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JOHN HOTHBY AND THE CULT OF ST REGULUS AT LUCCA

On 20 February 1469, the cathedral canons of Lucca appeared before the general council of their city to plead on behalf of their choirmaster of less than two years, John Hothby.¹ Warning that this Englishman and Carmelite friar might accept a more lucrative post elsewhere, they asked the council to supplement his salary provided by themselves and the local nobleman, Nicolao da Noceto. Such support, they assured, would guarantee Hothby's continued residence in Lucca and thus his cultivation of 'so many talented students in music and in the practice of it that he will not only be useful to the clergy but also the highest consolation and praise to the entire people'. Their predictions had the desired effect, as the council granted the choirmaster a monthly stipend of 2 ducats.²

The agreement between communal officials and cathedral clerics marked a turning point in Hothby's career: after years of now obscure peregrination he settled in Lucca, returning to England

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The following abbreviations denote libraries and archives: AAL=Archivio Archivescovile, Lucca; ABL=Archivio dei Cappellani Beneficiati, Lucca; ACL=Archivio Capitolare, Lucca; ASL=Archivio di Stato, Lucca; BLF=Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence; ODL=Opera del Duomo, Lucca. Others refer to liturgical genres: Ant=antiphon; B=Benedictus; M=Magnificat; Rx=responsory. Documentary sources reckon in both florins (fl) and lire (l). The value of one florin fluctuated between 3 and 5½ lire in late medieval Lucca. Finally, *BHL* indicates *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis* (Brussels, 1898–1901).

¹ The following summarises the official account of the proceedings (see Appendix, Doc. 1). While the canons did not specify how long Hothby had served their church, two subsequent documents indicate that he had arrived sometime in 1467. These include Hothby's successful petition for admittance to the chapter (or 'university') of chaplains resident at the cathedral (ABL, A, 1, fol. 13^v (28 January 1477)) and a letter attesting to his good service from the 'elders' (Anziani) of Lucca to the King of England (ASL, Anziani al tempo della libertà, 616, fol. 284 (March 1486)).

² These payments appear in one of the few account books of the Lucchese commune to survive from the late fifteenth century: ASL, Camarlingo Generale, 118, fols. 268–73 (8 May 1470–6 September 1472).

only shortly before his death in 1487.³ This lengthy residence is one of the best-documented of any northern musician in Renaissance Italy. Archival sources trace Hothby's establishment of the first polyphonic chapel at the cathedral of San Martino, and this institution was the principal vehicle for the diffusion of English and Franco-Flemish music in Lucca.⁴ While his primary duty was the instruction of local clerics and choirboys in the art of mensural polyphony, Hothby was also a man of broader learning, a 'reader in sacred theology' whose lessons in grammar and arithmetic earned him much praise.⁵

If Hothby's reputation thus rested on his pedagogical skills, he occasionally composed new music for his Italian patrons as well. His nine extant works of polyphony survive in the Faenza manuscript, copied by a fellow Carmelite friar named Johannes Bonadies in Mantua and Reggio in 1473–4.⁶ The Kyrie, two Magnificats and

³ News of Hothby's death 'in Britania' had reached the cathedral by 24 October 1487 (ABL, A, 1, fol. 82^v). Little is known of Hothby's career before his arrival in Lucca in 1467. He may have been the 'John Otteby' ordained subdeacon in the diocese of Northampton in 1451: R. Woodley, *John Tucke: A Case Study in Early Tudor Music Theory* (Oxford, 1993), p. 52, n. 5, and A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (Oxford, 1957–9), ii, p. 1409. Albert Seay's hypothesis that Hothby was active in Florence in the 1460s has found recent support in Pedro Memelsdorff's discovery that the Englishman set Lorenzo de' Medici's poem 'Amor ch'ay visto'. See P. Memelsdorff, 'John Hothby, Lorenzo il Magnifico, e Robert Morton in una nuova fonte manoscritta a Mantova', *Acta Musicologica*, 78 (2006), pp. 1–32; A. Seay, 'Florence: The City of Hothby and Ramos', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 9 (1956), pp. 193–5.

⁴ B. Brand, 'The Development of the Polyphonic Chapel at the Cathedral of Lucca', in *L'istituzione 'cappella musicale' fra corte e chiesa nell'Italia del Rinascimento. Atti, Convegno internazionale di studi, Camaiore 20–23 ottobre 2005* (Florence, 2007), pp. 73–90. On the archival witnesses to Hothby's residence in Lucca, see id., 'Liturgical Ceremony at the Cathedral of Lucca, 1275–1500' (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2006), pp. 317–23 and L. Nerici, *Storia della musica in Lucca* (Lucca, 1880), pp. 42–3 and 92–7. The northern repertoire of masses, motets and Magnificats brought to Lucca survives in the fragmentary collection known as the 'Lucca Choirbook', available in the facsimile edition *Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 238*, ed. R. Strohm (Chicago, 2008).

⁵ See Doc. 1. Hothby elicited similar accolades as 'the first among doctors of music as well as a most talented reader in theology' from one of his students, Matteo de' Testadraconi. See the compendium of treatises compiled by Matteo in Lucca in 1472, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 7369, fol. 45. James Haar and John Nadas have recently identified Matteo as the eponymous abbot of the Servite convent of the SS. Annunziata in Florence in their 'Johannes de Anglia (John Hothby): Notes on his Career in Italy', *Acta Musicologica*, 79 (2007), pp. 291–358 at 306–12. In their letter of good service of 1486, the Anziani emphasised the moral as well as intellectual virtues that made Hothby an effective teacher, namely his 'faith, eminence, probity, integrity, [and] singular erudition in the discipline of music' (see above, n. 1).

⁶ *The Musical Works of John Hothby*, ed. A. Seay (Corpus Mensurabilis Musica, 33; Rome, 1964) provides an edition of Hothby's works as they are preserved without full text underlay in Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale, 117. A second, recently discovered manuscript, Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale Teresiana, 518, fols. 14^v–16, presents four of these pieces with full text underlay, including the works quoted below in nn. 8 and 9 (Memelsdorff, 'John Hothby').

two motets may have adorned sacred services at the cathedral.⁷ Furthermore, two of the three Italian songs allude to Lucca. *Diva panthera* celebrates the panther, a symbol of the commune that brought ‘honour and fame’ to an unnamed yet ‘glorious city’.⁸ *Ave sublim’e triumphale* in turn lauds a cross ‘made by angelic hands’ and given to ‘this people’ by God.⁹ This was probably the sculpture of Christ crucified known as the ‘Holy Face’ (Volto Santo), the most renowned relic in San Martino. In 1482, the patron Domenico Bertini (c. 1417–1506) commissioned a massive octagonal chapel for that relic from the most celebrated artist of fifteenth-century Lucca, Matteo Civitali (1436–1501). *Ave sublim’e triumphale* pre-dated its completion in 1484 by at least a decade, but would nevertheless have provided a fitting commemoration for that event.¹⁰

Although the songs provide a rare glimpse into Hothby’s creative activities, they are neither his most ambitious nor his most poignant memorials to Lucca. A deluxe antiphoner of San Martino (ODL 4), compiled in the late fifteenth century, presents an office for St Regulus, an archbishop and martyr buried in the cathedral (Figure 1).¹¹ The

⁷ Documentary witnesses to the polyphonic chapel in Lucca make no references to specific pieces, and thus it is impossible to ascertain whether Hothby’s sacred works were performed by that ensemble (Brand, ‘The Development’). Nevertheless, Hothby’s Kyrie or Magnificat would have been appropriate for a variety of occasions at San Martino, and his two motets, *Ora pro nobis* and *Quae est ista*, may well have adorned High Mass on Marian feasts or one of the many votive services in honour of the Virgin at the cathedral. The first sets the text of a versicle recited at matins on feasts of the BMV, the second that of the Benedictus antiphon for the Assumption.

⁸ ‘Diva panther per cui fido, possa / l’inclit’onor’e magnanima fama / qual nocte e zorno brama [ma] / te vedere degna, o città gloriosa’ (Memelsdorff, ‘John Hothby’, p. 16; cf. pp. 18–19).

⁹ ‘Ave sublim’e triumphal[e] vexillo / O croce sancta o unica speranza / la qual exced’e avansa / in dar refugio ogni porto tranquillo. / Salva di cristo impromta over sigillo / per angelici man’ fabricato e fato / E come secreto pacto / Dio t’a concesso a questo popolo tanto’ (Memelsdorff, ‘John Hothby’, p. 16; cf. p. 19).

¹⁰ For a catalogue of Matteo’s sculpture in Lucca and relevant bibliography, see *Matteo Civitali e il suo tempo: Pittori, scultori e orafi a Lucca nel tardo Quattrocento* (Milan, 2004), pp. 238–75 and pp. 573–97 respectively. Bertini’s commission of the Chapel of the Holy Cross on 16 February 1482 appears in G. Concioni, C. Ferri and G. Ghilarducci, *Matteo Civitali nei documenti d’archivio* (Lucca, 2001), pp. 73–80. On Domenico’s biography, see G. Lera, ‘Il magistrato e mecenate Domenico Bertini’, *Rivista di Archeologia, Storia, Costume*, 12 (1984), pp. 5–16; and S. P. Puccetti, *Di messer Domenico Bertini da Galicano (1417–1506)* (Pescia, 1936). Finally, G. Concioni, *Contributi alla storia del Volto Santo* (Pisa, 2005) provides the most recent and comprehensive study of the Volto Santo.

¹¹ A. R. Calderoni Masetti and G. Dall’Regoli, ‘I corali’, in *Il Duomo di Lucca* (Lucca, 1973), pp. 172–3 provides a physical description of ODL 4, which belonged to a cycle of twelve antiphoners compiled for San Martino in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It appears as a later addition to an inventory of the cathedral sacristy of 1492, which suggests that it may have been completed after that year: P. Guidi and E. Pellegrinetti, *Inventari del vescovato, della cattedrale e di altre chiese di Lucca* (Rome, 1921), p. 267, n. 404.



Figure 1 Antiphoner of San Martino of Lucca (ODL 4, fol. 94^v)

first folio carries two prominent images underscoring the solemnity of his feast (1 September). A gold medallion in the lower margin, supported by two angels, contains a cock, the emblem of Domenico

Bertini. Since 1484 he had served as the chief administrator (*operaio*) of San Martino and was thus responsible for the compilation of the manuscript.¹² Above appears Regulus enthroned upon a cathedra, clothed in full episcopal regalia and holding a crosier. The portrait occupies a historiated initial ornamenting *Laudanda est trinitas*, the Magnificat antiphon for first vespers and the first of eighteen proper antiphons sung on Regulus' feast at San Martino for centuries. In the following folios of the manuscript, however, there survive as *unica* nine matins responsories, far more recent chants that are very likely the work of John Hothby (see Table 1).

Few at San Martino enjoyed a closer connection to the memory of St Regulus than Hothby. He held a chaplaincy at the saint's altar endowed by the aforementioned Nicolao da Noceto: its salary of 36 ducats meant that this nobleman was his most important patron. If the benefice provided him with the motive to compose the responsories, his expertise in grammar, theology and music confirms his ability to fashion both their texts and melodies. Their attribution to Hothby, proposed here for the first time, provides a rare example of plainsong composed by a polyphonist.¹³ Equally important, this ascription modifies our view of the Englishman as a gifted teacher who merely dabbled in composition; indeed, the chants were major works that reveal an unique encounter of an *oltremontano* with the age-old traditions of an Italian cathedral.

The full significance of the prolix responsories emerges only through examination of the history of Regulus' cult in medieval Lucca. The literary accounts of the saint's life (*passio*) and subsequent translation to San Martino (*translatio*) reveal that he elicited a mixture of ecclesiastical and civic devotion typical of communes in medieval Italy. Nevertheless, such veneration found unusually ornate expression in the liturgical ceremony on Regulus' feast, at the

¹² Domenico's involvement in the production of choirbooks at San Martino is first documented in 1485. On 3 November of that year, the cathedral canons sent two of their chaplains to establish the sum that the Opera would contribute towards the compilation of an unspecified number of antiphoners 'written and notated' by the priest Antonio Bertosso (ACL, GG 5, fol. 106^v). ODL 4 was not the only portion of the above-mentioned cycle of antiphoners to bear Domenico's emblem: no fewer than seven feasts of the Temporale carry that sign in ODL 14 and 16 (Calderoni Masetti and Dalli Regoli, 'I corali', p. 175).

¹³ T. F. Kelly, 'Medieval Composers of Liturgical Chant', *Musica e Storia*, 14 (2006), pp. 98–106 provides a list of 110 individuals credited with the composition of plainsong before 1500, of whom only Guillaume Du Fay is known to have composed polyphony. More will be said of Du Fay at the conclusion of the present essay.

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Table 1 *The Office of St Regulus (ODL 4, fols. 94^v–115)*

Liturgical reference	Incipit	Mode	Range	
First Vespers				
Ant Mag 1	<i>Laudanda est trinitas</i>	2	C–a	6
Matins				
Inv.	<i>Christum omnes pariter</i>	1	C–a	6
Ant 1.1	<i>Iste pater Africe</i>	1	C–c	8
Ant 1.2	<i>Ejectus a propriis</i>	2	A–G	7
Ant 1.3	<i>Liquid rura Aeolis</i>	3	C–d	9
Rx 1.1	<i>Presul Regulus</i>	1	C–d	9
Rx 1.2	<i>Praesidebat Regulus</i>	2	A–b	9
Rx 1.3	<i>Clerus adest requisitus</i>	3	D–d	8
Ant 2.1	<i>Telluris Italice</i>	2	A–a	8
Ant 2.2	<i>Presul coarguit</i>	3	E–d	7
Ant 2.3	<i>Maris undas mitigans</i>	6	D–b	6
Rx 2.1	<i>Coniungunt se sotii</i>	4	C–c	8
Rx 2.2	<i>Regulus intrepidus</i>	5	E–f	9
Rx 2.3	<i>Solitariam vitam</i>	6	C–d	9
Ant 3.1	<i>Regulus repulit</i>	8	F–d	6
Ant 3.2	<i>Hic speculator egregius</i>	5	F–f	8
Ant 3.3	<i>Tyrannus ira plenus</i>	7	F–f	8
Rx 3.1	<i>Indicat puella Regulum</i>	7	F–g	9
Rx 3.2	<i>Suffocantur a demone</i>	8	D–e	9
Rx 3.3	<i>Lucensis Iohannes</i>	1	C–e	10
Lauds				
Ant 1	<i>Beatus Regulus</i>	1	C–a	6
Ant 2	<i>Coniunctis sibi</i>	8	F–d	6
Ant 3	<i>Dum transfretavit</i>	1	C–b	7
Ant 4	<i>Prostratus in oratione</i>	8	F–e	7
Ant 5	<i>Antistes sanctus</i>	8	D–c	7
Ant Ben	<i>Beatus Regulus archiepiscopus</i>	1	C–c	8
Second Vespers				
Ant Mag 2	<i>Hodie sacer summus</i>	1	C–b	7

heart of which lay the proper antiphons, among the oldest and largest collections of plainsong for a local saint in Tuscany. Yet if the responsories enriched a vibrant centuries-old tradition, they also provided a sonic counterpart to the renovation of Regulus' chapel by Nicolao da Noceto. Hothby's patron likewise turned to Matteo Civitali, whose classicising sculptures transformed the chapel into a monument to the nobleman's family.

Although many saints of strictly local significance were native to the cities in which they were buried, this was not the case with St Regulus. His seventh-century *passio* relates neither his origins nor any information on his early career, beginning instead with his tenure as archbishop of Africa.¹⁴ Regulus' tireless evangelising elicited the hostility of a burgeoning community of Arians, whose anti-Trinitarian beliefs put them at odds with orthodox Christians. So menacing were their threats that Regulus chose to abandon the diocese rather than face their violent persecution. He exhorted his followers to do the same, dismissing Africa as a 'forsaken land filled with most wicked men' and quoting Christ's advice to his disciples, 'if you are persecuted in one city, flee to another' (Matthew 10:23).¹⁵

This marks a rare moment of drama in what is otherwise a strikingly didactic narrative. The *Passio Sancti Reguli* presents lengthy passages excoriating Arian doctrine and identifying other precedents for the protagonist's flight, passages largely abstracted from the actual events of his life. The pace quickens, however, with a stormy voyage across the Mediterranean, during which only Regulus' prayers ensured his safe arrival in Tuscany. There he forsook his pastoral duties to become a hermit, but word of his miracles soon attracted the attention of King Totila. This Goth tyrant sent three soldiers to fetch Regulus: when the latter scornfully refused to follow, they beheaded him. As the executioners then suffered a demon's torments for their crime, Regulus miraculously picked up his own head and walked no less than 250 paces.¹⁶ Meanwhile an

¹⁴ The following summarises the *Passio Sancti Reguli*, two redactions of which survive in Lucchese lectionaries of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, *BHL* 7102 and 7102a. See B. de Gaiffier, 'Catalogue des passionnaires de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire de Lucques', in *Recherches d'hagiographie latine* (Brussels, 1971), pp. 77–124. M. Simonetti, 'Note sulla tradizione agiografica di S. Regolo di Populonia', in *Atti del convegno 'Il Paleocristiano nella Tuscia', Viterbo, Palazzo dei Papi, 16–19 giugno 1979* (Viterbo, 1981), pp. 119–28 provides an edition of *BHL* 7102 and dates it to the second half of the seventh century (pp. 116–17). He argues that it represents the original text from which an abbreviated version, *BHL* 7102a, derives (pp. 108–11).

¹⁵ *Passio Sancti Reguli*, ch. 5; Simonetti, 'Note sulla tradizione', p. 121: 'Hac itaque relicta terra cum pessimis hominibus, in aliam ad serviendum deo pergamus . . . Nam legimus dominum nostrum suis praecepisse discipulis: "Si vos persecute fuerint in una civitate, fugite in aliam."'

¹⁶ The 'cephalophor', or beheaded martyr, who bears his head to his preferred burial site was a common figure in medieval hagiography: E. Colledge and J. C. Marler, 'Céphalologie: A Recurring Theme in Classical and Medieval Lore', *Traditio*, 37 (1981), pp. 411–26. For an extensive bibliography on the subject, see S. B. Montgomery, 'Mittite capud meum . . . ad matrem meam ut osculetur eum: The Form and Meaning of the Reliquary Bust of Saint Just', *Gesta*, 36 (1997), pp. 48–64 at 62, n. 40.

angel announced his death to two of his disciples, who hastened to their mentor and asked where he wished to be buried. The martyr proceeded to a site near the town of Populonia on the coast of southern Tuscany, where the faithful erected a church that witnessed many miracles and attracted crowds of pilgrims.

Regulus thus emerges from the *Passio* as the embodiment of three hagiographic types: the bishop as evangeliser, peaceful hermit and uncompromising martyr.¹⁷ That this model of episcopal virtue came to reside in San Martino was in turn the work of Bishop Giovanni I of Lucca (r. 780–800). Local tradition credited him with the rediscovery of his sixth-century predecessor, St Fridian, beneath the pavement of the basilica of San Frediano. In recompense for recovering the body of its titular saint, Giovanni transferred the Volto Santo from San Frediano to the cathedral.¹⁸ Yet his signature achievement remained the translation of Regulus from Populonia in the first year of his episcopate, an act of bravado that flatly contradicted the saint's post-mortem wishes.¹⁹ A defence of this dubious acquisition was the chief impetus behind the *Translatio Sancti Reguli*.²⁰ Instead of a rapacious bishop constantly in search of the prestige associated with sacred treasure, the text depicts Giovanni as an eloquent and pious person fervently devoted to Regulus prior to the saint's arrival in Lucca. It likewise ascribes the inspiration for the translation to an angel who appeared to Giovanni in a dream, declaring that God himself wished Regulus to lie in San Martino.

¹⁷ R. Grégoire, *Manuale di agiologia: Introduzione alla letteratura agiografica*, 2nd edn (Fabriano, 1996), pp. 262–70 identifies various typologies of bishop saints in medieval hagiography.

¹⁸ Concioni, *Contributi*, pp. 67–130 examines the reputed arrival of the Volto Santo from Palestine to San Frediano in 742 and its subsequent translation to San Martino by Giovanni. Such was Giovanni's affinity for that basilica that he was buried there. The canons of San Frediano evidently honoured him as if he were a saint, recording the miracles that unfolded at his tomb in a now-lost book: A. Guerra and P. Guidi, *Compendio di storia ecclesiastica lucchese dalle origini a tutto il secolo XII* (Lucca, 1924), p. 95; and C. Franciotti, *Historia delle miracolose immagini e delle vite dei santi, i corpi dei quali sono nella città di Lucca* (Lucca, 1613), p. 513.

¹⁹ Documentary evidence suggests that Regulus' translation occurred no later than August 781, whereas the most fitting date would have been his *dies natalis*, 1 September, in 780 (Guerra and Guidi, *Compendio*, pp. 86–9).

²⁰ The following summarises the *Translatio Sancti Reguli* (BHL 7103), which typically appears in Lucchese lectionaries as an addendum to the *Passio*. It is edited in Simonetti, 'Note sulla tradizione', pp. 128–30 as the final four chapters of the passion narrative. P. J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Princeton, 1990), pp. 10–15 provides an excellent discussion of the way in which anxiety over the acquisition of relics and other political concerns shaped translation narratives in the central Middle Ages.

If the *Translatio* thus provided divine sanction for Regulus' translation, it also described the privileged site in the cathedral provided to him by Giovanni: a marble 'confessional' surrounded by an ornate enclosure and situated beneath the High Altar of St Martin. This arrangement evoked the Vatican basilica, where Gregory the Great had constructed a similar crypt for St Peter.²¹ In Lucca, however, it implied an equality between two different saints whose lives bore several key resemblances. Both Regulus and Martin struggled unsuccessfully against Arians, and both were bishops drawn to the contemplative life.²² These architectural and biographical affinities explain why documents of the ninth and tenth centuries often refer to Regulus as the co-titular of San Martino.²³

The *Translatio*, then, not only justified Regulus' translation from Populonia, but also cast Giovanni himself as a model bishop who virtuously acquired and protected holy relics.²⁴ But even as the text details the establishment of that martyr's cult in Lucca, the circumstances surrounding its own authorship are obscure. That it quotes the martyrology of Wandelbert of Prüm indicates a *terminus post quem* of c. 850; its earliest source was in turn compiled in the eleventh century.²⁵ The resonances of the *Translatio* with broader

²¹ An alternative recension of the *Translatio* emphasises the similarities between the new crypt at San Martino and that at St Peter's. *Acta Sanctorum Septembris*, i (Venice, 1756), p. 239: 'Post haec autem diligentissime, et cum omni studio et universe populo Lucensi fabricavit ecclesiam et confessionem simile beati Petri apostoli urbis Romae. In ipsa vero confessione corpus B. Reguli cum omni diligentia posuit in sepulchro marmeo novo et desuper altare construxit.' Note also that churches throughout central and northern Italy adopted this arrangement, which remains in evidence at the cathedral of Fiesole and San Miniato al Monte. See A. Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125–1325* (University Park, Pa., 2005), p. 25.

²² See the widely read *Vita Sancti Martini* by Sulpicius Severus (BHL 5610), which appears in various Lucchese lectionaries (Gaiffier, 'Catalogue', pp. 85, 93, 109, and 123) and is translated by Bernard M. Peebles in S. Severus, 'Writings', in *The Fathers of the Church* (New York, 1949), pp. 101–40.

²³ R. Savigni, *Episcopato e società cittadina a Lucca: Da Anselmo II (†1086) a Roberto (†1255)* (Lucca, 1996), p. 317, n. 25, and p. 322; Franciotti, *Historia*, p. 450.

²⁴ This model of episcopal virtue was particularly widespread in the early Middle Ages: Geary, *Furta Sacra*, ch. 2 and P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981), pp. 8–9 and 94–5.

²⁵ While the passion narrative ascribes the following quatrain to the venerable Bede, it in fact derives from Wandelbert's martyrology: 'Septembres Regulus tenet orditurque kalendas, / Regulus antistes, sibi qui caput ense peremptum / portavit binis Christo studiis faciente, / cuius reliquias nunc urbs Lucensis adorat' (*Translatio Sancti Reguli*, ch. 20; Simonetti, 'Note sulla tradizione', p. 130). The earliest source for the *Translatio* listed by Simonetti (p. 119) is the manuscript Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Casanatensis 719.

developments, however, argue for a late date of composition. The work depicts Regulus as not only the object of Giovanni's veneration and munificence, but also a protector of the entire city. Hence the exclamation 'O happy Lucca, that so greatly deserved to have such a patron whose intercession both defends her from enemies and protects her from all other evils.'²⁶ Such rhetoric appealed to the civic consciousness that accompanied the emergence of communes throughout Italy after 1000.²⁷ And these municipal corporations themselves embraced the sanctified bishops of their cathedrals as symbols of their new-found authority, a trend to which the city of Lucca, as we shall see, was no exception.²⁸

If the *Translatio Sancti Reguli* probably dates from the eleventh century, its author may well have belonged to the circle of Bishop Anselmo I (r. 1057–73).²⁹ Like Giovanni, Anselmo sought to augment the prestige of his church through the acquisition of holy relics. Most evocative were the Roman martyrs Sts Jason, Maurus and Hilaria, whose interment at San Martino evoked Anselmo's dual office as bishop of Lucca and pope following his election as Alexander II in 1061.³⁰ Again the acquisition of relics coincided with the transformation of the cathedral in ways that evoked the Eternal City. Anselmo enlarged the choir of San Martino and expanded its nave to include five aisles divided by three rows of massive columns, an arrangement that recalled the Constantinian

²⁶ *Translatio Sancti Reguli*, ch. 20; Simonetti, 'Note sulla tradizione', p. 130: 'O felix Luca, quae tantum meruit habere patronum, cuius intercessione et ab hostibus defenditur et a pluribus aliis malis protegitur.'

²⁷ P. Jones, *The Italian City-State: From Commune to Signoria* (Oxford, 1997), especially pp. 120–30. L. Martines, *Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy* (New York, 1979), pp. 22–33 and J. K. Hyde, *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy: The Evolution of the Civil Life, 1000–1350* (Macmillan, 1973), pp. 38–64 provide overviews of the emergence of the Italian communes in the eleventh century.

²⁸ Thompson, *Cities of God*, p. 114; D. Webb, *Patrons and Defenders: The Saints in the Italian City-States* (London, 1996), pp. 33–59, esp. p. 54. T. Blomquist and D. Osheim, 'The First Consuls at Lucca: 10 July 1119', *Actum Luce*, 7 (1978), pp. 31–40 examines the earliest surviving references to communal officials in Lucca.

²⁹ The present discussion expands on the speculation by Webb, *Patrons*, p. 64 that the *Translatio Sancti Reguli* was written in connection with Anselmo's consecration of San Martino in 1070.

³⁰ Anselmo was also responsible for the translation of his papal predecessor, St Alexander I, to the Lucchese church of Sant'Alessandro Maggiore: R. Silva, *La Chiesa di Sant'Alessandro Maggiore in Lucca* (Lucca, 1987), pp. 23–5. He also received the head of the ninth-century king of East Anglia St Edmund from an English abbot on pilgrimage to Rome. This Anselmo deposited in an altar above the narthex of San Martino: G. Concioni, 'San Martino di Lucca: La cattedrale medioevale', *Rivista di Archeologia, Storia, Costume*, 22 (1994), p. 1–453 at 311.

basilicas of Rome (Figure 2).³¹ Yet a sermon commemorating the rededication of the cathedral in 1070 emphasised another dimension. Just as Giovanni had by ‘divine consent’ placed Regulus in the crypt beneath the High Altar, so too did Anselmo render the treasure of San Martino ‘not inferior to that preserved in the tabernacle by Moses or those in the temple by Solomon’.³²

Anselmo’s episcopate thus provides a compelling context for the *Translatio Sancti Reguli*. If the defence of Giovanni’s translation of Regulus in this document validated Anselmo’s own acquisition of holy relics, its graphic description of the confessional evoked the wholesale rebuilding of San Martino according to Roman principles. Indeed, the symbolic importance of the crypt renders at first puzzling its destruction in 1109, when Bishop Rangerio moved Regulus to his present location in an altar in the south tribune of the cathedral (see Figure 2). Did his newly marginal position directly opposite Sts Jason, Maurus and Hilaria imply the reduction of his status? Not according to a sermon commemorating the event, probably written by Rangerio. It explains that Anselmo had rightly preserved the crypt at the time of his rebuilding because making Regulus more accessible above ground would have ‘diminished

³¹ R. Silva, ‘La ricostruzione della cattedrale di Lucca (1060–1070): Un esempio precoce di architettura della riforma gregoriana’, in Cinzio Violante (ed.), *Sant’Anselmo vescovo di Lucca (1073–1086): Nel quadro delle trasformazioni sociali e della riforma ecclesiastica* (Rome, 1992), pp. 297 and 306. Bishop Rangerio of Lucca (r. 1097–1112) underscored the relationship between the enlarged cathedral and Anselmo I’s dual role as bishop and pope in his metrical life of the eponymous Lucchese bishop, St Anselm (r. 1073–86): ‘Aspice nunc edem primam, mirare columnas, / Ordine quas gemino ducit utrumque latus. / Aspice structuram lapidum, quas arte decora / Docta manus posuit sub Salomone novo, / Quae sub Alexandro Romam Lucamque regente / Grande sed angusto tempore fecit opus.’ ‘Vita metrica Sancti Anselmi Lucensis episcopi’, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica SS*, ed. Ernest Sackur, Gerhard Schwartz and Bernhard Schmeidler, xxx, part 2, fasc. 2 (Leipzig, 1929), p. 1251, vv. 4530–8. Anselmo’s desire to associate Lucca with Rome also reflected a broader commitment to the reform movement that culminated in the papacy of his successor, Gregory VII: T. Schmidt, *Alexander II (1061–1073) und die römische Reformgruppe seiner Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1977). I will explore the effect of reformist politics on liturgical ceremony in Lucca and elsewhere in a projected monograph entitled *Cathedral Liturgies in the Golden Age of the Tuscan Communes*.

³² The *Sermo in dedicatione ecclesiae Sancti Martini* appears in the cathedral lectionary BCL, P+, fol. 132^{r-v} and is edited in P. Guidi, ‘Per la storia della cattedrale e del Volto Santo’, *Bollettino Storico Lucchese*, 4 (1932), pp. 169–86 at 182–4. The present quotation derives from the following passage: ‘Ut autem etiam de thesauris nichil minus esse potuisset vel ad illa que in tabernaculo per Moysen vel que in templo sunt reposita per Salomonem, Romam [sic] detulit memoratus pontifex et prelibate ecclesie obtulit sanctorum corpora Iasonis et Mauri et eorum matris Hylarie et ea in dextro latere honorifice reposuit . . . Iohannes episcopus predecessor suus . . . sanctum quoque Regulum iam multo ante tempore divina largitione huic Lucensi ecclesiae datum, cum debita reverentia in cripta recondidit. Intuemini igitur, obsecro, paulo diligentius honorem vestrum et divitias vestras conservate’ (pp. 183–4).

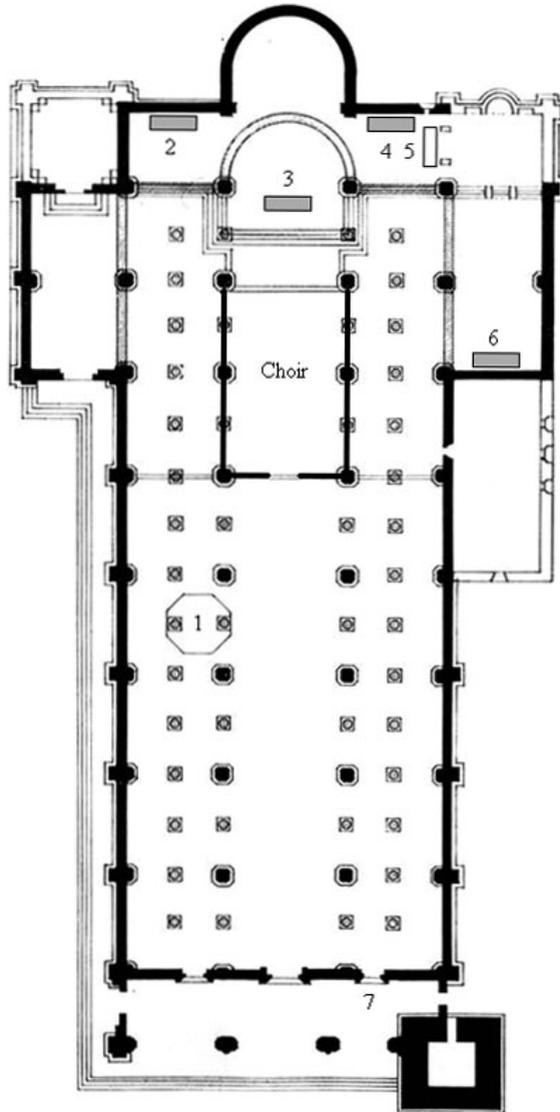


Figure 2 San Martino (adapted from Silva (1992), opposite p. 304)

1. Chapel of the Holy Cross
2. Altar of Sts Jason, Maurus and Hilaria
3. High Altar
4. Altar of St Regulus
5. Tomb of Pietro da Noceto (original location?)
6. Tomb of Pietro da Noceto (present location)
7. Door of St Regulus

admiration' and 'incited boredom' among the faithful. Nevertheless, that 'concealed place' had become a place of insolent chatter rather than pious contemplation, necessitating Regulus' emergence 'from the shadows to the light'.³³ This wordplay (*ad lucem* vs. *ad Lucam*) carried civic overtones similar to, albeit more subtle than, those of the *Translatio*.³⁴ Implicit in Regulus' elevation to an illuminated, public position was his advance towards a newly energised citizenry.

It was precisely this sentiment that infused the liturgical celebrations on Regulus' feast, a detailed account of which survives in an ordinal compiled for San Martino around 1290. A conservative book that codified the musical and ritual practices of the cathedral canons, the ordinal reveals how these clerics orchestrated sumptuous rites embodying the shared devotion to Regulus that they hoped to inspire in the populace.³⁵ Accordingly, these were not private services, but instead unfolded before the laity. At their heart were the eighteen proper antiphons, which followed the passion narrative in depicting Regulus as a model of episcopal virtue. The canons did not restrict this portrait to hagiography or plainsong, however, but rendered it more accessible to the populace through the images of Regulus that they inscribed into their church.

THE LITURGY OF ST REGULUS

The liturgical ceremony commemorating the feast of St Regulus was among the most solemn of the liturgical year in Lucca. It began

³³ The sermon appears in the lectionary BCL 47, fols. 5–6 and is partially edited in Guidi, 'Per la storia', pp. 184–6, who ascribes its authorship to Rangerio (p. 184, n. 1). The present quotation derives from the following: 'Cum ergo consecrationis dies dispositus advenisset, visum est viro sapienti [Anselmo] thesaurum istum locis occultioribus commendare, ut quanto rarior et difficilior pateret accessus, eo gratior et utilior foret intuitus, quia et cotidiana contemplatio et ad votum patens primo ammirationem tollere ac deinde fastidium generare solet. Sed dum per negligentiam custodum et importunitatem pulsantium sacra illa intentio solveretur et locus ille iam non tam rarus fieret pietati quam frequens et pervius vanitati, visum est his, quorum intererat, viam et occasionem confabulationi claudere et corpus sanctum [Reguli] de tenebris ad lucem revocare' (p. 185).

³⁴ That similar wordplay obtains prominence in a verse of Rangerio's life of St Anselm – 'Lucca fuit lucens et lucis tramite ducens' ('Vita metrica', p. 1171, v. 703) – strengthens the case for that bishop's authorship of the sermon.

³⁵ The Luchese ordinal survives as an *unicum* in BCL 608, on the dating and conservatism of which see Brand, 'Liturgical Ceremony', pp. 7 and 19–20 and M. Giusti, 'L'Ordo Officiorum della Cattedrale di Lucca', in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, ii (Vatican City, 1946), pp. 523–66 at 528–30. Document 2 presents its account of Regulus' *dies natalis* and is summarised in the following paragraphs.

on his vigil and extended to his octave, but reached its peak on the evening before and the morning of his *dies natalis*.³⁶ After first vespers followed two special offices, ‘major vespers’ (*vesperae maiores*) and an ‘evening nocturn’ (*nocturnus de sero*), which largely replicated but did not replace matins. Both presented the plainsong and readings of the night office at an hour convenient for the laity, and documentary evidence confirms that the populace indeed flocked to them.³⁷ The twin vigils nonetheless conveyed different messages. Major vespers fell to the bishop and cathedral canons, the latter of whom ornamented the ninth responsory with simple, improvised polyphony (*organum*).³⁸ The evening nocturn, by contrast, was sung monophonically by the canons of local basilicas and rectors of smaller churches. This division of labour cast Regulus as saint whose cult was overseen by the cathedral clergy, but who remained a patron of the entire city.

It was this second message that dominated another sequence of public ceremonies on the following day. At terce the chapter of San Martino and the city clergy processed around the cathedral cloister, bearing three crosses and Regulus’ relics. This grand assembly then chanted High Mass in the central choir, where the celebrant (presumably the bishop) petitioned the African martyr to intercede on the part of those present with his three prayers (the secret, collect and post-communion).³⁹ The cathedral canons ensured a large turnout among the faithful by proscribing the celebration of High

³⁶ As related in BCL 608, Regulus’ *dies natalis* was one of twelve saints’ feasts before which the cathedral chapter observed a full vigil. It did not celebrate his octave, which conflicted with Mary’s nativity (8 September), but did recite three lessons drawn from Regulus’ passion and translation in the intervening days (Doc. 2). These lessons survive in the hagiographic lectionary of San Martino, BCL H, fols. 5–7, which dates from the fourteenth or early fifteenth century.

³⁷ B. Brand, ‘The Vigils of Medieval Tuscany’, *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 17 (2008), 23–54 illustrates the public character of the *vesperae maiores* and *nocturnus de sero* and reveals them to have been expanded versions of the three-lesson ‘vigil’ by which cathedral chapters throughout Tuscany commemorated saints of local importance.

³⁸ On the performance of organum at San Martino, see Brand, ‘Liturgical Ceremony’, pp. 29 and 178–89 and A. Ziino, ‘Polifonia nella cattedrale di Lucca durante il XIII secolo’, *Acta Musicologica*, 47 (1975), pp. 16–30.

³⁹ See Doc. 3. The celebrant’s prayers find no mention in BCL 608 but appear in two missals. The first is BLF, Edili 111, fols. 184^v–185, compiled in the eleventh or twelfth century for an unidentified Lucchese monastery dedicated to the Virgin Mary: *I libri del duomo di Firenze: Codici liturgici e biblioteca di Santa Maria del Fiore (secoli XI–XVII)*, ed. L. Fabbri and M. Tacconi (Florence, 1997), pp. 189–90, n. 65. The second, BCL 594, fols. 252^v–253, was donated to the cathedral chapter between 1409 and 1424 (see below, n. 68).

Mass at other local churches.⁴⁰ This surely resulted in a large and unified body of clerical and lay worshippers, one that in turn resonated with the two holy bodies upon which the procession and mass centred, those of Regulus and Christ respectively.

The liturgical ceremony on Regulus' vigil and *dies natalis* thus served as a vehicle for the clergy to enact its shared devotion to the African martyr before the attendant populace. And it was an exceptional event. The cathedral canons orchestrated the sequence of major vespers, evening nocturn, claustral procession and High Mass for only one other saint, the official titular of their cathedral, Martin of Tours. Even as these public rites engaged the civic ethos that had emerged in the eleventh century, their exclusive association with Regulus and Martin echoed the physical juxtaposition of these saints until 1109. Through ritual, if not architecture, the African martyr's pre-eminence among local saints thus endured.

Most symptomatic of Regulus' significance to the cathedral chapter, however, were the eighteen proper antiphons chanted on his feast (see above, Table 1). These were the only chants or readings not to derive from the common of one martyr, and more importantly the single example of plainsong to honour a saint buried at San Martino.⁴¹ That the antiphons survive only in sources of local provenance and did not circulate outside the diocese suggests that they originated in Lucca or the immediate environs.⁴²

⁴⁰ The cathedral was the exclusive site for High Mass on three feasts: the Monday after Easter and the *dies natales* of St Regulus and St Martin. The cathedral canons had evidently established this custom by 1171, when they forbade the canons of San Frediano to celebrate these feasts at their basilica and required at least six of their number to worship at San Martino on those days: ACL, Dipl. +3 (9 August 1173), published in *Regesto del capitolo di Lucca*, ed. P. Guidi and O. Parenti (Rome, 1910–33), ii, pp. 189–92, n. 1314.

⁴¹ While the cathedral chapter thus eschewed the normal practice of drawing the lessons of the night office from the saint's *vita*, as noted above in n. 36, it did recite Regulus' *passio* and *translatio* at matins over the course of the six days after his *dies natalis*.

⁴² The antiphons of St Regulus appear in the following four manuscripts, as well as the aforementioned choirbook of San Martino, ODL 6, fols. 94^v–115; BCL 603, fol. 200^{r-v} (1100–25); BCL 602, fols. 190–191^v (1150–75); BCL 599, fols. 311^v–313 (13th century); and BCL 616, fols. 313–317^v (15th century). While the exact provenance of the first four sources remains uncertain, they probably belonged to religious foundations in or near Lucca and entered the caputular library upon their suppression in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: *Historia Sancti Reguli*, ed. B. Brand (Ottawa, Ont., forthcoming). None of the texts of the proper antiphons appears in standard reference works such as J. R. Bryden and D. G. Hughes, *An Index of Gregorian Chant* (Cambridge, 1969); R. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* (Rome, 1975), iii; or *Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant* (available from <<http://bach.music.uwo.ca/cantus/>>, accessed 8 September 2004). The antiphons did not even reach such nearby cities as Pisa and Pistoia, the cathedral chapters of which celebrated Regulus' *dies natalis* but drew the

They follow a secular *cursus* and were probably composed by the cathedral canons, whose possessive attitude towards Regulus' cult surely extended to the music in his honour.

If the provenance of the antiphons seems relatively secure, their date of composition is more illusive. Their earliest source provides a *terminus ante quem* of 1125 but other evidence places their origin substantially earlier. That the antiphon texts summarise and twice quote the *Passio Sancti Reguli* but entirely eschew the *Translatio* suggests that they pre-date the latter.⁴³ If indeed the translation narrative was composed during Anselmo's episcopacy, then according to this scenario the plainchant belongs to the mid-eleventh century at the latest. This in turn renders the antiphons one of the oldest as well as largest collections of plainsong dedicated to a local saint in Tuscany, as revealed by several points of comparison. Throughout the twelfth century, the cathedral canons of Florence sang only six antiphons and one responsory on the *dies natalis* of their episcopal father, St Zenobius, and those of Siena two antiphons for their patron, St Ansanus. Meanwhile the Pisans sang no proper chants for the martyrs buried in their cathedral, Sts Ephisius and Potius.⁴⁴

Such an early dating for the Lucchese antiphons resonates with their organisation and style, which conforms to 'classical' Gregorian models rather than the newer ones associated with rhymed offices since at least the twelfth century.⁴⁵ They set prose rather than poetry

antiphons from the *commune sanctorum*. See the ordinals compiled for those two communities, Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1785, fol. 50^v (12th century) and Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare, C 102, fol. 66 (late 13th century) respectively.

⁴³ For the two instances of quotation, compare the text of Ant 1.1 'Iste pater Africe et athletas [*sic*] domini improborum facinus prohibendo corripuit' with that of the *Passio Sancti Reguli*, ch. 4: 'Tunc beatus Regulus, pater Africae et domini athleta, improborum facinus prohibendo coepit corripere et fortiter repugnare' (Simonetti, 'Note sulla tradizione', p. 121) and that of Ant 2.3, 'Tyrannus ira plenus iussit cedem inferri pontifici qui letus pro Cristo suscepit et celestem ianuam securus intravit', with the *Passio Sancti Reguli*, ch. 11: 'Quo audito, tyrannus ira repletus iussit capitalem caedem, sicut superius dictum est, inferri sancto pontifici, qui laetus pro Christo suscepit et caelestem ianuam securus intravit' (pp. 125–6).

⁴⁴ On the liturgies of St Zenobius and St Ansanus respectively, see M. S. Tacconi, *Cathedral and Civic Ritual in Late Medieval and Renaissance Florence: The Service-Books of Santa Maria del Fiore* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 100–16 and F. A. D'Accone, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1997), pp. 102–3. A description of the feast of Ephisius and Potius appears in the aforementioned ordinal of Pisa, Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1758, fol. 53^r.

⁴⁵ D. Hiley, 'Cantate Domino *Canticum Novum*: Old and New in Medieval Chant and the Status of St Gregory', *Musica e Storia*, 14 (2006), pp. 127–41 provides a recent overview of and bibliography concerning this 'post-Gregorian' model of plainsong, on which more will be said below.

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The image shows two staves of musical notation in G-clef and 8/8 time. The first staff contains the melody for the first line of text: 'I-ste pa - ter A-fri-ce et ath-le-ta do-mi-ni im-pro-bo-rum fa-ci-nus'. The second staff contains the melody for the second line of text: 'pro-hi-ben-do cor-ri-pu-it. Ps. Beatus vir'. The melody is characterized by a narrow ambitus, staying mostly within the lower pentachord of the modal octave.

Example 1 *Iste pater Africe*

(This father of Africa and champion of the Lord reproved the crime of the misguided by prohibiting [it].)

and do not proceed in narrative sequence. Their melodies likewise follow no modal order and reflect the predilection for the protus and tetrardus modes of Gregorian antiphons (see above, Table 1).⁴⁶ *Iste pater Africe* (Ant 1.1) exemplifies their brevity, syllabic texture and dependence on ‘themes’ or melodic types (see Example 1). It begins with a gesture that immediately signals Mode 1, an ascent from *d* to *a* framed by a lower and upper neighbour respectively. While its first phrase thus establishes the lower pentachord of the modal octave, subsequent ones do not fully explore the upper tetrachord. This results in a narrow ambitus and correspondingly modest melody.⁴⁷

While all the antiphons for St Regulus employ such melodic formulae, the canticle antiphons are longer and slightly more ornate. Together, moreover, they form a coherent narrative tracing the saint’s life from his episcopacy in Africa to his martyrdom in Tuscany. *Laudanda est trinitas* (Ant Mag 1) adopts the didacticism of the *Passio Sancti Reguli*, exalting the Trinity and its defenders without mentioning the protagonist.⁴⁸ *Beatus Regulus* (Ant Ben) likewise follows the passion in recounting his dramatic refusal to appear before Totila (see Example 2). This occasions the only instance of direct speech in the antiphon texts, as Regulus proclaims: ‘I reject Totila’s commands because I serve the son of the eternal king.’ The sole ascent above the co-final sets the preceding words, ‘he cried out and said’, thus underscoring this rare instance of dialogue.

⁴⁶ W. Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington, 1958), p. 138.

⁴⁷ In these respects, *Iste pater* resembles all but one of the antiphons for St Regulus, *Hic speculator* (Ant. 3.2). This latter chant, by contrast, makes use of the full modal octave, which its opening phrases parse into a lower pentachord (*f* to *c'*) and upper tetrachord (*c'* to *f'*). The latter chant thus foreshadows the post-Gregorian style of plainsong apparent in the responsories for St Regulus and discussed below.

⁴⁸ ‘Laudanda est trinitas et sine fine digna gloria que dedit sanctis suis vincere certamina.’

Benjamin Brand

Be - a - tus Re - gu - lus ar - chi - e - pi - sco - pus dum a car - ni - fi - ci - bus tra - he - re - tur
ex - cla - ma - vit et dix - it: ius - sa To - ti - le re - nu - o
qui - a e - ter - ni re - gis fi - li - o ser - vi - o. Ps. Benedictus

Example 2 *Beatus Regulus*

(While the blessed archbishop Regulus was being drawn by the executioners, he cried out and said: ‘I reject Totila’s commands because I serve the son of the eternal king’.)

Regulus’ pivotal choice sets the scene for his martyrdom and signature miracle, both subjects of the second Magnificat antiphon (see Example 3). The longest and most melismatic of the proper chants, *Hodie sacer sumus*, resembles the ‘Hodie’ antiphons that adorned the canticle at second vespers on the great temporal and Marian feasts.⁴⁹ It comprises four sentences that begin with the word ‘hodie’ and narrate respectively: (1) the saint’s martyrdom, (2) his post-mortem perambulation, (3) the angel’s appearance to his African disciples and the pleading of his tormented executioners and (4) Regulus’ ascent to heaven. By focusing on the concluding events of Regulus’ *passio*, the text does not summarise the significance of the entire feast in the manner of most ‘Hodie’ antiphons. Nevertheless, its repetition of ‘today’ similarly conflates the time of Regulus’ death with the moment of the chanting of the antiphon. Known as the *hic et nunc* (here and now), this literary device acquires additional prominence through an evolving sequence of melodic ascents.⁵⁰ The first *hodie* elicits but a modest rise to the final (*d*), an initial gesture found in other ‘Hodie’ antiphons and one that may have

⁴⁹ A. W. Robertson, ‘From Office to Mass: The Antiphons of Vespers and Lauds and the Antiphons before the Gospel in Northern France’, in Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (eds.), *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 312–13; E. Wellesz, *Eastern Elements in Western Chant: Studies in the Early History of Ecclesiastical Music* (Boston, 1947), pp. 141–9. The texts of the ‘Hodie’ antiphons appear in Hesbert, *Corpus*, iii, pp. 254–8, nos. 3088–3124.

⁵⁰ The *hic et nunc* appears in many liturgical texts that are non-scriptural: L. Kruckenberg, ‘Neumatizing the Sequence: Special Performances of Sequences in the Central Middle Ages’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 59 (2006), pp. 234–317 at 267, n. 42.

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Ho-di-e sa-cer sum-mus ce - sus pro Cri-sto
mor-tem su - sce-pit et vi-te red-di-tus.
Ho-di-e su-um Re-gu-lus ma-ni-bus ca-put por-ta-vit lon-gin-quo.
Ho-di-e an-ge-lus nun-ti-a-vit di-sci-pu-lis mor-tem pon-ti-fi-cis
et car-ni-fi-ces de-men-tes po-pu-lo in-di-ca-bant
in-vi-ti que ges-se-rant.
Ho - di - e sanc-tus ab an-ge-lis duc - tus
co - ro - nam pro-me-ru - it a de - o su - sci-pe-re.
Ps. Magnificat

Example 3 *Hodie sacer sumus*

(Today the highest priest, slain for Christ, received death and was restored to life. Today Regulus carried his head in his hands from afar. Today an angel announced the death of the pontiff to his disciples and the demented executioners were declaring to the populace that they had done those things unwillingly. Today the holy one, led by angels, deserved to receive the crown from God.)

ultimately derived from Byzantine hymns (*stichēra*).⁵¹ The second *hodie* in turn provokes a stepwise ascent to the co-final (*a*) and the third a leap from the final to co-final. The fourth and final iteration disposes of the final altogether and begins with a melismatic flourish on *a*.

The most intricate and impressive of the proper antiphons, *Hodie sacer sumus*, was a fitting vehicle for the climactic events of the *Passio Sancti Reguli*. With the preceding canticle antiphons, moreover, it was the touchstone of a larger collection of plainsong that followed the *Passio Sancti Reguli* in casting its protagonist as a model of episcopal virtue. The canons of San Martino did not confine their chant to the clerical services of the night office and lauds, singing the nine matins antiphons at the public vigils of major vespers and the evening nocturn. *Hodie sacer sumus* obtained even more prominence at the procession before High Mass, when the cantor intoned that chant and the cathedral canons and city clerics ‘extended’ it until their arrival in the central choir (see Document 2).

If the most erudite of the lay worshippers in attendance would have understood the Latin texts of these antiphons, the majority knew of Regulus’ life and death through a more accessible medium.⁵² As the faithful enter the door leading directly to the saint’s altar (Figure 2), they pass underneath a haut-relief executed by the 1250s (see Figure 3).⁵³ The lintel depicts the confrontation of Regulus and his companions with a band of Arians. The former carry books and are dressed in clerical garb; the latter bear arms and are clothed in classical tunics. The striking imagery overshadows the parchment rolls summarising their opposing theologies: ‘I, Regulus, assert that the Lord Father, Son and the Holy Ghost have always existed’, and ‘we Arians say that the son of God had his origin within the Godhead’.⁵⁴ Finally, the tympanum above shows the last

⁵¹ M. Huglo and J. Halmø, ‘Antiphon’, *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (<<http://www.grovemusic.com>>), accessed 16 August 2007.

⁵² Thompson, *Cities of God*, pp. 239–41 argues that the citizens of the Italian communes were more literate than is generally supposed and thus understood a great deal of the sung and recited Latin of the Mass and Divine Office.

⁵³ C. Baracchini and A. Caleca, ‘Il duomo di S. Martino in Lucca: Urbanistica, architettura, arredo fisso’, in *Il duomo di Lucca* (Lucca, 1973), pp. 18–25; E. Ridolfi, *L’arte in Lucca studiata nella sua cattedrale* (Lucca, 1882), pp. 15–19.

⁵⁴ ‘Ego Regulus assero semper fuisse dominum patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum.’ ‘Nos ariani dicimus filium Dei initium in divinitate abuisse.’



Figure 3 San Martino, scenes from the Life of St Regulus

moments of Regulus' life: ever the archbishop, he remains clothed in episcopal regalia as he bends before his executioner.

Together the lintel and tympanum were a visual analogue of the canticle antiphons. Both sculpture and plainsong focus on the first and last episodes of Regulus' passion, episodes that in turn establish the saint's *bona fides* as an evangeliser and martyr. Credit for such correspondence surely goes to the cathedral canons, who were intimately familiar with the proper chants and who supervised building projects at their church.⁵⁵

By mid-thirteenth century, then, the canons of San Martino had developed an integrated programme of music, image and ritual that

⁵⁵ Only in 1274 did the canons cede their right to elect the *operaio* and allowed his *opera* to become a self-governing community of laymen with complete control over the physical plant of San Martino. See ASL, Opera di Santa Croce, 3, fols. 14^v–17; published in Concioni, 'San Martino di Lucca', pp. 41–4. Cf. Baracchini and Caleca, 'Il duomo', pp. 25–6.

fulfilled two purposes. It provided a dramatic portrait of Regulus as a model archbishop, one public and accessible through different media to clerics and lay people, the literate and unlettered. It also cast Regulus as a civic patron while emphasising the enduring authority of the bishop and canons over his cult. These clerics were surely gratified, then, when the commune embraced St Regulus as an official protector, the earliest evidence for which emerges in its first statutes in 1308. These codified the long-standing obligation of civic officials to sponsor two horse races on the martyr's feast in the fields directly to the west of Lucca.⁵⁶ Such events were but the official face of less salubrious revelries, the raucousness of which was so great that the commune appointed its twelve best heralds to guard the cathedral on the night of Regulus' *dies natalis* 'lest there be crimes and obscenities and the violation and raping of women'.⁵⁷

Communal support for Regulus' cult endured throughout the late Middle Ages. By the mid-fifteenth century, the Anziani had minor roles in the liturgy on his feast, donating twelve candles to the cathedral and attending High Mass.⁵⁸ As related below, moreover, the city subsidised the salary of a beneficed chaplain who celebrated at the altar of the African martyr. Nevertheless, the cathedral canons remained Regulus' most important advocates until the late fifteenth century, when a single lay donor, Nicolao da Noceto, usurped their privileged position.

⁵⁶ 'De paliis currendis in die Sancti Reguli. Et statuimus et ordinamus quod lucanus potestas, capitaneus, et anziani teneantur et debeant facere curri secundum solitum morem in die festivitatis Sancti Reguli duo pallia et que emi debeant per cammerarios et di [sic] avere lucani comunis sine aliquo consilio, et facere poni pallios et funes expensis lucane comunis secundum solitum morem in prato Sancti Donati' (ASL, Statuti del Comune di Lucca, 1, p. 47 [1308]). Subsequent revisions of the communal statutes restated this obligation: ASL, Statuti del Comune di Lucca, 3, p. 107 (1331); ASL, Statuti del Comune di Lucca, 5, p. 91 (30 November 1342); ASL, Statuti del Comune di Lucca 6, fol. 71 (31 July 1372); and ASL, Statuti del Comune di Lucca, 10, fol. 145^{r-v} (18 October 1446). Webb, *Patrons*, pp. 95–134 provides a general discussion of communal statutes as witnesses to the civic cult of the saints in medieval Italy.

⁵⁷ Such was the arrangement for not only the feast of St Regulus but also those of the Exaltation of the Cross and St Martin: 'Et in nocte festivitatis Sancti Martini, et exultationis sancte crucis, et in festivitate Sancti Reguli, faciamus custodiri suprascriptam ecclesiam a consulibus contrate Sancti Martini, si ibi fuerint, vel ab aliis ab eis constitutis, et a xii melioribus nuntiis civitatis, precipiendo eis per sacramentum ut per totam noctem in dictis festivitibus ibi morentur, ne ibi fiant maleficia et turpitudines, nec mulierum raptus vel rapina' (ASL, Statuti del Comune di Lucca, 1, p. 13 (1308)).

⁵⁸ ASL, Consiglio Generale, 16, p. 608 (22 August 1446) mandated that the Anziani make similar (yet smaller) donations of candles and attend Mass in honour of any saint whose relics were preserved in a Lucchese church. Cited in M. E. Bratchel, *Lucca 1430–1494: The Reconstruction of an Italian City-Republic* (Oxford, 1995), p. 278.

THE PRIVATE PATRON

Like other cathedrals and collegiate churches throughout Western Christendom, San Martino enjoyed a surge of pious donations in the late Middle Ages.⁵⁹ The most generous of these established twenty-one new altars and at least twenty-six chaplaincies between 1317 and 1500.⁶⁰ In so doing, the gifts transformed the devotional landscape of San Martino: the titulars of the new altars and chaplaincies were typically universally venerated saints with no prior connection to Lucca. Local figures elicited far less interest, and in this respect Regulus was exemplary. Not until the foundation of Nicolao da Noceto in 1467 did the African martyr enjoy the support of a lay patron.⁶¹ The only commemoration for St Regulus before 1400 occurred outside the city walls: following the onset of the Great Plague in 1348, Guido Rapondi donated £3,000 for the construction of a hospice dedicated to him, situated near the fields in which the saint's horse races occurred. A resident chaplain and clerk were to celebrate the Divine Office for the salvation of Guido's soul.⁶²

⁵⁹ B. Haggh, 'Foundations or Institutions? On Bringing the Middle Ages into the History of Medieval Music', *Acta Musicologica*, 68 (1996), pp. 87–128 emphasises the importance of such donations to the history of music and liturgy in the late Middle Ages.

⁶⁰ Brand, 'Liturgical Ceremony', pp. 291–2, Appendix 4 provides a list of the altars and endowed chaplaincies at San Martino. In 1497, Bishop Nicolao Sandonnino fixed the number of beneficed chaplains at San Martino at thirty-six (AAL, Collazioni, H, fol. 32 (2 July 1497)); however, the names of only twenty-six appear in the acts of their university (ABL, A, 1).

⁶¹ The indifference among lay donors for St Regulus contrasts with the surge in pious gifts and private devotion in honour of the Florentine bishop St Zenobius in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: B. Wilson, 'Music, Art, and Devotion: The Cult of St. Zenobius at the Florentine Cathedral during the Early Renaissance', in Piero Gargiulo, Gabriele Giacomelli and Carolyn Gianturco (eds.), *Il 'Cantate Domino'. Musica nei secoli per il duomo di Firenze. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Firenze, 23–25 maggio 1997)* (Florence, 2001), pp. 17–36.

⁶² AAL, Libri Antichi di Cancelleria, 17, fol. 58 (8 August 1348): 'Dictus Guidus inspiritatus divina gratia intendit construi et edificari facere prope civitatem lucanam et extra portam Sancti Donati lucane civitatis quandam ecclesiam sub vocabulo beati Reguli titulanda super una petia terre qua est hospitalis misericordie . . . cum canonica sufficiente necessaria ad dictam ecclesiam ad commodum et usum unius sacerdotis cum uno clerico in eis proprio permorari . . . pro remedio anime dicti Guidi ad divinum officium celebrandum et in ipsa ecclesia et canonica de suo secundo expenditur et iustice [sic] tam pro constructione predictorum quam pro dote comoda et sufficienti redita vini, blade, et olei ad sufficientiam victus, vestimentorum et aliarum dicto sacerdoti et eius clerico necessitarum librarum 1000 denarios bone monete et pro devotione domini nostri Jesu Christi et sue matris sanctissime beate virginis Marie et beatissimi Reguli supradicti.' Just two months earlier the cathedral canons had despaired in their election of a replacement for a recently deceased colleague that the pestilence had 'deprived the cathedral of canons and caused the divine cult almost to perish' (ACL, LL 58, fol. 149 (6 June 1348)).

The indifference of lay donors towards Regulus ensured that the cathedral canons maintained their traditional role as chief advocates of that saint. In 1418, their archpriest Lorenzo Nieri left an unspecified sum for ‘the augmentation of the endowment of the altar and chapel of St Regulus’. He asked to be buried in San Martino and requested that the cathedral chaplains join local Franciscan friars to sing a Requiem Mass at the altar seven days following his death.⁶³ The canons in turn used the funds to establish a chaplaincy at Regulus’ altar, and by mid-century the commune supplemented its income by Fl 24.⁶⁴ Three subsequent archpriests of the fifteenth century made similar donations, two of which called for votive masses on the anniversaries of their deaths.⁶⁵ In 1496, moreover, the canon Marco Antonio endowed a second chaplaincy at that altar, dedicated not to Regulus but to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. He stipulated that his body be interred in the sepulchre reserved for the Lucchese canons and located in Regulus’ chapel.⁶⁶ Thus the African martyr had become a virtual patron of

⁶³ AAL, Libri Antichi di Cancelleria, 51, fol. 160^{r-v} (23 September 1418): ‘Quia in primis eius spiritum in manus domini dei nostri commisit et commendavit corpus vero suum sepeliendum reliquit iudicio fratrum suorum capituli dominorum canonicorum lucanorum maioris ecclesie in qua dignitatem obtinet archipresbitalem. Item amore dei et pro salute sue anime, indicavit et legavit conventum fratrum minorum beati Francisci de Luca florenos decem cum onere quod debeant infra settimum diem ab eius obitu conventualiter ire ad ecclesiam [Sancti Martini] ubi eius corpus fuit sepultus. Et in ea ecclesia omnes presbiteri dicti conventus celebrare unam missam pro anima sua quilibet et unam conventualiter in voce cum officio mortuorum ut est de more fieri in commemoratione settimi diei depositionis . . . Item disposuit, voluit, et mandavit quod omnes sui libri et vestes vendantur per suos fideicommissarios et pretia que ex eis percipientur una cum allis pecuniis que reperientur post mortem dicti testatoris in eius hereditate. Et bonis suis convertantur in comperam utilium prediorum que assignari voluit pro augmento dotis altaris et cappelle Sancti Reguli in ecclesia maiori deputato si et in quantum capitulum dicte lucane ecclesie provideat et statuatur; quod ibi in dicta ecclesia ad dictam cappellam et apud altare predictum dicatur et fiat per cappellanos dicte ecclesie vel alios deputandos ab ipso capitulo et suos fideicommissarios infrascriptos illud officium suffragiorum.’

⁶⁴ The canons’ election of the first chaplain of St Regulus, Antonio da Pedra, occurred on 1 May 1419 (ACL, GG 2, fol. 30). The earliest payment of the commune to the incumbent appears in ASL, Camarlingo Generale, 117, fols. 78–79^v (1453) and the latest to Lorenzo di Pippo, ‘cappellano nostro Sancti Reguli’, in ASL, Camarlingo Generale, 118, fols. 260–261^r (1470/72).

⁶⁵ Nuto Checchi endowed an anniversary at the altar of St Regulus (AAL, Libri Antichi di Cancelleria, 53, fol. 18^v (18 April 1432)), while Lazaro Guinigi bequeathed Fl 40 for unspecified use there (ACL, Y 14.14 (30 August 1450)). Finally, Nicolao Franchi established at that altar solemn masses on the feast of St Michael (29 September), the feast of St Jerome (30 September) and the anniversary of his death (ACL, Y7.10 (10 June 1493)).

⁶⁶ AAL, Collazioni, S, fol. 132^r (28 October 1496): ‘Corpus vero suum quando ipsum contigerit de hac vita migrare seppelliri voluit in ecclesia Sancti Martini de Luca in sepulcro et aullo [sic] onore canonicorum lucanorum apud altare Sancti Reguli.’

the senior priests of San Martino and his altar the burial site for the entire chapter.⁶⁷

If private patronage thus strengthened the age-old ties between Regulus and the canons, it may also have led to an addition to the saint's liturgy. A missal donated to San Martino between 1409 and 1424 contains a mass for Regulus comprising the old prayers for the celebrant but new texts for the proper (see Doc. 3).⁶⁸ The absence of music suggests that it was recited at votive services rather than sung as part of the canonical liturgy. The mass thus offered a vehicle for private devotion to St Regulus far removed from the public rites of his feast. Although there is no known connection between the missal and Regulus' altar, that the former remains the only source for the propers suggests that these liturgical texts may date from the time of its compilation. Perhaps one of the canons composed them for the use of the recently installed chaplain of St Regulus.

The new propers variously exhort the faithful to worship, relate events of Regulus' life and cast the saint as a civic patron. The introit, communion and the first of two Alleluias present generic expressions of veneration.⁶⁹ By contrast, the gradual refers to Regulus' eremitic life and the initial inability of Totila's soldiers to find the archbishop because God had rendered him invisible to them. This episode had found no mention in the earlier composed proper antiphons and concludes in the second Alleluia: a shepherdess reveals Regulus' location to the soldiers and also suffers the demon's torments for her treachery.⁷⁰ Finally, the offertory proclaims that Lucca 'deserved to have a patron, on account of whose intercession the Lord deigned to perform many miracles'. If these

⁶⁷ The burial of canons in Regulus' chapel dated to at least 1416, when the cathedral chapter paid Maestro Antonio, *operaio* of San Martino, Fl 3 for the interment of their *primicer*, Stefano, before that saint's altar: ACL, PP 3, fol. 27^v.

⁶⁸ The missal BCL 594 appears as a later addition to an inventory of the cathedral sacristy of 1409 but is original to a subsequent inventory of 1424: Guidi and Pellegrinetti, *Inventari*, p. 225, n. 409 and p. 247, n. 506. Both note that the Luchese merchant Gerardo Cagnuoli donated the book to the cathedral. Gerardo evidently gave to San Martino a second book, the breviary BCL 613, in which he noted his payment of £10 to the priest Gianbattista di Filippo in the margin of fol. 251^v. He may have intended both service books for the chaplain who worshipped at the altar of the Holy Spirit, of which Gerardo was patron from 1423 (Concioni, 'San Martino di Lucca', p. 335).

⁶⁹ The double Alleluias underscore the importance of St Regulus but were not liturgically necessary because such duplication typically occurred only during the period between Easter and Pentecost.

⁷⁰ Cf. the *Passio Sancti Reguli*, chs. 7 and 9; Simonetti, 'Note sulla tradizione', pp. 123–4.

words resonated with the civic patronage of St Regulus in the late Middle Ages, they were hardly new, but as we have seen instead derived from the *Translatio Sancti Reguli*.⁷¹

The note of civic pride sounded in the mass propers in turn resonates with a letter drafted in 1460 and addressed to the general council of Lucca. The anonymous author of this improbable missive claims to be none other than Regulus himself:

The image of [my] altar is much spoiled and antiquated, its figures unrecognisable and, although it was previously decided to refurbish the altar, the resulting work did not please the venerable senate. I am, have always been and will always be an advocate before the Divine Majesty, praying that he preserve the peace and tranquillity of [Lucca]. The fairs and horse races in this city, prescribed in your statutes, exalted me. Because you do not even hold those races anymore and all the aforementioned facts, I urge you to [renovate my] altar.⁷²

The letter paints a portrait of neglect that diverged markedly from the concern for Regulus in the early Quattrocento. Indeed, the council understood that the dilapidated condition of his altar was unbecoming of such an important patron: by a margin of seventy-three to six, it elected three of its number to supervise the construction of a new altar at the cost of no more than Fl 300. Among the figures depicted therein would be St Sebastian, in whose honour a ‘continual mass’ would be celebrated.⁷³

⁷¹ See above, n. 26.

⁷² ASL, Consiglio Generale, 18, fol. 150 (8 April 1460): ‘Exponi per parte del devoto servo di Ihesu Christo, Regolo, martire suo, il cui corpo si reposa in la chiesa di San Martino in lo altare presso al maggiore dalla mano d[e]xtra, che essendo la imagine di dicto altare molto guasta, che non vi si cognoste figura, che e una cosa anichilata, et essendosi gia altra volta ragionato di usarla et ornare il dicto altare, et non essendone facto alcuna cosa piaccia alla V. S. provvedere allo honore di quello, et io sono stato sempre avvocato, sono, et saro dinanti alla maesta divina, et preghero per questa citta che la construi in buona pace et tranquillo stato. Sono stato exaltato nelle ferie in questa citta et etiam ne corsi a pallii, come per li vostri statuti appare. Et non osservandosi li pallii nemeno vi raccomandando dicto altare.’

⁷³ Johannes Bernardi, Paulus de Podio, Silvester XXX, et plures alii consuluerunt quod pro honoratione et veneratione altaris Sancti Reguli et eius corporis ibi siti in ecclesia Sancti Martini, magistri domini antiani auctoritatem habeant eligendi tres cives diligentes, qui habeant auctoritatem expendendi de denariis lucane comunis pro honoracione circa dictum altare et corpus ornandum usque in summam florenorum trecentorum auri in auro, de qua expensa sic agenda clarus computus teneatur per ipsos cives describendus secundum occurrentiam expensarum singulis diebus per maiorem exactorem lucane comunis. Ita ut clare semper videri possit declarando ubi et qualiter pecunie expenduntur et quibus. Et quod inter ceteras figuras pingendas in ymagine dicti altaris depicta sit figura Sancti Sebastiani, que in ipso altare celebratur continua missa ad reverentiam Sancti Sebastiani. Quorum civium auctoritas durare habeat annis duobus proximis a die electionis ipsorum civium faciende. In reformatione cuius consilii dato pertito [sic] ut sunt per LXXIII consiliarios reddentes palloctas albas in pisside affirmatas, non obstantibus VI in contrarium repertis provisum fuit iuxta consilium supra-scriptum’ (ibid.).

The determination of the council proved short-lived and its renovations languished until the intervention of Nicolao da Noceto seven years later. Following the death of his father, Pietro, Nicolao obtained permission from the bishop and cathedral canons to bury his remains next to those of St Regulus (Doc. 4). He promised to refurbish the altar and surrounding tribune, provided that he might include the coat of arms of his family and otherwise decorate that space as he saw fit. The canons granted such latitude, citing Nicolao's 'good wishes' and Pietro's 'fame, probity, and other good works of virtue'. Finally, Nicolao endowed yet another chaplaincy at Regulus' altar, one reserved for a choirmaster who would teach the local clergy plainsong and mensural music. The recipient would also recite a daily mass, perhaps the votive service preserved in the early fifteenth-century missal.⁷⁴

Nicolao's foundation, as we have seen, marked a watershed for musical life in Lucca, facilitating the arrival of John Hothby and with him the sacred polyphony of English and Franco-Flemish composers.⁷⁵ Yet it also signalled the audacity of a young nobleman whose ambitions rested on his father's achievements. Pietro da Noceto was not native to Lucca, but had instead retired there after a successful career in Rome, first as *scrittore* and *abbreviatore apostolico* and then as personal secretary to Nicholas V (r. 1447–55). Pietro had meanwhile acquired a reputation as a humanist and later obtained the title of count for his service to the pope.⁷⁶ His son in turn parlayed such prestige for entrance into the upper echelons of Lucchese society. He married into its pre-eminent family, the Guinigi, and regularly served as one of the nine Anziani of the commune.⁷⁷

Nevertheless, Regulus' chapel was the most prominent sign of Nicolao's ambition. While generations of Lucchese donors had

⁷⁴ Lucchese testators usually specified that masses be recited for the salvation of someone's soul (e.g. 'una missa pro anima mei patris'). That Nicolao did not mention his father suggests that he indeed wanted a mass in Regulus' honour rather than a Requiem Mass for Pietro.

⁷⁵ Note also that Nicolao da Noceto did not formally nominate Hothby to the chaplaincy of St Regulus until August 1471, some four years after the latter's arrival at San Martino. The delay evidently resulted from the nobleman's tardiness in handing over the lands from which Hothby's salary would derive. See ACL, T+16, fols. 2^v–3^v (26 August 1471).

⁷⁶ I. L. Cervelli, 'L'arredo scultoreo', *Rivista di Archeologia, Storia, Costume*, 26 (1998), pp. 25–86 at 47–9 provides a useful overview of Pietro's career.

⁷⁷ *Regesti carteggio degli Anziani* (Lucca and Pescia, 1918–43), iv, pp. xxvi–xxxvii lists Nicolao's service as one of Anziani from 1476 until his death in 1487.

avored universally venerated saints, this newcomer chose one of the oldest of their local patrons. In so doing, he displaced the canons of San Martino as Regulus' chief promoter and completed a project left scandalously unfinished by the commune. In addition to such mundane concerns, moreover, Nicolao perhaps detected the similarity between the African martyr and his father: both were outsiders to Lucca who had subsequently acquired an important place in that city. It was fitting, then, that he entrusted the project to a talent such as Matteo Civitali. Indeed, Nicolao's commission was the sculptor's first at San Martino and paved the way for his execution of at least six major works at the cathedral.⁷⁸

Matteo completed the first phase of Regulus' chapel in 1472: a funeral monument for Pietro that originally stood beside the altar but later migrated across the transept (see above, Figure 2). In its overall conception as well as its details, the towering work employs classicising devices typical of tombs for humanists in the Quattrocento (see Figure 4). These include the placement of an effigy atop a bier and sarcophagus, framed by weighty pillars and a triumphal arch. Also common were the book and sword held by Pietro, symbols of his erudition and nobility respectively.⁷⁹ On the base appears the stemma of Nicholas V, which echos an inscription on the sarcophagus praising Pietro's service to that pope.⁸⁰ If these features celebrated the achievements of Nicolao's father, however, the upper lunette channelled the resulting prestige towards the younger Noceto. Flanking the Virgin and Child are the busts of Pietro (left) and Nicolao (right): never before had the portrait of a commissioner merited inclusion in such a work.⁸¹

Pietro's tomb in turn provided Matteo Civitali with inspiration as he fashioned Regulus' altar and funereal monument thirteen years

⁷⁸ These included the funeral monument for Pietro da Noceto, a sepulchre for Domenico Bertini, the altar of St Regulus, the aforementioned Chapel of the Holy Cross, the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament and a new pulpit.

⁷⁹ Cervelli, 'L'arredo scultoreo', pp. 51–2; S. Bule, 'Matteo Civitali: Four Major Sculptural Programmes' (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1987), pp. 47–50.

⁸⁰ 'Petro Noceto a multi regibus et a Nicolao Quinto pontefice maximo multis honorum dignitatunq[ue] insignibus sua virtute decorato, qui vixit annos LXX, menses I, dies X, Nicolaus parenti bene merenti hoc monumentum fieri fecit MCCCCLXXII.'

⁸¹ Bule, 'Matteo Civitali', pp. 70–1.



Figure 4 Tomb of Pietro da Noceto

later (see Figure 5).⁸² This too was a lofty structure that featured the Virgin and Child, flanked by young standard-bearers and guarding an effigy and sarcophagus of the deceased. Yet again Matteo included clear signs of his patron's ambitions. Busts of Nicolao (right) and his son Pietro (left) in the lower frieze recall the previous ones of father and son and extend the Noceto lineage to a third generation. They in turn frame an inscription emphasising Nicolao's familial loyalties: 'For St Regulus, protector of Lucca, the knight Nicolao da Noceto in his piety towards him [St Regulus] and his own [the knight's] parents appointed and endowed this altar.'⁸³ Finally, the stemma of the Guinigi, Nicolao's family by marriage, appear below.

If the funeral monuments of Pietro da Noceto and St Regulus evince marked similarities, at their heart lay different subjects. The focal point of the first is the sepulchre and effigy, that of the second a trio of holy martyrs. John the Baptist (left) and Sebastian (right) turn slightly inward, drawing the viewer's gaze to Regulus (middle); panels in the lower frieze depict their violent deaths in turn. Matteo's juxtaposition of the African archbishop with these familiar saints was new but by no means casual.⁸⁴ The inclusion of Sebastian accorded with the wishes of the general council and confirms that Nicolao saw himself as completing its unfinished project.⁸⁵ John's

⁸² An inscription divided between the right and left side of the base of the altar would seem to indicate the date of completion as 1484: 'Opus Mattaei Civitalis lucensis / anno domini MCCCCLXXXIII.' Note, however, that records of payment from Nicolao to Matteo suggest that it was finished in the following year (Cervelli, 'L'arredo scultoreo', p. 63, n. 99). In any case, the delay between the completion of Pietro's tomb and that of Regulus' altar probably resulted from other commissions that Matteo received in the intervening years. These came from the aforementioned Domenico Bertini and included the Chapel of the Holy Cross (Figure 2). On the relationship between Matteo and Domenico, see S. Bule, 'Della umana relazione tra artista e committente nella Lucca del 1400', *Quaderni Lucchesi di Studi* (2001), pp. 75–103.

⁸³ 'Divo Regulo Lucae praesidi Nicolaus Noxetus eques in eum parentesque suos pius hoc altare posuit dotavitque.'

⁸⁴ Regulus was not a common figure in the late medieval or Renaissance art of central Italy. In addition to the images reproduced in Figures 1, 3 and 5, there remain a polyptych in the capitular library in Pescia by Bicci di Lorenzo (d. 1452) and an altarpiece by A. Lorenzetti (d. c. 1348) in the Palazzo del Comune of Massa Marittima: G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting* (Florence, 1952), no. 267, col. 888.

⁸⁵ See above, n. 73. The inclusion of Sebastian also resonates with his depiction in two recently endowed altars at San Martino. Domenico Ghirlandaio included that saint in a *sacra conversazione* of 1479 for the altar of Sts Peter and Paul (*Matteo Civitali*, pp. 426–8). Matteo himself affixed a sculpture of Sebastian to an altar dedicated to that saint and located at the rear of the Chapel of the Holy Cross. Only the latter depicted Sebastian at the moment of his martyrdom, a familiar scene that contrasts with his more assertive pose in Regulus' altar (c.f. Kaftal, *Iconography*, no. 281, cols. 917–25).

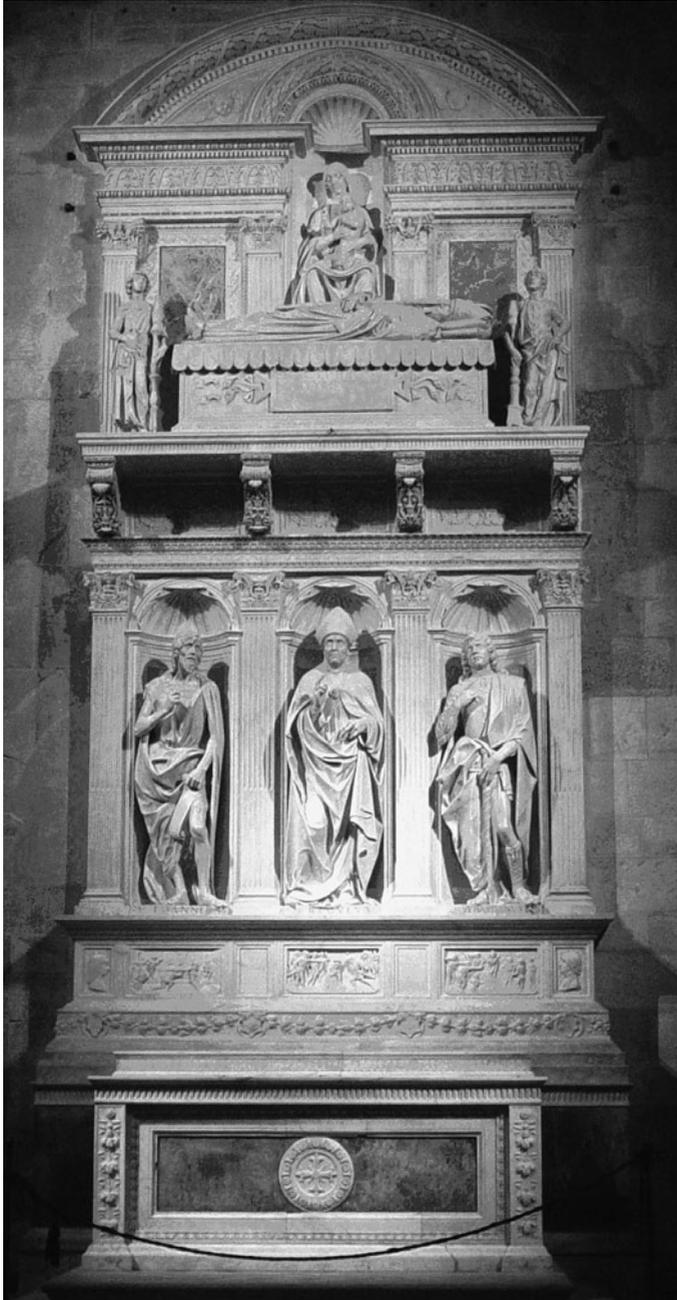


Figure 5 The Altar of St Regulus

appearance is more inscrutable, an iconographical puzzle that, as revealed below, evoked a more distant historical event.⁸⁶

Matteo's completion of Regulus' altar in 1485 did not conclude the renovation of that martyr's chapel: Nicolao promptly engaged the local artist Michele Ciampanti (1463–1511) to paint its cupola and east wall under Matteo's guidance.⁸⁷ These works do not survive but perhaps incorporated iconography similar to that of the new sculpture. Yet Matteo's works found an alternative in the nine responsories preserved in the cathedral antiphoner of the late fifteenth century (see above, Figure 1 and Table 1). The clergy of San Martino sang them not in the newly renovated chapel but in the central choir on Regulus' vigil and *dies natalis* (Figure 2).⁸⁸ The plainsong nonetheless provided a sonic counterpart to Matteo's nearby sculpture, thereby unlocking, as we shall see, its hitherto undisclosed meaning.

THE PROLIX RESPONSORIES

The new responsories for St Regulus marked a sharp break, musical and literary, from the proper antiphons, one evident via their juxtaposition at not only matins but also major vespers and the evening nocturn.⁸⁹ As related above, the antiphons follow Gregorian models in their style and organisation; by contrast, the

⁸⁶ Cervelli, 'L'arredo scultoreo', p. 62 speculates that Nicolao da Noceto and his family cultivated a particular devotion towards John the Baptist, a hypothesis rendered unnecessary by the subsequent analysis.

⁸⁷ Concioni, 'San Martino di Lucca', p. 281; Ridolfi, *L'arte in Lucca*, pp. 343–4. On Michele's life and works, see G. Concioni, C. Feri and G. Ghilarducci, *I pittori rinascimentali a Lucca: Vita, opera, committenza* (Lucca, 1988), pp. 48–55.

⁸⁸ The ordinal of San Martino, BCL 608, notes only that High Mass on Regulus' feast occurred in the central choir rather than before Regulus' altar (Doc. 2). Because the liturgical manual typically identified those services that occurred at side altars or chapels, however, we can assume that his vigil and feast unfolded in the choir and not before his altar.

⁸⁹ That the cathedral chapter continued to celebrate at least one of the twin vigils is confirmed by references to the 'nocturns' that honoured patron saints on the evenings before their feasts, references that appear in cathedral documents to the late sixteenth century. See, for instance, the agreement between the chaplains of San Martino and the chapter of Santa Reparata, which reaffirmed the commitment of the former to celebrate the evening vigils and masses prescribed in the ordinal of San Martino at the latter church: Lucca, Archivio dei Cappellani Beneficiati, B 2, fol. 169 (15 July 1507). Later in the century, the canons of San Martino scolded the chaplains for talking and quarrelling during the canonical hours, which still might include a 'nocturn of any saint' (*nocturnus alicuius sancti*) in addition to vespers and matins: Lucca, Archivio Capitolare, I+ 28 (1589).

responsories embody a ‘post-Gregorian’ approach typically associated with rhymed offices.⁹⁰ The responsory texts are prose but often comprise irregular rhyming lines. Unlike the antiphons, which present the events of the *Passio Sancti Reguli* in random order, they parse Regulus’ biography into three vignettes corresponding to the three nocturns of matins. This narrative trajectory in turn finds a musical parallel in the modal ordering of the melodies.⁹¹ The first vignette describes Regulus’ struggle against Arian heresy in Africa, the second his treacherous voyage to Italy, his life as a hermit in Tuscany and the search for him by Totila’s soldiers. Finally, the third treats Regulus’ martyrdom and the events that transpired after his death.

Just as the organisation of the new plainsong evokes post-Gregorian models, so too does its melodic style. The responsories eschew the shared themes typical of classical exemplars and instead articulate mode by outlining the pentachord and tetrachord of an octave species. *Regulus intrepidus* (Rx 2.2) exemplifies this approach: the initial phrase descends from the co-final (*c'*) to the final (*f*) and quickly returns, while the second immediately establishes the fourth above (see Example 4).⁹² The result is an expansive melody that treats the upper octave (*f'*) as a true melodic goal rather than merely an upper auxiliary.⁹³ This is just as true of the verse as the respond, the first of which eschews the simple tones of Gregorian responsories.

The new plainsong likewise departs from classical models in its cadences. Its subtonal, or ‘Gallican’, cadences (e.g. ‘animus’) contrast with the more traditional descent from above. Likewise telling

⁹⁰ As noted above (n. 45), Hiley, ‘*Cantate Domino*’, provides an overview and bibliography concerning this new style. Id., ‘The Music of Prose Offices in Honour of English Saints’, *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 10 (2001), p. 23–37 at 26, Table 2 summarises the salient differences between Gregorian and post-Gregorian offices. Note, however, that the use of the term ‘post-Gregorian’ to describe this new style is my own.

⁹¹ See above, Table 1. A. Hughes, ‘Modal Order and Disorder in the Rhymed Office’, *Musica Disciplina*, 37 (1983), pp. 29–51 at 31 cautions that modal order and narrative sequence did not always accompany each other in rhymed offices.

⁹² While the majority of responsories for St Regulus treat the conjunct tetrachord and pentachord of their modal octaves equally, the plagal chants on *e* and *f*, *Coniungunt se sotii* (Rx 2.1) and *Solitariam vitam* (Rx 2.3), favour the upper pentachord at the expense of the lower tetrachord. Indeed, the former never descends to the fourth below the final (*B*).

⁹³ See Table 1 for the ranges of the responsories as compared with those of the antiphons. D. Hiley, ‘Style and Structure in Early Offices of the Sanctorale’, in Sean Gallagher, *et al.* (eds.), *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium: Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and its Music* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2003), pp. 157–79 at 160 singles out the treatment of the upper octave as a telltale sign of post-Gregorian style.

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The image shows a musical score for a Latin chant. It consists of six staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes. The first staff is labeled 'R. Re' and the fifth is labeled 'V. lu-sis'. The lyrics are: 'R. Re - - gu-lus in-tre - pi-dus in de - i mi-se - ri - cor-di-a con - fi - sus. So - lus e-ius a-ni-mus a pe - ri-cu-lis et ful - mi - ni-bus per - du - ra - bat in-pa - - - vi - dus. V. lu-sis pre - ci-bus Re-gu-li in-pa-vi-di ma - re fit pla-ca - bi-le et ce - li pa-tet se - re - ni-tas. So-lus'.

Example 4 *Regulus intrepidus*

(Intrepid Regulus trusted in the mercy of God. His soul alone remained unmoved by the dangers and lightning. When the fearless Regulus' prayers had been uttered, the sea became calm and the sky serene.)

is the restriction of cadences to the final, third and co-final. This approach clarifies the mode of the chant by reinforcing the division between the pentachord and tetrachord of the appropriate octave. In the respond of *Regulus intrepidus*, moreover, the fixation on *f* and *c'* resonates with articulation of the rhyming prose into lines ending exclusively on '-us'.

By the late Quattrocento, the organisation and style exemplified in the responsories was hardly new. Rhymed offices first appeared in the twelfth century and the salient musical features – modal order and freedom from melodic formulae – almost two hundred years earlier.⁹⁴ While such offices were popular vehicles for the veneration of local saints north of the Alps, they remained far less prevalent in

⁹⁴ Hiley, 'Style and Structure', pp. 157–79. Perhaps the earliest fully rhymed office was composed for St Thomas of Canterbury between 1170 and 1193: A. Hughes, 'Chants in the Rhymed Office of St Thomas of Canterbury', *Early Music*, 16 (1988), pp. 185–201.

Italy.⁹⁵ Indeed, San Martino was particularly insulated from post-Gregorian models: its canons never adopted the widely circulating rhymed offices of even universally venerated saints such as Thomas of Canterbury, Dominic and Francis.⁹⁶ Even in the 1480s, then, the responsories for St Regulus probably sounded decidedly foreign to the cathedral liturgy.

If the new plainchant thus marked the arrival of a musical style still novel to San Martino, it concomitantly suggests a careful reading of the texts central to the martyr's cult. For instance, *Clerus adest requisitus* (Rx 1.3) narrates Regulus' exhortation to his followers to abandon Africa. From the lengthy account in the *Passio Sancti Reguli* it extracts the most important moment: his quotation of Christ's advice to his disciples, 'if you are persecuted in one city, flee to another' (Matthew 10:23).⁹⁷ The passion had employed these words as the linchpin in its broader defence of clerics who flee persecution. It was only fitting, then, that the entire passage occupies the verse of *Clerus adest requisitus*, the only instance of extensive quotation in the responsory texts.

Elsewhere the new plainsong diverges from the *Passio* in ways that are equally revealing. *Indicat puella* (Rx 3.1) relates the shepherdess's aid to Totila's soldiers in their search for Regulus, rendering prominent a key figure from the passion who had gone unmentioned in the antiphons but not the votive mass. *Suffocantur a demone* (Rx 3.2) proceeds to the demon's torment of both the shepherdess and one of the soldiers, concluding with their anguished cry, 'why do you torment us, o Regulus?' These words resemble not the *Passio* ('O Regulus, servant of God, why do you lead us, captives in

⁹⁵ A. Hughes, 'Late Medieval Plainchant for the Divine Office', in Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn (eds.), *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages* (New Oxford History of Music, iii/1; Oxford, 2001), pp. 54 and 56. My projected monograph, *Cathedral Liturgies in the Golden Age of the Tuscan Communes*, will undertake the first comparative study of Tuscan plainsong in the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, thus determining the impact of post-Gregorian models on central Italian chant.

⁹⁶ The ordinal of San Martino (c. 1290) suggests that the cathedral chapter derived the plainsong on the feasts of St Thomas (29 December), St Dominic (4 August) and St Francis (4 October) from the *commune sanctorum* (BCL 608, fols. 15^v, 58^v and 63 respectively). That the late fifteenth-century antiphons of San Martino, ODL 4, 5 and 6 likewise eschew dedicated chants for these feasts confirms that the community maintained this practice. Hughes, 'Chants' examines the rhymed office of St Thomas, and id., 'Late Medieval Plainchant', pp. 54 and 56 ff. those of St Dominic and St Francis.

⁹⁷ 'Clerus adest requisitus admonetur evangelicum ut observetur eloquium ore Cristi prolatum. V. Si vos persecuti fuerint in unam civitatem fugite in aliam.' For the corresponding passage in the *Passio Sancti Reguli*, see above, n. 15.

chains’) but instead the second Alleluia of the votive mass (‘why do you torment us, o kind and glorious one?’).⁹⁸ The author of the responsories evidently knew the mass and preferred its more direct formulation to that of the *Passio*.

These cases of textual borrowing involve dramatic instances of direct speech reminiscent of Regulus’ pivotal refusal to appear before Totila in the Benedictus antiphon (see above, Example 2). Even more striking, however, is the broader relationship between the ninth responsory and the *Translatio Sancti Reguli* (Example 5). While the offertory of the votive mass quoted the exuberant expression of civic pride in the translation narrative, *Lucensis Iohannes* provides a full account of Regulus’ migration from Populonia to Lucca. It follows the *Translatio* in promoting Giovanni as an authoritative bishop in claiming the African martyr for his church. Its description of both Giovanni and Regulus as ‘magnificent’ further implies an affinity between these two figures, one reinforced by the similarities of *Lucensis Iohannes* with the first responsory, *Presul Regulus*. The shared mode of the chants accords with several literary resonances: both begin by naming their subjects and respective dioceses, and both denote the episcopal office with ‘presul’ instead of the more common ‘episcopus’.⁹⁹

If the final responsory exceeded the *Translatio* in promoting Giovanni in addition to Regulus as a model bishop, it simultaneously underscored the raison d’être of that narrative: the divine sanction of Regulus’ removal from his chosen burial site. The fourth phrase (i.e. ‘tumulum visitat Reguli’) evinces a modal ambiguity unusual in the responsories. The twin ascents to *c'* and cadence on the fourth (*g*) rather than the final (*d*), third (*f*) or co-final (*a*) suggest Mode 8.¹⁰⁰ The key text, ‘admonetur ab angelo’, coincides not only

⁹⁸ ‘Suffocantur a demone spiculatores pessimi supervivit unus cum puella capraria quos demon arripuit vociferantes et clamantes: quare nos torques Regule?’ Compare the concluding passage of the second Alleluia of the votive mass, ‘Quare nos torques alme o gloriose?’ (Doc. 3), both of which in turn diverge from the relevant passage from the *Passio Sancti Reguli*, ‘O serve Dei Regulus, cur nos vinctos catenis ducis?’ (*Passio Sancti Reguli*, ch. 9; Simonetti, ‘Note sulla tradizione’, p. 124).

⁹⁹ Cf. Rx 1.1: ‘Presul Regulus in Africe provincia trinitatis fidem edocebat populum. V. Quam arrius preponebat in contrarium trinitatis fidem.’

¹⁰⁰ Singers may well have inflected the penultimate and last *b* down a half-step in order to avoid the tritone between *f* and *b* on ‘Reguli’, resulting in G Hypodorian rather than G Hypomixolydian. That the scribe of ODL 4 added B♭s for precisely the same reason in *Solitariam vitam* (Rx 2.3), however, suggests that he intended B♭s in this case.

John Hothby and the Cult of St Regulus

R. Lu - cen - sis lo - han - nes pre - sul mag - ni - fi - cus
vi - sen - do su - a pre - di - a
tu - mu - lum vi - si - tat Re - gu - li.
Ad - mo - ne - tur ab an - ge - lo cor - pus ut ar - ri - pi - at
ip - si - us ma - ni - fi - ci.

V. Qui ac - ce - dens et ef - fo - di - ens rep - per - it ut tunc mi - gras - set
quod Lu - cam trans - fe - rens
col - lo - cat in Mar - ti - ni fa - bri - cam. Ad - mo -
V. Glo - ri - a pa - tri et fi - li - o
et spi - ri - tu - i sanc - to. Ad - mo -

Example 5 *Lucensis Iohannes*

(Giovanni, the magnificent bishop of Lucca, surveying his territory, visits Regulus' tomb. An angel instructs him to seize the body of that magnificent [saint]. V. Having approached and dug, he discovers how it [the body] had then departed and translates it to Lucca, placing it in San Martino. V. Glory be to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.)

with the re-establishment of Mode 1, but also a dramatic rise to *e'*. This expands the ambitus of *Lucensis Iohannes* to a tenth, the largest of any of the responsories (see above, Table 1), and obtains even greater prominence by virtue of its position at the beginning of the *repetendum*. Indeed, this section repeats not only after the verse but a second time again after the doxology.

The responsories for St Regulus, then, evince a deep engagement with the cult of the African martyr. Their texts underscore the chief concerns of his *Passio* and *Translatio* and acknowledge the more recent votive mass. If their post-Gregorian melodies distinguish them from the older antiphons, moreover, they also elucidate literary meaning in *Lucensis Iohannes*. Nevertheless, the responsories were not simply retrospective works, but provided a sonic counterpart to the contemporary restoration of Regulus' chapel. The correspondence between music and sculpture went beyond generalities: both celebrated Bishop Giovanni as the saint's first champion in Lucca. The responsories marked his entrance into the sung liturgy of San Martino; Mateo Civitali similarly granted him visual representation, albeit via a subtle allusion through the eponymous John the Baptist (see above, Figure 5). Far from simply completing the trio of martyrs with Regulus and Sebastian, then, St John served as a holy stand-in for that eighth-century bishop.

CONCLUSION

If the musical and literary significance of the new responsories is now clear, to whom, we might ask, does the credit for their creation belong? Their composer was surely the first recipient of the chaplaincy endowed by Nicolao da Noceto, reserved for the choirmaster and tied to Regulus' altar, namely John Hothby. He was an expert in plainsong who had spent countless hours as a choirboy chanting the rhymed offices so common in England.¹⁰¹ His expertise in grammar and reputation as a 'reader in sacred theology' likewise recommend him as the author of the responsory texts.¹⁰² Yet the

¹⁰¹ A. Hughes, 'British Rhymed Offices: A Catalogue and Commentary', in Susan Rankin and David Hiley (eds.), *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 239–84. Hothby would also have encountered post-Gregorian chant in many of the prose offices for English saints (Hiley, 'The Music'). For his own teachings on plainsong, see T. L. McDonald, 'The *Musica Plana* of John Hothby' (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1990).

¹⁰² See above, n. 5.

ultimate impetus for the new plainsong surely came from one of Hothby's patrons, of whom the canons of San Martino are the most obvious candidates. Long the custodians of Regulus' cult, their ties to the African martyr had only grown stronger in the Quattrocento. A more tantalising possibility, however, is Nicolao: his foundation of 1467 makes no mention of the prolix responsories, but he could easily have asked Hothby to compose the new plainchant at a later date. Just as the nobleman concerned himself with the visual details of Matteo's sculpture, so too might he have encouraged the creation of analogous sonic works in the prolix responsories.¹⁰³

If indeed both the prolix responsories and Matteo's sculpture were the fruit of Nicolao's patronage, neither Hothby nor that nobleman had much time to appreciate the combined achievement of music and image. Both died in 1487, two years after the completion of the chapel.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, Nicolao could rest assured that his foundation had an immediate impact on pious donations at the cathedral. In 1495, a member of one of the oldest families of Lucca, Giovanni de' Avvocati, broke with generations of local lay donors in asking to be buried in the Regulus' chapel. He left 500 ducats to establish yet another chaplaincy, the recipient of which would recite a daily mass for the salvation of his soul.¹⁰⁵ By 1500, then, no fewer than four chaplains served the lofty altar constructed by Matteo Civitali, more than at any other altar in the cathedral.

¹⁰³ For a recent and thoughtful discussion of the patron's role in cultural production in the Italian Renaissance, see D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici and the Florentine Renaissance: The Patron's Oeuvre* (New Haven, 2000), pp. 1–8. B. Brand, 'Viator duceus ad celestia: Eucharistic Piety, Papal Politics, and an Early Fifteenth-Century Motet', *Journal of Musicology* 20 (2003), pp. 250–84 elucidates yet another instance of artistic collaboration between a patron and composer in the fifteenth century.

¹⁰⁴ Nicolao was dead by 24 November 1487, when the Anziani of Lucca petitioned Pope Innocent VIII to grant the younger Pietro da Noceto patronage over the chaplaincy of St Regulus left vacant by Hothby's own death: ASL, Anziani al tempo della libertà, 534, n. 39, fol. 134.

¹⁰⁵ ACL, T+ 1, fol. 1 (31 August 1495): 'Item in honorem dei et almi confessoris et martiris Sancti Reguli, indicavit et reliquit quod fundetur et fundari debeat una missa perpetua ad altare Sancti Reguli, situm in ecclesia Sancti Martini de Luca, pro cuius dotibus et prebenda indicavit et reliquit ducatos quingentos largos, quos voluit expendi in possessiones et bona immobilia pro dicto altari, pro prebenda dicte misse ad illud celebrande ultra alias missas deputatas et deputandas ad dictum altare cum onere et conditione, quod cappellanus dicti altaris eligendus ut infra teneatur et debeat quotidie ad dictum altare celebrare unam missam, et post celebrationem misse verbo dicere super sepulcro in quo erit sepultum corpus dicti testatoris psalmum quod incipit *Miserere mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam* cum oratione defunctorum pro anima ipsius testatoris et suorum predecessorum in remissionem suorum peccatorum.'

In contrast with the impact of Nicolao's foundation, the broader significance of the responsories themselves emerges only through a brief consideration of offices composed elsewhere in Tuscany. In the early fourteenth century, for instance, the Sienese issued the first full office for their aforementioned martyr, St Ansanus: its chants set poetry but otherwise resemble classical Gregorian plainsong.¹⁰⁶ In 1512, the Florentines similarly composed a prose office for their episcopal father, St Zenobius. Approximately one-third of its chants borrow from the venerable offices of major temporal feasts, as well as the common of confessor bishops. This produced a rich web of intertextual associations but not a newly composed office in the strictest sense.¹⁰⁷

If the responsories for St Regulus thus appear to be a rare instance of post-Gregorian plainsong for a local saint in Tuscany, their most exceptional feature concerns their probable author, John Hothby. The Florentine and Sienese offices were not the work of recognised composers, much less experts in mensural polyphony. In this respect there is but one secure precedent, the rhymed office for the Virgin Mary by Guillaume Du Fay. Composed just ten years before Hothby's arrival at San Martino, it likewise exhibited the modal order and melodic style associated with post-Gregorian plainsong.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, Du Fay obtained an added degree of modal clarity by adhering to the rules on monophony set forth in Guido of Arezzo's *Micrologus*. Most conspicuously, all but four of his melodies not only begin but end on the final as per Guido's instructions. This principle, by contrast, found expression in only three of the nine responsories for St Regulus.¹⁰⁹ Finally, an even more salient point of comparison for the latter works may be the sequence *Nuper almos rose flores*. Probably composed by Du Fay for the consecration of the

¹⁰⁶ D'Accone, *The Civic Muse*, pp. 102–3 suggests that the office of St Ansanus stemmed from the decree on 24 October 1325 making his *dies natalis* (1 December) a civic holiday. Its constituent chants are not modally ordered and exhibit the relatively narrow ranges typical of classical plainsong. While D'Accone notes the prominence of the themes or gestures of Gregorian plainchant at the beginning of these chants, he emphasises the borrowing of melodic material between the various chants of that office (pp. 104–10).

¹⁰⁷ Tacconi, *Cathedral*, pp. 231–41.

¹⁰⁸ B. Haggh, 'The Celebration of the "Recollectio Festorum Beatae Mariae Virginis", 1457–1987', in *Atti del XIV congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia*, ed. Angelo Pompilio *et al.*, iii (Turin, 1990), pp. 559–71 at 562.

¹⁰⁹ B. Haggh, 'Guillaume Du Fay, Teacher and Theorist, and his Chant for Cambrai Cathedral', paper read at the meeting of the study group Cantus Planus in 2004. I thank Professor Haggh for providing me with a copy of the essay before its publication in the conference proceedings.

Florentine cathedral in 1436, it joins them as the only examples of plainsong perhaps composed by northern polyphonists for Italian churches.¹¹⁰

The prolix responsories were thus virtually unprecedented compositions that nevertheless stood at the intersection of new and old. They resulted, whether directly or indirectly, from the relationship between a northern musician and an Italian patron paradigmatic of the fifteenth century. Just as Hothby oversaw the arrival of the most advanced forms of mensural polyphony, so too did he employ a style of plainsong largely foreign to San Martino. At the same time, the responsories completed an ancient office for a venerable local saint, thus enriching a centuries-old tradition of music, ritual and image that embodied the civic religion of the Italian communes. For this if for no other reason, Hothby had surely confirmed the prediction made by the canons of San Martino in their fateful meeting with the general council in 1469. For in so honouring St Regulus, the oldest of Lucca's sanctified patrons, he had proved himself 'not only useful to the clergy but also the highest consolation and praise to the entire people' (Doc.1).

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APPENDIX

Documents

Doc. 1. Petition of the cathedral canons to the general council of Lucca. ASL, Consiglio Generale, 19, pp. 474–5 (20 February 1469)

Humilmente si expone per i vostri fidelissimi canonici et capitolo di San Martino chome prima per laude di Dio et honore della nostra chiesa maggiore et per consolatione di tutto il populo havendo notitia della doctrina singulare et optimi costumi di frate Joanni Hothbi dell'ordine Carmelitano, lectore in sacra theologia et homo doctissimo maxime in musica, per esso capitolo fu electo et per lettere della M. V. S. exhortato a venire, et cosi al tempo venne, et hae dato di se tale experientia che ha superato la fama et quelle che di sue virtude havevamo inteso. Sicche stando lui appresso di noi anco quattro o vero cinque anni, non si dubita che fara tanti et tali discipuli in musica et in pratica di essa che non solo

¹¹⁰ C. Wright, 'A Sequence for the Dedication of the Cathedral of Florence: Dufay's (?) *Nuper almos Rose Flores*', in Gargiulo, Giacomelli and Gianturco (eds.), *Il 'Cantate Domino'*, pp. 55–67.

sara utile al clerico, ma somma consolatione et lauda a tutto questo populo. Et perche siando gia la fine di sua electione proxima, et esso richiesto da altre signorie con promissione di maggior mercede et commodi, si puo stimare che facilmente finito il suo tempo si partira, et per la breuita del tempo che esso ce stato non ci puo rimanere molto fructo di tale scientia. Il perche e di bizogno riccore alla M. V. S. per qualche aiuto in ritenere tale homo accio che fra quello, che per lo magnifica comunita, dicto magnifico milite messer Nicolao da Noceto, et lo supplemento juxta posse del capitulo, et il subsidio della nostra magnifica comunita, dicto maestro Joanni possa stare qua comodamente, et non habbia cagione di havere respecto altro per maggiore premio, siando lui qui inclinato per amore, lo quale ha sempre dimostrato cosi in isegnare chome in esser liberale inverso i poveri discipuli donando il proprio salario, et mostrando gramatica et arimetica, et altre virtu oltra quello che esso promisse con sommo amore. Et detto capitulo et canonici sono parati a farli ogni comodo per far cosa grata a questo populo et all V. M. S. [*sic*] alla quale detto Joanni si raccomanda et simile li vostri fedelissimi canonici et capituli vel alter et cetera.

Johannes de Arrigis, Paulus de Podio, Franciscus de Micaelibus, consiliarii dicti consilii, consuluerunt quod presentis consilii auctoritate decretum et constitutum sit in supplementum salarii dicti venerabilis fratris Joannis debere eidem solui quolibet mense de ere et pecuniis lucani comunis ducatos duos auri cum ratione Sancti Crucis pro tempore quo conduceretur per venerabiles canonicos usque in annos quatuor proximos de quibus fieri debeat mensuatim ma[n]datoria et solutio debita mandato spec. sex ultra salarium sive mercedem eidem constitutam per prefatos venerabiles canonicos et alios in supplicatione nominatos non obstante contrarietate quacumque.

Doc. 2. Description of the feast of St Regulus. BCL 608, fols. 60^v–61 (c. 1290)

In sollempnitate Sancti Reguli leguntur et cantantur omnia de uno martire cum antiphonis propriis. In vigilia ad missam officium *Iustus non conturbabitur*, responsorium *Iustus ut palma*, offertorium *In virtute*, communio *Posuisti*. Ad vespervas capitulum de martire. Responsoria bina et bina ad vespervas et ad nocturnum et ad matutinum. Antiphona ad Magnificat *Laudanda est trinitas*. Vespervas maiores cum novem lectionibus celebramus. Tres prime lectiones leguntur a scolaribus, reliquis a canonicis. In secundo nocturno episcopus facit incensum ad altare beati Reguli et beati Martini et Iasonis et Mauris et ad tertium nocturnum similiter. Ad alia altaria incensatur ab archipresbitero. Nonum responsorium in octava lectione cantatur cum organo. Nocturnus similiter cum novem lectionibus a clericis

civitatis celebratur sicut in vesperis [maioribus]. Supervenite a quattuor canonicis de sancta Reparata, alii quattuor cui cantor inposuerit.¹¹¹ Tres prime lectiones leguntur a scolaribus et responsoria et antiphone. Quarta lectio ab uno de sancto Allexandro. Quinta lectio ab uno de [sancta Maria] Forisportam. Sexta lectio ab uno de sancto Petro maiore. Septa et octava et nona lectiones ab illis de sancta Reparata. Nonum responsorium in octava lectione *Posuisti domino* a quattuor de sancta Reparata, alii quattuor quibus cantor inposuerit. *Te Deum laudamus* ab illis de sancta Reparata. *Benedicamus* a quattuor de sancta Reparata, alii quattuor quibus cantor inposuerit. Et sextum et septum responsorium a cappellanis civitatis. Ad matutinum invitatorium *Christum omnes* ab octo cum organo cantatur. Primam lectionem dicit magister scolarum, reliquis a canonicis dicuntur. Nonam episcopus dicit similiter. Nonum responsorium ab octo cum organo cantatur. In prima missa fit sermo ad populum. Ad maiorem missam dicitur tertia qua finite intramus claustrum et inde canonici cum clericis civitatis sacris vestibus indutis ordinate ad processionem se moventibus cum tribus crucibus et reliquiis et thesauro. Incipit cantor antiphonam *Hodie* quae extenditur ad chorum. Qua finita incipit cantor officium *In virtute. Kyrie leyson* et *Cantemus* sollempniter canta[n]tur. et *alleluia* similiter. Ad vespervas antiphone de laudibus. *Alleluia* et sequentia. Antiphona ad Magnificat *Hodie*. Infra octavam omni die tres lectiones de vita et miraculis legimus nisi festum aliquid trium lectionum vel novem interveniat.

Doc. 3. Mass for St Regulus. BLF, Edili 111, fol. 183^v (11th/12th century) (prayers only); BCL 594, fols. 252^v–253 (c. 1409–24)

[Introit:] Gaude o plebs fidelium laudes concinendo in honore Reguli Christum reverendo.

[Collect:] Deus qui beatum Regulum martirem atque pontificem plebi tue ministrum conferre dignatus es, concede propitius ut qui festa eius devote peragunt eius patrocinio subleventur. Per dominum.

[Gradual:] Vitam solitariam Regulus tenebat contemplan-do corde dominum cernebat. V. Adeunt ministri sanctum Dei virum capere volentes nequeunt videre.

Alleluia. V. Gratulemur omnes in solempnitate huius gloriosi presulis sacra-ti qua letantur sancti venerantes verbum patris increati.

Alleluia. V. Puella capraria Regulum ostendens fortiter clamabat: Quare nos torques alme o gloriose?

¹¹¹ The meaning of ‘alii quattuor quibus cantor inposuerit’, repeated twice below, is not immediately obvious, but suggests that the cantor could replace the four canons of Santa Reparata with four other clerics ‘on whom he shall have imposed [the task]’. This despite the fact that ‘alii’ is quite clearly in the nominative and not ablative.

Benjamin Brand

[Offertory:] O felix Luca que tantum meruit habere patronum cuius intercessione multa mirabilia dignatus est dominus operari.

[Secret:] Tuere Domine populum tuum precibus beati Reguli martiris atque pontificis ut hec sacrosancta commertia que in eius laudibus immolantur omnibus proficiant ad salutem. P[er dominum.]

[Communion:] Funde preces Regule increato patri ut fruamur tecum gloria perhempni.

[Postcommunion:] Per huius Domine operationem misterii beati Reguli martiris tui atque pontificis commitemur sufragium ut quod devotis celebramus obsequiis puro capiamus effectum. P[er dominum].

Doc. 4. Foundation of Nicolao da Noceto. ACL, T+16, fols. 1^v-2 (23 February 1467)

Spiritualis et generosus vir Nicolaus filius et heres in totum prout dixit et se fecit quondam strenui et magistri militis domini Petri de nobilibus de Noceto, lucensis civis, pro remedio et salute anime dicti sui patris et remissione suorum peccatorum et necnon animadvertens locum dignum pro corpore sepeliendo dicti sui patris sibi concessum in ecclesia Sancti Martini de Luca, tenore huius publici instrumenti ad honorem et reverentiam omnipotentis dei, et gloriosissime virginis Marie, et almi confessoris martiris beati Reguli in cuius cappella sita in predicta ecclesia beati Martini est collocatum ac sepultum corpus dicti sui patris, deliberavit et statuit deputare unum perpetuum cappellanum ad dictum altare Sancti Reguli, qui cappellanus vocetur et nominetur magiscolus ecclesie Sancti Martini, qui teneatur et debeat quotidie celebrare ad dictum altare unam missam necnon gratis docere cantum sive firmum sive figuratum clericis dicte ecclesie, et eidem altari et cappellano eiusdem dare et assignare tot possessiones et bona immobilia, ex quibus percipiantur quolibet anno pro reddito introitus ducatorum trigintasex in auro largorum.

Dominus Stefanus Ioannis archidiaconus et dominus Dominicus Landi et dominus Ioannis Thomasii canonici lucani commissarii syndici et mandatarii capituli ecclesie lucane habentes a dicto capitulo mandatum speciale ad infrascripta de quo et prout constare dixerunt in libro dicti capituli et pro quo capituli de rato et rati habitioe promiserunt considerantes bonam voluntatem dicti spiritualis Nicolai [et] famam strenuitatem probitatem et alia virtutum merita quibus recolende memorie prefatus magister miles dominus Petrus de Noceto decorabatur et eius memoria premissorum intuitu decorari meretur . . .

[Dicti canonici] dantes etiam et concedentes eidem spirituali Nicolao licentiam facultatem et omnimodam potestatem dictam cappellam et locum predictum decorandi et ornandi tam circa altare et circa imaginem ipsius altaris et in ipsa imagine quam aliter et tam in muris quam aliter

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ornandi, pingendi, sculpendi et seu aliter decorandi prout eidem domino Nicolao videbitur et placebit; et quod etiam possit tam in imaginibus quam in muris in dictam cappellam pingere et sculpere et pingi et sculpi facere tam in picturis quam in marmoribus et seu aliis petris ponere et poni facere arma et insignia sua et suorum ubicumque et prout voluerit dummodo illa non ponat nec poni faciat nec pingat nec pingi faciat extra situ ipsius capelle nec a parte anteriori ipsius capelle.

Dantes etiam eidem licentiam et omnimodam auctoritatem corpus eiusdem domini Petri patris ~~filii~~ sui ponendi et condendi iuxta situm ipsius capelle tam in terra quam in muro alte et basse prout voluerit et circa illud faciendum et fieri faciendum sepulcrum pro se et descenditibus suis cum armis et insignibus suis de quibus et prout voluerit et eidem Nicolao videbitur et placebit.

