THE WILL OF GIORDANO PIRONTI, CARDINAL DEACON
OF SS. COSMA E DAMIANO (D.1269)

In 1980, Agostino Paravicini Bagliani published what was then supposed to be the sole surviving testamentary record of Giordano Pironti, cardinal deacon of SS. Cosma e Damiano, preserved in the archives of the cathedral of Viterbo1. This took the form of a brief codicil, recording the identity of the cardinal’s executors and listing a series of bequests, for the most part to kinsmen and familiars, the kinsmen bearing the name “Pirunti”, itself of no small significance in confirming the cardinal’s own family name. The codicil at Viterbo was phrased merely an afterthought (a “codicillum”) to a will (“testamentum”) already made2. It is this will, or a substantial part of it, that has now re-emerged amongst the archives of Salisbury Cathedral. It is published below. As I have remarked in other contexts, the well-stocked archives of England, supplemented by the extraordinarily rich evidences of the English royal chancery, often supply a better resource from which to reconstruct the careers of French and Italian visitors to England in the thirteenth century than the archives of France or Italy where we might expect such figures to be properly documented3. In this particular instance, we are fortunate that Salisbury Cathedral boasts a rich collection of thirteenth-century wills, for the most part of the canons of Salisbury Cathedral. These were preserved, we must assume, because of the pious diligence shown by such canons in bequeathing property to the cathedral church4. As we shall see, not only do the English archives supply us with cardinal Giordano’s will, but they permit a far more detailed examination of his career than anything previously attempted.

Like most cardinals promoted from backgrounds that were not conspicuously noble or well documented, Giordano (in English writing “Jordan”) Pironti has at-

1 Archivio di Stato di Viterbo, Dipl. perg., nr. 1570, whence A. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, I Testamenti dei Cardinali del Duecento, Roma 1980, 17-18, 125-26 nr. 4. For assistance with what follows, I am indebted to Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Barbara Bombi, Pascal Montaubin, Oliver Padel, Edward Probert, and Patrick Zutshi. At a critical moment, Jonathan Green, of Jonathan Green Antiques, supplied the ultra-violet lamp without which a considerable part of Cardinal Giordano’s will would have remained illegible.

2 PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, I Testamenti, 125.


tracted biographical notice itself part fact, part fiction. The earliest modern authorities, attempting with inadequate materials to flesh out a series of long dead names, claimed that the cardinal was of noble birth, descended from the “counts” of Terracina and therefore entitled to bear the name Giordano “Conti”. This has created a great deal of confusion. It has led to the assumption that there was a blood relationship between Giordano’s family, the Pironti of Terracina, and the far more distinguished Conti family of Segni from which sprang pope Innocent III. In reality, there is no evidence of such a relationship. This is not the only respect in which myth or misunderstanding has infected the historical record. The Pironti family, although settled in Terracina, seems to have originated in the Regno. Members of the family were later established in Naples, leading to a false supposition that Giordano himself was of Neapolitan descent.

In fact, as made plain both by his own letters and by his funeral epitaph at Viterbo, Giordano was a native of Terracina, in the province of Campagna and Marittima, south of Rome. On at least two occasions he refers to himself, or was referred to, as “Iordanus de Terracina”. The Pironti, although not styled “counts”, were amongst

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5 For the most recent, accurate and comprehensive, see A. Fischer, Kardinäle im Konklave: Die lange Sedisvakanz der Jahre 1268 bis 1271, Tübingen 2008, 185-91.


7 For the Conti, see S. Carocci, Baroni di Roma. Dominazioni signorili e lignaggi aristocratici nel Duecento e nel primo Trecento, Roma 1993, 371-80, especially p. 380, confirming that Giordano sprang from the Pironti not the Conti family, and at p. 373 denying the still persistent tradition that would make both popes Gregory IX and Alexander IV members of the Conti family.


9 For the migration of the Pironti to Naples, see D. A. Contatore, De Historia Terraciniensi libri quinque, Romae 1706, 269-70, with regular appearances from the 1260s onwards in the Angevin registers, I Registri della cancelleria Angioina, ricostruiti da R. Filangieri, VII, a cura di J. Mazzoleni, Napoli 1955, 197 nr. 79. Various modern genealogies, with or without the support of the Almanach de Gotha, claim a connection between Giordano and a Neapolitan family that itself claims the title “Duke of Campagna” (from Campagna to the west of Salerno, rather than from the Roman Campagna previously ruled over by Giordano as papal rector), a title said to have been created in 1694 for Nicola Pironti of Ravello. Cf. the largely legendary history online at http://www.nobili-napoletani.it/Pironti.htm; with the family itself already established in Ravello by the 1270s: I Registri, VII, 100 nr. 50. For the most accurate modern account of the Pironti family, see Caciorgna, Una città di frontiera. Terracina, 264-73.

10 P. Sambin, Un certame dettatorio tra due notai pontifici (1260). Lettere inedite di Giordano da Terracina e di Giovanni da Capua, Roma 1955, 28-29 nr. 6 (sent in the name of “Iordanus de Terracina”), 38-39 nr. 16 (addressed to Giordano as «Terraciniensi speculo, domino Iordano precloro vicecancellario et notario, reuerendo inciltoque Campanie comiti seu rectori Maritime precelenti»); Les Registres d’Alexandre IV, publiées par C. Bourel de la Roncière - J. de Loye - A.
the principal families of Terracina, with property and palazzi both in the town and its environs\textsuperscript{11}. In all likelihood, Giordano was the son of a man named Pietro Pironti the elder (“maior”), recorded from 1223 in possession of property in Terracina and its neighbourhood, still living in October 1257\textsuperscript{12}. Pietro was reputedly married to a member of the family of the “conti” of Ceccano, the most powerful dynasty of the region, only recently brought to a degree of subjection by the aggressive expansion of the temporal authority of the popes, engineered by Pope Innocent III\textsuperscript{13}. The honorific title “conte” occasionally applied to Giordano and used thereafter by later members of his family reflects not hereditary descent from a dynasty of counts but Giordano’s administrative office as “rector” of the papal provinces of Campagna and Marittima (considered by contemporaries as synonymous with the title “conte” or “comes”)\textsuperscript{14}. His kinship to the “conti” of Ceccano was nonetheless significant. It may suggest connections between Giordano and an older namesake, Giordano da Ceccano (d.1206), member of the comital family, abbot of Fossanova by 1188 in which year he was created cardinal-priest of S. Pudenziana, subsequently a major player both in diplomatic relations between the papacy and the German emperor Henry VI, and in peace-making between the kings of England and France\textsuperscript{15}. It may indeed have

\textsuperscript{11} Contatore, De Historia, 80-90 (a peace decreed by Boniface VIII in December 1295 between the Pironti and other rival factions of Terracina), 268-70. For Terracina itself, see the fine exhibition catalogue by C. Rech, Terracina e il Medioevo. Un punto di osservazione sul primo millenio alla fine del secondo millenio, Roma 1989. For the Pironti properties, see Caciorgna, Una città di frontiera. Terracina, especially p. 115, 128-29, 268n, for the “palazzi”.

\textsuperscript{12} Le Pergamene di Sezze (1181-1347), a cura di M. T. Caciorgna, I, Roma 1989, 31-35 nr. 11, especially p. 35n., 43n., citing P. Pressutti, Regesta Honorii Papae III, II, Romae 1895, 137 nr. 4370.

\textsuperscript{13} Caciorgna, Una città di frontiera. Terracina, 270, suggests that Giordano’s mother was a daughter of the “conte” Giovanni da Ceccano (d.c. 1224), for whom and for whose heirs, see Le Pergamene di Sezze, I, 11-13 nr. 4-6; A. Paravicini Baglioni, voce Ceccano, Giovanni and Ceccano, Landolfo, in Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, XXIII, Roma 1979, 191-94, 196-97; P. Pressutti, Regesta Honorii III, I, Romae 1888, lxxxi-vii, and below n. 18; M. Sindici, Ceccano: L’antica Fabrateria, Roma 1893, especially p. 69-73, 126-42, at p. 97, 110-11 specifically denying a connection to the Pironti of Terracina.

\textsuperscript{14} G. Falco, I Comuni della Campagna e della Marittima nel Medio Evo, «Archivio della Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria» 42 (1919), 546-47, and for reference in the late 1250s to Giordano as “comes” of Campagna, see above n. 10. The title “conte” did later become hereditary within his kin, but apparently by descent from Giordano, rather than from the family’s putative ancestor, perhaps Giordano’s grandfather, Giovanni “conte” da Ceccano: Caciorgna, Una città di frontiera. Terracina, 270.

\textsuperscript{15} V. Pfaff, voce Ceccano, Giordano da, in Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, XXIII, Roma
been Giordano da Ceccano who supplied Giordano Pironti both with his Christian name and, more than thirty years later, with an entry to the papal court.

The codicil to Giordano Pironti’s will of 1269 names a brother, Pietro Pironti, still living, as were nephews (“nepotes”) Pietro and Paolo, great-nephews (“pronepotes”) Sergio and Pietro, and at least two daughters of another nephew (“nepos”) Giovanni, himself deceased. Pietro Pironti, Giordano’s brother, and a niece, Giacoma, are mentioned in May 1264, in letters of Pope Urban IV, confirming the decision by Landolfo da Ceccano, Giacoma’s husband, to appoint the cardinal and his family as heirs to various goods disputed by the Ceccano kin. The Landolfo of these arrangements was apparently a nephew of the far greater Landolfo, son and heir of the “conte” Giovanni da Ceccano, whose will of August 1264, naming a widow, Maccalona, makes no mention of any kinship to the Pironti. The Paolo Pironti of 1269 was perhaps the same man as Paolo, Giordano’s nephew, in 1254 in receipt of papal license to marry Donnaria Frangipane of Sermoneta, previously betrothed to Paolo’s kinsman, Giovanni Pironti. This in turn suggests alliance between the Pironti and the powerful Frangipane family, itself closely engaged in the rivalry between the popes and the Hohenstaufen rulers of southern Italy. Papal letters of November 1255 promise the brothers Pietro, Giovanni and Paolo Pironti, Giordano’s kinsmen, citizens of Terracina, hereditary possession of the Rocca de Acquapuzza near Sezze, a Frangipane property north of Terracina, with license to defend the position with crossbows. In 1257, the future Cardinal Giordano himself acquired a mill in Acq-
quapuzza from the monastery of S. Maria della Gloria at Anagni, founded by the late Pope Gregory IX. Two years later, Giordano obtained the lordship of S. Felice al Circeo near Terracina from the Knights Templar in exchange for property that he had previously owned in the vicinity of Rome. By 1264, he also possessed property at Sonnino, north of Terracina.

The Pironti were well-connected by office- as well as land-holding. Giovanni, the cardinal’s brother, can probably be identified with a namesake, Giovanni “Pirontus”, serving in 1243 as “magister procurator” in Abruzzo, as an official in the Hohenstaufen administration of central Italy. By 1257, Pietro Pironti, Giordano’s brother, was serving as one of two vice-rectors of Terracina, acting on behalf of Riccardo Annibaldi, proconsul of Rome. Giovanni Pironti, a nephew, occurs in 1263 also serving as vice-rector, this time apparently to Giordano in his capacity as governor (“rector”) of the papal provinces of Campagna and Marittima. The papal registers reveal the existence of other kinsmen, including the papal chaplain Roffrido Pironti, beneficed in France, and the splendidly named Fusco Muscetula, citizen of Brindisi. Reflecting Giordano’s continuing influence over his native city, successive bishops of Terracina are to be found closely associated with the cardinal or his significant landmark on the road between Naples and Rome, long controlled by the Frangipane, see S. Crocetti - G. Sciarpa, *Le fortificazioni medioevali a Sezze*, Sezze 1978, 23-27; Caciorgna, *Una città di frontiera. Terracina*, 267-68.

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22 Reg. Alexandre IV, II, nr. 2498, also in A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum historiam illustrantia*, Romae 1864, 80 nr. 105 (noting that the mill had originally been granted to the Holy See by Pope Gregory VIII), whence A. Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, I-II, Berolini 1874-1875, II, 1875, nr. 16841.

23 G. Caetani, *Regesta Chartarum: Regesto delle pergamene dell’archivio Caetani*, I, Perugia 1922, 36-38 nr. 1931, where the Roman property is described as the «casale [...] que vocatur Piliocti», identified as the modern Roman castello della Cecchignola, with further details of the administration of S. Felice and its subjection to the rule of Terracina, by Caciorgna, *Una città di frontiera. Terracina*, 88-91, 266-67.


26 Contatore, *De Historia*, 71-72, a sale dated 22 October 1257, made by Master Gregorius Petroli «iudex» and «scrinarium» of Terracina to Pietro Pironto and Nicolao Naso «viceceteribus Terracini»; *Le Pergamene di Sezze*, I, 32, where Pietro «dictus Peruntus minor» and Nicolao «dictus Naso» occur on 14 October 1257 as «cives ac viceceteros in Terracina illustris et magnifici viri domini Riccardi domini Petri de Anibaldo Romanorum proconsulis». For Giordano as rector, see below n. 36-40.


In 1259, Giordano presided over the resolution of disputes between the men of Terracina and the neighbouring town of Priverno\textsuperscript{30}. Giordano’s own earliest promotion remains unknown, but the fact that his will makes special provision for the commemoration of Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) suggests that he began climbing the ladder of curial patronage at least as early as the 1230s. One possibility, first suggested by Elly Heller and Hans Martin Schaller, is that he rose as a member of the circle of cardinal Thomas of Capua (d. 1239), a leading curial diplomat and the author of a vast formulary that, Schaller suggests, Giordano, or perhaps more likely Giordano’s notarial staff, helped to re-edit and popularize\textsuperscript{31}. Substance is lent to this suggestion by the fact that the revised edition of Thomas’ formulary, in ten books, includes several letters written in Giordano’s name, both before and after his election as cardinal. It also includes a petition sent by cardinal Thomas, before 1239, on behalf of a Master Giordano, who may or may not be Giordano Pironti\textsuperscript{32}.

Giordano himself first emerges into the light of day in July 1246, when a letter of Innocent IV confirms his promotion of a nephew of the bishop of Bethlehem to the archdeaconry of Ascalon in the Holy Land\textsuperscript{33}. This letter, which accords Giordano titles as Master Giordano, papal notary and subdeacon, should not be taken to imply that Giordano himself was personally active in the Holy Land. On the contrary, the then bishop of Bethlehem, Goffredo de Prefetti, was a Roman living in Italian-French exile from his see\textsuperscript{34}. Thereafter, Giordano’s rise was swift, again suggesting that strings were being pulled and that Giordano himself enjoyed a formidable network of family or curial patronage. As papal notary, in August 1250, he is to be found settling a dispute over monies claimed by the Italian merchants of the Bonsignori company\textsuperscript{35}. By July 1252, still in the lifetime of Innocent IV, he had been promoted as papal rector of Campagna and Marittima. In effect, this installed him as the Pope’s alter ego in the government of the region immediately to the south of Rome, itself

\begin{thebibliography}{9}

\bibitem{Kamp} N. Kamp, \textit{Kirche und Monarchie im Staufenischen Königreich Sizilien}, I, München 1973, 85-86, II, 604-5; \textit{Reg. Urbain IV}, IV, nr. 352 (August 1263, noting that Giordano had previously been empowered to provide to the vacant see), III, nr. 1507; \textit{Le Pergamene di Sezze}, I, 45 nr. 15.

\bibitem{Caciorgna} Caciorgna, \textit{Una città di frontiera. Terracina}, 85-87.


\bibitem{Thumser} Pending the publication of a printed edition, see the online prolegomena, \textit{Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua}, by Matthias Thumser and Jakob Frohmann, in completion of the work of Elly Heller and Hans Martin Schaller, available at http://www.mgh.de/fileadmin/Downloads/pdf/Thomas_von_Capua.pdf, especially the letters there numbered II. 9, 16, 19-26, 29-30, V. 29, VII. 12, 99-100, IX. 41.

\bibitem{Reg Innocent IV} \textit{Reg. Innocent IV}, I, 1884, nr. 2025, and for the position of Ascalon at this time, recovered for the see of Bethlehem in 1241, used as refuge by the patriarch of Jerusalem following the rout of Gaza in October 1244, lost to the Aiyubids in 1247, see B. Hamilton, \textit{The Latin Church in the Crusader States. The Secular Church}, London 1980, 262-65, especially p. 295.


\bibitem{Ruano} E. Benito Ruano, \textit{La Banca Toscana y la Orden de Santiago durante el siglo XIII}, Valladolid 1961, 100-09 nr. 7-8, a reference first noted by Fischer, \textit{Kardinäle im Konklave}, 186 nr. 987.
\end{thebibliography}
a position of no small responsibility at a time when the papal states were threatened both by the heirs of the late emperor Frederick II, and by the continuing disobedience of the Roman commune. Letters of Innocent IV, dated 5 May 1253, remind the rector, council and commune of Terracina of their duty towards the Pope, promising the assistance of Giordano, «subdiaconus et notarius noster, Campanie Marittimae rector», should they be threatened with attack from Rome. It is some indication of the trust placed in him by successive popes that his predecessor as rector, Riccardo Annibaldi, had been one of the best-connected men in Italy. Shortly after the election of Alexander IV, Giordano is to be found counseling Manfred, the Hohenstaufen heir, on how best to make his peace with the Church. More significantly still, he seems to have remained in office for the rest of his life, being recorded as rector in May 1264 and again as late as September 1268, only a year before his death.

By 1257, and without relinquishing his office as rector, Giordano had risen to even loftier eminence, as papal vice-chancellor, in effect as head of the papal chancery, an office which he discharged from at least November 1257 until at least July 1262, serving in this capacity under two popes, Alexander IV and Urban IV, both themselves commemorated in Giordano’s will. As a leading papal official, his cor-

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36 Reg. Innocent IV, III, nr. 6139, 7195, 7754, and for the office of rector, see Waley, Papal State, 81-82, 91, 95-105; M. T. Caciorgna, Scritture ed ufficiali pontifici nelle Campagna e Marittima del primo Trecento, in Offices, écrit et papauté (XIIIe-XVIIe siècle), études réunies par A. Jamme - O. Poncet, Paris 2007, 47-71, especially the bibliographical notes at p. 47-49. For the region, see Caciorgna, Marittima Medievale.

37 Contatore, De Historia, 67-68 (Potthast nr. 14960), and cf. ibi, 64-67 (Potthast nr. 14958-9), for further papal letters of the same date, then preserved in the Terracina city archives, requesting the assistance of various nobles and the podesta and commune of Anagni and other towns of the Campagna to assist the men of Terracina in resisting the threat from Rome. For the transfer of the communal archives of Terracina to the Vatican library where for many years they were difficult of access, see Pierre Toubert’s review of Caciorgna, Una città di frontiera. Terracina, in «Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale» 56 (2013), 217. In July 1253, as rector, Giordano was issued with a general mandate to recover papal rights within his jurisdiction: Rodenberg, Epistolae, III, 186-87 nr. 216.

38 For Riccardo, see D. Waley, voce Annibaldi, Riccardo, in Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, III, Roma 1961, 348-51.


40 Waley, Papal State, 307-08; Reg. Urbain IV, I, nr. 508; II, nr. 739, 789-90, 795, 950; IV, nr. 2904, 2962; E. Fleuchaus, Die Briefsammlung des Berard von Neapel: Überlieferung - Regesten, Munich 1998 (Monumenta Germanica Historica Hilfsmittel, 17), 541 nr. 562, and most significantly Die Chronik des Saba Malaspina, hrsg. von W. Koller - A. Nitschke, Hannover 1999 (Monumenta Germanica historica. Scriptores, 35), 213 («dominus Iordanus de Terracena cardinalis qui officio rectorie comitatus Campanie per sedem apostolicum fungebatur»). For the possibility that, in 1257, Riccardo Annibaldi was once again serving as rector, see above n. 26.

41 P. M. Baumgarten, Von der apostolischen Kanzlei, Köln 1908, 78; H. Bresslau, Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien, I, Leipzig 1912, 251-52; P. Herde, Beiträge zum päpstlichen Kanzlei und Urkundensystem im dreizehnten Jahrhundert, Kallmünz 1967, 18-19; Reg. Alexandre IV, II, nr. 2319, 2651; Reg. Urbain IV, III, nr. 1539, 1902, with correction by G. F. Nüske, Untersuchungen über das Personal der päpstlichen Kanzlei 1254-1304, «Archiv für Diplo-
resonance across Christendom, and would have included many of the more significant figures in European politics. Of this, only a small fraction survives. It was as papal vice-chancellor, at some time between 1257 and his promotion as cardinal in May 1262, that Giordano engaged in a learned but essentially light-hearted correspondence with the papal notary, Master Giovanni da Capua. In their exchange of at least twenty-two letters Giordano and Giovanni swapped flattery and friendly banter, all of it couched within the proprieties of Latin dictamen. Despite the essentially facetious nature of this correspondence, it allows more substantial facts to be discerned. It includes references to visits paid by Giordano, apparently travelling from the papal court at Anagni, to attend to business at Jenne and at the great Benedictine abbey of Subiaco east of Rome, both locations intimately associated with the family and person of Pope Alexander IV (d.1261).

It also includes joking references to foreigners that themselves help to contextualize Giordano’s career. Giovanni da Capua informs Giordano of his desire to escape from “English grumbling and French screeching.” Giordano, he further suggests, is one of those who, through papal favour, have received “ample and splendid provisions” not only in France, that “hortus conclusus”, but in England, that “fountain sealed.” In a final English reference, Giovanni declares his own empty rhetoric to qualify him for a role as the “Capuan

42 See, for example, his letters as papal subdeacon and notary, sent to King James of Aragon. 43 Sambin, Un certame, from manuscripts at Padua and Bern, with an additional letter from Giovanni to Giordano published from a manuscript at Trier, by H. M. Schaller, Eine kuriale Briefsammlung des 13. Jahrhunderts mit unbekannten Briefen Friedrichs II., «Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters» 18 (1962), 206-07 nr. 11, and cf. 184-85 nr. 83, 85-88, 90 for the recital in the same collection of six other letters of Giordano and Giovanni, in one other case (p. 184 nr. 83, Jordan accepting his kinsman B. as a chaplain within his household) not previously printed by Sambin. For Giovanni, general proctor at the papal Curia for the German crusading orders from 1257, see also Nüske, Untersuchungen, 115-16; K. Forstreuter, Die Berichte der Generalprokuratoren des Deutschen Ordens an der Kurie, I, Göttin gen 1961, 52-62, 164-67, 172-87 nr. 4-27.

44 Sambin, Un certame, 21-25 nr. 1-4, and for Pope Alexander’s descent from a family controlling the castle and lordship of Jenne, itself belonging to the monks of Subiaco, see S. Andreotta, La famiglia di Alessandro IV e l’Abbazia di Subiaco, «Atti e Memorie della Società Tiburtina di Storia e d’Arte» 36 (1963), 5-88.

45 Sambin, Un certame, 22 nr. 2, «frenetibus Anglicis et stridentibus Gallicis».

46 Ibi, 26 nr. 5, «multis hinc inde ac etiam in orto concluso, idest in Francia, et fonte signato, idest in Anglia, amplas et splendidas provisiones sibi ex apostolica dono gracie provenisse gaudidentibus». Cf. Cant. 4:12.
Arthur”: a significant reminder of the extent to which the Arthurian legends had been assimilated across western Europe, in this instance as a model of empty boasting.\footnote{Ibi, 39 nr. 17, «quod Arturus ille de Capua, cuius inane iudicium sibi mundum vendicat universum, laudandus occurreret».
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As all of this should suggest, Giordano’s connections to the French and English churches were close and considerable. For France, where as early as 1253 Giordano had obtained office as confessor at the papal court for the master and brothers of the order of St Anthony of Vienne, our evidence is limited to his newly rediscovered will, from which we learn that, by the time of his death in 1269, he held prebends in the cathedral churches of Arras and Orléans.\footnote{For Vienne, see Reg. Innocent IV, III, nr. 7079. For the will, below appendix. The published series of Fasti ecclesiae Gallicanae, Turnhout, Brepols, 1996- , has yet to devote volumes to either Arras or Orléans. In 1272, his former prebend at Orléans was bestowed, by papal provision upon Master Berengario de Secureto, clerk of the papal chamber: Les Registres de Grégoire X (1272-1276) et de Jean XXI (1276-1277), publiées par J. Guiraud - L. Cadier, Paris 1892-1906, nr. 40, and cf. Reg. Urbain IV, III, nr. 1152, where as early as November 1263, the bishop of Orléans was asked to make provision of a prebend for Giordano’s chaplain, Egidio, rector of Saint-Pierre en Sentelée at Orléans.
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By contrast, the English chancery sources supply abundant insights into his career, previously overlooked by German and Italian historians working principally from the registers of the papal chancery. Giordano first appears in an English source in October 1254, promised an annual pension of 30 marks (£20 sterling) by King Henry III.\footnote{Calendar of Patent Rolls 1247-1258, 343.
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Since this came in the midst of the King’s attempts to purchase the throne of Sicily for his younger son, Edmund, negotiated via the papal legate Alberto da Parma, himself like Giordano a notary in the papal chancery, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Giordano had already by this time emerged as a curial official deemed sympathetic to England.\footnote{For Alberto and the negotiations over Sicily, see P. Montaubin, Royaume de Sicile, Capétiens et Plantagenets: la mission et légation d’Alberto da Parma en 1252-1255, in Legati e delegati papali. Profili, ambiti d’azione e tipologie di intervento nei secoli XII-XIII, a cura di M. P. Alberzoni - C. Zey, Roma 2012, 159-93, at p. 181 noting (from Reg. Alexandre IV, II, 1917, nr. 3036, whence Rodenberg, Epistolae, III, 405-11 nr. 446) Giordano’s presence on 23 October 1256 amongst a high-ranking committee of papal dignitaries appointed to hear Alberto’s report of his Sicilian negotiations since 1252.
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In April 1255, he is to be found at Naples witnessing the arrangement of loans from Siennese merchants. These were intended so that Henry III could make part payment of the massive sum he had promised the Pope in return for Sicily. They were made repayable not by the King in person but from the proceeds of the richer English Benedictine monasteries: a strategy of dubious legality, not surprisingly regarded as scandalous by English monastic chroniclers.\footnote{Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections, Dean and Chapter of Durham Locellus III, 20, dated at Naples, 30 April 1255, a notarial instrument made in the presence of the legate Octavian cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata, witnessed «coram hiis testibus, s(c)iilict magistro Iordano domini pape not(ario) test(e), magistro Guillelmo de Fraxin’ domini pape capellano test(e), domino Bertado Marchione de Hoemburch test(e), domino Oddone fratre suo test(e), domino Otto vicecomite capellano dicti domini card(inalis) test(e), et Roberto de Barro familiare dicti magistri Iordani test(e)», sealed (seals now missing) by bishop Aigueblanche of
the King’s affairs at the court of Rome”, Giordano was promised an increase in his English pension, apparently never honoured, from thirty marks to forty. The recipient of a regular stream of petitions and newsletters concerning Henry III’s Sicilian business, by 1256 Giordano was maintaining his own proctor in England to collect his English rents. In April 1256, Henry III asked his agent in Rome to solicit the appointment of Giordano as papal envoy to England to discuss the King’s ongoing problems in raising the massive sum of money (135,000 marks) that he had been persuaded to promise in return for the Pope’s offer of Sicily.

No such appointment was forthcoming. Indeed, apart from his office as rector of Campagna and Marittima, there is no evidence that Giordano ever served as legate or envoy beyond the immediate vicinity of the papal court. Even so, as with many high-ranking papal officials, his connections enabled him to keep a close eye on the ebb and flow of English ecclesiastical patronage. As a result, when the deanship of York Minster fell vacant in 1256, Giordano obtained papal provision to the office. Henry III supported his promotion, as apparently did the King’s half-brother, Aymer de Lusignan, bishop-elect of Winchester, by this time functioning as one of Giordano’s closest connections in England. By a ruse, and entering York Minster at dinner time, when the clergy were otherwise distracted, Giordano’s agents succeeded in installing him, presumably by proxy, in the dean’s stall. In the face of local resistance, however, and despite having obtained papal excommunication of the archbishop of York, Sewal de Boville, Giordano backed down. In return for abandoning his claim to the deanship, he received an additional annual pension of 100 marks, almost certainly in the form of a prebend. Like the negotiation of forced loans in 1255, this
affair made quite a stir in England. It provoked Matthew Paris to brand Giordano “a fox”, and to report that the archbishop of York (already an opponent of the 1255 loans) had written an embittered deathbed letter to the Pope, pronouncing the same curse upon Giordano and his fellow Roman provisors, ignorant of the English language, that had been pronounced by Noah upon his son for exposing his nakedness. Deliberately parodying papal claims to be servant of the servants of God, the archbishop compared his Roman adversaries to Ham, the impudent son in Genesis 9:25, condemned to become the servant of the servants of his brothers (“servus servorum erit fratribus suis”)58.

None of this deterred Giordano from adding to his rich collection of English pensions and benefices. On 30 April 1258, as archdeacon of Dorset and holder of an unidentified prebend in Salisbury Cathedral, he was promised future promotion by Alexander IV to a prebend worth 150 marks59. He was still accorded his title as archdeacon of Dorset, although already a cardinal, in March 1264, when Urban IV once again promised him future promotion to one of the richer prebends of Salisbury60. The fact that, in the meanwhile, a local man, Master Simon of Bridport, can be found acting as archdeacon of Dorset suggests strongly that Giordano’s intrusion at Salisbury was no more welcome than had been his earlier intrusion at York61. At St Paul’s Cathedral in London, where he obtained provision to the prebend of Rugmere in succession to the papal tax collector, Master Rostand, his promotion was greeted with even less enthusiasm. He was installed, by proxy, on 27 February 1259, despite the claims of an Englishman, John of Crakehall, to have been legitimately presented to the prebend62. Crakehall, a former familiar (and executor) of Robert Grosseteste, who had accompanied Grosseteste on his mission to the papal court at Lyons in 1250, had since November 1258 served as royal treasurer at the nomination of the baronial council then ruling England63. Giordano’s proxy, identified in one source as “Besance the Roman”, was set upon at the gate of St Paul’s cemetery by a group of local youths on the same day he was installed. He was killed on the spot. His two companions were also slain by the London mob, one at Westcheap, another beheaded, having fled


58 Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 624 (“Romanus ille qui se in decanatum Eboracensem vulpino more ingessit”), 692-93. For letters of archbishop Boville, 8 June 1256, supporting an appeal by the monks of Durham and Guisborough against the loans contracted on their behalf in 1255, see Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections, Dean and Chapter of Durham Locellus III.38 m.4.

59 Reg. Alexandre IV, II, nr. 2566; Le Neve, Fasti, IV (Salisbury), 27.

60 Reg. Urbain IV, III, nr. 1383.

61 Le Neve, Fasti, IV (Salisbury), 27.

62 Le Neve, Fasti, I (London), 76-77

across London Bridge. The murderers, who escaped unpunished, were suspected of belonging to Crakehall’s household. All of this suggests that Giordano’s English benefices, though lucrative, were the subject of controversy. Indeed, in England they inspired something rather more than those “English grumblings” ("frementibus Anglicis") referred to in Giordano’s correspondence with Giovanni da Capua.

Here we need to bear in mind the wider context of Anglo-papal relations, the collapse of Henry III’s Sicilian ambitions and, in 1258, the seizure of power by a group of barons in what was in effect a court coup against King Henry III. At least for a while, this threatened to stem the flood of papal provisions previously forced upon a reluctant English church. It may well have been these events that Master Giovanni da Capua had in mind when, in his letters to Giordano, he compared England to the “fountain sealed up” ("fons signatus") of the Song of Songs (Cant. 4:12). Yet ironically, and precisely because they feared a breach in relations with the papacy, the King’s new counselors did their best to smooth relations with Giordano as with other leading curialists. For several years, Giordano’s thirty mark pension from the King had gone unpaid. The seizure of power from Henry III, and the exile of the King’s French half-brother, Aymer de Lusignan, now enabled the barons to offer Giordano payment of arrears of his pension, to be taken from the treasure of the disgraced Aymer stored in the Cistercian abbey of Beaulieu. In 1259, he was approached as an influential figure at the curia deemed sympathetic to English interests, to assist with the ongoing negotiation of a permanent peace treaty (the Treaty of Paris) between France and England. Throughout this period, his hand can be detected behind a series of papal provisions and delicate negotiations involving English benefices: the church of Bexley in 1257, the bishopric of Ely in the same year, the York prebend of Fenton in 1260, the deanship of St Paul’s London probably in 1262.

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64 The annals of Dunstable, in Annales Monastici, edited by H. R. Luard, III, London 1866, 214 (claiming three assassins); The London Eyre of 1276, edited by M. Weinbaum, London 1976, 30 nr. 104 (alleging five assassins and naming their victims as Master John le Gras and “Besance” the Roman, “Besance” perhaps being a corruption of the name of the prominent central Italian family of Bisenzio).
65 Above n. 45.
66 Above n. 46.
67 Close Rolls 1256-1259, 253, 255, and cf. the remarks of Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 713, on the disbursal of other parts of Aymer’s treasure in order to buy favour for the baronial party in Rome. That the money was not forwarded to Giordano is suggested by the continued recognition of his right to arrears: Calendar of Patent Rolls 1258-1266, 52, 66.
68 Close Rolls 1259-1261, 259.
In May 1262, Giordano was promoted by Pope Urban IV as cardinal deacon of SS. Cosma e Damiano. He remained for a further few months papal vice-chancellor, a combination of offices unprecedented since 1227 when Sinibaldo Fieschi, the future Pope Innocent IV, had continued to serve as vice-chancellor even though promoted cardinal-priest of S. Lorenzo in Lucina. A letter sent to Henry III from his proctor in Rome, shortly after Giordano’s promotion in the summer of 1262, reports unfavourably on Giordano’s activities, claiming that just at the moment that the Pope was about to confirm what are here described as “the laws of England”, Giordano, with the assistance of Roberto de Baro, “destroyed everything”. This, the proctor reported, was all the more shocking since Giordano had himself waxed rich upon English wealth. Worse still, Giordano had poured scorn on the King. Shown letters under the new seal of King Henry III, introduced in the aftermath of the Treaty of Paris and therefore no longer advertising the King’s claim to be “Duke of Normandy” and “count of Anjou”, Giordano jokingly enquired why, if the King now ruled fewer territories, he required a seal that was larger than the seal that he had previously used. What was most significant here, perhaps, was not so much Giordano’s disdain for his earlier English patrons, but his tendency to favour the Angevin claim to Sicily over what was increasingly seen as the hopelessness of any attempt to revive the claims of Henry III’s son, Edmund. By September 1262, the Pope was openly threatening Henry III with the confiscation of the Sicilian throne and inviting Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX, to take Edmund’s place. Possibly it was Henry III’s rights to Sicily, rather than any question concerning baronial or royal legislation, that constituted the “laws of England” that Giordano was reported to have quashed. Giordano’s promotion as cardinal coincided with the creation of at least four other cardinals, all of them Frenchmen: the origins of that French influence over the papal court that was to be cemented in 1265 with the election of the Frenchman, Gui Foulqois, as Pope Clement IV. This in turn was to have momentous consequences for the papal office.

Whatever his political standpoint, throughout the 1260s, Giordano continued to appoint proctors to conduct his business in England. One of these, Matteo de Brandusio became involved in attempts to persuade John Gervase, bishop of Winchester, himself a supporter of the late rebellion, to repay substantial loans he had contracted.
with Florentine merchants, in part at least in order that these merchants could then repay cardinal Giordano money that he claimed was owed to him. Matteo also occurs, in October 1268, involved in arrangements with merchants of Siena to collect a 40 mark annual pension promised to cardinal Giordano by the prior and monks of Ely from the church of Melbourn (Cambridgeshire): perhaps a reciprocal favour for Giordano’s assistance in the Ely election dispute of 1257. The merchants involved here, including Rolando Bonsignori, had been associated with Giordano for nearly twenty years, ever since the time of his major settlement of the debts owing to the Bonsignori company in 1250. Giordano’s will also refers to his possession of the English churches of “Helek” and “Strham”. “Helek” remains unidentified. “Strham” is almost certainly Stretham in Cambridgeshire, whose advowson belonged to the bishops of Ely, in January 1259 held as a papal provision by the papal tax collector Master Rostand. With the fall of the baronial regime, after 1265, Giordano was also promised repayment of arrears on the royal pension first offered to him in 1254. By 1268, these arrears, eventually paid from the proceeds of a papal tax of a tenth upon the English church, amounted to 275 marks, suggesting that the pension had gone unpaid for most of the past decade.

Giordano himself remained a formidable presence at the papal curia, still active in the affairs of Sicily and Rome. In 1266, he was one of at least thirteen cardinals who wrote to Alphons, the brother of Louis IX, urging him to make peace with the monks of Moissac. In September 1268, following the Angevin victory at Tagliacozzo and the arrest of the sixteen-year-old Conradin by Giovanni Frangipanni, it was Giordano who, as rector of Campagna, acted as the pope’s go-between to demand that Conradin be handed over to another of Louis IX’s brothers, Charles of Anjou, for trial and summary execution. As this suggests, Giordano was by this time closely identified with the Angevin party at the papal court. Negotiations over his

75 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1266-1272, 37 (notifying the renewal of Matteo’s commission as Giordano’s proctor in England, February 1267); Reg. Urbain IV, III, nr. 1323-24 (Calendar of Papal Registers, 409-10), 1763-64; Winchester Cathedral Archives ms. Alchin Scrapbook II/HEN. III/12, a bond drawn up at Lambeth, 17 February 1266, by which bishop John Gervase of Winchester acknowledged debts of 820 marks to the Syminetti of Florence, witnessed amongst others by «Mattheus Brandusius procurator et familiaris venerabilis patris domini Iordani sanctorum Cosme et Damiani diaconi cardinalis».


77 Above n. 35, and cf. Reg. Urbain IV, III, nr. 998, 1012, where, in 1264, Giordano served as papal auditor in further disputes involving the merchants of Florence.

78 Reg. Alexandre IV, II, nr. 2812, and for Stretham, valued in 1254 at £20, see Victoria County History of Cambridgeshire, IV, 155.

79 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1266-1272, 215, 228.


81 Die Chronik des Saba Malaspina, 213, whence K. HAMPE, Geschichte Konradins von Ho-
English pension were still ongoing as late as November 1269. By this time, however, Giordano himself was dead. His obit notices, from the Roman churches of S. Pietro in Vaticano and S. Spirito in Sassia, report that he died on 9 October 1269, in the midst of the prolonged conclave of Viterbo that was to last, with only brief intermission, from the death of Pope Clement IV in November 1268 until the election of Gregory X in September 1271. In Rome, his executors are reported to have given 500 livres Provins for obit celebrations at S. Pietro. He was also commemorated as a benefactor of the Roman Hospital of S. Spirito in Sassia, itself an institution with close English connections. In was perhaps to Giordano and his executors that the Hospital owed the extensive properties that it is subsequently recorded as possessing in and around Terracina, Giordano’s native city. Giordano’s body was buried in the church of the Franciscans at Viterbo where, although damaged by bombardment in 1944, his incised epitaph is still preserved. His death was commemorated not only in a series of obit notices but in the correspondence of another writer of polished dictaminal prose, Nicolao da Rocca, who at one time had addressed letters to Giordano as his patron.

And so we come to the will itself. It is preserved to us in an inspeximus issued by the official of the bishop of Salisbury, dated at Salisbury on the Tuesday after the
feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (19 August 1270). The official’s chief purpose was to signal the fulfillment of Giordano’s testatorial bequest to Salisbury: 100 marks assigned by the cardinal to endow an altar in Salisbury Cathedral for the souls of popes Gregory IX, Alexander IV and Urban IV and for Giordano’s ancestors and kin. This money, the official reported, had been delivered to Salisbury by the proctor appointed by Giordano’s executors. Elsewhere in the will the proctor’s full name is supplied as «Iohannes dictus Baccamacium de Urbe rector ecclesie de Vernoto Seno<ensis> diocesis», given full power to act in the name of Giordano’s executors. Letters of Urban IV, dated 27 May 1264, identify him as Giovanni Boccamacci of Rome, a chaplain and kinsman of Giacomo Savelli, cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin, provided to the church of Saint-Fortuné at Vernou-sur-Seine to the east of Paris and instituted there via another of his Roman kinsmen89. Since cardinal Giacomo of S. Maria in Cosmedin was one of the two executors appointed in Giordano’s will, the involvement of his chaplain, Giovanni, as proctor in 1270 is easily explained. Giacomo, cardinal from 1261, was himself a future pope, Honorious IV (1285-7)90. So was his fellow executor, Giangaetano Orsini, cardinal-deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano, cardinal from 1244, in due course Pope Nicholas III (1277-80)91. Both of these men were senior figures in the curia, suited to act as Giordano’s executors. Both, it might be noted, were Italians, not Frenchmen, from families closely associated with the city of Rome.

The official’s inspeximus, sealed both by the official and by Giovanni, testifies to the payment of the 100 marks, assigned by the dean and chapter of Salisbury to the cathedral altar of St Laurence, whose serving chaplain or priest was henceforth to ensure proper commemoration of the three popes and of Giordano’s family as specified in Giordano’s will. It is worth noting here that Giordano’s commemoration of Gregory IX, Alexander IV and Urban IV signally excludes the last of the pontiffs under whom he had served, Pope Clement IV. This bears out the rather peculiar way in which, although regularly recorded in papal registers from 1246 through to 1264, Giordano fails to make any impression upon the registers of Clement IV, from 1265 to 126892. To this extent, however closely identified Giordano may have become with the Angevin party in the papal curia, there may have been some reservation in his mind as to his personal attachment to Pope Clement.

In order to certify the correct fulfillment of Giordano’s bequest to Salisbury, the bishop of Salisbury’s official supplies a full recital of an earlier instrument, dated 20

89 Reg. Urbain IV, III, nr. 1128-29, and for the church of Vernou, previously held by Master Peter, an associate of Giordano’s successor as papal vice-chancellor, Michael of Toulouse, see ibi, nr. 1008-09, 1481. The specified dedication to Saint-Fortuné assists with its identification as the church of Vernou (Seine-et-Marne, cant. Moret-sur-Loing, com. Vernou-la-Celle-sur-Seine), whose patronage belonged to the cathedral chapter of Notre-Dame Paris, with an annual valuation in 1350 of 75 livres: Pouillés de la province de Sens, publié par A. Longnon, Paris 1904, 27b, 419a.

90 For a full modern biography, see Fischer, Kardinäle im Konklave, 117-25.

91 Fischer, Kardinäle im Konklave, 42-56.

92 After nearly fifty appearances in the registers of Urban IV, there is only a single indexed reference to Giordano, in Reg. Clément IV, nr. 154, itself referring back to service under Pope Urban. Cf. I Registri, VI, 319 nr. 1694.
March 1270, issued by the papal scribe (“scrinarius”) and clerk of the papal chamber, Master Riccardo da Pofi. Master Riccardo was a native of Pofi near Frosinone, in the same region to the north of Terracina in which cardinal Giordano had acted as papal rector. As a scribe of the papal chancery from at least 1256, he had been closely associated with Giordano, by 1264 appearing as Giordano’s chaplain, by which time he himself had obtained prebends in the cathedral churches of Veroli in Italy and Metz in Lorraine. He later entered the service of Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily. In the meantime, he is principally remembered as the author of a formulary and *Summa Dictaminis*, preserved in at least twenty-nine manuscripts. This gathers together stylistic models culled chiefly from the registers of popes Urban IV and Clement IV, including papal and other letters that themselves testify to Riccardo’s close association with cardinal Giordano and his household.

Master Riccardo’s instrument is dated 20 March 1270, issued in the episcopal palace at Viterbo and witnessed by a large number of Italians, themselves closely associated either with the two executors of Giordano’s will or with the papal chancery: master Berardo of Naples papal notary (previously associated with Giordano); Leonardo archdeacon of Spoleto (previously associated with cardinal Giacomo of S. Maria in Cosmedin), brother Bentevenga of the Friars Minor (described here as a chaplain of cardinal Giangaetano), brother Giacomo of the Friars Preacher, master Andrea da Reati (another chaplain of cardinal Giacomo), master Benedetto de Reati and Matteo da Pofi, scribes (“scrinarii”), the latter perhaps an associate or kinsman of Master Riccardo. Riccardo’s instrument, sealed by the two cardinals as principal executors of Giordano’s will, was intended to record the appointment by these executors of Giovanni Boccamacci as their proctor. It was to this end that it offers a full recital of Giordano’s testament. In total, of the thousand or so words of the document today preserved at Salisbury, less than four hundred are derived directly from

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93 For his service as scribe, too lowly to be noticed by Nüske, *Untersuchungen*, see Reg. Alexandre IV, I, nr. 1093; Reg. Alexandre IV, II, nr. 2080, 2889. For his appearances as Giordano’s chaplain and as canon of Veroli and Metz, see Reg. Urbain IV, III, nr. 1062, 1077-78, 1894, 2591, 2797. In 1269, it was he who drafted the codicil to Giordano’s will, preserved at Viterbo: A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Cardinali di Curia e ‘familiae’ cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254*, I, Padova 1972, 311-12; Paravicini Bagliani, *I Testamenti*, 126. As early as 1258, Giordano occurs in association with a papal scribe named Master Gregorio «de Posis» (i.e. da Pofi): Reg. Alexandre IV, II, nr. 2762, and cf. Nüske, *Untersuchungen*, 212.

94 For Berardo, above n. 18.

95 For his service as scribe, too lowly to be noticed by Nüske, *Untersuchungen*, see Reg. Alexandre IV, I, nr. 1093; Reg. Alexandre IV, II, nr. 2080, 2889. For his appearances as Giordano’s chaplain and as canon of Veroli and Metz, see Reg. Urbain IV, III, nr. 1062, 1077-78, 1894, 2591, 2797. In 1269, it was he who drafted the codicil to Giordano’s will, preserved at Viterbo: A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Cardinali di Curia e ‘familiae’ cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254*, I, Padova 1972, 311-12; Paravicini Bagliani, *I Testamenti*, 126. As early as 1258, Giordano occurs in association with a papal scribe named Master Gregorio «de Posis» (i.e. da Pofi): Reg. Alexandre IV, II, nr. 2762, and cf. Nüske, *Untersuchungen*, 212.

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98 For Berardo, above n. 18.
Giordano’s will, the rest being added by the official of Salisbury, by the executors, or by Riccardo da Pof in as the executors’ scribe.

The will itself opens with a pious *arenga*, lamenting the corruptability of the flesh and the impossibility of predicting the hour of death. Invoking the Trinity and the Virgin Mary, it then declares itself to be a deathbed or ‘nuncupative testament’ before listing the first of its seven specific bequests: 100 marks to Salisbury Cathedral for the construction and endowment of an altar where mass might continually be celebrated for the souls of popes Gregory IX, Alexander IV and Urban IV and for the souls of Giordano, his ancestors (“parentum”) and kin. A further 100 marks were assigned to the church of York (Minster) with the same intention. Should the profits of Giordano’s rents from Salisbury or York already have been sent to Italy, these bequests should be made from his other English revenues or from his goods in general. To the church of “Helek” (presumably English, although unidentified) he bequeathed 50 marks for repairs or other uses according to the disposition of the local diocesan; to the church of Stretham (Cambridgeshire, annual income £20) for similar purposes 20 marks. To the (cathedral) church of London he bequeathed a set of pontifical vestments: a dalmatic and casula of red samite. To the (cathedral) church of Arras three such sets of vestments, one set of red samite, one of white, one of green. To the (cathedral) church of Orléans, a single set of red. All of his moveable goods, in money, gold or silver, books or cloth, vestments, precious stones, rings, jewels or any other substance he left entirely to his executors to dispose of for the redemption of his sins and those of his ancestors and for the payment of his outstanding debts, appointing cardinals Giangaetano Orsini of S. Nicolao in Carcere Tulliano, and Giacomo of S. Maria in Cosmedin as his executors, and ending with an injunction that they observe this will and any codicils.

To some extent, this is a rather disappointing document. For a cardinal’s will it is unusually brief. It offers little of the specific detail, not least of chaplains and servants, precious treasures and keepsakes, that are recorded in the many other such documents so splendidly edited by Paravicini Bagliani. In his lifetime, Giordano maintained a vast and magnificent household. The papal registers, especially those of Urban IV, record a remarkable number of men described as his chaplains. He and his family had played crucial roles in the papal government of the Campagna and Marittima. And yet for specified bequests to any of his familiars we have to turn, not to the will at Salisbury but to the brief codicil preserved in Viterbo. The Salisbury will is so general in its disposal of cash and other moveables that no calculation is possible as to the total value of Giordano’s moveable estate. Moreover, since, like thirteenth-century wills in general, it is confined to moveable goods and rents, it excludes the vast majority of the testator’s wealth in the form of land, either inherited or acquired. Bizarrely, although it specifies bequests in England and France, it leaves entirely unspecified any of Giordano’s beneficiaries in his native Italy, a lapse that

99 For Stretham, see above n. 78.
100 See, for example, from the single year 1263-1264, *Reg. Urbain IV*, III, nr. 1152, 1560, 1666, 1837, 2219, 2568, 2591, 2678, 2797.
101 *Paravicini Bagliani, I Testamenti*, 125-26 nr. 4.
is only partly made good by the surviving codicil, published by Paravicini Bagliani. The survival of the codicil at Viterbo, and the reference at the end of Giordano’s will to “codicils” in the plural, begs the question whether other such bequests were recorded in writing, now lost.

Had we only this will to guide us we might have little idea of Giordano’s true status or of the importance of his career. This was a man who for twenty years had sat close to the centre of papal power, governor of central Italy with an influence that spanned the whole of Christendom, instrumental in the disposition of thrones, empires and principalities. This was a man not just of power but of immense wealth, branded a “fox” for his cunning, whose disputes with the archbishop of York, if only they were better documented, might be seen in their fury and significance to rival those of Robert Grosseteste with the court of Pope Innocent IV. Neither wealth nor power is apparent from the terms of Giordano’s will.

Yet, if we look a little more closely, there is much to this document that is evocative. During his lifetime, to his critics in England and perhaps in France, Giordano had appeared a mere predator, avid for northern ecclesiastical spoils. Yet these spoils had themselves been invested in the defense of the papal states, in the purchase of armies and alliances, today almost entirely forgotten, at the time an enterprise of vast cost and significance. This was an enterprise that potentially endangered both lives and souls. Here, at the end, we find some attempt at pious atonement. Giordano’s bequests in England and in France were a token, but perhaps sincere bid for personal redemption. The 200 marks spent on the endowment of altars in Salisbury and York represented only a small fraction of the profits that Giordano had reaped from these places, and yet, presumably by the payment of chaplains and mass priests, were intended both to atone for his predations and to ensure an abiding English memory not only of Giordano but of the popes he had served and hence of the political turmoil in Italy in which these popes had involved themselves.

The will opens with a brief blast of rhetoric: a pious preamble, in carefully modulated Latin prose, declaring the corruptability of the flesh and the need to seek redemption. In his lifetime, Giordano had played a significant role in devising and broadcasting a vast tempest of such rhetoric. His epitaph, indeed, opens, with a reference to his “stream of eloquence” («Eloquii fl umen»): an aquatic rather than an ethereal metaphor but one nonetheless emphasising Giordano’s way with words.102. There is good reason to detect his influence behind the redaction and popularization of the formularies both of Thomas of Capua and Peter de Vinea, those great bellows of dictaminal hot air. Giordano’s correspondence with Giovanni da Capua, albeit circulated far less widely than Thomas or Peter’s collections, testifies to his rhetorical skills, as does the formulary of Giordano’s chaplain, Riccardo di Pofi, intended to illustrate the polished professionalism of the papal chancery over which Giordano had presided as vice-chancellor. Nicolao da Rocca, papal and imperial letter-writer, greeted Giordano’s death with a polished prose eulogy. Berardo of Naples, witness

102 Guardo, Titulus e tumulus, 59: «Eloquii flumen ac iuris utrumque volumen orbantur multo lare te, Iordane, sepulto!».
to the execution of Giordano’s will, was himself the author of yet another influential *Summa dictaminis*. To Giordano’s critics, such associations might be regarded as further evidence of a career misspent. Yet here, too, there was a significant posterity. The style of rhetoric that emerged from thirteenth-century Italy, most obviously from the letter collections of Peter de Vinea, Thomas of Capua, Berardo of Naples and the other notaries and chancery officials of the papal court so closely associated with Giordano, continued to be imitated and admired for the next three hundred years. As Benoît Grévin has argued, not only did Giordano and his circle play a major role in the transmission of such materials, but it was from this world of highly-coloured, albeit often vacuous word-play that the political discourse of the Renaissance was born103.

For a document that has, for the past seven hundred and fifty years, resided peacefully in the archives of Salisbury Cathedral, these are features of no small importance. From the chalk streams of Wiltshire to the storms and stresses of Dante’s Italy may, in retrospect, seem a long distance. At the time, during the 1250s and 60s when Giordano Pironti paraded so magnificently upon the stage of European politics, the distance was not nearly so great. It was, indeed, no greater than that traversed by the many letters that Giordano was responsible for writing, amongst them this, his last will and testament.

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ABSTRACT


The Will of Giordano Pironti (d. 1269), recently rediscovered in the archives of Salisbury Cathedral in England, provokes a reassessment of the significance of Giordano both as a political figure within the government of the Papal States, and as a letter-writer and prose stylist closely associated with the work of professional rhetoricians at the papal curia such as

Thomas of Capua, Riccardo da Pofi and Berardo of Naples. Proper exploration of the English governmental sources reveals the wealth of patronage showered upon Giordano in England, not least because of the key role that he played in negotiations over the future of Sicily and the former lands of Frederick II, now disputed between rival claimants, Plantagenet, Hohenstaufen and Angevin.

APPENDIX

1.

[19 August 1270]

*Inspeximus* issued by the official of Salisbury reciting an instrument of Riccardo da Pofi, papal notary, acting for the executors of Giordano cardinal-deacon of SS. Cosma e Damiano, that itself recites Giordano’s final will and testament.

A = Salisbury Cathedral Archives, Press II Box 5. Endorsed: *De c. mar(cis) ad construendum et dotand(um) unum altare (sancti Laurencii, s. xvi) in ecc(lesi)a* de testamento Iordani (s. xii/xiv); *Quomodo dominus Iordanus sanctorum Cosme et Damiani dia(conus) cardinalis in testamento suo reliquit quinquaginta ecclesie Sar’ ad construend(um) nouum altar(e) et dotand(um) pro animabus sui et aliorum infrascriptorum et in fine huius littere quasi [*.....*] declara(t)a per procuratorem executorum testamenti dict(i) cardi(na)l(is) quod illud altare esset in honor(e) sancti Laurencii construct(um) ad quod altar(em) orar(i) debent sacrificantes pro animabus dict(i) cardinal(is) et ceterorum infrascriptorum. Dat’ infra a(nn)o m. cc(septuagesimo) (s. xiv); 1270 ponatur inter miscellanea (s. xvii). Approx. 230 x 342 + 18 mm. A water stain to the left hand side obscures roughly thirty words, now legible under ultra-violet light. Certain key words underlined in red ink with dates for the popes supplied by a s. xvii archivist. Sealed *sur double queue*, two sets of single slits for tags (7 mm.), right and left. On the left hand tag, a vessica shaped seal impression in light brown wax, 27 x 40 mm.: the Virgin and child seated enthroned within an elaborate archway with pinnacles, below them a kneeling figure, legend: SIGILL’ OFFICIALITATIS SARR’; On the right hand tag, a seal impression of similar shape and dimensions, in the same light brown wax: the Virgin and child standing between two towers, below them a figure, perhaps a seraph, legend mostly lost: [.....]IS[....] CAMA[........]V DIACON’.

Uniueris presentes litteras inspecturis vel auditur(is) .. offic(ialis) domini .. episcopi Sarr’ salutem in domino sempiternam. Noveritis nos inspexisse ac legisse infrascriptum publicum instrumentum venerabilium patrum domini Iohannis Sancti Nich(ola)i in Carcere Tulliano et domini Iacobi Sancte Marie in Cosmedin diaconorum cardinalium sigillis munitum non abolitum, non cancelatum neque in aliqua sui parte viciatum in hec verba:

In nomine Domini amen. Anno eiusdem mill(esim)o ducentesimo septuagesimo, mense Marcii, die vicesima, indictione tercia decima, apostolica sede vacante, ex hoc
publico instrumento euidenter appareat quod bone memorie dominus Iordanus Sanctorum Cosme et Damian(i) diac(onus) card(inalis) condidit dum viuere testamentum seu dispositione fecit suo ulime voluntatis sicut per instrumentum manu mei in-frascripta scrinarii confectum exinde plenius apparebat in quo vidi specialiter inter alia verba subsequencia contineri, videlicet:

Nos Iordanus miseracione diuin(a) Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani diac(onus) card(inalis) vigili meditacione pensantes humane condicionis, statum corrupcionis et varietatis subiacere defectibus et omnis carnis e(ss)enciam sub indefi nenti fluxibilitate dissolui, cupimus diem mo(r)tis disposic(i)one testamentaria preuenire. Ad laudem igitur et honorem sanctissime Trinitatis, patris et filii et spiritus sancti et gloriosissime virginis Marie nuncupatuum facimus testamentum in quo ecclesie Saresibirien’ relinqui mus centum marcas sterlingor(um) pro uno altari construendo et dotando ubi pro animabus felicis recordacionis dominorum Gregorii noni et Alexandri quarti ac Urbani quarti Romanorum pontificum, pro nostra eciam et parentium et consanguineorum nostrorum salute continue Deo sacrifi cium immoletur. Et volumus quod de instantibus nostris redditibus eiusdem ecclesie dicte centum marce ad opus altaris huiusmodi conserueretur. Item ecclesie Eboracen’ pro uno altari et in eundem modum sicut de Saresburien’ diximus relinqui mus similiter centum marcas, et si forte redditus nostri de Anglia ipsarum ecclesiariurn esse n nob(is) transmissi, volumus quod de alii nostris prouentibus de Anglia aut alii bonis nostris impleantur predicta. Item ecclesie nostre de Helek relinqui mus quinquaginta marcas pro reperacione vel alii utilitatiabius eiusdem ecclesie sicut .. diocesano loci videbitur faciendum. Item ecclesie de Strham similiter viginti marcas. Item ecclesie Londonien’ relinquimums
unum param(en)tum pontificale, videlicet tunicam, dalmaticam et casulum examiti rubei. Item ecclesie Atrebaton’ tria talia paramenta, unum videlicet examiti rubei, aliiu albi et tercium viridis. Item ecclesie Aurelianae’ unum rebeum simile paramen- tum. Cetera insuper omnia et singula bona nostra mobilia consistencia in peccunia, argento et <au>ro, vasis aureis et argenteis, libris et pannis, vestimentis, lapidibus preciosis, anulis, iocalibus vel quibucumque aliis rebus [dispositioni]
\^
dictorun executorum relinqui mus, ut ipsi ea pro redempcone peccator(um) nost-
rorum pro nostra eciam et parentum nostrorum salute necon in satisfaccione illorum quibus forte tenemur in aliqubus distribuant sicut viderint expediere. Huius quoque testamenti executores cum deuota et magna fi ducia constituimus reuerendos patres dominum Ioh(anne)m Sancti Nicholai in Carcere Tulliano et dominum Iacobum Sancte Marie in Cosmedin diaconos cardinales quibus cum reuerencia suppliantus ut ipsum testamentum dignentur quanto celerius poterint salubriter expedire. Hec est igitur nostra voluntas ultima, que si non valeat iure testamenti valeat saltem iure codicillorum vel [...] ultime voluntatis. Quare predicti domini executores in presentia mei scrin(arii) et test(i)m(onio) scriptorum ad hoc specialiter vocato<rum et> rogatorum fecerunt et constituerunt discretum virum Ioh(ann)em dictum Baccamacium de Urbe rectorem ecclesie de Verno Seno<nensis> dioces(is) huius instr(u)menti i latorem verum et legittimum procuratorem suum ad assignandum huiusmodi legata ecclesiis supredictis in ipso <?scripto> contentis et ad procurandum fieri altaria et alia que forma ipsius testamenti continet superius annotata, necon ad petend(um) et recipiendum a quibuscumque personis eorumdem executorum nomine fructus, reddi-
tus, prouentus et quaslibet obuenciones in pecunia vel rebus aliis consistentes qui vel que dicto testatori de prebendis seu quibuscumque aliis beneficiis suis earumdem ecclesiarum dum viueret et eciam post mortem eius secundum ipsarum ecclesiarum consuetudines debebantur, dantes eidem procuratori plenam et liberam pot(est)atem agendi, defendendi, excipiendi, replicandi, s(ente)n(t)iam audiendi, appellandi si necesse fuerit refutacionem de hiis que ceperit faciendi alium vel alios procuratores substituendi semel et pluries quociens viderit expedire ac alia exercendi que ipsimet exercere possent si circa premissa p(lur)aliter interessent et que mandatum requirerent speciale. Ceterum dederunt eidem procuratori potestatem similiter quod si predicti fructus, redditus, obuenciones et prouentus olim aliquibus procuratoribus seu nuncis dicti card(inalis) vel mercatoribus aliis quibuscumque fuerint pro dicto card(inale) soluti, idem procurator nichi(l)ominus possit eos petere ac recipere nomine executorum eorumdem, ratum et firmum habituri quicquid idem procurator vel ab eo substitutus aut substituti fecerit aut fecerint in predictis et quolibet predictorum. Actum in palacio episcopali Viterbien’, presentibus hiis testibus ad hoc specialiter vocatis et rogatis, videlicet magistro Berardo de Neapoli sede apostolice notario, domino Leonardo archid(iacono) Spoletan’, fratre Benteuenga de Ordine Minorum ca(p)ell(an)o dicti domini Ioh(ann)is card(inalis), fratre Iacobo de Ordine Predicator(um), magistro Andrea de Reate capellanis dicti domini Iacobi card(inalis), magistro Bened(i)c(t)o de Reate, Matheo de Pofis scriniariis.

Et ego Riccardus de Pofis camere sed(is) apostolice clericus, sancte Romane ecclesie scr(i)n(arius) predictis interfui et ea de mandato eorumdem dominorum executorum scripsi et in publicam formam redegi. Ad maiorem autem cautelam, iidem domini executores fecerunt presens publicum instr(u)m(entum) suorum sigillorum munimine roborari.

Quare prefatus Ioh(ann)es procurator predictorum executorum suprascripta auct(oritat)e et potestate sibi concessa a dominis suis voluit et concessit et quantum ad hoc procuratores constituit quod venerabiles viri decanus et capitulum Saresbirien’ altari constructo in ecclesia Sarr’ et consecrato in honore b(e)ati Laurencii mart(is) dotando per manus predictorum venerabilium virorum ex centum marc(is) sterlingorum, quas dictas centum marc(as) bone memorie supranominatus dominus Iordanus ecclesie Sarr’ reliquit pro uno altari construendo et dotando ubi pro animabus felicis recordacionis dominorum Gregorii noni et Alexandri quarti ac Urbani quarti Romanorum pontificum pro sua eciam et parentum ac consanguineorum suo-rum salute <ERASURE> Deo sacrificium immoletur sicut per suprascriptum publicum instrum(entum) euidenter apparet. De capellano seu sacerdote qui eidem altari deserviuitc iuxta formam prescriptam nunc et perpetuo successu-pruideant in futurum. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum officialitatis Sarr’ una cum sigillo predicti procurator(is) presentibus litteris duximus apponend(um). Dat’ Sarr’ die Martis proxima post festum Assumpc(i)onis b(eat)e Marie virg(inis) anno supradicto.

\[a\] relinquimus inserted over the line.

\[b\] inserted ed.
London, 1 October 1268

Notification by Lotto Ugolini and Bando Aldebrandi of the society of Rollando Bonsignor, citizens and merchants of Siena, acting as proctors of Matteo de Brandusio, proctor of Giordano cardinal deacon of SS. Cosma e Damiano, of their receipt of a 40 mark pension payable to Giordano for the forthcoming year from the church of Melbourn (Cambridgeshire) from the prior and chapter of Ely.


For Lotto Ugolini, merchant of Siena, see Reg. Urbain IV, II, nr.155, 161.

Uniuersis presentes litteras inspectur(is) Locco Ugolini et Bando Aldebrandi de societate domini Rollandi Bonsenior’ ciues et mercatores Senen’ procurator(es) substituti a Matheo de Brandusio procuratore venerabil(is) patris domini Iordani sanctorum Cosme et Damian(i) diacon(i) card(inalis) salutem in domino. Noueritis nos procuratorio nomine dicti domini cardinal(is) recepisse et h(ab)uisse apud London’ kalendas Octobris anno domini m.cc.lx. octauo a venerabilibus viris dominis priore et capitulo Eliensi’ per manus domini Roberti de Orford’ camerarii Elyen’ et fratris Ioh(ann)is de Sancta Fide eiusdem loci quadraginta marcas bonorum et legalium sterilgorum nomine annue pensionis quam idem prior et capitulum pro ecclesia de Meldeburn’ predicto domino cardinali in festo Natiuitatis sancti Ioh(ann)is Baptist(e) proximo preterito soluere debuissent, de quibus quadraginta marcis nob(is) solut(is) procuratorio nomine prefati cardinal(is) bene et integre nos vocamus nos quietos et pacatos et eosdem priorem et capitulum ac ecclesiam Elyen’ penitus absolutos, exceptioni non numerate non solute et non tr<br>pecte nob(is) pecunie penitus renun<ct>ando. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus litteris sigill(a) nostra sunt a<br>posita presentibus testibus: Gyd<co> Bonconte, fratre Therico Doni mercatoribus Senen’, magistro Radulph(o) de Laminesse, Ioh(ann)e de Rokelin ... <ct> multis aliis. Data Lond’ anno, die et loco supradictis.