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Manuscript Note: Master James, a papal scribe in the household of Pandulf

Verraccio, papal legate to England, 1218-1221

In a study of papal influence on pre-fourteenth century English documents, Professor Jane Sayers drew attention to the hybrid writing team of Pandulf Verraccio, legate 1218-1221. He had three scribes in his household in late 1219. These were – in her view – two English scribes and one scribe of the papal chancery: Master James. Despite the attested presence of a papal scribe, she went on: “I know of no document written by him [Master James]”. She noted only one possible exception to this statement: a mandate in the Cumbria record office – Carlisle, MS DMH/10/2/7 – reproduced as plate 11C in her article.<sup>1</sup> It now seems possible to confirm with palaeographical evidence that her instinct that this could be in the hand of Master James was correct, and to match it up with two other surviving letters in the same hand, now in The National Archives.

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<sup>1</sup> Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, MS DMH/10/2/7; Jane E. Sayers, “The Influence of Papal Documents on English Documents before 1305,” in *Papsturkunde und europäisches Urkundenwesen*, eds. Peter Herde, Hermann Jakobs, Archiv für Diplomatik. Beiheft 7 (Cologne, 1999), 161-99 at 168, 190. The mandate now has a different call number to that which Sayers gave. My thanks to the Cumbria Record Office for providing me with copies of the document under discussion here.

Two of Pandulf's surviving letters – London, TNA MSS SC 1/6/37 and SC 1/1/179 – were written on 11 June 1219 at Llanthony secunda, Gloucester. Despite being written on the same day, they are in clearly different hands. SC 1/1/179 is an English documentary script (henceforth referred to as scribe A), akin to that of the contemporary royal chancery. SC 1/6/37 is a different hand (scribe B) seemingly – as discussed below – a hand of the papal chancery. In addition, SC 1/6/37 appears to be in the same hand as SC 1/6/38, another of Pandulf's letters, written at Lichfield on 15 July 1219.<sup>2</sup> It appears that SC 1/6/37-8 and the mandate Sayers found in the Cumbria record office are all in the same hand. There are three scribes known to have been members of Pandulf's *familia* in September 1219: "Master James, scribe of the lord pope" and "Rusticus and John of London, scribes of the lord [legate Pandulf]".<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> London, The National Archives [TNA], MSS SC 1/6/37-8 are transcribed below. The body of SC 1/6/37 – without *intitulatio*, *inscriptio*, *salutatio* or *datum* – is transcribed in David Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III*, (London, 1990), 132, n. 13. A translation of the same was printed by Fred Cazel Jr., "The Legates Guala and Pandulf," in *Thirteenth Century England II: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference 1987*, eds. Peter R. Coss, Simon D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1988), 15-21, at 20. For the dating to 1219 rather than 1220, see *ibid.*, and Maurice Powicke, "The Chancery during the minority of Henry III," *English Historical Review* 23 (1908): 220-35 at 229-30. My thanks to The National Archives for providing me with copies of the various original documents discussed here.

<sup>3</sup> Rome, Archivio Segreto Vaticano [ASV], MS Registrum Vaticanum 10, fols 150v-151r [consulted from the digital reproductions in the British Library]; *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum*, ed. Augustin Theiner, (Rome, 1864), 11; *Monumenta de Insula Manniae*, ed. and trans. John R. Oliver, 3

Though Sayers commented that she did not know of any letters definitely written for Pandulf by the papal scribe, she did suggest that one – the mandate in the Cumbria record office – showed a number of similarities with papal scripts.<sup>4</sup> The similarities between the hand of this mandate – reproduced as plate 11C in Sayers' article – and the hand of letters SC 1/6/37-8 suggests that these documents were all written by the same scribe.

This hand – scribe B – does look very much like a papal script. The broken-backed 'd' whose ascender curves forward then back; the 'q' with a forward looping descender; the closed, two-compartment, 'g' with the large flick at the bottom of the lower compartment; and the large, open, lower-case 'a' are just some of the similarities between SC 1/6/37-8, the Cumbrian mandate and contemporary papal documents. Such features can be seen in the facsimiles in the *Acta Pontificum*, fasc. III. nos 12-14, all early thirteenth century. 'd's of the type described can be seen throughout, as can 'q's. Examples of 'g's can be seen in no. 12b (1198) where *gratia Regina* (line 1) is very similar to *Regis* (line 2) in SC 1/6/37. The large, lower-case,

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vols. (Douglas, 1860-2), 2:53-7; Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, litterae, et cuiuscumque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae etc*, eds. Adam Clarke, John Caley, Frederick Holbrooke, 4 vols in 7.

(London, 1816-69), 1, pt. 1, 156; Jane E. Sayers, *Papal Government and England during the Pontificate of Honorius III, (1216-1227)*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: Third Series 21 (Cambridge, 1984), 185.

<sup>4</sup> Sayers, "The Influence of Papal Documents on English Documents," 168, 190, plate 11c.

open ‘a’ (SC 1/6/37, line 1: *Apostolice*) can also be seen in no. 13 (1207), line 12: *Arnatam*. Likewise similar features can be seen on other contemporary papal documents in The National Archives. SC 7/52/2, a 1215 letter of Pope Innocent III, reproduces the open ‘a’; the two-compartment, flicked ‘g’ and various other features.<sup>5</sup>

More obviously, SC 1/6/37 – one the letters written in the papal hand, scribe B – uses phrasing familiar from papal documents: *tibi...mandamus quatinus* introduces the *dispositio*; a very similar phrase to that used in papal mandates: *vobis...mandamus quatinus*. In both SC 1/6/37 and 38 the *intitulatio* – Pandulf’s name – precedes the *inscriptio* – the names of the addressee(s), as in papal letters. The relative positions of *intitulatio* and *inscriptio* are reversed in SC 1/1/179, written by scribe A, the English scribe.

“Master James, scribe of the lord pope” and “Rusticus and John of London, scribes of the lord [legate Pandulf]” were the scribes of Pandulf’s *familia* in late 1219. Master James was, obviously, a papal scribe. John of London was, equally obviously, an Englishman, probably trained in the royal chancery. The status of Rusticus is less certain. Sayers thought that he was probably English; Nicholas Vincent has suggested that he was Italian.<sup>6</sup> Clearly Rusticus was not a *scriptor* of the papal

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<sup>5</sup> London, TNA, MS SC 7/52/2. For examples of both ‘a’ and ‘g’ see Anglie (penultimate line).

<sup>6</sup> *The Letters and Charters of Cardinal Guala Bicchieri*, ed. Nicholas Vincent, Canterbury and York Society 83 (Woodbridge, 1996), p. lxxxv, n. 336. If Vincent is correct, then the most likely origin for Rusticus is

chancery, because, if he had been so, he would have been given the same description as Master James: *scriptor domini papae*. Therefore an identification of scribe B – the hand which wrote SC 1/6/37-8 and Professor Sayers' Cumbrian mandate – with Master James seems very likely. It is hence possible to link some of Pandulf's surviving original letters with specific scribes. A close study of all of Pandulf's surviving *acta* would probably throw up further productions of Master James.

Two letters of Pandulf written by 'scribe B': Master James:

London, TNA, MS SC 1/6/37:

Pandulfus dei gratia norwic' electus domini pape camerarius apostolice sedis legatus. Dilecto filio Radulfo de Navill' domini regis vicellario [sic] salutem et sincere dilectionis affectum. Presentium tibi auctoritate mandamus quatinus de sigillo domini regis illud facias quod tibi viva voce dominus episcopus Winton' iniunget et cum justitiario eas et eidem servias secundum quod idem episcopus tibi iniunget ex parte nostra. Datum Glouc' apud Lanton' iiii idus Junii.

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the Roman civic notariate. Civic notaries – and later notaries of the papal camera – composed the documents through which the papal chamberlain administered papal revenues and the patrimony, Stefan Weiß, "The Curia: Camera," in *A Companion to the Medieval Papacy: Growth of an Ideology and Institution*, eds. Keith Sisson, Atria A. Larson, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 70 (Leiden, 2016), 220-38 at 222-6. Pandulf, papal chamberlain from 1216 to 1221, could have been accompanied by such a scribe or notary.

London, TNA, MS SC 1/6/38:

Pandulfus dei gratia norwic' electus domini pape camerarius apostolice sedis legatus. Dilecto amico suo Radulfo de Novill' domini regis vicecancellario salutem et sincere dilectionis affectum. Si bene recolis tibi diximus viva voce ut Henrici thesaurario domini regis iniungeres quod mille mancos quas penes domum templi London' deposuit, fratri Simoni eiusdem domus thesaurario assignaret. Quod si non est factum, illas facias sicut dictum est eidem S. sine difficultate aliqua assignari. Ad hec tibi gratiarum referimus actiones de anulo quem nobis per presentium latorem misisti.<sup>†</sup> Datum Lichefeld Idus Julii.

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<sup>†</sup> This could be the same ring through which Pandulf invested King Reginald of Man in September 1219, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum*, ed. Theiner, 11.