies.³⁰ Works by authors who spent time at the late thirteenth-century curia feature in only certain domains: theology, law (in addition to the *Sextus*, works by Guillaume de Mandagout, yet surprisingly no works by Guido de Baisio), and the controversial, in essence heretical, visionary works by future papal doctor Arnold of Villanova.³¹ Secular narrative literature and poetry are entirely absent, but among the collection are isolated examples of poetic works with curial subject matter: an ode to John XXI by the poet Bonifacio Veronese, and especially a collection of works by the papal chaplain Bonaiutus de Casentino assembled and presented to the papal library as the *Diversiloquium* and discussed in full below.³²

In a collection comprising such diverse interests, it is remarkable that examples of poetic or narrative literature (with the exception of saints' lives; a genre of their own) represented only a fraction of the collection. These few examples shared explicit pro-papal laudatory content, which should be considered an important symbolic element of literary culture at the curia, since it seems the primary justification for their inclusion in the papal library. This proportionally-small collection also provides a glimpse of

³⁰ The papal library seems to have played an essential role in handing down an especially important collection of Greek texts: Paravicini Bagliani, A., 'La provenienza 'angioina' dei codici greci della biblioteca di Bonifacio VIII. Una revisione critica', in idem., *Medicina e scienza della natura* (1991), pp. 409–54.

³¹ For an introduction to Arnold of Villanova see Lerner, R., 'The Pope and the Doctor', *The Yale Review*, 78 (1988–89), pp. 65–79.

³² See below, pp. 218–22.

practices of literary composition and use of texts for aesthetic enjoyment at the curia, which were surely far more extensive, but which remain unknown because surviving written curial sources for the period are primarily administrative, legal and governmental. Further fragments of literary culture outside libraries also emerge in curialists' epitaphs, which have largely survived as components of their tombs and attest a fund of common taste and literary skill representative of broader literary taste and practice. The dedication of literary works to curialists, and on rare occasions among curialists, also attest to the high symbolic importance of the written word as a gift offered with specific intent.

Epitaphs will be discussed first, for the evidence they yield regarding common standards of literary competence and taste at the curia. Their authors, usually anonymous, delighted in rhetorical artifice, appropriating the forms of Classical Latin verse and juxtaposing them with voices from other times and places. Citations from Latin authors, especially Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Statius and Lucan sometimes appear as direct calques, often with superimposed metaphorical meaning, sometimes as imitation. At times, the bureaucratic tone of chancery terminology intrudes, as in Riccardo Annibaldi's epitaph when it states: "*Sedis Apostolice fuit ipse notarius*".³³ These short texts were composed with a highly-learned display of rhetorical virtuosity and erudition of the Classical textual tradition that was gaining popularity across Europe. Read literally, epitaphs' words express ideas of humility, piety and justice, and the value of industrious study and learning: Durandus' epitaph extols his desire to "*instruere*" and "*monere*".³⁴ Concurrently, behind their literal, explicit meaning lay an equally strong implicit message, underpinning the cultural value of learning.

³³ Guardo, *Titulus*, pp. 19, 100.

³⁴ "...instruxit clerum scriptis monuitque statutis, / Gregorii deni Nicolai scita perenni / glossa diffudit populis sensusque profundos / scire dedit mentes corusca luce studentum.", *ibid.*, p. 114.

The epitaph of Cardinal Guillaume de Bray, preserved as the inscription on his tomb in Orvieto, exemplifies both explicit and implicit qualities. The epitaph is especially apt in discussion of the papal chapel because de Bray's papal chaplain executors, de Esseio and de Polleio, would surely have been involved in procuring the epitaph from its author, almost certainly a member of the curia.³⁵ One of the papal chaplain executors might even have been the author himself. The de Bray epitaph escaped the attention of Guardo's recent compilation of thirteenth-century cardinals' and popes' epitaphs. Duchesne included the epitaph in his *Histoire de tous les cardinaux François de naissance* in 1660, but with editorial amendments that altered the meaning of certain lines. A modern edition has not yet been published, so is included here at Appendix Eight.³⁶

De Bray's epitaph has many characteristic features of late-medieval verse. It is in leonine hexameter, typified by rhymes between the strong caesura and the end of each line, and additional *unisoni* (use of the same line-internal rhyme also to form couplets), which prick out the epitaph's structure: the author's departure in lines 5–6 and 9–10 from otherwise consistent use of *unisoni* signals changes in subject matter and tone. In content, the epitaph reinforces the importance of learning of the highest order, with a lament for the loss of the deceased's distinction in mathematics, law, poetry and ethics, personified using abstruse erudite terms of classical Greek origin: '*mathesis*', '*sinderesis*', '*themesis*'. The author's use of alliterative word play to provide de Bray's death date using repetition of '*bis*' (twice) and '*binus*' (two each/two at a time) is particularly notable use of conspicuous linguistic virtuosity.

The values implicitly and explicitly stated in the de Bray epitaph are common to many

³⁵ For de Bray's will and executors, see above, p. 121.

³⁶ Duchesne, F., *Histoire de tous les cardinaux François de naissance*, vol. 2 (Paris: aux despens de l'auteur, & se vendent chez luy, 1660), p. 205.

surviving curialists' epitaphs. Their stylistic refinement and conspicuous scholarly erudition were public displays of the fruits of their authors' learning, drawn from a fund of common tastes. The public here, be it noted, was reflexive: the epitaphs' subtext extolled virtues that the deceased, predominantly cardinals and popes, shared among themselves, having acquired them from long education. Just as Anheim observed that the sophistication and abstruseness of literary culture under Clement VI were understandable only to the fully-initiated few, so too thirteenth-century epitaphs signified their authors' (and indeed the deceased's) membership of this privileged élite.

Beyond the specific genre of epitaphs, curialists actively deployed the symbolic capital inherent in elite textual culture by soliciting works from and dedicating works to each other. Such symbolic literary gift-giving had long precedent at the curia. Among the more notable cases was the delivery in 1179 of a panegyric by a poet identified simply as 'Johannes' to Pope Alexander III (1159–81). The gift elicited a prebend in Senlis from the Pope, against the wishes of the bishop of Senlis who had awarded the prebend to another. Pope Alexander wrote both to the bishop, castigating his disobedience, and subsequently also to the archbishop of Reims, instructing him to ensure that the bishop correctly restored the prebend to the papal candidate Johannes.³⁷

The most notable literary gift-giver at the late thirteenth-century curia was Bonaiutus da Casentino, whose literary output was an adjunct to a curial career that, typical of a late-thirteenth-century curialist, involved passage from one mid-level office to another. He arrived in Rome between 1291 and 1292. By 1299 he had become a chancery scribe

³⁷ The papal letters regarding the matter are in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.9.17(819), ff. 110, 126 & 126^v, edited in Loewenfelt, S. (ed.), *Epistolae pontificum romanorum ineditae* (Liepzig: Veit, 1885), pp. 175–8, nn. 303–5.

(though Nüske considered that this position was honorary).³⁸ Between 1301 and 1308 he was papal tax collector for Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland and Moravia. He became a papal chaplain by 1304 and remained so until his death in 1312.

Da Casentino's work survives thanks to a gift to the papal library: his *amanuensis* G. da Romaniola compiled da Casentino's literary output as a single manuscript, in a hand that dates from approximately 1297–1300. The manuscript was presented to the papal library as the *Diversiloquium Bonaiuti* before 1311, when it first appeared inventoried in the papal library. It survives in the Vatican library today as MS Vat. lat. 2854.³⁹ The collection includes several poetic gifts. Its opening work, a hexameter poem on the curia's flight from the torrid Roman summer, came to the attention of the papal chamberlain Berardus de Camerino, who requested its completion. Da Casentino accordingly sent the poem to the chamberlain accompanied by a dedicatory letter, included in the *Diversiloquium*, which with rhetorical false modesty asked de Camerino to submit the extant work to a reputable poet for suggested improvement, on condition that the reviewer not be insensitively harsh in his criticism.⁴⁰ A second hexameter poem, on the bellicose political landscape in Rome, represents the completion of the work. An apostrophe on the coronation of Boniface VIII was sent to the pope via the intermediary of persons unnamed among the papal entourage. The dedicatory letter was addressed with a play on

³⁸ Nüske, 'Untersuchungen', p. 423.

³⁹ For paleographical description of BAV MS Vat. lat. 2854, biographical information on Bonaiutus, and edition of the *Diversiloquium*, see Petoletti, M., 'Il *Diversiloquium* di Bonaiuto da Casentino, poeta di curia ai tempi di Bonifacio VIII', *Aevum*, Anno 75, Fasc. 2 (May–August 2001), pp. 381–448.

⁴⁰ "Domino B. Bonaiutus se. Illud opusculum, quin immo ridiculum, quod expleri iussistis, dominationi vestre transmitto, supplicans ut, quam primum vobis aliquis probus versificator occurrerit, velitis eidem illud ostendere corrigendum, proviso ne talis sit ille qui tenerum eorumdem versuum corticem mordeat vel ipsorum curtas tenuesque radices ligone detractionis evellat, cum sua debilitate favore potius indigeant quam livore. Infantiam vero stili, cachinnum materie, levitatem sententie, arrogantiam tituli, prolixatis fastidium, gravitatis exilium in opere memorato non curet, quia, si hoc emendare, condire, protegere vel ornare contenderet, aggrediretur laborem non facile finiendum.", BAV, MS Vat. lat. 2854, f. 7, Petoletti (ed.), 'Il *Diversiloquium*', p. 414.

Genesis 28: 17: “*venerabili vel nobili viro alicui de astantibus domino nostro pape Bonaiutus de Casentino, cui terribilis est et inaccessibilis locus iste, cum devota recommendatione se ipsum*”, with the instruction: “*Quare precor ut hec ipsi domino, ad cuius honorem facta sunt, cum congruum tempus et locum videretis, offeratis*”.⁴¹ Reminding the Pope that the poet as yet had no place in the papal *familia*, which remained “*inaccessibilis*”, the gift was surely a coded request that Bonaiutus be rewarded with curial position; a gift he later received in the form of a papal chaplaincy from Benedict XI.

Da Casentino also sent two texts with simple two-voice polyphonic settings in Franconian notation (a form of musical notation expounded by Franco of Cologne in his *Ars cantus mensurabilis* of c. 1280)⁴² – a hymn and a sequence – to the papal physician Accursinus de Pistoia on the occasion of medical treatments for a case of papal illness. The musical works were intended for presentation to the pope for his personal amusement:

*Audivi siquidem heri quod sanctissimus pater, dominus noster, debeat medicinari vel minutionem hodie celebrare. In cuius honore quendam ymnum in persona cuiuslibet minuentis et quendam sequentiam pro die medicine cum suis duplicibus, non tamen hic positus, notis componere festinavi, ut ea sibi, si vestre discretioni videbitur, ostendatis. Credo enim quod scribentem vel ut devotum laudabit, vel ut fantasticum, quod citius posset esse, ridebit.*⁴³

All but three of the remaining works in the *Diversiloquium* were written to commemorate or celebrate landmark events in Boniface VIII’s pontificate. A verse exhorting the cardinals to elect the new pope (*vi*z. Boniface VIII) after Celestine V’s resignation was, by

⁴¹ Dedicatory letter at BAV, MS Vat. lat. 2854, ff. 18^v–19, Petoletti (ed.), ‘Il *Diversiloquium*’, p. 426; “*pavensque quam terribilis inquit est locus iste non est hic aliud nisi domus Dei et porta caeli*”, *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, Genesis, 28: 17.

⁴² For introduction to and bibliography on Franco of Cologne and Franconian notation see: Hughes, A., ‘Franco of Cologne’, Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed 29 May 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10138>.

⁴³ BAV, MS Vat. lat. 2854 f. 19^v, Petoletti (ed.), ‘Il *Diversiloquium*’, pp. 426–7.

da Romaniola's testimony, displayed during the consistory at Naples in 1294. Bonaiutus stamped his personal authorship on the poem with a *sphragis* in lines 72–3:

*Principium tu tolle BOvis, caput accipe NAni;
conIUGis his medium coniunge pedemque perITUS:
ordine collectis simul his, in luce patebit
ipsius nomen....*⁴⁴

The assertion of authorship was an implicit reinforcement of the poet's gift of a literary commemoration of the event.

A further apostrophe celebrated the election of Benedict Caetani as Boniface VIII. A *Doctrinale carmen*, concerning the construction of Boniface VIII's tomb chapel in St Peter's in Rome, begins a trio of poems concerned with commemoration, also including an epitaph of the Pope's brother, Roffredo Caetani, and a *Lamentabile carmen* on the death of the Pope's nephew, Benedict Caetani, Cardinal deacon of Sant' Adriano. Four short verses marking Boniface VIII's seizure of Colonna fortresses and castles following the family's excommunication in 1297 reinforce Bonifacian papal supremacy by dwelling on the Colonna's ruin subsequent to their challenge to the Pope's authority. A single poem marking Boniface VIII's promulgation of the first Roman Jubilee in 1300 survives, not in the *Diversiloquium*, but in the *Annales Casenates*, whose anonymous compiler placed it immediately after a registered copy of Boniface's proclamation bull.⁴⁵

The style and forms of da Casentino's poems were part of a broader literary landscape, but they share a linguistic virtuosity that goes hand in hand with their strategically-

⁴⁴ BAV, MS Vat lat. 2854 ff. 14–14^v, Petoletti (ed.), 'Il *Diversiloquium*', p. 421. The Oxford Classical Dictionary describes *sphragis* as: "...literally seal or signet, a motif in which an author names or otherwise identifies himself or herself, especially at the beginning or end of a poem or collection of poems.", Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn. (Oxford: OUP, 1996), p. 1435.

⁴⁵ Frugoni, A., 'Il carne giubilare del *magister Bonaiutus de Casentino*', *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 68 (1956), pp. 247–58.

pitched curial content. Stylistically and formally, da Casentino chose classicising hexameter for panegyric apostrophes, for the poems concerning contemporary events in Rome, and for the epitaphs and laments. He also, and more appropriately for less formal works, used forms – a hymn and a laud – from the same stock as contemporary vernacular poets such as Jacopone da Todi. Across the gamut of forms, da Casentino's works employ a conspicuous, highly-learned, linguistic prowess. The supreme example, albeit not on a curial subject, is a rhetorical amplification in leonine hexameter of lines from Boethius' *De consolazione philosophiae*.⁴⁶ Da Casentino pitched his linguistic games at a highly-learned audience, appropriate for his curial readers. The pro-papal message of his verse was internal propaganda, produced within the curia for consumption by individuals within it. Da Romaniola's gift to the papal library of his compendium of da Casentino's work exemplifies this internalising intent. The act honoured the Pope by offering him a collection of manifest knowledge and skill, in purely literary form which served, through small-scale consumption and common identification with the pro-papal values they expressed, to enhance an internal perception of distinction among the curial coterie.

The foregoing discussion concerns a corpus of work and social practices which, beyond their curial content, contributed to a court culture as signs of internal distinction. An appraisal of the corpus in terms like Anheim's, in which each element of a court culture derives autonomy through economic support as an individuated body of producers within a court, seems inappropriate in this context. The papal chapel was important to literary culture, as it was to medical, scientific, and legal culture, because the fluidity of movement and blending of function between certain offices, and the literal and ideological proximity of papal chaplains to the pope, made the chapel fundamentally important to so many curialists' careers. However, literary production was not bound to

⁴⁶ Petoletti (ed.), 'Il *Diversiloquium*', pp. 435–6.

a functional office in court life, as law was to the legally-orientated curia in particular. Rather, as a product of clerical education – shared by the highest curialists, constrained by the parameters of acceptable genres – literary production, exchange, and reception were means of internal, reflexive distinction that unified aspects of social activity at the curia independently from any direct constraints of institutional function.

8.6 ARTISTIC CULTURE

Writing, the act of production in the forms of textual culture studied so far, is a direct manifestation of learning every time it is done. In art, the connection between education, taste and choice between available forms is less direct because artisans – be they sculptors, masons, mosaicists, or painters – mediated patrons' instructions. Individual preferences in the act of commissioning, especially regarding matters of stylistic taste, must be disentangled from the sharing and development of technical skill among craftsmen, which is nigh-on impossible since only meagre evidence for artistic training is available for this period. Furthermore, prestigious artistic commissions were not commonly made by incumbent papal chaplains. Rather, the identifiable instances of incumbent papal chaplains' direct involvement in prestigious commissions was in an administrative capacity, exemplified in Cardinal Guillaume de Bray's testamentary executors, the papal chaplains Guillaume de Esseio and Guillaume de Polleio, who were responsible for realising the Cardinal's tomb disposition. Formation of taste – the factors that determined the predominant artistic choices of incumbent and former papal chaplains – therefore forms a point of departure in a discussion that will also consider the extent to which artistic production was incorporated into the curia's institutional structure.

There is an important difference, first of all, between the movement around Europe of past, incumbent, and future papal chaplains, and the transmission of prevailing artistic styles. The prevailing pattern in the transmission of artistic styles was for craftsmen and sculptors of curial commissions, who were largely local to Rome and its environs, increasingly to adopt forms and stylistic details of northern European art, sculpture and architecture (especially those of northern France), creating calques using existing Roman models. However, this influx of northern Gothic taste does not correspond to recruitment into the papal chapel, which is a reliable touchstone of wider curial recruitment owing to its place as a gateway to careers in the curia's upper reaches. Central Italians and southern Frenchmen dominated the chapel, with only pockets of recruitment from northern France.⁴⁷ Transmission of artistic taste therefore did not correspond to prevailing geographical patterns of recruitment into the papal chapel and curia.

In this environment of commingling artistic influences, it is often very difficult to determine the role of curial patrons' taste. Consider the example of the chapel of San Nicola, constructed under the guiding hands of Pietro and Francesco Caetani in 1302–3 at Capo di Bove, a site on the Via Appia close to Rome's city walls, which the Caetani acquired shortly before construction of the chapel and an adjacent castle and appertaining buildings began. Tosti-Croce has argued that the chapel mixed local Roman architectural precedent (repetition of the architectural structure of the churches of Sant'Urbano ai Pantani, consecrated by Urban IV in 1264 and SS Quirico and Giulietta) with recent innovations in Angevin buildings in Naples. The resulting chapel was notable for the gestural contrast between its apse, brightly-illuminated by large windows, and the

⁴⁷ See Chapter Three for full discussion of recruitment patterns into the thirteenth-century papal chapel.

dark space of the nave; dark owing to its small windows. The contrast created an illusion of lengthening along the building's longitudinal axis and made a focal-point of the apse, the light shining through its large windows accentuating the clarity and form of the rituals performed there.⁴⁸ Whether the Caetani commissioners understood this architectural symbolism is hard to judge. Harder still to determine is whether they specifically requested the architectural programme in the first place. Panofsky's thesis in his influential volume *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* helps find a third possibility. Panofsky's thesis posited that education had provided individuals with a framework of understanding that encouraged the perception that, even though meaning expressed in abstruse and sophisticated detail might be beyond their ken, they nonetheless belonged to a society in which it befitted one's status to be surrounded by such symbols.⁴⁹

Thus, for curialists, architecture's rich symbolic meaning and allegory, combined with its magnificence, was an imperfectly-understood subject of admiration. Jean of Jandun's response to the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris in his *Tractatus de Laudibus Parisius* (1323) is a comparable example of imperfect understanding.⁵⁰ De Jandun lionised the building: it represented an object of admiration that, for those who meditated upon it, inspired contemplation of which the soul would never tire.⁵¹ De Jandun's eulogium as a whole shows little appreciation of the building's structural vocabulary, and his idealised praise of Gothic architecture shows that even so highly-educated a scholar as de Verdun

⁴⁸ For the history of the acquisition of the site at Capo di Bove, the construction of a stronghold there by the Caetani in the early 1300s, and a fuller reading of the chapel's architectural programme, see Tosti-Croce, M. R., 'Un'ipotesi per Roma angioina: la cappella di S Nicola del castello di Capo di Bove', in Romanini, A. N. (ed.), *Roma Anno 1300* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1983), pp. 497–511.

⁴⁹ Panofsky, E., *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1957).

⁵⁰ Edited with French translation in Le Roux de Lincy & Tisserand, L. M. (eds.), *Paris et ses historiens aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1867), pp. 3–79.

⁵¹ "Revera puto hanc ecclesiam talis attente cernentibus admirationis causam prebere, ut vix ejus inspectione possit anima satiari.", *ibid.*, p. 46.

could overlook fundamentals of the visual programme he praised.⁵² An example from Classical Roman civilisation contributes further to the concept of pragmatic understanding of architectural symbolism. Paul Veyne has countered the problem of meaning in Trajan's column, whose narrative frieze scales the column's full height and is therefore largely illegible to onlookers at ground level, with the argument that the column's effect in real terms was to convey an impression of power deriving from the very fact that its comprehension lay beyond most who saw it. Onlookers perceived the column as a totem of a higher force.⁵³ Works of art and architecture produced at the late thirteenth-century curia, highly-esteemed but incompletely-understood, like Veyne's totem, functioned as affirmations of shared tastes at the curia. That is, they relied foremost on acceptance and reproduction of commonly-accepted architectural forms. Understanding and acceptance of the symbolism and meaning of these forms fitted in where it could.

The papal chapel's place in this context may best be described as one of reception rather than one of patronage, where curialists found economic support and papal favour, coming into contact with the local admixture of Roman and northern Gothic style. In most cases, as for Francesco Caetani at Capo di Bove, curialists' artistic patronage dated from their post-chapel career. Economics determined the timing: once he became a cardinal, a bishop or an archbishop, a former papal chaplain had significantly increased financial resources at his disposal and an institution to aggrandise. Consequently, many former papal chaplains took with them the amalgamated Roman and northern Gothic

⁵² As argued in Inglis, E., 'Gothic Architecture and a Scholastic: Jean of Jandun's *Tractatus de laudibus Parisius (1323)*', *Gesta*, vol. 42, no. 1 (2003), pp. 63–85.

⁵³ "On peut pourtant douter que les Romains du temps de Trajan aient davantage essayé de discerner ces reliefs, matériellement peu visibles, que les Romains d'aujourd'hui, et qu'ils se soient précipités vers ce spectacle pour s'y faire violer la conscience en tournant pour cela vingt-trois fois autour de la colonne, le nez en l'air. La colonne n'informe pas les humains, n'essaie pas de les convaincre par sa rhétorique: elle les laisse seulement constater qu'elle proclame la gloire de Trajan à la face du ciel et du temps", Veyne, P., *La société romaine* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1991), p. 321.

forms they had seen at Rome when they dispersed elsewhere in Europe for their later careers.

Simon Matifas de Bucy's tomb in the chapel of Saints Marcel, Nicaise and Rigobert in Notre Dame cathedral in Paris is a prominent example of the transmission of style following the paths of individual ecclesiastical careers. Matifas came from the diocese of Soissons, studied and taught civil law at Bologna, and formally entered the Roman milieu in 1288 when he and Robert de Harcourt, as legates of Philip the Fair, were appointed papal chaplains. Matifas' relations with the curia persisted after the focus of his career returned to northern France with his election as bishop of Paris in 1289, beginning with a cementing of Franco-papal relations when Matifas resigned a benefice in Reims into the hands of the French cardinal Jean Cholet, who assigned the benefice to Jean de Harcourt, brother of Matifas' former co-legate Robert.⁵⁴ The Matifas tomb monument, now dismembered, combined a recumbent gisant on a canopied bier with a parade of figures, all topped by a gable supported on columns. A fresco depicting Matifas and (perhaps) St Rigobert kneeling before the enthroned Virgin and infant Christ decorated the wall beneath the canopy. Stylistically, the monument is an important example of the transmission across Europe of new styles among curialists' tombs. In Paris it constituted the first import of this characteristic Roman tomb type into the Parisian milieu, taking with it the northern Gothic elements that had previously been incorporated into Roman tomb architecture before the establishment of the papal court at Avignon and the assembly of Italian painters there, especially under Clement VI.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ For conferral of Matifas and Harcourt's papal chaplaincies, see *Reg. Nic. IV*, 613, 615. Matifas first appeared as bishop elect of Paris in a letter of 2 September 1289 (*ibid.*, 1321). The assignation of the benefice in Reims by Jean Cholet is attested in a letter of 20 March 1291 (*ibid.*, 4659).

⁵⁵ Binski, P., 'Art Historical Reflections on the Fall of the Colonna, 1297', in Bolgia et al. (eds.), *Rome Across Time and Space*, pp. 278–90; Guillouet, J. M. & Kazerouni, G., 'Le tombeau de Simon Matifas de Bucy: une nouvelle peinture medievale à Notre-Dame de Paris', *Revue de l'Art*, 159

A comparable case is the chapel of the St Esprit that Berengarius Fredol founded in the church of St Nazaire at Béziers shortly before 1307, and had decorated with frescos in the school of Cavallini in the immediately following years. (Berengarius Fredol was bishop of Béziers from 1294 until 1305 when Clement V appointed him Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum.) These distinctly Italianate frescos, with close stylistic resemblance to Pietro Cavallini's works in Santa Cecilia and San Giorgio in Velabro in Rome, and a parallel to the de Bucy tomb in the northward transmission of Italianate style well before the establishment of an autonomous papal court in Avignon (Clement V arrived in Avignon in 1307 but resided in the Dominican monastery there until his death in 1314) are the legacy of another high ecclesiastic whose early career took him in and out of the papal chapel.⁵⁶ Not only, then, did the papal chapel bring clerics together in Rome where they came into contact with the prestigious artistic traditions developing there, but, as an important foothold for so many on the way to higher ecclesiastical positions, it was also a springboard which clerics used to advance their careers elsewhere in Europe, taking with them a preference for the prestigious forms of Roman craftsmen's sculpture and art.

Giacomo Stefaneschi, the most prolific patron of art at the Roman and Avignon curia, is a rare example of a curialist whose acquisition of taste is, in the first instance, discernible, and furthermore, clearly developed during his service as a papal chaplain in his early curial career. Stefaneschi's most famous acts as a patron post-date his elevation to the cardinalate and the end of his papal chaplaincy in 1295, but the design of his seal is compelling evidence that elements of his artistic taste as a cardinal had already been formed by this date. The seal would have been designed very shortly after his elevation

(2008), pp. 35–43; Davis, M. T., 'Splendor and peril: the cathedral of Paris, 1290–1350', *Art Bulletin*, 80 (1998), pp. 34–66.

⁵⁶ For discussion of the style and date of the St Esprit frescos, and other contemporary decoration in St Nazaire, see Meiss, M., 'Fresques italiennes cavallinesques et autres, à Béziers', *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 18 (1937), pp. 275–86.

in 1295, so accurately attests his artistic choices at the time, as assimilated during his studies at the university of Paris and in his early career at the curia. This rules out the unreliability of speculatively guessing which elements of commissions from subsequent decades might demonstrate the legacy of his tastes as a papal chaplain. The surviving seal matrix shows several apparently innovative details among seals, notably the crouching figure of Stefaneschi extending over the inscription and inner border. Other details in the seal have precedents and counterparts in northern and Roman Gothic art. The mounted figure of St George emerging from the seal's relief ground also appears in the 1293 tabernacle in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, designed by Arnolfo di Cambio, and at Chartres, Castel del Monte, and in a painted triptych in Amaseno (diocese of Frosinone).⁵⁷ The drapery is in the same elegant style as that in the enamels of the filigrane chalice by Roman goldsmith Guccio da Manaia, given by Pope Nicholas IV to the Basilica of St Francis in Assisi at an unspecified time between 1288–92.⁵⁸

After his service as a papal chaplain, Stefaneschi maintained a close presence at the curia. Consequently, whilst some of his peers dispersed across Europe, Stefaneschi's acts of patronage were almost exclusively confined to institutions in Rome and Avignon within his curial ambit. His artistic preferences are clearly traceable in these well-known commissions, and show consistent preference for the most up-to-date styles of the most cosmopolitan art and sculpture. The power and wealth of his own family in Rome certainly aided his cause, enabling him to access cosmopolitan networks and financial resources, seeking out the best craftsmen and artists, adorning Rome and then Avignon

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 94–5.

⁵⁸ For Stefaneschi's, and other cardinals' seals, see Gardner, J., 'Some Cardinals' Seals of the Thirteenth Century', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 38 (1975), pp. 72–96, especially, for stylistic discussion of the Stefaneschi seal, pp. 93–5. The most recent and fullest discussion of the da Manaia chalice and its stylistic context is Cioni, E., 'Guccio di Mannaia e l'esperienza del gotico transalpino', in Pace, V. & Bagnoli, M. (eds.), *Il Gotico europeo in Italia* (Naples: Electa, 1994), pp. 311–23.

with art of the highest quality that enhanced the cities' visual splendour. Stefaneschi's discernible taste shows strong preference for artists at the forefront of stylistic change who were among the most renowned of their time: Giotto, Pietro Cavallini, Simone Martini. Indeed, Julian Gardner's work on the entire corpus of cardinals' and popes' artistic patronage in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries has shown that the same was true to varying degrees among Stefaneschi's curial peers.⁵⁹

In their shared tastes, largely realised by the selection of specific artisans who worked within a framework of permissible conventions and recent stylistic developments, high curialists reinforced their cultural hegemony. The production of artistic and architectural products was a covert social mechanism that helped individuals assert their ability to participate in curial society. Yet, despite the importance of artistic taste in curial society, any potential value of incorporating aspects of artistic production into the curia remained unrealised.

By the pontificate of Clement VI the curia had implemented a regular payment system, apparently stratified according to competence, to support a team of painters, probably well-educated, organised under the superintendantship of a lead painter: Matteo Giovannetti.⁶⁰ No such system existed in the thirteenth century, as far as can be discerned from payments for major sculptural works recorded in Boniface VIII's accounts and a series of payments to artisans in almonry accounts under Honorius IV. Boniface VIII's accounts notably contain several payments to masons Cassetta and Nicolo de Pileo for works to the papal palaces and curialist's houses, especially one of

⁵⁹ The principle works among Gardner's prolific output on the topic are Gardner, J., *The Influence of Popes' and Cardinals' Patronage on the Introduction of the Gothic Style into Rome 1254–1305*, unpublished PhD, Courtauld Institute, London, 1969; *ibid.*, *The Tomb and the Tiara* (1992); *ibid.*, *The Roman Crucible. The Artistic Patronage of the Papacy in Thirteenth-Century Europe*, *Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 33 (Hirmer, forthcoming).

⁶⁰ Anheim, *La forge de Babylone*, pp. 434–9.

over 390 *lib.* to the same Cassetta for the construction of the loggia Boniface VIII had built at the Lateran shortly before the 1300 Jubilee.⁶¹ The almonry accounts include a payment of 25 *sol.* to a ‘*Jacobus pictor*’ for paintings in the palace of St Peter’s, and further payments for works to the façade of Santa Maria in Gradibus, including one to carpenters for wooden panels installed in the facade.⁶² The accounts do not specify the purpose of the panels, but they surely received painted decoration. Other payments to artisans in the almonry accounts concerned building repairs, roofing and repair work to the buildings of St Peter’s and the almonry *domus*. In manuscript production too, recent scholarly discussion regarding preference for distinct miniature styles in manuscripts produced under popes and, separately, under Giacomo Stefaneschi, has concluded that although patrons drew from a preferred group of artisans, no systematised institutional support for miniaturists existed at the late thirteenth-century curia.⁶³

In summary, as with literary culture, but unlike jurisprudence, there was no formal connection between artistic production and the papal chapel, or indeed the wider curia. Nonetheless, the papal chapel played an important part in the transmission of artistic

⁶¹ “Item tribus societatibus quos dederunt magistro Cassette pro operibus factis in Laterano 390 lbr. 14 sol. et 7 den. prov.”, Schmidt, *Libri*, 252. See Gardner, *The Influence*, p. 60 for discussion of this payment and the Lateran loggia. For further payments to the masons for works see Schmidt, *Libri*, 422, 482, 600, 610, 649, 707, 782, 848, 921, 996, 1019, 1159, 1240, 1293, 1553, 1576, 1706, 1914, 1955, 2012, 2071, 2272, 2273, 2330, 2332, 2349, 2369, 2370 2409, 2437, 2469, 2489, 2696, 2752, 2774, 2798, 2847, 2848, 2869, 2884, 2885, 2908, 2926, 2986 3020.

⁶² “(572) Item, Jacopo picture pro picturis quas fecit in palatio... XXVs.”; “(523) Die dominico XXII mensis julii, V magistris muratoribus qui steterunt ad laborandum et murandum frontispicium sancte Marie in turribus, pro VI diebus preteritis cum XXII operibus, ad rationem III s. pro opere,...III lib. et VI s.”; “(526) Item, eodem die, VIII magistris de lignamine, ad secundum tabulas et ad faciendum mutellos positos in ipso frontispicio pro predictis diebus, cum XLV operibus, ad rationem XL, d. et III s. pro opere... VII lib. III s. et VIII d.”, Prou, ‘Compte de la maison’, pp. 79 (item 523), 80 (item 526), 85 (item 572). Works to the fabric of St Peter’s and the almonry are at pp. 91–2, items 636–44. The church of Santa Maria in Gradibus formerly stood in the courtyard before old St Peter’s, but had been destroyed by the time Jacopo Grimaldi made his drawings of the old St Peter’s in 1619 (contained in Vatican Library MS Barbarini Lat. 2733), which are the principal record of the decoration of the medieval Petrine basilica.

⁶³ Ragionieri, G., ‘Ipotesi per uno *scriptorium*. Codici miniati a Roma per il cardinale Stefaneschi’, in Romanini (ed.), *Roma anno 1300*, pp. 393–402; Bilotta, M. A., ‘I codici miniati prodotti in Laterano conservati nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: una prima ricognizione’, in *Miscellanea bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, 10 (Città del Vaticano, 2003), pp. 7–50.

style across Europe through its place as a fulcrum in ecclesiastical careers. Furthermore, very clear and artistically influential trends in common taste in artistic production and reception are discernible in the late thirteenth-century curia, even in the absence of institutional formalisation of production. Artistic culture flourished at the curia but, notwithstanding the papal chapel's role in the transmission of style, it was not structurally autonomous in any way. Thus it starts to become apparent that curial culture could flourish in differing ways; both partially incorporated and not at all incorporated into offices of the curia. Crucially, internal distinction through acceptance and reproduction of common tastes functioned equally strongly in both cases.

It was noted above that legal culture in the papal chapel was subject to constraints imposed by its relationship with papal chaplain-lawyers' curial function in the late thirteenth century. No such direct constraint is apparent in either literary or artistic culture, because neither was tied to its producers' curial function in the same way. Since musical performance was part of papal chaplains' liturgical function, the on-going discussion will continue this line of investigation, considering the way in which constraints dictated by curial function also operated in the musical domain.

8.7 MUSIC

Two of the greatest changes in the papal chapel in the fifty years following Benedict XI's death in 1304 were the gradual professionalisation of musical performance among papal chaplains and the appearance of polyphonic motets in the chapel's repertory. By Clement VI's pontificate a new pattern of chapel recruitment had emerged: a large proportion of papal chaplains came from dioceses in northern France and Flanders, where polyphonic singing techniques were taught in cathedral schools. Concurrently,

polyphonic motets composed in the cutting-edge compositional style spreading across Europe – known to modern scholars as the *ars nova* – entered the papal chapel’s repertoire. Over time, the papal chapel’s function changed. Moving away from their multivalent function in the thirteenth century, which incorporated liturgy, bureaucratic administration, Church government, scholarship and diplomacy, papal chaplains’ function became predominantly liturgical and musical. The papal chapel’s musical function continued to grow over time, and it became one of the most renowned musical institutions in Europe, home to some of the preeminent composers in the canon of European sacred music: Guillaume Dufay and Josquin des Prez in the fifteenth century, and Peñalosa, Morales and Palestrina in the sixteenth, to name a few of the most famous. We cannot but ask what papal chaplains’ role was in the musical life of the thirteenth century papal chapel, and whether it is possible to find an explanation for this move towards musical specialism.⁶⁴

Only one source, Nicholas III’s 1278 household roll, contains an indication of any papal chaplain’s musical skill. Under the list of recipients of *anona* from the stables, the word ‘*cantor*’ is added after papal chaplain Nicolaus de Spoleto’s name.⁶⁵ Whether this supports the idea that Nicolaus was identified for his singing skills depends on whether or not we read ‘*cantor*’ as referring to his role in chapel, or his benefice as chanter of Aversa, attested in a letter of July 1278 in Nicholas III’s register.⁶⁶ It probably refers to the former. As Anheim has suggested, responsibility for musical training in a cathedral’s song school

⁶⁴ For music, liturgy, and recruitment patterns into the papal chapel in the fourteenth century, see Tomasello, *Music and Ritual* (1983); Schimmelpfennig, ‘Die Organisation’ (1971); Anheim, ‘La grande chapelle’ (2002). For the later-medieval and Renaissance papal chapel, see Sherr, R., *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Rome and other Courts*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); *ibid.* (ed.), *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Oxford: OUP, 1998).

⁶⁵ See Appendix Two.

⁶⁶ *Reg. Nic. III*, 96.

may often have fallen to its chanter.⁶⁷ Furthermore, the standard practice in Nicholas III's roll was to identify papal chaplains either by their main clerical position or by name, but not both, and never by the clerical status without the pertaining diocese or institution. Examination of the relevant folio of a microfilm copy of the roll reveals no evidence of loss or deletion after *Nicolaus cantor*, so it does not appear that the word *'Aversane'* had ever been present.⁶⁸ We can therefore tentatively suggest that Nicholas III's chapel included one cathedral chanter with musical training commensurate to that of a small song school.

More important than the possible existence of one chaplain with above-average clerical musical training is musical competence across the entire chapel. The register of Stefano da Sancto Giorgio provides an indication of basic musical competence among clerics with high-level court careers. Stefano, an Italian, was variously chamberlain of Cardinal Hugh of Evesham, and attached to the papal curia as legate of King Edward I and the Angevin kings Charles I (1266–85) and Charles II (1285–1309).⁶⁹ As Hugh of Evesham's chamberlain, Stefano wrote on behalf of the Cardinal's college of chaplains to one of their fellow chaplains (unnamed in the register), with an invitation to join them at vespers and participate in singing the antiphon.⁷⁰ Stefano's letter contains a meditation on the

⁶⁷ Anheim, *La Forge de Babylone*, p. 301.

⁶⁸ BAV, MS Ottobon. lat. 2516, f. 183.

⁶⁹ See Chapter Seven, n. 62.

⁷⁰ "Collegium cappellanorum domini H. cardinalis .. concappellano eorum per Stephanum de Sancto G. camerarium ipsius cardinalis... Que siquidem in cordis et vocis serena sonoritate cantata preter spiritualis gratie dona que tribuunt, propinant utique cum aromaticis speciebus, genimina [*sic.*] grece vitis et nectaris, que fecundis exhausta calicibus, mentes et corda letificant, ac linguas disertas faciunt potatorum. Cupientes igitur fructus exclamationum huiusmodi tam spiritualis quam etiam corporalis, ut ipsius sit nobis possessio communicata iocundior, una nobiscum participio vos gaudere, cras die sabbati, vos ylariter ad nostras vespervas inuitamus, ut antiphona illa: Oriens splendor lucis eterne, excelse vocis organis decantantes, laxatis sodalium cantorum precantu spiritibus, in erogatione pigmentaria specierum et liquoris exhibitione, greci simul atque nectarei, festiua noctis illius initia peragatis.", Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat. 8567, fol. 20^v, Vincent, N. (ed.) (unpublished). I am grateful to Nicholas Vincent for privately providing me with his unpublished transcription of Stefano de Santo Giorgio's register.

delights of singing that is not an indication of quality of performance, but an example of rhetorical hyperbole. However, the letter's content does indicate that cardinals' chaplains (like papal chaplains, multivalent clerics, who often advanced to higher curial positions) were sufficiently proficient in liturgical singing to execute liturgical plainsong with little notice, probably embellished with basic organum as was standard practice in cathedrals across Europe. Many papal chaplains, several of whom had been cardinals' chaplains, would have boasted similar musical competence.

This pragmatic musical competence was not particular to the papal court, but shared by clerics elsewhere in Rome. Papal *ordines* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries record several instances in which the canons of the Lateran and Vatican, and clerics and cantors of Santa Maria Maggiore were expected to sing basic organum.⁷¹ Local *ordines* from Siena and Lucca indicate that polyphony, probably improvised, was also performed on mass and office chants elsewhere in Italy.⁷² Indeed, far from unique to Rome, musical competence among clerics was fully consistent with clerical practice across Europe. The admonishments of florid singing, inappropriate in a liturgical context, in John XXII's bull *Docta sanctorum patrum* (1325), indicate that church choirs boasted singers of more advanced technical skill, though there is no evidence that papal chaplains were among them.⁷³ According to the music theorist Anonymous IV, associated with the Notre Dame school of polyphony that flourished in Paris in the twelfth century, one singer in

⁷¹ Tomasello, 'Ritual, Tradition, and Polyphony', pp. 459–60, 463, 470.

⁷² von Fischer, K., 'Die Rolle der Mehrstimmigkeit am Dome von Siena zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 18 (1961), pp. 167–82; Zino, A., 'Polifonia nella cattedrale di Lucca durante il XIII secolo', *Acta Musicologica*, vol. 47, fasc. 1 (Jan.–Jun. 1975), pp. 16–30.

⁷³ "Sed nonnulli novellae scholae discipuli, dum temporibus mensurandis invigilant, novis notis intendunt, fingere suas quam antiquas cantare malunt; in semibreves et minimas ecclesiastica cantantur, notulis percutiuntur. Nam melodias hoquetis intersecant, discantibus lubricant, triplis et motetis vulgaribus nonnumquam inculcant adeo (...) Currunt enim et non quiescunt, aures inebriant et non medentur, gestis stimulant quod depromunt; quibus devotio quaerenda contemnitur, vitanda lascivia propalatur.", Friedberg, A. (ed.), *Corpus iuris canonici* (1959), vol. 2, pp. 1255–6.

Henry III's chapel royal, John Blakesmith, was worthy of comparison with the best Parisian singers of the time, along with two other English singers.⁷⁴

The principles of elementary improvised organum were in fact widespread throughout Europe, and diffused in both conservative and more up-to-date form in treatises that circulated around Europe. Such treatises were didactic in function, intended to consolidate the principles of liturgical singing that clerics would have learnt during their pre-university education as students in cathedral schools.⁷⁵ One such treatise, which expounded rather conservative principles of polyphonic music for its time, was presented by its author to Pope Gregory X in 1274. This was the *Scientia artis musicae* (1274) of the French cleric Elias Salomon, which survives as MS D.75 of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan.⁷⁶ A caption in the manuscript's dedicatory panel asks the pope for appointment to Salomon's local chapter of canons in Saint-Astier (diocese of Périgueux).⁷⁷ Gregory considered the dedication of a conservative didactic treatise on polyphonic performance a suitable gift and granted Salomon's request.⁷⁸ As part of the broader discussion of the value of manifestations of learning in curial society, it is noteworthy that, like Johannes

⁷⁴ "Boni cantores erant in Anglia, et valde deliciose canebant, sicut Magister Johannes filius Dei; sicut Makeblite apud Wyncestriam, et Blakesmit in Curia domini Regis Henrici ultimi", Coussemaker, C. E. H., *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series*, 4 voll. (Paris, 1864–76), vol. 1, p. 344.

⁷⁵ On pre-university musical education, see Anheim, *La forge de Babylone*, pp. 297–301.

⁷⁶ Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS D.75 inf.; text in incomplete edition in Gerbert, M., *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, 3 voll. (St Blasien, 1784; reprint, Hildesheim & New York, 1963), vol. 3, pp. 16–64; manuscript description in Fischer, P. (ed.), *The Theory of Music: descriptive catalogue of manuscripts*, vol. 2 *From the Carolingian era up to 1400: Italy*, Répertoire international des sources musicales (Munich: Henle, 1968), p. 55. For critical discussion see: Dyer, J., 'A Thirteenth-Century Choirmaster: The "Scientia Artis Musicae" of Elias Salomon', *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 66, no. 1 (Jan., 1980), pp. 83–111.

⁷⁷ "Sanctissime domine Gregori decime. Supplicat sanctitate vestre Heljas Salomonis clericus de sancto Asterio Petrigoricensis diocesis, quatenus scribere dignemini aliquibus discretis, ut presentem doctrinam scientie seu doctrine artis musice diligenter examinent, corrigant et emendent, et si quid boni repertum fuerit, vobis recommendent, et eum recipi faciant in canonicum et in fratrem in ecclesia dicti loci, in qua servivit fideliter et devote, et eius filius existit." Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana D.75 inf., f. 4^v., repr. in Dyer, 'A Thirteenth-Century Choirmaster', p. 85, plate 1 (capitalisation and punctuation mine).

⁷⁸ *Reg. Greg. X*, 413.

the poet's gift of a panegyric to Pope Alexander III, discussed above, the knowledge and skill manifest in Salomon's symbolic textual gift were sufficiently highly-valued to merit reward with a benefice. Particularly important to the present discussion is that a cleric in diocese with no specific distinction at the time had acquired considerable theoretical specialism, albeit not cutting-edge, in musical notation and performance practice.

Given that music clearly had a place at the curia, and such specialist musical knowledge could be found in a provincial chapter such as Salomon's, it is all the more noteworthy that the late thirteenth-century curia provided little support for production of expert musical writings and showed no inclination to incorporate expert musical theorists into the curia, as was the case in natural philosophy and law. Recruitment of papal chaplains according to exceptional vocal prowess and practical musical competence would have been highly unlikely, given the wealth of papal chaplain's diverse responsibilities, and the high turnover of personnel through the chapel, with entry dictated by administrative, political, nepotistic, legal or other scholastic qualities. Before the curial move to Avignon, the *schola's* singers were able to travel outside Rome with the curia (contrary to previous consensus among scholars, as argued in Chapter Two).⁷⁹ Ceremonials and *ordines* of the papal chapel do record papal chaplains singing parts of papal liturgy with increasing frequency in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.⁸⁰ But by no means did papal chaplains dominate the sections of papal liturgy that were specified as sung. Furthermore, the *schola cantorum*, a specialist ensemble of professional singers, was still active in Rome and continued to sing the lion's share of papal liturgy.

⁷⁹ See Chapter One, pp. 23–5.

⁸⁰ For a survey of papal chaplains as performers of liturgical music in twelfth- and thirteenth-century ceremonials see Tomasello, 'Ritual, Tradition, and Polyphony', pp. 457–66.

However, papal chaplains' pragmatic, rather than specialist, musical competence is at odds with the refinement and extreme specialism typical of other aspects of curial culture as displays of technical prowess achieved through education. Indeed, in the late thirteenth century musical competence was the product only of the early, pre-university stages of clerical education. Neither practical music-making nor indeed by the late 1200s scholastic music theory were part of the university curriculum.⁸¹ The European education system therefore did not provide a sophisticated systematic training in music for individual clerics to wield musical proficiency as a mark of individual distinction, as they could with other forms of legal, literary and natural philosophical knowledge.

Long-standing ideas about the purpose of liturgical music also restricted its contribution to elite prestige culture at the curia. The prevailing tenor in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was that liturgical music served the devotional purpose of the text, and should not distort, distract from or compete with the text's message. John XXII's *Docta sanctorum patrum* condemned the use of new florid techniques for embellishing melodies and the incorporation of extra-liturgical, sometimes secular texts, not specifically in the papal chapel but in European church music more broadly (probably in response to pressure from a Cistercian faction).⁸² Its argument rests on the Augustinian notion, also related to Platonic and Boethian ideas on the matter, that music influenced the soul's affects and, if unchecked, would lead the listener to sinful sensual enjoyment of music for aesthetic beauty alone, rather than intensify the act of devotion.⁸³ Musical

⁸¹ Dyer, J., 'Speculative 'Musica' and the Medieval University of Paris', *Music and Letters*, vol. 90, no. 2 (May 2009), pp. 177–204.

⁸² Dalglish, W., 'The Origin of the Hocket', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 31, no.1 (Spring, 1978), p. 10.

⁸³ For the tradition of Aristotelian and Boethian scholastic theory on music, with its debt to Plato, see Rankin, S., 'Naturalis Concordia vocum cum planetis: Conceptualizing the Harmony of the Spheres in the Early Middle Ages', in Clark, S. & Leach, E. A. (eds.), *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 3–19, and Rico, G., "Auctoritas cereum

innovations in the late thirteenth century, precisely because they were incompatible with strict conservatism of Augustinian derivation, were incompatible with correct liturgical performance. Salomon probably knew this when he submitted his theoretically-conservative treatise to Gregory X for approval by his nominated experts: it would have been counterintuitive to seek a benefice with a treatise on innovative techniques unsanctioned by prevailing practice and thought at the curia.⁸⁴

The strength of the constraint on permissible types of musical expression at the thirteenth-century curia is especially apparent when compared with the curia less than fifty years later. By Clement VI's pontificate the former conservatism was weakening and *ars nova* polyphony was beginning to be accepted at the curia. The composer of *ars nova* polyphony, Philippe de Vitry, wrote his motet *Petre clemens / Siccentium lugentur* (1342–3) either in celebration of Clement VI's coronation or as a propaganda piece for a visit in 1342 of curial ambassadors to Avignon.⁸⁵ In the last quarter of the fourteenth century, the first papal chaplains known to have composed music began to appear in the chapel: a Matheus de Longariga in 1378, followed by Matheus de Sancto Johanne in 1382, and a larger influx in 1393: a 'Franciscus', identified by Craig Wright as the composer Johannes Franchois de Gemblaco; also Johannes de Altacuria, Johannes de Bosco, and Johannes Symonis de Haspra.⁸⁶

Ars nova motets were composed on principles that were not entirely open to

habet nasum': Boethius, Aristotle, and the Music of the Spheres in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', in Clark & Leach (eds.), *Citation and Authority*, pp. 20–8.

⁸⁴ See above, pp. 236–7.

⁸⁵ For discussion see Wathey, A., 'The motets of Philippe de Vitry and the fourteenth-century renaissance', *Early Music History*, 12 (1993), pp. 119–50, especially pp. 133–5.

⁸⁶ Tomasello, *Music and Ritual*, pp. 226, 233, 235–6, 248–9, 252–3; on Johannes Franchois de Gemblaco, see Fallows, D., 'Franchois de Gemblaco, Johannes', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed July 18 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10105>.

understanding by even musically-sophisticated listeners. Their composers used melismata and hocketing extensively, which in combination could render sections of the text of motets unintelligible in performance.⁸⁷ Obfuscation of the text by compositional techniques might well have displeased the conservative rigorists whose petitioning prompted the *Docta sanctorum patrum*, concerned as they were that music always serve the text, and even then within strict parameters. Thus, new tacit acceptance in a curial context of techniques that obscured the text for the sake of musical construction and expression marked an important departure from precedent.

Motets such as *Petre clemens* were also structured by sophisticated mathematical principles that determined the thematic musical development in each voice part, and the relationships between them. For example, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson's analysis of compositional technique in *ars nova* motets has shown that the number of notes in a motet's *color* was determined by a proportional relationship with the number of stanzas and syllables in its text. Because the possible number of notes in a motet's *talea* derived from the *color*, the determining relationship between text and *color* governed a motet's overall structure.⁸⁸ As Anheim has observed, these relationships would not have been fully-discernible over the course of a motet even to a listener well-versed in their compositional techniques. The expert musician could only decipher the mathematical

⁸⁷ Melisma is the singing of an individual syllable over several notes in succession. Hocket, in late-medieval practice, is the alternation of the notes of a single melody or musical line between two or more voices.

⁸⁸ An *ars nova* motet comprised a *tenor*, the lowest voice that performed a rigidly-patterned musical theme, and two further voices; the *triplum* and *motetus*, that sang phrase structures in semibreves and minims over the *tenor* by strictly structured principles known as *color* (repetition of the same pitches to different rhythms) and *talea* (repetition of the same rhythms to different pitches). These compositional principles are now known as isorhythm. For detailed discussion of isorhythmic compositional techniques, see Leech-Wilkinson, D., *Compositional techniques in the four-part isorhythmic motets of Philippe de Vitry and his contemporaries*, Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities (London: Garland, 1989).

principles by which a motet was structured by studying it on the page.⁸⁹ That the mathematical structure would not be recognised in performance might not concern conservative rigorists in itself. However, form and structure could convey highly-intellectualised meaning whose disentanglement requires considerable scholarly study.

Guillaume Dufay's motet *Nuper rosarum flores*, written for the consecration of Florence cathedral in 1436, provides an elegant and fascinating example of the importance of abstruse musical structure to a motet's meaning. Craig Wright has shown that Dufay composed his motet according to a numerological relationship informed by the numerological sets based on Solomon's Temple that had become a model for much church construction. Marvin Trachtenberg has argued for a further, extremely sophisticated, numerological relationship between the motet and the dimensions of Santa Maria del Fiore itself.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Anheim, É., 'La musique polyphonique à la cour des papes au XIV^e siècle. Une sociologie historique', *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre* [online], Hors-série n. 2 (2008), accessed 29 May 2013, <http://cem.revues.org/9412>, especially p. 31.

⁹⁰ The numerological relationships in the Duomo and motet are worth citing. Regarding the motet: "The proportional sequence 6:4:2:3 that underlies the motet corresponds to the proportional set organizing the primary biblical description of the Temple, whose principal dimensions are all multiples (by ten) of 6, 4, 3, and 2."; regarding S Maria del Fiore: "First, we have $6 \times 4 = 24$, yielding the basic "small" module of the cathedral group (the Baptistery sides, the Campanile breadth, also the facets of the Cathedral tribunes). Next appears the operation $6 \times 4 \times 3 = 72$, producing the "intermediate" module of the nave width and height, and the Cupola diameter. Finally we provide multiplication of the full set, $6 \times 4 \times 3 \times 2 = 144$, or the length of the entire nave and the height of the Cupola. The numerical set 6.4.3.2, in other words, contains in the most condensed form possible the entire cathedral (indeed, the entire cathedral group of buildings, including the 144 braccia Campanile), whose virtual completion was marked by the 1436 consecration.", Trachtenberg, M., 'Architecture and Music Reunited: A New Reading of Dufay's "Nuper Rosarum Flores" and the Cathedral of Florence', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 54, no. 3 (Autumn, 2001) pp. 745, 755. Craig Wright explained the relationship fully in his article 'Dufay's *Nuper rosarum flores*, Solomon's Temple, and the Veneration of the Virgin', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 47, no. 3 (Autumn, 1994) pp. 395–427, 429, 441, also exposing that an earlier argument by Charles Warren (that the numerological set behind the motet imitated the proportions of Santa Maria del Fiore itself) was based on a mistaken reading of the Cathedral's proportions (Warren, C., 'Brunelleschi's Dome and Dufay's Motet', *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 59, no. 1 (Jan. 1973), pp. 92–105). Marvin Trachtenberg used a different reading of Santa Maria del Fiore's proportions to re-establish the relationship between the motet and the Cathedral, which supplements, rather than disproves, Wright's conclusions: Trachtenberg, 'Architecture and Music Reunited', pp. 740–75.

A type of cultural production based on scholastic principles inaccessible in pragmatic use even to the listener versed in *ars nova* compositional technique, never mind the curial cleric with musical competence more standard of his curial compatriots, had now spread to music. As with counterparts in the visual arts, music's potential as a symbol that could be appropriated for internal distinction lay in its audience's acceptance of its ability to understand individual works only imperfectly.

Ars nova polyphony required performers trained in its specialist techniques, both reading its notation and the vocal demands of its performance. For musicians of such technically-advanced training to enter the papal chapel, the status quo had to change. Employment of the type of multivalent papal chaplain in the late thirteenth century, for whom musical expertise was secondary to proficiency in law, government, administration, scholarship or family position, was not compatible with the employment of experts in vocal performance. Indeed, a change did take place. By Clement VI's pontificate, the largest single body of chaplains grouped by geographical provenance came from the dioceses of northern France and Flanders where the *ars nova* had begun and its principles were being taught in cathedral schools and diffused in a treatise compiled by students of its earliest exponent, Philippe de Vitry.⁹¹

Two factors made this influx of technically-skilled musicians possible. Neither had anything to do with music. The first was the transferal of the papal court to Avignon,

⁹¹ For recruitment patterns under Clement VI see Tomasello, *Music and Ritual*, pp. 54–7, and for broader recruitment from dioceses in northern France and Flanders under the Avignon popes, *ibid.*, fig. 27, p. 205. For the emergence of *ars nova* polyphony see Leech–Wilkinson, D., 'The emergence of *ars nova*', *The Journal of Musicology*, vol. 13, no. 3 (Summer, 1995), pp. 285–317; for the treatise itself see Plantinga, L. (ed.), 'Philippe de Vitry's "Ars Nova": A Translation', *Journal of Music Theory*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Winter 1961), pp. 204–23; Fuller, S., 'A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century? The *Ars Nova*', *The Journal of Musicology*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Winter 1985–86), pp. 23–50. For early connections between *ars nova* polyphony and the papal court see Bent, M., 'Early Papal Motets', in Sherr (ed.), *Papal Music and Musicians*, pp. 5–43; Wathey, A., 'The Motets of Philippe de Vitry' (1993).

formally effected under Clement V in 1309. The move left the *schola cantorum* behind in Rome, leaving all performance of liturgical music to papal chaplains, initially supported by local singers employed *ad hoc*.⁹² The second was the separation of papal chaplains from many of their former extensive duties beyond the chapel. Of all forms of culture at the curia, legal activity was tied most closely to the entry criteria and function of the papal chapel. Because of this strong connection between the papal chapel and curial jurisprudence, the formation of the Rota, which took responsibility for legal cases away from incumbent papal chaplains serving in the chapel, was instrumental in opening the way for major change.⁹³ The expertise required of papal chaplains changed, and men whose education and careers lay in the specialist area of musical performance and composition began to find the papal chapel a suitable place of employment, filling the gap left by the absent *schola cantorum*.

8.8 COURT CULTURE AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

The existence of a curial court culture in the late thirteenth century is, from the foregoing discussion, undeniable. The very fact that the same curialists responsible for the main legal, literary and artistic totems of their time were also variously engaged in curial jurisprudence, government, bureaucratic administration and daily liturgy is an extremely important characteristic of curial life. Lack of differentiation between fields of cultural activity was, far from an obstacle, rather an integral characteristic of thirteenth-century curial court culture. Neither curial itinerancy nor the intermediary state of the differentiation between curial offices (that is, relative to their fourteenth-century successor offices) precluded vibrant cultural activity. In addition, the pan-European

⁹² Tomasello, *Music and Ritual*, p. 49 including his references in n. 19.

⁹³ See above, pp. 212–3 for description of the separation of incumbent papal chaplains from honorary papal chaplains in relation to the formation of the *Rota*.

clerical education that curialists shared was the primary footing for cultural activity at the curia, engendering specialism in forms of élite culture, which curialists used to create signs of distinction from funds of common tastes at the curia. Where educationally-derived specialism was lacking – in musical performance, which relied on pragmatic competence, and in scholastic music theory, which was absent from the university curriculum at this time – an élite culture based on specialist practice did not flourish. Hence élite musical practices were not used as signs of distinction in the thirteenth-century papal chapel; a situation perpetuated by the papacy's musical conservatism.

The impact of institutional change on the cultural life of the papal chapel is especially apparent in the musical domain precisely because increasing institution-wide differentiation of curial offices – notably the formalisation of the Rota – removed constraints on papal chaplains' activities. So, while new practices in clerical music education were gaining ground in the dioceses of northern France and Flanders, at the curia an opportunity opened for individuals endowed with this new educational specialism to take advantage of the economic support that employment in the papal chapel offered. Thus, in the course of the fourteenth century, music, formerly neither differentiated from other curial functions nor a practice that curialists used for distinction, joined the élite forms of curial culture and became the papal chapel's distinguishing specialism. Within the curia, the impetus for this change – so important for the papal chapel's future musical history – came not from within the musical domain, but from wider institutional change.

CLOSING WORDS

This thesis was born from a musicological question: what was happening in the papal chapel in the thirteenth century, that is, at a time before it gained renown (among contemporary courts and also among modern scholars) for its musical culture? This was natural enough. From the fourteenth century, the papal curia maintained a body of singers within the papal chapel who, beyond their primary musical function performing the traditional chant repertory in papal liturgy, also developed a polyphonic repertory. From the fifteenth century, the papal chapel employed a succession of musicians whose names have entered the canon of western liturgical music: Guillaume Dufay, Josquin des Prez, Jacques Arcadelt, Francisco de Peñalosa, Cristobal de Morales, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, to name but the most famous today. The papal chapel's musical history is an eminent example of the increasingly important place of music in the cultural history of Europe's wealthiest and most powerful courts.

However, it became apparent in the course of early research that many of the greatest riches of the papal chapel's cultural life in the thirteenth century lay beyond its musical activity, and the focus of the project broadened. The thesis became a study of the cultural history of the papal court, using the papal chapel as a case-study. Its purpose is to explore the insights offered by the thirteenth-century papal chapel, now subject to a degree of renewed interest after an earlier flurry of research in Germany between the 1930s and -50s, into the dynamics that steered cultural history in a powerful court at the hub of a dense network of diplomatic and cultural connections in late-medieval western Europe.

The first theme of the thesis is the original multifunctionality of the papal chapel. Thirteenth-century papal chaplains were lynchpins in diplomacy, regional government, curial administration and law, yet were also the pope's private spiritual entourage. As executors in wills, selected for their special position at the curia, and as testators themselves, papal chaplains were instrumental in the economic and symbolic exchanges that continually reproduced the figurations of curial society. The very same body of clerics, a significant number of whom became the highest churchmen in Christendom as bishops, archbishops, cardinals and popes, brought educational capital gained in Europe's universities to the curia where they forged, in shared cultural tastes, a court culture whose legacy rebounded across Europe.

The second theme is a development towards functional differentiation. Comparison across space (the papal chapel and the English chapel royal) and across time (thirteenth- and fourteenth-century honorary papal chaplains) has revealed how a far-reaching change in both the English and papal courts – gradual differentiation of function accompanied by administrative and economic rationalisation – played out in the particular environment of the papal chapel some time before it became fully explicit in curial record-keeping in the mid-1300s. Furthermore, institutional differentiation had decisive consequences for the papal chapel's cultural history. The greatest cultural change in the late-medieval papal chapel was the emergence of notable musical specialism among papal chaplains, which was possible only because of wider differentiation originating outside the liturgical and musical domains. Foremost among these wider changes was the formation of a specialist team of curial auditors in the Rota, which removed legal expertise from the criteria for service in the papal chapel and allowed for the development of musical specialism connected to liturgical function, not previously possible under the constraints of papal chaplains' multifunctional place in curial society.

Scope for further research into thirteenth-century papal chaplains remains, not least into their collective lives before and after service in the papal chapel, and the detailed networks of personal affiliation that a survey of papal chaplains as executors in papal letters would reveal. Yet the study of even a single office among the many, interconnected, components of curial society has provided unique insights into both the individuals around the pope and their function, their actions and also the constraints within which they operated. The importance of this research may be weighed up with the simple observation that many essential foundations of most famous monuments of the thirteenth-century papacy – its law, its bureaucracy, its cultural splendours – lay in the papal chapel.

APPENDIX ONE

Payments to papal chaplains, the *primicerius* and *schola cantorum* in cameral accounts for the years 1299–1300 and 1301–2, ASV, MSs *Collectoriae* 446 & *Introitus et Exitus* 5.

As published in Schmidt, T., *Liber rationum camerae Bonifatii papae VIII* (*Archivium Secretum Vaticanum, collect. 446 necnon Intr. et. ex. 5*) (Città del Vaticano: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 1984).

The text of account entries follows Schmidt's capitalisation, punctuation, spelling and other details of editorial practice, including his numeration at the left of each account entry. Schmidt's editorial expansions and clarifications indicated with round brackets (), editorial insertions or corrections indicated with square brackets []. My editorial notes provided in footnotes.

Text of account entry with Schmidt's numeration provided on the left. Date of payment, manuscript reference and folio number provided on the right.

PAPAL CHAPLAINS

Vidandae: vadia payments to papal chaplains:

492. Item domino Cardarello qui ivit cum thesauro 21 tur. gross. 3rd week April 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 30
568. Item 13 capellanis qui venerunt per viam cum domino ad rationem 7 tur. per diem pro quolibet 37 sol. et 11 den. tur gross. 4th week April 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 33
1250. Item fratri Consilio¹ qui fuit in via 14 tur. gross. 4th week October 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 71^v
1317. Item 9 capellanis qui fuerunt cum domino quando ivit Trebas pro 29 diebus ad rationem 5 tur. per diem 5 lbr. 8 sol. et 9 den. tur. gross. 2nd week November 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 75
1353. Item dominis Gregorio et Gregorio thesaurariis², magistro Michaeli, magistro Petro de Guarceno³, archipresbitero de Florentia⁴, Cinthio de Urbe⁵, Johanni domini Landulphi⁶, Dyomedi, P(etro) de Vallemontone⁷, Gentili de Collealto⁸, Bartholino de Cornazano⁹, Deodato de Urbe¹⁰ ad 4 tur. pro quolibet 5 lbr. et 16 sol. tur. gross. 2nd week November 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 76^v
1364. Item magistro Nicolao Fraiepani¹¹ qui venit de mandato domini pro expeditione negotiorum ecclesie Lateranensis et habuit vivandas sicut capellanus ad 5 tur. pro 15 diebus 6 sol. et 3 den. tur. gross. 2nd week November 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 77
1368. Item 10 capellanis qui venerunt cum domino quando recessit de Anagnia eundo Romam pro 14 diebus ad rationem 5 tur. pro quolibet 58 sol. et 4 den. tur. gross. 2nd week November 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 77
1428. Item domino Nicolao de Traiecto¹² qui remansit Anagnie pro itinere Trebarum 9 sol. et 8 den. tur. gross. 2nd week November 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 79^v

¹ Consilius Gatto de Viterbo

² Gregorius Bonogentis de Genezzano, Gregorius Judicis de Alatro

³ Petrus Leonardi de Guarcino

⁴ Antonius Ursi

⁵ Cinthius de Urbe

⁶ Johannes Landulfi Odonis de Columna

⁷ Petrus Rollandi de Vallemontone

⁸ Gentilis de Collealto

⁹ Bartholomeus de Cornazano

¹⁰ Deodatus de Urbe

¹¹ Nicolaus de Fraiapanatibus

¹² Nicolaus Frederici de Traiecto

1429. Item domino P(etro) de Vallemontone⁷ pro 14 diebus 4 sol. et 10 den. tur. gross. 2nd week November 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 80
1571. Item societati Mozorum quos dederunt domino Uguitioni de Vercellis¹³ pro vidandis suis 14 dierum quando dominus fuit Trebis 5 sol. tur. gross. 3rd week December 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 88
2204. Item domino Gregorio de Genezano¹⁴ thesaurario pro 8 diebus scilicet pro 2 in itinere et 6 in Anagnia ad 7 tur. per diem 4 sol. et 8 den. tur. gross. 1st week May 1302
(Mandatum)
Introitus et Exitus 5, f. 36
2669. Item domino Gregorio de Genezano¹⁴ thesaurario qui precessit cum primo thesauro pro 10 diebus ad 7 tur. per diem 5 sol. et 10 den. tur. gross. 2nd week October 1302
(Mandatum)
Introitus et Exitus 5, f. 65

***Prebendae:* payments for straw for horses to replace the *anona* between the kalends of May and the feast of the Assumption (1 May–15 August):**

1063. Item 20 capellanis pro herba quam debent habere a camera a Kalendis Maii usque ad Assumptionem beate Virginis ad 40 sol. pro quolibet 40 lbr. prov. 2nd week August 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 59
2524. Item Giffredo de capellania pro 17 capellanis pro herbis quas debent habere a Kalendis Maii usque ad Assumptionem 34 lbr. prov. 3rd week August 1302
(Mandatum)
Introitus et Exitus 5, f. 55

Presbyterium:

507. Item 24 capellanis residentibus in capellania 48 malachini. 19 April 1299
(Easter Presbyterium)
Collectoriae 446, f. 30^v
1638. Item 22 capellanis residentibus in capellania 44 malachini. 25 December 1299
(Christmas Presbyterium)
Collectoriae 446, f. 92
2151. Item 19 capellanis residentibus in capellania computato lectore 19 sol. tur. gross. 22 April 1302
(Easter Presbyterium)
Introitus et Exitus 5, f. 33
2181. Item pro presbiterio domini Onufrii capellani 12 tur. gross. 5th week April 1302
(Mandatum)
Introitus et Exitus 5, f. 34^v
2962. Item 22 capellanis residentibus in capellania computato lectore 22 sol. tur. gross. 25 December 1302
(Christmas Presbyterium)
Introitus et Exitus 5, f. 83

¹³ Huguitio Borromeo de Vercellis

¹⁴ Gregorius Bonegentis de Genezzano

Gifts of comestibles:

294. Item Stephano Guercii¹⁵ pro speciebus datis capellanis in festo Natalis Domini 24. sol. prov. 1st week March 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 17^v
1054. Item eidem [Stephano Guercii] pro speciebus datis capellanis et aliis expensis factis in coquina camera 3 lbr. et 4 sol. prov. 3rd week August 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 58^v
1116. Item eidem [Stephano Guercii] pro 2 lbr. specierum datis capellanis in festo Assumptione 24 sol. prov. 2nd week September 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 62^v
1291. Item eidem [Stephano Guercii] pro 2 lbr. dragee pro capellanis in festo Omnium Sanctorum 24 sol. prov. 1st week November 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 73^v
1599. Item Stephano Guercii pro 2 lbr. dragee date capellanis in festo Natalis Domini 25 sol. prov. 4th week December 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 89^v
2289. Item Magno¹⁶ pro speciebus datis capellanis et camere pro festo Ascensionis 40 sol. prov. 4th week May 1302
(Mandatum)
Introitus et Exitus 5, f. 40^v
2348. Item Magno pro 4 lbr. de dragea data capellanis et camere 40 sol. prov. 2nd week June 1302
(Mandatum)
Introitus et Exitus 5, f. 43^v
2384. Item eidem [Magno] pro dragea pro capellanis et camera in festo beati Johannis 3 lbr. prov. 4th week June 1302
(Mandatum)
Introitus et Exitus 5, f. 46
2423. Item eidem [Magno] pro confectis pro festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli pro capellani et camera 40 sol. prov. 2nd week July 1302
(Mandatum)
Introitus et Exitus 5, f. 48
2527. Item Magno pro 8 lbr. de confectis pro festis beati Laurentii Pet Assumptionis pro camera et capellanis 4 lbr. prov. 3rd week August 1302
(Mandatum)
Introitus et Exitus 5, f. 55
2797. Item Magno pro dragea pro capellanis et camera in festo Omnium Sanctorum 40 sol. prov. 1st week November 1302
(Mandatum)
Introitus et Exitus 5, f. 72

Payments for administrative and spiritual tasks:

470. Item 10 penitentiariis pro 7 diebus et frati Consilio pro 3 diebus et pro uno frater addito per totam Quadragesimam ad confessionem peregrinorum audiendam 14 sol. et 8 den. tur. gross. 3rd week April 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 29^v

¹⁵ Stephanus Guercii, *speciarius* of the great kitchen 6 March–25 December 1299

¹⁶ Magnus, *speciarius* of the great kitchen 26 January 1302–10 May 1303

687. Item domino Gregorio thesaurario de Genezano pro lumbiis, lumbonibus et citris et mirto portatis pro domino nostro 5 flor. auri et 6 sol. prov. 3rd week May 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 38^v
945. Item domino Petro de Vallemontone pro expensis suis quando fuit missus ad recipiendum possessionem Sancti Viti, Capranice, Castri novi et Sancti Johannis de Camporatio et pro illis qui remanserunt in custodia dictorum castrorum 28 flor. et 7 tur. gross. 2nd week July 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 52^v
1912. Item Jacobo Doni pro vectura unius equi quem duxit magister Antonius in Marchiam 6 lbr. prov. 1st week February 1302
(Mandatum)
Introitus et Exitus 5, f. 18^v
1975. Item Domino Guillelmo¹⁷ capellano pro expensis unius mule qui devenit ad manus curie 5 lbr. prov. 4th week February 1302
(Mandatum)
Introitus et Exitus 5, f. 22
2030. Item tribus societatibus quos dederunt magistro Antonio¹⁸ misso in Marchiam pro certis negotiis 48 flor. auri et 16 sol. prov. 3rd week March 1302
(Mandatum)
Introitus et Exitus 5, f. 26

PRIMICERIUS AND SCHOLA CANTORUM

Presbyterium:

511. Item primicerio et 8 cantoribus scole cantorum Urbis computato primicerio 22 sol. et pro quolibet cantorum 16 sol. de gratia domini 7 lbr. et 10 sol. prov. 19 April 1299
(Easter Presbyterium)
Collectoriae 446, f. 30^v
1642. Item primicerio et 8 cantoribus scole cantorum Urbis computato primicerio 22 sol. et pro quolibet cantorum 16 sol. de gratia domini 7 lbr. et 10 sol. prov. 25 December 1299
(Christmas Presbyterium)
Collectoriae 446, f. 92^v
2156. Item primicerio et 5 cantoribus scole cantorum computato primicerio 22 sol. et quolibet cantorum 16 sol., valent 5 lbr. et 2 sol. prov. 22 April 1302
(Easter Presbyterium)
Introitus et Exitus 5, f. 33
2182. Item pro presbiterio 3 cantorum scole cantorum 49 sol. et et 6 den. prov. 5th week April 1302
(Mandatum)
Introitus et Exitus 5, f. 34^v
2967. Item primicerio et 8 cantoribus scole cantorum de Urbe computato primicerio 22 sol. et quolibet cantorum 16 sol., valent 7 lbr. et 10 sol. prov. 25 December 1302
(Christmas Presbyterium)
Introitus et Exitus 5, f. 83^v

¹⁷ Schmidt identifies this papal chaplain as Guillelmus Bodini (Schmidt, *Libri*, p. 262, n. 1).

¹⁸ Antonius Ursi

Gifts of comestibles:

1309. Item eidem [Johanni Zotto] pro speciebus et columbis in festo Dedicacionis quando comederunt ibi mapularii et cantores 34 sol. et 6 den. tur. 2nd week November 1299
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 75

Miscellaneous:

1655. Item eidem [Johanni Zotto] pro expensis factis pro cantoribus in festo Epiphanye 3 lbr. prov. 1st week January 1300
(Mandatum)
Collectoriae 446, f. 93^v

APPENDIX TWO

Lists of papal chaplains by name and allocations of *vidandae* and *prebendae* under each of the household services as stipulated in the 1278 household roll, BAV Ottobon. Lat. 2516, ff. 168–85^v.

As published in Baethgen, F., ‘Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung unter Bonifaz VIII’, *QFLAB*, 20 (1928–9), pp. 114–237.

Spelling of original MS preserved except in cases of obvious scribal error, corrected in square brackets [], but modern capitalisation of proper nouns used. Scribal abbreviations expanded silently, with abbreviations for ‘*Dominus*’ and ‘*Magister*’, shown as ‘Dom.’ and ‘Mag.’.

KITCHEN:

[f. 168] Dom. prepositus Florentinus	II*
Dom. Ubertus Albus	II
Dom. plebanus de Castilione	II
Dom. Pandulphus	II
Dom. Leonardus de Babuco	II
Dom. Nycolaus de Terracina	II
Prior de Fulgineo	II
[f. 168 ^v] Dom. Odo de Arsono	II
Dom. Marcellinus	II*
Mag. Nycolaus de thesauro	II*
Dom. Leonardus Guessius	II*
Dom. Nycolinus de Camilla	II
Dom. Thomacius Bizsacha	II
Dom. Nycolaus de Spolito	II*
Dom. archidiaconus Ruticensis	II
Mag. Ricardus thesaurarius	II
Mag. Campana phisicus	II
Dom. Petrus de Faszestant	II
Dom. Petrus Sarracenus	II
Dom. Gentilis de Collo alto	II
Dom. Thomacius de Riuo frigido	II*
Dom. Thomacius de Rieta	II†
Primicerius de Veneciis	II
Mag. Petrus de Supinis	II
Mag. Paulus Dietaiute	II

* in a second hand, strike through entire name, *add.* obiit.

† in a second hand, *add.* obiit.

PANTRY:

[f. 177 ^v] Dom. Nycolaus de Terracena	II
Dom. Pandulphus	II
Dom. Nycolaus de thesauro	II
Dom. Ricardus the[s]aurarius	II
Dom. mag. Campnus	II
Dom. Marcellinus	II
Dom. prior Fulginei	II
Dom. prepositus de Florentia	II
Dom. plebanus de Castilione	II
Dom. Ubertus Albus	II
Dom. Leonardus Guessi	II
Dom. Leonardus de Babuco	II
Dom. Petrus Sarraceni	II
Dom. Nycolinus de Camilla	II
Dom. Thomacius Beszacha	II
Dom Nycolaus de Spolito	II
Dom. Petrus Fasestanti	II
Dom. Odo Arcionis	II
Dom. archidiaconus Ruticensis	II
Dom. Gentilis de Collo alto	II
Dom. Thomacius de Riuo frigido	II
Dom. primicerius de Veneciis	II
[f. 178] Dom. Thomacius de Rieta	II
Dom. Petrus de Supino	II
Mag. Paulus Dieutaiute	II

CELLAR:

[f. 182] Dom. Nycolaus de Terracena	II
Dom. Pandulphus	II
Dom. Nycolaus de thesauro	II
Dom. Rycardus thesaurarius	II
Mag. Campanus	II
Dom. Marcellinus	II
Dom. prior Fulginei	II
Dom. prepositus Florentinus	II
Dom. plebanus de Castilione	II
Dom. Ubertus Albus	II
Dom. Leonardus Guessi	II
Dom. Leonardus de Babuco	II
Dom. Petrus Sarraceni	II
Dom. Nycolaus de Camilla	II
Dom. Thomacius Bizsacha	II
Dom Nycolaus de Spolito	II
Dom. Petrus Fasestan	II
Dom. Odo Arcionis	II
Dom. archidiaconus de Rodes	II
Mag. Paulus Dieutaiute	II
Dom. Gentilis de Collo alto	II
Dom. Thomacius de Riuo frigido	II
[f. 182 ^v] Dom. Thomacius de Rieta	II
Dom. primicerius de Veneciis	II
Dom. Petrus de Supino	II

STABLE:

[f. 183] Mag. Ricardus de thesauro	I
Mag. Nycolaus de thesauro	I
Dom. Thomacius Bizsacia	I
Dom. Nycolaus de Camilla	I
Dom. Nycolaus de Spolito cantor	I
Primicerius de Veneciis	I
Dom. Pandulphus de Seburis	I
[f. 183 ^v] Dom. prepostius Florentinus	I
Dom. Ubertus Albus	I
Dom. plebanus de Castilione	I
Mag. Nycolaus de Terracena	I
Dom. Leonardus Guessi	I
Dom. Marcellinus	I
Dom. prior de Fulgineo	I
Dom. Leonardus de Babuco	I
Dom. archidia[co]nus de Rodes	I
Mag. Campanus	I
Dom. Petrus de Fasestan	I
Dom. Paulus Dieutaiut	I
Mag. Petrus Sarracenus	I
Dom. Gentilis de Collo alto	I
Dom. Odo Arcionis	I
Dom. Thomacius de Rieta	I
Dom. Thomacius de Riuo frigido	I
Mag. Petrus de Supinis	I

APPENDIX THREE

Summary of allocations in *vidandae* and *prebendae* to papal chaplains and other chapel personnel, assembled from 1278 household roll BAV Ottobon. Lat. 2516, ff. 168–85^v.

OFFICE	NUMBER OF OFFICE HOLDERS	VIDANDAE/ PREBENDAE
Capellanus	25	Kitchen 2 Pantry 2 Cellar 2 Stable 1
Clericus capelle	1	Kitchen 1 Pantry 1 Cellar 1 Stable 0
Hostiarius capelle ¹	1	Kitchen 1 Pantry 1 Cellar 1 Stable 0
Clericus camere ²	1	Kitchen 1 Pantry 1 Cellar 1 Stable 0
Hostiarius Sancta Sanctorum ³	2	Kitchen 1 Pantry 1 Cellar 1 Stable 0
Primicerius & Schola cantorum	Not mentioned	Not mentioned

¹ Under sections 'kitchen' and 'pantry'] Presbiter Martinus

² Under section 'pantry'] Clericus camere domini

³ The roll mentions ostiaries (*hostiarii*) in the plural, and allocates them two *vidandae* from the kitchen, pantry, and cellar. Ostiaries were no more senior than the clerk of the chapel or camera, so I read this to mean that there were two ostiaries, who each received one *vidanda*.

APPENDIX FOUR

Excerpts of the c. 1306 household ordinance concerning the duties and remuneration of papal chaplains, subsidiary chapel staff, and the *schola cantorum*.

Archivio Storico del Vescovado di Aosta, MS uncatalogued = A

Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, MS Cod. IX, D. 15, ff. 67–73^v = B

Text follows modern capitalisation, punctuation, and spelling and further details of editorial practice from Frutaz, P. M., ‘La famiglia pontificia in un documento dell’inizio del secolo XIV’, *Paleographica, diplomatica et archivistica, Studi in onore di Giulio Battelli*, 2 (Roma: Storia e letteratura. Raccolta di studi e testi, 139–40, 1979), edited text at *ibid.* pp. 284–320. Textual variants between the two manuscripts are indicated in footnotes. Folio numbers correspond to Archivio Storico del Vescovado di Aosta, MS uncatalogued.

[f. 3] [...]

*De capellanis*¹

Quilibet predictorum capellanorum consuevit habere duas vidandas in carnibus cum pictancijs et duas vidandas piscium et ovorum et unam anonam pro equo sine palea et ferris, toto tempore exepto a kalendis maij [f. 3^v] usque ad festum Assumptionis beate virginis, quia illo tempore dantur .XL. sol. prov. pro quolibet pro erba equorum, et .XI. candele di cera in septimana² et ensenium a coquina maiori, quando comedunt in aula. Consuevit eciam quilibet capellanus recipere a camera in die coronationis Summi Pontificis tantum duos malachinos pro presbiterio. In die Nativitatis Dominj duos malachinos. In die Resurrectionis Dominj duos malachinos, et valet quilibet malachinus VI turonenses grossos.

Capellani vero predicti debent vacare circa officium divinum, iacere in capellania, ubi capellania assignatur eis, et surgere et dicere matutinum in aula vel capella ordinate de nocte, missam de mane et vespas de sero in aula; portare crucem vicissim, quando dominus equitat, si requiruntur³, et facere ambaxiatas, quando imponuntur eis. Subdiaconus capellanus consuevit legere ad mensam, quando dominus comedit in aula. Subdiaconus eciam capellanus consuevit servire domino in missa, quando celebrat solempniter. Presbiter capellanus, quem dominus elegerit, consuevit habere librum paratum pro psalmis dicendis in vesperis, quando dominus exit

¹ A] Capellani B] Capellani commensales

² A] de cera in septimana B] in septimana pro cera

³ B] requirantur

ad vespas in aula vel in⁴ ecclesia, et parare librum cardinali seruiendi domino in vespas pro oracione dicenda et in missa.

De thesaurarijs

Duo thesaurarij, quilibet eorum habet sicut capellanus, exep⁵to quod habet⁵ continue anonam pro equo.

Ipsi vero thesaurarij habent custodire thesaurum, providere de paramenis pro domino et ordinare paramenta, quando dominus celebrat, secundum congruenciam diei, mitras, anulos, sandalia etc. Item pannos laneos et pelles et calciamenta⁶ pro domino et ea que reparanda sunt seu de novo facienda de mandato dominj seu camerarij faciunt fieri.

Item in certis festiuitibus, scilicet in festo Natiuitatis Dominj, Circumcisionis, Epiphanie, Ascensionis, Penthecostes, Sancti Iohannis Baptiste, apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Sancti Laurentij, Assumptionis beate Virginis et eius Natiuitatis et Omnium [f. 4] Sanctorum, consuevit papa exire ad vespas in aula, et tunc thesaurarij debent ministrare faculas ponendas in trabe et accenduntur⁷ in vespas, matutinis et missa. Residuum dictarum facularum cedit dictis thesaurarijs. Tapeta, fadistoria, bredellas et pannos necessarios assignant seruientibus, quando dominus debet exire in ecclesia vel in⁸ aula.

[...]

[f. 7^v] [...]

De portitore aque pro capellanis

Portitor aque pro capellanis recipit videndam, sex lib. prov. in anno pro vestibus, equum et unum somarium, quando dominus est in via, et unum roncinum pro aqua.

[f. 8] Ipse vero⁹ debet portare seu portari facere aquam necessariam in buticularia tam pro lavandis vegetibus quam alias, et in aula pro capellanis, et ministrare aquam, quando capellanj lavant manus.

[...]

[f. 8^v] [...]

De clerico capelle

Clericus capelle recipit unam videndam de carnibus et alijs¹⁰ duos somarios et unum equum ad equitandum, quando dominus est in itinere, unum somarium scilicet pro capella et alium pro se.

Ipse vero habet papare altare capellanorum pro missa et in vespas, cum oportet, et assistere thesaurarijs, quando dominus celebrat, et parare altare, quando pronunciantur prelati presentes in curia et quando ipsi prelati debent iurare seu palium alicui¹¹ debet tradi.

De hostiario capellanie

Hostiarius capellanie recipit unam videndam de carnibus et alijs, unum somarium et unum equum ad equitandum, quando dominus est in itinere, .VII. candelas in septimana et pro matutinis .XIII. et pro festis duplicibus .XXIII. or. candelas et unum tortizolum¹² de minoribus.

[f. 9] Ipse vero debet custodire capellaniam et vocat capellanos ad matutinum et missas et

⁴ B] *om.* in

⁵ B] habent

⁶ B] cultramenta

⁷ B] accendatur

⁸ B] *om.* in

⁹ A] ipse vero B] Item

¹⁰ B] *add.* et

¹¹ B] *om.* alicui

¹² B] torziolum

vesperas et ministrat candelas et libros pro officijs.

[...]

[f. 11] [...]

De clericis capelle interioris

Clerici capelle interioris consueverunt habere duas vidandas et unam anonomam pro quolibet et eciam consueverunt habere vestes cum forraturis.¹³

[...]

[f. 12] [...]

De capellanis et aliis, quando debeant habere hospicia¹⁴

Capellani vero

notarij

cubicularij

magistri hostiarij

hostiarij minores

palafrenarij

tunc habent hospicia a curia, quando providetur curie

per communia civitatum, in quibus residet dominus

gratis.¹⁵

[...]

[f. 12^v] [...]

De absentibus, qui consueverunt recipere vidandam¹⁶

De quibusdam vero absentibus, scilicet mapularijs, cantoribus, castellano abbacie ad pontem, hostiariis ad Sancta Sanctorum, Grecis de Crota ferrata, nichil ponitur hic, quia sunt absentes et recipiunt, quando curia est Rome.

[...]

De capellanis et aliis, qui conueverunt habere partem de comunibus servicijs

Capellani et alij familiares consueverunt habere partem de comunibus servicijs.

De tercio misso, quod consueverunt recipere familiares certis festiuitatibus

Consueverunt recipere familiares tercium missum a coquina maiori in die Natiuitatis Dominj et duobus diebus sequentibus et eodem die Natiuitatis vidandam et dimidiam. In festo Resurrectionis Dominj idem et in Pentecoste idem, preterquam in media vidanda. In festo Circumcisionis, Epiphanie, Ascensionis Dominj, festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Sancti Iohannis Baptiste, Assumptionis beate Marie et Omnium Sanctorum datur tercium missum.

[...]

[f. 15] [*De quatuor servicijs*]

Ut, de quatuor servicijs, familiares summo pontificis et officiales ipsius et Ecclesie Romane contingentes et qualiter debeant dividi, domino cardinali camerario plenius innotescat, infra scripto modo, secundum quod servatum est usque ad hec tempora cum pura veritate sunt ispa sericia dividenda.

[...]

¹³ B] cum ferraturia

¹⁴ B] De capellanis et aliis qui habent hospicia, quando providetur curie per communia civitatum.

¹⁵ B] dominus residet gratis

¹⁶ B] De absentibus, qui consueverunt recipere unam vidandam a curia, quando dominus est in Urbe. In margin in second hand: De presbitero, titolo depenato, perché fuori posto.

Tercium servitium est taliter dividendum. In primis medietas ipsius tercij servitij est capellanorum summi pontificis commensalium, que quidem medietas assignari debet camerarijs dictorum capellanorum recipientibus suo et sociorum suorum nomine. De divisione facienda inter eos non habet intromittere se assignans.

APPENDIX FIVE: FIGURE ONE

Table of all papal chaplains attested in the period 1288–1304.

Where available, the following information has been provided:

- First attestation in period of study (or prior to period of study, when known)
- Final attestation in period of study
- Diocese of origin (with indication of wider region used for discussion of provenance in Chapter Three)
- Dates of appointment to bishopric/archbishopric
- Date of elevation to cardinalate
- Date of registration of *licentia testandi*
- Date of death

	FIRST ATTESTATION	LAST ATTESTATION	DIOCESE OF ORIGIN	REGION	BISHOP/ARCHBISHOP	CARDINAL	LICENTIA TESTANDI REGISTRATION DATE	DEATH DATE
Adam de Nigella	11.2.1296	26.1.1297	Noyon	Picardy				1316
Adam de Polonia	6.2.1287			Poland				
Adenulphus de Anagnia	5.12.1286		Anagni	Papal State Campagna				
Alanus Venatoris	7.2.1304							
Albertus de Fisco de Lavania	5.2.1296	28.5.1304	Lavagna	Liguria				1308
Albertus de Normannis de Urbe	9.1.1287		Urbe	Papal State Rome				
Albertus de Salve	26.3.1286							
Alero Ricciardi (Aliro)	11.1.1287	16.9.1290			Torcello 1290-95			
Altegradus de Cataneis de Lendinaria	9.11.1300	13.5.1301	Ferrara (Lendinara)	Veneto	Vicenza 1303			1314
Andrea de Laguscello	15.3.1290				Avignon 1290-?		1290	
Andreas Pandone	5.2.1296				Brindisi 1296-1304			1312
Antonius de Carnixio	13.6.1291							
Antonius Ursi	23.8.1296	21.9.1301	Florence	Tuscany	Fiesole 1301-03, Florence 1303-09			d.1309
Archipresbyter Auximanae	24.3.1288							
Armannus Mantellus	10.11.1303	4.4.1304						
Arnaldus Rogerii	5.8.1295				Toulouse 1297-98			1298
Augustinus de Tragurio	10.12.1303		Trau (Tragurio)	Dalmatia				
Aymo Amadei de Sabaudia	13.1.1298	7.7.1298		Savoy	Metz 1324 (elected but never consecrated)			1343
Babertus/Bambertus	1.10.1295							
Bartholomeus / Bartholinus de Cornazano	12.9.1290	11.12.1302	Parma (Cornazzano)	Romagna (wider)				<1310
Bartholomeus Brazdareyre de Rosiaco	11.8.1295	6.4.1299	Paris (Roissy)	Ile-de-France/Paris	Autun 1299-1308			1308
Beltramus de Mediolano	18.6.1302	2.5.1304	Milan	Lombardy				
Berardus de Camerino	8.1.1290	7.5.1295	Camerino	Papal State March				1295
Berardus de Fulginio	24.9.1285		Foligno	Papal State Spoleto	Foligno 1285-96			1296
Berardus de Podio	22.6.1285	13.11.1286	Rieti (Poggio Bustone)	Papal State Sabina	Ancona 1286-96, Rieti 1296-99			1299
Berengarius Fredoli	22.9.1285	17.1.1292	Montpellier	Languedoc-Roussillon	Beziers 1294-1305	cardinal SS Nereo e Achilleo 1305, cardinal bishop Tusculum 1309		1323
Berengarius Regis de Carcassonne	1283	14.3.1297	Carcassonne	Languedoc-Roussillon				1317
Bernardus de Carcassona	27.8.1288	15.7.1291	Carcassonne	Languedoc-Roussillon				
Bernardus de Laguscello	17.4.1289		Nimes (Languißel)	Languedoc-Roussillon				
Bernardus Roiardi	2.2.1299	25.3.1304		France	Arras 1316-20		1320	1320
Bertoldus de Labro	26.7.1296	10.1.1304	Rieti	Papal State Sabina	Agrigento 1304-26			1326
Bertrandus de Got (Clement V)	2.10.1294	28.3.1295	Bordeaux (Villandraut)	Aquitaine	St Bertrand de Comminges 1295-99, Bordeaux 1299-1305			1314

	FIRST ATTESTATION	LAST ATTESTATION	DIOCESE OF ORIGIN	REGION	BISHOP/ARCHBISHOP	CARDINAL	LICENTIA TESTANDI REGISTRATION DATE	DEATH DATE
Bittinus de Scottis de Conegliano	16.1.1304	20.5.1304	Ceneda (Conegliano)	Veneto				
Blasius de Anagnia	1256	5.12.1299	Anagni	Papal State Campagna			1299	>1303
Bogo de Clara	10.4.1286			England				1294
Bonaiutus da Casentino	11.2.1304	20.2.1304	Fiesole (Casentino)	Tuscany				1312
Bonifatius de Augusta	26.2.1289							
Bonifatius de Challant	15.12.1289			Aosta	Sitten 1289-1308		1290	1308
Bonifatius de Loiano	6.8.1291	15.12.1291	Bologna	Papal State Romagna				
Bonifatius Thome de Salucis	28.1.1297	2.3.1297	Turin (Cuneo)	Piedmont				1323
Bosulus de Basolis de Parma	9.1.1304	4.3.1304	Parma	Romagna (wider)				
Campano da Novara	1279	17.9.1296	Novara	Piedmont				1296
Castellanus de Salamone de Tervisio	30.5.1304		Trevisio	Treviso				
Cinchus de Cancellariis de Urbe	5.9.1297	10.2.1304	Urbe	Papal State Rome				1321
Clericus de Pisis	1290	3.11.1295	Pisa	Tuscany				
Conradus de Brunforte	23.9.1288	23.5.1298	Camerino (Brunforte)	Papal State March	Terano 1295 (renounces)			1298
Consilius Gatto de Viterbo, OP	1286	21.11.1299	Viterbo	Papal State Patrimony	Oristano 1299-1301, Conza 1301-27		1302	1328
Cristoforus Tolomei	1283	30.4.1288	Siena	Tuscany	Castro 1285 (renounces)			1298
David de Haya	13.3.1287			Scotland				
Deodatus	29.2.1304							
Deodatus de Urbe	11.10.1285	20.6.1301	Urbe	Papal State Rome				1301
Desius Archionis	16.10.1300							1303
Dominicus de Sancto Urbano	3.1.1292	17.6.1296	Chalons (Saint-Urbain)	Chalons-sur-Marne				
Dominicus de Saragossa OFP	10.1.1304		Saragoza	Spain	Sircacusa 1304			1304
Egidius Aycelini	28.6.1288	22.6.1289	Clermont (Billom)	Auvergne	Narbonne 1290-1311, Rouen 1311-18			1318
Egidius Martini	25.5.1286	28.11.1286		Spain/Portugal?	Lamego (but election contested and never consecrated) 1286			
Emercho, scolasticus Maguntine	18.3.1289							
Esyae, capellanus in partibus Orientis	13.4.1288							
Felisius, canonicus Laudunen. / Felix de Troyes	27.11.1286		Troyes (Trecen.)	Aube				
Florius Veronensis OFP	8.4.1304		Verona	Veneto				
Franciscus Fontana	23.4.1288				Messina 1288-1296, Milan 1296-1305			1305
Franciscus Neapoleonis de filiis Ursi	1287		Urbe	Papal State Rome		cardinal deacon S Lucia in Silice 1295	1303, 1311	1311
Franciscus Petri Johannes Cinchii	12.3.1303							
Franciscus Roffredi Caetani	8.9.1295	8.10.1295	Anagni	Papal State Campagna		cardinal S Maria in Cosmedin 1295	1317	1317

	FIRST ATTESTATION	LAST ATTESTATION	DIOCESE OF ORIGIN	REGION	BISHOP/ARCHBISHOP	CARDINAL	LICENTIA TESTANDI REGISTRATION DATE	DEATH DATE
Franciscus, fr.	23.6.1296							
Garsia	19.5.1286							
Gaufridus	15.7.1299				Grasse 1299-1343			1343
Gaufridus de Launcellus	27.5.1288	26.11.1289		England	Gap 1289-1315			1315
Gentilis de Collealto	1278	10.2.1304	Collalto (prov. Rieti)	Papal State Sabina			1322	
Gentilis, filius Gentilis civis Camerinensis	17.4.1285		Camerino	Papal State March				
Gentilius, plebanus plebis Civita Nova	15.3.1290							
Geraldus de Malomonte	7.9.1289			Limousin				
Gerardus de Pecoraria	15.2.1304	18.2.1304	Piacenza	Romagna (wider)				1318
Gerardus prepositus eccl. Casletensis	3.4.1286							
Geuchardus q. Walteri Arsten	18.7.1291	23.10.1296	Trier (Arnstein)	Germany				
Giffredus de Pecoraria de Placentia	7.11.1290	22.9.1291	Piacenza	Romagna (wider)				
Giffredus de Vezano	23.8.1288		Luni (Vezzano Ligure)	Liguria	Parma 1299		1299	1300
Gotius de Urbeveteri	5.2.1297	28.8.1297	Orvieto	Papal State Patrimony				1297
Gregorius Bonegentis de Genezzano	21.6.1297	17.5.1301	Albano	Papal State Campagna				
Gregorius Judicis de Alatro	30.9.1296	25.6.1297	Alatri	Papal State Campagna				1302
Gregorius, archidiaconus S. Andree in Scotia	7.3.1286		Scotland?					
Gualterius de Langeton	2.10.1295	17.8.1296		England	Coventry-Lichfield 1296-1321			1321
Guido de Baisio	12.9.1296	1304	Reggio	Romagna (wider)	Reggio 1312-13		1310	1313
Guido de Caritate	7.6.1295	30.6.1295	Nevers (La Charité sur Loire)	Nievre	Soissons 1296-1313			1313
Guido de Collemedio	1273	23.8.1290	Collemezzo	Papal State Campagna	Cambrai 1296-1306			1306
Guido de Noalhas	18.4.1290	24.6.1290	Noailles (several possible places in France)	France			1290	1297
Guido de Pileo	21.10.1295		Anagni (Piglio)	Papal State Campagna				1295
Guidonus de Novavilla	30.10.1288	20.6.1290	Novavilla (several possible places)		Le Puy 1290-96, Saintes 1296-1312			1312
Guidottus de Tabiatidis de Mediolano	14.3.1297	10.1.1304	Milan	Lombardy	Messina 1304-1333			1333
Guillelmus Accursi de Bononia	4.7.1291	1.12.1303	Bologna	Papal State Romagna				1313
Guillelmus Bodini	10.5.1301							
Guillelmus Cumyn	7.3.1287	12.7.1298	St Andrews	Scotland	St Andrews (renounces) 1298			
Guillelmus de Colobreria	1.2.1289		Strasbourg (Colmar)	Alsace				
Guillelmus de Ferreriis	1289	11.8.1291	Orleans (Ferrieres)	Quercy		cardinal S Clemente 1294	1295	1295
Guillelmus de Florentiaco	1.7.1289		Agde (Florensac)	Languedoc-Roussillon				
Guillelmus de Gifford	1.10.1286		Clifford?	England	Emly 1286-1306			1306

	FIRST ATTESTATION	LAST ATTESTATION	DIOCESE OF ORIGIN	REGION	BISHOP/ARCHBISHOP	CARDINAL	LICENTIA TESTANDI REGISTRATION DATE	DEATH DATE
Guillelmus de Godorio	7.7.1291	8.7.1296			Salerno 1298-1306			1306
Guillelmus de Longhis	1294		Bergamo	Lombardy		cardinal deacon S Nicola in Carcere 1294	1308, 1309, 1319	1319
Guillelmus de Mandagotto	26.3.1286	26.9.1289	Beziers (Mandagout)	Languedoc-Roussillon	Embrun 1295-1311, Aix 1311-12	cardinal bishop Palestrina 1312-21	1321	1321
Guillelmus de Molendino	25.7.1298							1348
Guillelmus de Montfort	1.3.1291	3.4.1291		England				1294
Guillelmus de Narbona	8.6.1291	15.3.1295	Narbonne	Languedoc-Roussillon				
Guillelmus Greenfield	1299			England	York 1306-15			1315
Guillelmus Landulfi de Ceccano	1284	28.6.1300	Ferentino (Ceccano)	Papal State Campagna				1309
Guillelmus Seguini de Got	13.1.1290	23.8.1297	Bordeaux (Villandraut)	Bordeaux				1299
Guillelmus, Carcassonensis electus	26.9.1289				Carcassonne (but never consecrated) 1289			
Guillelmus Arnaldi de Mota	13.1.1290	22.8.1297		Bordeaux	Bazas 1302-1312, Saintes 1312-1318, Bazas 1318-19			1319
Helias de Malomonte	7.9.1289			Limousin				
Henricus de Clingemberch	17.4.1289			England (Clingemberch)				
Henricus de Gebenna/Cebenna	22.6.1289		Geneva	Geneva				
Henricus de Gibeletto de Biblio	1.9.1296	15.8.1303	Tripoli (Gibelletto)	Tripoli	Nicosia (renounces) 1288, administrator of Nicosia 1303			
Henricus de Labro	25.5.1297	11.3.1303	Rieti (Labro)	Papal State Sabina				1303
Henricus de Portusuavi	13.12.1288		Portu Suavi ?	Toul?				
Henricus de Villariis	10.2.1295	13.7.1295	Lyon (Villars-les-Dombes)	Lyon	Lyon 1295		1301	1301
Henricus Muscat	31.8.1296							
Henricus, prepositus Xanctonensis	30.6.1286							
Hugo Rubei	28.11.1286							
Hugo Vigerii	9.11.1296			France	Saintes (renounces) 1296			1303
Hugolinus	12.9.1290							
Hugolinus de S Michele	31.7.1285	13.1.1287						
Huguitio	1278	21.7.1295						
Huguitio Borromeo de Vercellis	22.9.1291	10.2.1304	Vercelli	Piedmont	Novara 1304-1330		1311	1330-31
Hugitonus	1.6.1290	27.7.1290						
Isarnus Morlane de Fontiano	25.10.1295	19.12.1300	Carcassonne	Languedoc-Roussillon	Riga 1300-02, Lund 1302-10, Salerno 1310			1310
Jacobus de Arras OSC	20.5.1300		Arras	Arras				
Jacobus de Buccamatris de Sabello	1295	11.6.1301	Urbe	Papal State Rome				1316
Jacobus de Casalibus	10.3.1304							1319
Jacobus dictus Cardarellus de Narnia	21.11.1302	10.1.1304	Narni	Papal State Sabina	Cefalu 1304-24			1324

	FIRST ATTESTATION	LAST ATTESTATION	DIOCESE OF ORIGIN	REGION	BISHOP/ARCHBISHOP	CARDINAL	LICENTIA TESTANDI REGISTRATION DATE	DEATH DATE
Jacobus Gaietanus de Stephaneschis	1285	21.12.1291	Urbe	Papal State Rome		cardinal deacon S Giorgio in Velabro 1295		1341
Jacobus Mathaei de filiis Ursi	1295	28.2.1304	Urbe	Papal State Rome				1323
Jacobus Nicolai Mathie de Papa	1.8.1302		Anagni	Papal State Campagna				
Jacobus Normandi de Urbe	28.10.1297	5.4.1300	Urbe	Papal State Rome				1310
Johannes d. Papa de Annibaldis	28.4.1298	21.10.1300	Terracin. (Sermoneta)	Papal State Campagna				1301-04
Johannes de Drokensford	22.9.1298	13.12.1299		England	Bath 1308-29			1329
Johannes de Furnis d. de Teneramunda	11.10.1298	29.3.1302						
Johannes de Osmele/Oseville	13.2.1291	15.2.1291		England				
Johannes de Pallaxono	20.3.1290		Parma?	Romagna (wider)				
Johannes de Savigny	28.3.1295		Savigny	Several possibilities but specific detail lacking	Nevers 1295-1314			1314
Johannes de Syrkes/Cherkes	23.12.1288	10.1.1291	Trier (Sierck)	Moselle	Utrecht 1291-96, Toul 1296-1305			1305
Johannes de Turre Facta	5.8.1291			Spain?				
Johannes de Vaissongnia	30.6.1289	15.2.1290	Laon (Wassigny)	Picardy				
Johannes Landulfi Odonis de Columna	27.11.1297	31.1.1302	Palestrina (Paliano)	Papal State Campagna				1318
Johannes Monachus	27.11.1285	21.3.1286	Amiens (Crecy)	Amiens	Arras 1288-94	cardinal priest SS Marcellino e Pietro 1294	1288	1313
Johannes Muti de Paparuzis	16.3.1296	23.12.1297			Olenus 1297-1300, Imola 1300-02, Rieti 1302-39		1303	1339
Johannes, abbas monasterii Sancti Germani de Pratis	4.6.1288							
Johannes, episcopus Perusin.	17.4.1288				Perugia 1288-90			1290
Jordanus Vetulus de Anagnia	1295	1.10.1302	Anagni	Papal State Campagna				1302
Lando de Valle Montonis	15.5.1290	23.8.1290	Segni (Valmontone)	Papal State Campagna				
Landulfus dictus Rubeus	29.3.1298				Ferentino 1298-1303			1303
Laurentinus Vicinus	28.3.1291							
Leonardus de Flisco	12.9.1290	10.1.1304	Lavagna	Liguria	Catania 1304-31		1325	1331
Leonardus Mancini	24.4.1296				Orvieto 1296-1302, Siponto 1302-26		1296	1326
Luca de Flisco	11.10.1297	15.10.1298	Lavagna	Liguria		cardinal S Croce in Gerusalemme 1298	1308	1336
Martinus Petrus	20.11.1289	27.9.1291		Portugal	Braga 1295-1313		1299	1313
Matheus de Columna	30.1.1289	31.1.1298	Palestrina	Papal State Campagna				1327
Matheus de Paliano	24.6.1296	13.12.1297	Palestina (Paliano)	Papal State Campagna				1297
Matheus de Vicecomitibus	21.12.1302	10.1.1304	Milan	Lombardy				>1337
Matheus Protonobilissimus de Neapoli	12.8.1289	15.12.1290	Naples	Campagna (Regno)				
Michael	7.7.1291							
Michael d. As Cloketes	1.2.1300	28.11.1301						1326

	FIRST ATTESTATION	LAST ATTESTATION	DIOCESE OF ORIGIN	REGION	BISHOP/ARCHBISHOP	CARDINAL	LICENTIA TESTANDI REGISTRATION DATE	DEATH DATE
Michael de Appoggiaco	13.12.1303		Auxerre (Appoigny)	Burgundy				
Neapoleo de filiis Ursi	1280	19.5.1286	Urbe	Papal State Rome		cardinal deacon S Adriano 1288	1306, 1317	1342
Neapoleo Fortibrachie de filiis Ursi de Romagna	18.8.1299	8.11.1303	Urbe	Papal State Rome	Monreale 1325-37		1337	1337
Nicholaus Aurioli	5.1.1304							
Nicolaus de Fraiapanatibus	1.9.1297	25.2.1298	Urbe	Papal State Rome				
Nicolaus de Monterano	15.9.1291		Monterano	Papal State Patrimony				
Nicolaus de Trebis	25.9.1288		Anagni (Trevi, Frosinon.)	Papal State Campagna				
Nicolaus Frederici de Trajecto	5.6.1301		Caetan. (Minturno)	Campania (Regno, border)	Argos 1311-24			1324
Nicolinus de Camilla	1278	7.9.1297	Genoa	Liguria				1299
Octobonis Spinulae	25.11.1291							1291
Odo Archionis de Urbe	1278	6.11.1299	Urbe	Papal State Rome	Trani 1299-1317			1317
Onofrius de Papa de Trebis	10.5.1301	13.6.1304	Anagni (Trevi, Frosinon.)	Papal State Campagna	Salerno 1313-19			1319
Opizonus de Strillaportis	11.5.1289							
Ottobonus de Placentia	1289	24.10.1296	Piacenza	Romagna (wider)	Padua 1299-1302, Aquileia 1302-15		1312	1315
Pandulfus de Subara	23.9.1285	26.11.1286	Subara?	Latin East	Patti 1286-1304			1304
Pandulphus de Sabello	16.11.1291	28.3.1298	Urbe	Papal State Rome			1318	
Papianus della Rovere	4.2.1296		Turin	Piedmont	Novara 1296-1300, Parma 1300-16			1316
Paulus Adenuffi de Comite	24.9.1301		Segni (Valmontone)	Papal State Campagna				1330
Paulus de Isernia	29.6.1301		Isernia	Molise				
Percivallus de Lavania	1263	22.4.1290	Lavagna	Liguria			1290	1290
Peregrinus Bricio	25.2.1286				Oviedo 1286-89			1289
Peregrinus de Andirano	21.11.1283	11.1.1286	Andiran	Aquitaine				
Peregrinus, OSA	26.4.1288	23.9.1301	Padua	Veneto	Venafro 1301-7 (elected 1290)			
Petrinus de Samola	5.5.1291							
Petrus de Aybrandus	2.5.1291	13.6.1291					1291	
Petrus de Columna	18.6.1288		Gallicano	Papal State Campagna				
Petrus de Ferreriis	22.6.1295		Orléans (Ferrières)	Quercy	Salerno (renounces) 1298, Leictoure 1299-1301, Noyon 1301-04, Arles 1304-07		1302	1307
Petrus de Latyera	20.5.1286	27.1.1288	Viterbo (Latera)	Papal State Patrimony			1286	
Petrus de Sora	1294	5.8.1296	Sora	Campagna (Regno, border)	Arras (but election overturned) 1295			
Petrus de Turrice	8.8.1295		Veroli (Torrice)	Papal State Campagna	Anagni 1295-99, Aversa 1299-1309			1309
Petrus Grimaldi	1.6.1297							
Petrus Leonardi de Guarcino	1297		Alatri (Guarcino)	Papal State Campagna				

	FIRST ATTESTATION	LAST ATTESTATION	DIOCESE OF ORIGIN	REGION	BISHOP/ARCHBISHOP	CARDINAL	LICENTIA TESTANDI REGISTRATION DATE	DEATH DATE
Petrus Odonis de Pofis	25.4.1295		Veroli (Pofi)	Papal State Campagna				1296
Petrus Rolandi de Vallemontone	5.12.1296		Segni (Valmontone)	Papal State Campagna				
Petrus Rotarius	19.3.1291							
Petrus Sarracenus de Urbe	25.2.1286		Urbe	Papal State Rome	Monopoli 1286-87, Vicenza 1287-95			1295
Petrus Valeriani de Piperno	12.9.1290	29.3.1295	Terracina (Priverno)	Papal State Campagna	Amalfi (renounces) 1295	cardinal deacon S Maria Nova 1295	1296	1302
Petrus, ep. Limocien	28.2.1301				Limasol 1301-?			
Philippus de Bartone	1295			England				1310
Philippus de Castagnol	15.7.1295		Bourges	Berry				
Pontius de Alayrico	13.8.1303	2.11.1303						
R. abbas monasterii Croylandie, OSB	1.7.1290			England				
Radulfus de Mirabello	8.1.1253	25.4.1288	Poitiers (Poitou)	Poitou				1289
Raymundus Cambeveteris	12.9.1290							
Raymundus de Planhano	26.9.1289		Pamiers (Plaigne)	Languedoc-Roussillon				
Raymundus de Pont	15.11.1286	15.1.1291		Spain	Valencia 1291-1312		1291	1312
Raymundus de Tarentasia	11.7.1296		Tarentaise	Savoy				
Raynaldus Concoreggi de Mediolano	22.9.1295	18.10.1296	Milan	Lombardy	Vicenza 1296-1303, Ravenna 1303-21		1299	1321
Raynaldus de Castro Novo	10.7.1290	5.2.1292	Agrigento (Castro Novo)	Sicily				
Raynaldus de Sirmineto	23.8.1288		Terracina (Sermineta)	Papal State Campagna				
Raynerius de Casulis	1277	24.4.1296	Capua	Campania (Regno)	Cremona 1296-1312/13			1312/13
Raynerius de Pistorio	1.1.1304		Pistoia	Tuscany				
Raynerius de Vichio	28.4.1297	6.6.1301					1301	1301
Raynerius de Viterbo	1252	15.10.1300	Viterbo	Papal State Patrimony				1300
Raynuccinus de Murro	3.9.1288	25.1.1292					1292	
Riccardus de Damfeld	12.5.1291			England				
Riccardus de Ferentino	1282	14.3.1298	Ferentino	Papal State Campagna				1301
Riccardus de Ferringes	17.2.1299	1.7.1299		England	Dublin 1299-1306			1306
Riccardus Landulfi de Ceccano	13.6.1298	14.10.1299	Ferentino (Ceccano)	Papal State Campagna				1299
Robertus de Haricuria	11.9.1288		Bayeux (Harcourt)	Normandy	Coutances 1291-1315			1315
Robertus de Hulmo	30.12.1291			England (Holme)				
Robertus de Robertis	18.8.1288	30.9.1296	Reggio Emilia	Romagna (wider)				
Robertus, abbas monasterii Cesariensis	2.1.1290							
Robertus, archiepiscopus Corinthiensis	1.4.1286				Corinth 1290			c. 1294

	FIRST ATTESTATION	LAST ATTESTATION	DIOCESE OF ORIGIN	REGION	BISHOP/ARCHBISHOP	CARDINAL	LICENTIA TESTANDI REGISTRATION DATE	DEATH DATE
Rodericus Vasquez	23.12.1297			Spain				1318
Rogierus Cazia	13.12.1295	9.4.1298			Piacenza (renounces) 1295			
Rogierus Donmusco de Salerno	6.10.1286	10.1.1304	Salerno	Campania (Regno)	Monreale 1304			1304
Rolandus de Ferentino	1257	16.11.1297	Ferentino	Papal State Campagna				1297
Sicardus de Vauro	16.4.1304	30.6.1304	Toulouse (Lavaur)	Midi-Pyrenees				
Silvagus de Florentia	23.8.1291		Florence	Tuscany			1291	1291
Simon da Genova	1288		Genoa	Liguria				
Simon de Marvilla	10.5.1301	4.2.1304		Empire				1326
Simon Matifas	11.9.1288	2.9.1289	Soissons	Picardy	Paris 1290-1304			1304
Socius de Overgnachis	18.1.1304		Strasbourg (Obernai)	Alsace				
Spinellus de Roda	16.3.1300	22.5.1302						
Stefanus de Burgundia	13.12.1291			Burgundy				
Stefanus de Mauloy	21.5.1291	5.6.1291		England				
Stephanus Jordanus de Insula in Urbe	7.6.1298		Urbe	Papal State Rome				
Stephanus Surdus	20.4.1288		Urbe	Papal State Rome				1295
Thedisius Revelli de Camilla	26.3.1286	6.11.1301	Genoa	Liguria	Turin 1301-18			1318
Theodericus de Altena	30.9.1290		Cologne (County of the Mark)	North Rhine-Westphalia				
Theodericus Rainerii	1275	13.11.1290	Orvieto	Papal State Patrimony	Pisa 1295-98	cardinal S Croce in Gerusalemme 1298		1306
Thomas Bisacia	14.12.1286							
Thomas de Sabaudia	8.4.1301			Piedmont	Turin (pope rejects) 1301			1335
Ticcus de Colle	15.3.1291	10.1.1304	Colle Valdelsa (Collen.)	Tuscany	Palermo 1304			1304
Vitalis de Manihanto/Mavihanto	22.3.1304							

APPENDIX FIVE: FIGURE TWO

Papal chaplains attested in the period 1288–1304 listed by pontificate of first attestation.

Within each pontificate, chaplains are ordered alphabetically for ease of identification.

BEFORE HONORIUS IV			
Berengarius Regis de Carcassonne	1283	Nicolinus de Camilla	1278
Blasius de Anagnia	1256	Odo Archionis de Urbe	1278
Campano da Novara	1279	Percivallus de Lavania	1263
Cristoforus Tolomei	1283	Peregrinus de Andirano	21.11.1283
Gentilis de Collealto	1278	Radulfus de Mirabello	8.1.1253
Guido de Collemedio	1273	Raynerius de Casulis	1277
Guillelmus Landulfi de Ceccano	1284	Raynerius de Viterbo	1252
Huguitio	1278	Riccardus de Ferentino	1282
Neapoleo de filiis Ursi	1280	Rolandus de Ferentino	1257
		Theodericus Rainerii	1275
HONORIUS IV			
Adam de Polonia	6.2.1287	Gerardus prepositus ecc. Casletensis	3.4.1286
Adenulphus de Anagnia	5.12.1286	Gregorius, archidiaconus S. Andree in Scotia	7.3.1286
Albertus de Normannis de Urbe	9.1.1287	Guillelmus Cumyn	7.3.1287
Albertus de Salve	26.3.1286	Guillelmus de Glifford	1.10.1286
Alero Ricciardi (Aliro)	11.1.1287	Guillelmus de Mandagotto	26.3.1286
Berardus de Fulginio	24.9.1285	Henricus, prepositus Xanctonensis	30.6.1286
Berardus de Podio	22.6.1285	Hugo Rubei	28.11.1286
Berengarius Fredoli	22.9.1285	Hugolinus de S Michele	31.7.1285
Bernardus de Carcassona	27.8.1288	Johannes Monachus	27.11.1285
Bogo de Clara	10.4.1286	Pandulfus de Subara	23.9.1285
Consilius Gatto de Viterbo, OP	1286	Peregrinus Bricio	25.2.1286
David de Haya	13.3.1287	Petrus de Latyera	20.5.1286
Deodatus de Urbe	11.10.1285	Petrus Sarracenus de Urbe	25.2.1286
Egidius Martini	25.5.1286	Raymundus de Pont	15.11.1286
Felsius, canonicus Laudunen. (Felix de Troyes)	27.11.1286	Robertus, archiepiscopus Corinthiensis	1.4.1286
Franciscus Neapoleanis de filiis Ursi	1287	Rogerius Donmusco de Salerno	6.10.1286
Garsia	19.3.1286	Thedisius Revelli de Camilla	26.3.1286
Gentilis, filius Gentilis civis Camerinensis	17.4.1285	Thomas Bisacia	14.12.1286

NICHOLAS IV

Andrea de Laguscello	15.3.1290	Johannes de Pallaxono	20.3.1290
Antonius de Carnixio	13.6.1291	Johannes de Syrkes/Cherkes	23.12.1288
archpresbyter Auximanae	24.3.1288	Johannes de Turre Facta	5.8.1291
Bartholomeus / Bartholinus de Cornazano	12.9.1290	Johannes de Vaissongnia	30.6.1289
Berardus de Camerino	8.1.1290	Johannes, abbas monasterii Sancti Germani de Pratis	4.6.1288
Bernardus de Laguscello	17.4.1289	Johannes, episcopus Perusin.	17.4.1288
Bonifatius de Augusta	26.2.1289	Lando de Valle Montonis	15.5.1290
Bonifatius de Challant	15.12.1289	Laurentinus Vicinus	28.3.1291
Bonifatius de Loiano	6.8.1291	Leonardus de Flisco	12.9.1290
Clericus de Pisis	1290	Martinus Petrus	20.11.1289
Conradus de Brunforte	23.9.1288	Matheus de Columna	30.1.1289
Dominicus de Sancto Urbano	3.1.1292	Matheus Protonobilissimus de Neapoli	12.8.1289
Egidius Ayclini	28.6.1288	Michael	7.7.1291
Emercho, scolastico Maguntine	18.3.1289	Nicolaus de Monterano	15.9.1291
Esyae, capellanus in partibus Orientis	13.4.1288	Nicolaus de Trebis	25.9.1288
Franciscus Fontana	23.4.1288	Octobonis Spinulae	25.11.1291
Gaufridus de Launcellus	27.5.1288	Opizonus de Strillaportis	11.5.1289
Gentilius, plebanus plebis Civita Nova	15.3.1290	Ottobonus de Placentia	1289
Geraldus de Malomonte	7.9.1289	Pandulphus de Sabello	16.11.1291
Geuchardus q. Walteri Arsten	18.7.1291	Peregrinus, OSA	26.4.1288
Giffredus de Pecoraria de Placentia	7.11.1290	Petrinus de Samola	5.5.1291
Giffredus de Vezano	23.8.1288	Petrus de Aybrandus	2.5.1291
Guido de Noalhas	18.4.1290	Petrus de Columna	18.6.1288
Guidonus de Novavilla	30.30.1288	Petrus Rotarius	19.3.1291
Guillelmus Accursi de Bononia	4.7.1291	Petrus Valeriani de Piperno	12.9.1290
Guillelmus de Colobreria	1.2.1289	R. abbas monasterii Croylandie, OSB	1.7.1290
Guillelmus de Ferreriis	1289	Raymundus Cambeveteris	12.9.1290
Guillelmus de Florentiaco	1.7.1289	Raymundus de Planhano	26.9.1289
Guillelmus de Godorio	7.7.1291	Raynaldus de Castro Novo	10.7.1290
Guillelmus de Montfort	1.3.1291	Raynaldus de Sirmineto	23.8.1288
Guillelmus de Narbona	8.6.1291	Raynuccinus de Murro	3.9.1288
Guillelmus Seguini de Got	13.1.1290	Riccardus de Damfeld	12.5.1291
Guillelmus, Carcassonensis electus	26.9.1289	Robertus de Haricuria	11.9.1288
Guillemus Arnaldi de Mota	13.1.1290	Robertus de Hulmo	30.12.1291
Helias de Malomonte	7.9.1289	Robertus de Robertis	18.8.1288
Henricus de Clingemberch	17.4.1289	Robertus, abbas monasterii Cesariensis	2.1.1290
Henricus de Gebenna/Cebenna	22.6.1289	Silvagijs de Florentina	23.8.1291
Henricus de Portusuavi	13.12.1288	Simon da Genova	1288
Hugolinus	12.9.1290	Simon Matifas	11.9.1288
Huguitio Borromeo de Vercellis	22.9.1291	Stefanus de Burgundia	13.12.1291
Huguitonus	1.6.1290	Stefanus de Mauloy	21.5.1291
Jacobus Gaietanus de Stephaneschis	1285	Stephanus Surdus	20.4.1288
Johannes de Osmele/Oseville	13.2.1291	Theodericus de Altena	30.9.1290
		Ticcius de Colle	15.3.1291

CELESTINE V

Bertrandus de Got (Clement V)	2.10.1294
Guillelmus de Longis	1294
Petrus de Sora	1294

BONIFACE VIII

Adam de Nigella	11.2.1296
Albertus de Flisco de Lavania	5.2.1296
Altegradus de Cataneis de Lendinaria	9.11.1300
Andreas Pandone	5.2.1296
Antonius Ursi	23.8.1296
Arnaldus Rogerii	5.8.1295
Aymo Amadei de Sabaudia	13.1.1298
Babertus/Bambertus	1.10.1295
Bartholomeus Brazdareyre de Rosiaco	11.8.1295
Beltramus de Mediolano	18.6.1302
Bernardus Roiardi	2.2.1299
Bertoldus de Labro	26.7.1296
Bonifatius Thome de Saluciis	28.1.1297
Cinchus de Cancellariis de Urbe	5.9.1297
Desius Archionis	16.10.1300
Franciscus Petri Johannes Cinchii	12.3.1303
Franciscus Roffredi Caetani	8.9.1295
Franciscus, fr.	23.6.1296
Gaufridus	15.7.1299
Gotius de Urbeveteri	5.2.1297
Gregorius Bonegentis de Genezzano	21.6.1297
Gregorius Judicis de Alatro	30.9.1296
Gualterius de Langton	2.10.1295
Guido de Baisio	12.9.1296
Guido de Caritate	7.6.1295
Guido de Pileo	21.10.1295
Guidottus de Tablatis de Mediolano	14.3.1297
Guillelmus Bodini	10.5.1301
Guillelmus de Molendino	25.7.1298
Guillelmus Greenfield	1299
Henricus de Gibeletto de Biblio	1.9.1296
Henricus de Labro	25.5.1297
Henricus de Villariis	10.2.1295
Henricus Muscat	31.8.1296
Hugo Vigerii	9.11.1296
Isarnus Morlane de Fontiano	25.10.1295
Jacobus de Arras OSC	20.5.1300
Jacobus de Buccamatiis de Sabello	1295

Jacobus dictus Cardarellus de Narnia	21.11.1302
Jacobus Mathaei de filiis Ursi	1295
Jacobus Nicolai Mathie de Papa	1.8.1302
Jacobus Normandi de Urbe	28.10.1297
Johannes d. Papa de Annibaldis	28.4.1298
Johannes de Drokensford	22.9.1298
Johannes de Furnis d. de Teneramunda	11.10.1298
Johannes de Savigny	28.3.1295
Johannes Landulfi Odonis de Columna	27.11.1297
Johannes Muti de Paparuzis	16.3.1296
Jordanus Vetulus de Anagnia	1295
Landulfus dictus Rubeus	29.3.1298
Leonardus Mancini	24.4.1296
Luca de Flisco	11.10.1297
Matheus de Paliano	24.6.1296
Matheus de Vicecomitibus	21.12.1302
Michael d. As Cloketes	1.2.1300
Neapoleo Fortibrachie de filiis Ursi de Romagna	18.8.1299
Nicholaus Aurioli	5.1.1304
Nicolaus de Fraiapanatibus	1.9.1297
Nicolaus Frederici de Trajecto	5.6.1301
Onofrius de Papa de Trebis	10.5.1301
Papianus della Rovere	4.2.1296
Paulus Adenulfi de Comite	24.9.1301
Paulus de Isernia	29.6.1301
Petrus de Ferreriis	22.6.1295
Petrus de Turrice	8.8.1295
Petrus Grimaldi	1.6.1297
Petrus Leonardi de Guarcono	1297
Petrus Odonis de Pofis	25.4.1295
Petrus Rolandi de Vallemontone	5.12.1296
Petrus, ep. Limocien.	28.2.1301
Philippus de Bartone	1295
Philippus de Castagnol	15.7.1295
Pontius de Alayrico	13.8.1303
Raymundus de Tarentasia	11.7.1296
Raynaldus Concoreggi de Mediolano	22.9.1295
Raynerius de Vichio	28.4.1297

[Boniface VIII, continued]

Riccardus de Ferringes	17.2.1299
Riccardus Landulfi de Ceccano	13.6.1298
Rodericus Vasquez	23.12.1297
Rogierius Cazia	13.12.1295

Simon de Marvilla	10.5.1301
Spinellus de Roda	16.3.1300
Stephanus Jordanus de Insula in Urbe	7.6.1298
Thomas de Sabaudia	8.4.1301

BENEDICT XI

Alanus Venatoris	7.2.1304
Armannus Mantellus	10.11.1298
Augustinus de Tragurio	10.12.1303
Bittinus de Scottis de Conglano	16.1.1304
Bonaiutus da Casentino	11.2.1304
Bosulus de Basolis de Parma	9.1.1304
Castellanus de Salamone de Tervisio	30.5.1304
Deodatus	29.2.1304
Dominicus de Saragossa OFP	10.1.1304
Florius Veronensis OFP	8.4.1304
Gerardus de Pecoraria	15.2.1304
Jacobus de Casalibus	10.3.1304
Michael de Appogniaco	13.12.1303
Raynerius de Pistorio	1.1.1304
Sicardus de Vauro	16.4.1304
Socius de Overgnachis	18.1.1304
Vitalis de Manihanto/Mavihanto	22.3.1304

APPENDIX FIVE: FIGURE THREE

Papal chaplains attested under each individual pope in the period 1288–1304.

NICHOLAS IV (109)

Alero Ricciardi (Aliro)	Guillelmus de Narbona
Andrea de Laguscello	Guillelmus Seguini de Got
Antonius de Carnixio	Guillelmus, Carcassonensis electus
Archipresbyter Auximanae	Guillelmus Arnaldi de Mota
Bartholomeus /	Helias de Malomonte
Bartholinus de Cornazano	Henricus de Clingemberch
Berardus de Camerino	Henricus de Gebenna/Cebenna
Berengarius Fredoli	Henricus de Portusuavi
Berengarius Regis de Carcassonne	Hugolinus
Bernardus de Carcassona	Huguitio
Bernardus de Laguscello	Huguitio Borromeo de Vercellis
Bonifatius de Augusta	Huguitonus
Bonifatius de Challant	Jacobus Gaietanus de Stephaneschis
Bonifatius de Loiano	Johannes de Osmele/Oseville
Clericus de Pisis	Johannes de Pallaxono
Conradus de Brunforte	Johannes de Syrkes/Cherkes
Consilius Gatto de Viterbo, OP	Johannes de Turre Facta
Cristoforus Tolomei	Johannes de Vaissongnia
Deodatus de Urbe	Johannes, abbas monasterii Sancti Germani de Pratis
Dominicus de Sancto Urbano	Johannes, episcopus Perusin.
Egidius Aycelini	Lando de Valle Montonis
Emercho, scolastico Maguntine	Laurentinus Vicinus
Esyae, capellanus in partibus Orientis	Leonardus de Flisco
Franciscus Fontana	Martinus Petrus
Franciscus Neapoleonis de filiis Ursi	Matheus de Columna
Gaufridus de Launcellus	Matheus de Paliano
Gentilis de Collealto	Michael
Gentilius, plebanus plebis Civita Nova	Nicolaus de Monterano
Geraldus de Malomonte	Nicolaus de Trebis
Geuchardus q. Walteri Arsten	Nicolinus de Camilla
Giffredus de Pecoraria de Placentia	Octobonis Spinulae
Giffredus de Vezano	Opizonus de Strillaportis
Guido de Collemedio	Ottobonus de Placentia
Guido de Noalhas	Pandulphus de Sabello
Guidonus de Novavilla	Percivallus de Lavania
Guillelmus Accursi de Bononia	Peregrinus, OSA
Guillelmus de Colobreria	Petrinus de Samola
Guillelmus de Ferreriis	Petrus de Aybrandus
Guillelmus de Florentiaco	Petrus de Columna
Guillelmus de Godorio	Petrus Rotarius
Guillelmus de Mandagotto	Petrus Valeriani de Piperno
Guillelmus de Montfort	R. abbas monasterii Croylandie, OSB

[Nicholas IV, continued]

Radulfus de Mirabello
Raymundus Cambeveteris
Raymundus de Planhano
Raymundus de Pont
Raynaldus de Castro Novo
Raynaldus de Sirmineto
Raynerius de Casulis
Raynerius de Viterbo
Raynuccinus de Murro
Riccardus de Damfeld
Riccardus de Ferentino
Robertus de Haricuria
Robertus de Hulmo

Robertus de Robertis
Robertus, abbas monasterii Cesariensis
Rogerius Donmusco de Salerno
Rolandus de Ferentino
Silvagijs de Florentia
Simon da Genova
Simon Matifas
Stefanus de Burgundia
Stefanus de Mauloy
Stephanus Surdus
Theodericus de Altena
Theodericus Rainerii
Ticcus de Colle

CELESTINE V (4)

Bertrandus de Got (Clement V)
Guillelmus de Longhis
Guillelmus Landulfi de Ceccano
Petrus de Sora

BONIFACE VIII (122)

Adam de Nigella
Albertus de Flisco de Lavania
Altegradus de Cataneis de Lendinaria
Andreas Pandone
Antonius Ursi
Arnaldus Rogerii
Aymo Amadei de Sabaudia
Babertus/Bambertus
Bartholomeus /
Bartholinus de Cornazano
Bartholomeus Brazdareyre de Rosiaco
Beltramus de Mediolano
Berardus de Camerino
Berengarius Regis de Carcassonne
Bernardus Roiardi
Bertoldus de Labro
Bertrandus de Got (Clement V)
Blasius de Anagnia
Bonifatius Thome de Saluciis
Campano da Novara
Cinchus de Cancellariis de Urbe
Clericus de Pisis
Conradus de Brunforte
Consilius Gatto de Viterbo, OP
Deodatus de Urbe
Desius Archionis

Dominicus de Sancto Urbano
Franciscus Petri Johannes Cinchii
Franciscus Roffredi Caetani
Franciscus, fr.
Gaufridus
Geuchardus q. Walteri Arsten
Gotius de Urbeveteri
Gregorius Bonegentis de Genezzano
Gregorius Judicis de Alatro
Gualterius de Langeton
Guido de Baisio
Guido de Caritate
Guido de Pileo
Guidottus de Tabiatis de Mediolano
Guillelmus Accursi de Bononia
Guillelmus Bodini
Guillelmus Cumyn
Guillelmus de Godorio
Guillelmus de Molendino
Guillelmus de Narbona
Guillelmus Greenfield
Guillelmus Landulfi de Ceccano
Guillelmus Seguini de Got
Guillelmus Arnaldi de Mota
Henricus de Gibeletto de Biblio
Henricus de Labro

[Boniface VIII, continued]

Henricus de Villariis
Henricus Muscat
Hugo Vigerii
Hugutio
Hugutio Borrromeo de Vercellis
Isarnus Morlane de Fontiano
Jacobus de Arras OSC
Jacobus de Buccamatiis de Sabello
Jacobus dictus Cardarellus de Narnia
Jacobus Mathaei de filiis Ursi
Jacobus Nicolai Mathie de Papa
Jacobus Normandi de Urbe
Johannes d. Papa de Annibaldis
Johannes de Drokensford
Johannes de Furnis d. de Teneramunda
Johannes de Savigny
Johannes Landulfi Odonis de Columna
Johannes Muti de Paparuzis
Jordanus Vetulus de Anagnia
Landulfus dictus Rubeus
Leonardus de Flisco
Leonardus Mancini
Luca de Flisco
Matheus de Paliano
Matheus de Vicecomitibus
Matheus Protonobilissimus de Neapoli
Michael d. As Cloketes
Neapoleo Fortibrachie de filiis Ursi de Romagnia
Nicholaus Aurioli
Nicholaus de Fraiapanatibus
Nicholaus Frederici de Trajecto
Nicolinus de Camilla
Odo Archionis de Urbe
Onofrius de Papa de Trebis
Ottobonus de Placentia

Pandulphus de Sabello
Papianus della Rovere
Paulus Adenulfi de Comite
Paulus de Isernia
Peregrinus, OSA
Petrus de Ferreriis
Petrus de Sora
Petrus de Turrice
Petrus Grimaldi
Petrus Leonardi de Guarcino
Petrus Odonis de Pofis
Petrus Rolandi de Vallemontone
Petrus Valeriani de Piperno
Petrus, ep. Limocien
Philippus de Bartone
Philippus de Castagnol
Pontius de Alayrico
Raymundus de Tarentasia
Raynaldus Concoreggi de Mediolano
Raynerius de Casulis
Raynerius de Vichio
Raynerius de Viterbo
Riccardus de Ferentino
Riccardus de Ferringes
Riccardus Landulfi de Ceccano
Robertus de Robertis
Rodericus Vasquez
Rogerius Cazia
Rogerius Donmusco de Salerno
Rolandus de Ferentino
Simon de Marvilla
Spinellus de Roda
Stephanus Jordanus de Insula in Urbe
Thedisius Revelli de Camilla
Thomas de Sabaudia
Ticcus de Colle

BENEDICT XI (37)

Alanus Venatoris
Albertus de Flisco de Lavania
Armannus Mantellus
Augustinus de Tragurio
Beltramus de Mediolano
Bernardus Roiardi
Bertoldus de Labro
Bittinus de Scottis de Coneglano
Bonaiutus da Casentino

Bosulus de Basolis de Parma
Castellanus de Salamone de Tervisio
Cinchus de Cancellariis de Urbe
Deodatus
Dominicus de Saragossa OFP
Florius Veronensis OFP
Gentilis de Collealto
Gerardus de Pecoraria
Guido de Baisio
Guidottus de Tabiatibus de Mediolano

[Benedict XI, continued]

Guillelmus Accursi de Bononia
Hugutio Borromeo de Vercellis
Jacobus de Casalibus
Jacobus dictus Cardarellus de Narnia
Jacobus Mathaei de filiis Ursi
Leonardus de Flisco
Matheus Protonobilissimus de Neapoli
Michael de Appogniaco
Neapoleo Fortibrachie de filiis Ursi de
Romagnia
Nicholaus Aurioli
Onofrius de Papa de Trebis
Pontius de Alayrico
Raynerius de Pistorio
Rogerius Donmusco de Salerno
Sicardus de Vauro
Socius de Overgnachis
Ticcus de Colle
Vitalis de Manihanto/Mavihanto

APPENDIX SIX

Texts of *Exaudi Christe* and *Christus Vincit* lauds.

Thirteenth-century lauds of Paris, provided in Bent, I., *The Early History of the English Chapel Royal ca. 1066–1327*, unpublished PhD, University of Cambridge, 1968, vol. 2, pp. 280–280b:

Christus vincit. Christus regnat. Christus imperat.
Exaudi Christe.

Illo summo pontifici et universali pape, salus et vita.
Salvator mundi. Tu illum adiuva.
Sancte Petre. Tu illum adiuva.
Sancte Paule. Tu illum adiuva.
Sancte Andrea. Tu illum adiuva.
Exaudi Christe.

Illo serenissimo a Deo coronato magno et magnifico regi, vita et victoria.
Redemptor mundi. Tu illum adiuva.
Sancte Michael. Tu illum adiuva.
Sancte Gabriel. Tu illum adiuva.
Sancte Iohanne. Tu illum adiuva.
Exaudi Christe.

Illo episcopo et congregationi sancte Marie, salus et vita.
Sancte Stephano. Tu illum adiuva.
Sancte Dyonisi. Tu illum adiuva.
Sancte Iustine. Tu illum adiuva.
Sancte Lucane. Tu illum adiuva.
Exaudi Christe.

Illi regine, salus et vita.
Sancte Maria. Tu illam adiuva.
Sancta Petronilla. Tu illam adiuva.
Sancta Agnes. Tu illam adiuva.
Sancta Genovefa. Tu illam adiuva.
Exaudi Christe.

Omnibus iudicibus et cuncto exercitui francorum, vita et victoria.
Sancte Silvestre. Tu illos adiuva.
Sancte Martelle. Tu illos adiuva.
Sancte Germane. Tu illos adiuva.

Christus vincit. Christus regnat. Christus imperat.

Rex regum. Christus vincit.
Gloria nostra. Christus vincit.
Misericordia nostra. Christus vincit.

Ipsi soli imperium gloria et potestas per immortalia secula seculorum, amen.
Ipsi soli virtus fortitudo et victoria, per omnia secula seculorum, amen.
Ipsi soli honor laus et jubilatio per infinita secula seculorum, amen.

Kyrieleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrieleyson.

Text of the *Exaudi Christe* from Albinus' *Gesta pauperis scolari* (1188) for the eighteen papal crown-wearings in the liturgical year, incorporating the *Christus vincit*. (Fabre, P. & Duchesne, L. (eds.), *Le Liber censuum de l'Église Romaine*, BEFAR, series 2 (Paris: Fontemoing, 1910–52), vol. 2, p. 91):

Expleta oratione a pontifice, antequam lector in ammonem ascendat, pronuntiant II diaconi et II cantores, respondente illis scola, hoc modo:

Exaudi Christe! – R) scola: *Domno nostro H. a Deo decreto summo pontifici et universali pape vita.*

Exaudi Christe! – R) similiter.

Exaudi Christe! – R) similiter.

Salvator mundi! – R) *Tu illum adiuva, tribus vicibus.*

Exaudi Christe! – R) *Domno nostro H. augusto a Deo coronato magno et pacifico imperatori vita et victoria, per ter.*

Sancta Maria! – R) *Tu illum adiuva, per ter,*

Exaudi Christe! – R) *Eiusque precellentissimis filiis regibus vita, per ter.*

Sancte Petre! – R) *Tu illos adiuva, per ter.*

Exaudi Christe! – R) *Exercitui Romanorum et Teutonicorum vita et victoria, per ter.*

Sancte Theodore! – R) *Tu illos adiuva, per ter.*

Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat. – R) scola similiter.

Rex regum – R) *Christus vincit.*

Rex noster – R) *Christus vincit.*

Spes mea – R) *Christus vincit.*

Gloria nostra – R) *Christus vincit.*

Misericordia nostra – R) *Christus vincit.*

Auxilium nostrum – R) *Christus vincit.*

Fortitudo nostra – R) *Christus vincit.*

Liberatio et redemptio nostra – R) *Christus vincit.*

Victoria nostra – R) *Christus vincit.*

Arma nosta invictissima – R) *Christus vincit.*

Murus noster inexpugnabilis – R) *Christus vincit.*

Defensio et exultatio nostra – R) *Christus vincit.*

Lux, via et vita nostra – R) *Christus vincit.*

Ipsi soli imperium, gloria et potestas per immortalia secula seculorum, amen. – R) similiter.

Ipsi soli vitus, fortitudo et victoria per omnia secula seculorum, amen. R) similiter.

Ipsi soli honor, laus et iubilatio per infinita secula seculorum, amen. – Similiter.

Kyrieleyson, Kyrieleyson, Kyrieleyson.

**Text of the *Exaudi Christe* for the papal crown-wearing on Easter Day, from
Albinus (ibid., pp. 131–2):**

Post orationem vero, antequam legatur epistola, descendit archidiaconus cum diaconis et subdiaconis et ordinatae stant juxta altare, in duobus filiis, notariis vero stantibus deorsum in choro cum pluvialibus. Tunc archidiaconus cum diaconis et aliis ordinibus sic incipit laudes alta voce:

LAUDES.

Exaudi Christe. Et notarii sic respondent: *Domino nostro pape N. a Deo decreto summo pontifici et universali pape vita*.

Iterum archidiaconus dicit: *Exaudi Christe*. Notari quoque respondent similiter.

Tertio archidiaconus dicit: *Exaudi Christe*, et notarii respondent sicut prius.

Et archidiaconus dicit: *Salvator mundi*, tribus vicibus, notariis totidem vicibus eis respondentibus: *Tu illum adjuva*.

Et archidiaconus dicit: *Sancta Maria*, duobus vicibus; notarii respondent duobus vicibus: *Tu illum adiuva*.

Archidiaconus dicit: *Sancte Michael* duobus vicibus; notarii respondent: *Tu illum adiuva*.

Eodem modo dicitur: *Sancte Gabriel, sancte Raphael, sancte Johannes, sancte Petre, sancte Paule, sancte Andrea, sancte Stephane, sancte Laurentii, sancte Vincentii, sancte Silvester, sancte Leo, sancte Gregorii, sancte Benedicte, sancte Basili, sancte Saba, sancta Agnes, sancta Cecilia, sancta Lucia*.

Et archidiaconus dicit: *Kyrieleyson*; notarii respondent similiter *Kyrieleyson*. Iterum archidiaconus dicit *Christe eleison*; notarii respondent *Christe eleison*. Tertio vero archidiaconus cum diaconis subdiaconis et notariis una voce dicunt *Kyrieleyson*.

Text of the *Exaudi Christe* for Easter Sunday, from Censius' twelfth-century *ordo*.

(Fabre & Duchesne, *Le Liber censuum*, vol. 1, pp. 290–1):

Archidiaconus cum aliis diaconibus et subdiaconibus ordinate stant juxta altare in duobus filiis, scrinariis vero stantibus deorsum in choro cum pluvialibus. Tunc archidiaconus cum diaconibus et aliis sic incipit laudem alta voce: *Exaudi Christe*; scrinarii quoque respondent; *Domino nostro pape vita*. Iterum archidiaconus dicit: *Exaudi Christe*; scrinarii quoque respondent similiter. Tertio archidiaconus dicit: *Exaudi Christe*; scrinarii respondent sicut prius. Item archidiaconus dicit: *Salvator mundi*, tribus vicibus, scrinariis totidem vicibus ei respondentibus: *Tu illum adiuva*. Et archidiaconus dicit: *Sancta Maria*, duabus vicibus; et scrinarii respondent duabus vicibus: *Tu illum adiuva*. Deinde archidiaconus dicit: *Sancte Michael*, duabus vicibus; scrinarii respondent: *Tu illum adjuva*, duabus vicibus. Eodem modo dicitur *sancte Gabriel, sancte Raphael, sancte Johannes, sancte Petre, sancte Paule, sancte Andrea, sancte Stephane, sancte Laurenti, sancte Vincenti, sancte Silvester, sancte Leo, sancte Gregori, sancte Benedicte, sancte Basili, sancte Saba, sancta Agnes, sancta Cecilia, sancta Lucia*. His finitis archidiaconus dicit: *Kyrieleyson*; scrinarii respondent similiter: *Kyrieleyson*. Iterum archidiaconus dicit: *Kyrieleyson*; scrinarii respondent; *Kyrieleyson*. Tertio vero archidiaconus cum diaconibus, subdiaconibus et scrinariis una voce dicit: *Kyrieleyson*.

APPENDIX SEVEN

Legal works produced by curialists who served as papal chaplains during their careers.

The field was not restricted only to works produced by incumbent papal chaplains owing to the papal chapel's importance primarily as a turntable in legal careers: to isolate works produced only by incumbent papal chaplains would artificially isolate the papal chapel's place in curial legal culture. This appendix is intended as a reference point for the main legal works known to scholarship, and not as an exhaustive repertory.

References to key biographical bibliography are provided under each entry.

Altegradus de Cataneis de Lendinaria

Produced a volume of *Quaestiones*, now lost, but which included an opinion on adultery noted in Johannes Andreae *Super Decretalibus* (c. 7, X, V, 16).
(*DBI*, 22, p. 412)

Berengarius Fredoli

Participated in drafting of *Liber sextus*; *Repertorium super speculo juris* (1306); *Repertorium in summa ostiensis (Oculum)* (1309); *De excommunicationibus*.
(*DDC*, 5, pp. 905–7)

Franciscus Roffredi Caetani

Participated in drafting of *Liber Sextus*.
(*DBI*, 16, pp. 158–62)

Guido de Baisio

Participated in drafting of *Liber Sextus*; *Rosarium decretorum*; *Formularium audientiae*; *Tractatus super criminibus heresi et aliis*; *Questio disputata*; *Lectura super Sexto Decretalium*.
(*DBI*, 5, 293–7)

Guillelmus Accursi de Bononia

Quaestiones known by Alidosius.
(Sarti, M & Fattorini, M., *De claris archigymnasii Bononiensis professoribus a seculo XI ad seculum XIV*, vol. 1 (Bologna: Ex officini regia fratrum Merlan, 1896), p. 206)

Guillelmus de Ferreriis

De natura consuetudinis; *Summa conceptionis libellorum* (1285); Glosses, 24 in total.
(Boespflug, *La curie*, pp. 178–9)

Guillelmus de Mandagotto

Participated in drafting of *Liber Sextus*; *Tractatus de electionibus*; Statues for monastery of Montmajour.
(Viollet, P., ‘Bérenger Frédol, canoniste’, in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. 34 (Paris: 1842), pp. 1–61)

Huguito Borromeo de Vercellis

Questiones concerning the *Decretum* and *Decretales*, written in 1287–8.
(*DDC*, 5, p. 1228; *DBI*, 9, pp. 66–71)

Johannes Monachus

Joannis Monachi apparatus super Decret. (i.e. apparatus on *Liber Sextus*) (1301), also known as the *Glosa Aurea*; commentaries on Boniface VIII’s decretals *Detestandae*, *Super cathedram*, *Unam Sanctam*.
(*DDC*, 6, pp. 112–3)

Papianus della Rovere

As bishop of Novara promulgated synodal statutes in two parts: *instructiones et monitiones* on doctrine and liturgy, and *Constitutiones* on canonical norms concerning standards of clerical life and ministry.
(*DBI*, 37, p. 362)

Petrus de Ferreriis

Statutes for the comtés of Provence and Forcalquier.
(Lajard, F., ‘Pierre de Ferrières, jurisconsulte, archevêque d’Arles’, in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. 25 (Paris: 1869), pp. 468–79)

APPENDIX EIGHT

Epitaph of Cardinal Guillelmus de Bray (d. 1282)

From inscription on the Cardinal's tomb, by Arnolfo di Cambio, in the church of San Domenico, Orvieto. Photograph of the inscription plaque available in Romanini, A. M., *Arnolfo di Cambio e lo stil novo del gotico italiano*, 2nd ed. (Florence: Sansoni, 1980), plate 16.

Modern editorial capitalisation and punctuation. Original spelling preserved.
Abbreviations expanded silently.

Sit Christo gratus, hic Guillelmus tumulatus
De Brayo natus Marci titulo decoratus.
Sit per te, Marce, celi Guillelmus in arce:
Queso non parce Deus omnipotens sibi parce.
Francia plange virum, mors istius tibi mirum
Defectum pariet, quia vix similis sibi fiet.
Defleat hunc mathesis, lex et decreta, poesis;
Nec non sinderesis, heu mihi quam Themesis.
Bis sexcentenus binus bis bisque vicenus
Annus erat Christi quando mors affuit isti.
Obiit tercio Kalendas Maii.
Hoc opus fecit Arnolfus.

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