

The vigils of medieval Tuscany

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ABSTRACT. *Of the liturgical ceremonies enacted by the papal court in the Middle Ages, few were as distinctive as the 'double offices' that occurred on nights before high feasts of the Sanctorale. These consisted of two night offices, a private 'vigil' enacted by the pope and his entourage at dusk and a public office at the normal hour of Matins. Even as this custom flourished in Rome through the twelfth century, it concomitantly migrated north to cathedrals throughout Tuscany. Typically comprising only one nocturn, the Tuscan vigils shed their once private character, presenting a selection of the plainsong and lessons of the night office at a convenient hour for the laity. They likewise acquired distinctively civic overtones as cathedral clerics employed them in honour of local patron saints. Nowhere was this transformation more evident than in Florence and Lucca, where the vigils of Sts Zenobius and Reparata, Regulus and Martin emerged as eminently public spectacles. In this way, Tuscan clerics transformed a venerable Roman tradition into an emblem of civic as well as ecclesiastical prestige.*

Of the eight canonical hours celebrated daily at religious houses throughout medieval Christendom, none were longer or more complex than Matins. This so-called 'night office' began in the early hours of the morning with the recitation of two short versicles with their responses. Then followed a hymn, which was either proper to the feast or season, or part of a fixed cycle for specific days of the week throughout the year. Next, the call to prayer, the invitatory (Ps. 94, *Venite exultemus*), marked the beginning of the body of the office. This was the nocturn, which consisted of three psalms with their respective antiphons, followed by three pairs of lessons and responsories. The night office comprised only one nocturn on ferial days and feasts of lesser rank, but three nocturns on Sundays and high feasts.¹ Festal Matins lasted approximately two hours, but their conclusion offered no respite for the clergy, who proceeded on to the office of Lauds at sunrise.

If the celebration of the night office thus required considerable stamina, the paired lessons and responsories presented a rich opportunity for spiritual contemplation. Like a gloss or exegesis, responsory texts might comment on the biblical, patristic or hagiographic works recited as lessons; however, unlike such modes of interpretation, the interplay between lessons and responsories depended upon their juxtaposition

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A condensed version of this article was presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society in Seattle in 2004. I thank Craig Wright for evaluating this work at its earlier stages, as well as Anne Walters Robertson, Marica Tacconi, and two anonymous readers for their comments on subsequent drafts.

¹ Monastic institutions followed a more demanding cursus by which each nocturn comprised four responsories and lessons. On the structure of Matins, see David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford, 1993), 25–7 and Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for the Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto, 1982), 53–66.

within the liturgy.² Indeed, music underscored the divergent functions of the two genres: lessons were set to simple reciting tones and responsories to ornate melodies. Moreover, the theological subtleties of Matins accorded with its exclusivity: while the congregation regularly attended Mass and the evening offices of Vespers and Compline, it left the night office to the clergy. Indeed, the liturgical commentator, Sicard of Cremona (d. 1215), noted that clerics verbally identified the authors of readings at Mass for the benefit of the congregation and not for themselves. This proved unnecessary at Matins because laypeople were evidently absent.³

If the night office was primarily the domain of clerics, its music was not entirely unknown to the congregation at large: public rites such as Vespers and processions often incorporated Matins responsories.⁴ Far more exceptional, however, was the singular office occasionally celebrated after Vespers at six Tuscan cathedrals in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Fig. 1). This 'vigil' typically contained the first nocturn of the subsequent night office, thus presenting Matins at an hour and in an abbreviated format well suited to the laity.⁵ As related below, its origins lay in the ancient 'double office' celebrated by the pope since Carolingian times. The service in turn found its greatest and most enduring expression in the city of Lucca, long considered by its citizens a privileged outpost of the Roman liturgy. There the vigils survived well into the sixteenth century even as their papal cousins had vanished three hundred years before.

The vigils of medieval Tuscany, this article demonstrates, thus marked two parallel transformations. First, these celebrations saw the transposition of the chants and readings of the most private of canonical hours to an eminently public venue. The Italian city-states were populated with literate men who may have grasped the subtle interplay between lessons and responsories, while the majority of the congregation was likely more impressed by the aural and visual dimensions of the evening office.

² The night office was thus an example of what Susan Boynton has characterised as 'performative exegesis' in 'Performative Exegesis in the Fleury *Interfectio puerorum*', *Viator*, 29 (1998), 39–64, esp. 44. While first employing the term to describe liturgical drama, Boynton has more recently explored its relevance to Matins in *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006), 64–80. On the exegetical character of the medieval liturgy in general, see Robert Lagueux, 'Glossing Christmas: Liturgy, Music, Exegesis, and Drama in High Medieval Laon', Ph.D. diss., Yale University (2005), 199–207 and William T. Flynn, *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis* (Lanham, Md, 1999).

³ Et attende quod in nocturnali officio copiosius quam in diurno lectionibus vacamus, quia eis aures libentius accommodamus. Rursus attende quod in hujusmodi lectionibus auctor non pronuntiatur, sicut in lectionibus missae; eo quod seduli in officiis ex lectione cognoscunt auctorem. Ad missam vero conveniunt laici, quibus est auctor incognitus; Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræ seu de Officiis Ecclesiastici Summa* 4.4, *Patrologia Latina*, 213:165 (hereafter PL). On Sicard's biography and his *Mitræ*, see Ercole Brocchieri, 'Sicard di Cremona e la sua opera letteraria', *Annali della Biblioteca Governativa e Libreria Civica di Cremona* 11 (1958), 6–12 and 57–80.

⁴ A responsory commonly followed the chapter at Vespers on high feasts, a particularly prominent instance of which occurred at Notre Dame of Paris, where that chant elicited polyphonic elaboration; Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge, 1989), 105. Dominical or festal processions before Mass often featured the third, sixth, or (most commonly) ninth responsory of Matins: Terence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church* (Toronto, 1971), 28–9.

⁵ For the sake of clarity, I use the term 'vigil' to refer to this evening office and not to the day or evening before a feast.



Fig. 1 The city-states of Central and Northern Italy c. 1200 (adapted from Lauro Martines, *Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy*, New York, 1979). Sites of the vigils are underlined.

Second, the vigils represented the evolution of a papal service oriented towards universally venerated saints into a vehicle for the civic religion of communal Italy. This was most evident, as we shall see, in four vigils chanted for the sanctified patrons of Florence and Lucca. There the mellifluous voices of choirboys, the harmony of improvised polyphony, and the cadences of locally composed plainchant incited the populace to veneration. Meanwhile, the attendant ritual situated these saints at the heart of civic life. Thus the urban culture of medieval Tuscany had rendered an ancient Roman tradition nothing less than sacred spectacle.

The double office at Rome

The leading witness to the double office was the Frankish liturgist, Amalarius of Metz (d. 850). During a journey to the Eternal City on behalf of his patron, Emperor Louis the Pious, he began work on a revised and now-lost antiphoner for his own diocese. In the surviving introduction, Amalarius recounted his study of a Roman exemplar, which contained two night offices for the Nativity. The pope celebrated one at Santa

Maria Maggiore on the evening before that feast and omitted the invitatory because the populace was not invited. Another occurred without the pope at the normal hour of Matins at St Peter's, a public office that included the invitation to prayer.⁶ Such double offices also commemorated the Assumption of the Virgin, Holy Innocents, and the feasts of seven of the most important saints of Rome: Stephen, John the Evangelist, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, Lawrence, and Andrew (Appendix 1a). In these cases, the evening office was proper and the night office ferial or drawn from the *commune sanctorum*.⁷

Amalarius was not alone in drawing attention to this peculiarity of the Roman rite: an earlier account appears in *Ordo Romanus XII* and agrees with his description in all but one respect.⁸ While Amalarius drew a sharp distinction between the proper and ferial cursus of the twin offices, the *Ordo* indicates that the offices were mixed in so far as they both employed chants from both cursus. Nevertheless, it confirms that at least the psalms of the first office were proper to the feast and those of the second were ferial. Thus the double office served to integrate the cult of the saints into the canonical hours without disturbing the weekly recitation of the Psalter.⁹

The popes continued to celebrate the evening office even as adherence to the *psalterium per hebdomadam* waned. The papal ordinal (*Liber politicus*) compiled in the 1140s by Canon Benedict of St Peter's ordered its celebration on eleven occasions, an expansion of the cursus of Roman feasts described by Amalarius three centuries before (Appendix 1b).¹⁰ That office was now known as a 'vigil' and began just before

⁶ Illud [officium] quod habet secundam antiphonam *In sole posuit*, et tertiam *Elevamini*, solet apostolicus canere in vigiliis et in ecclesia Sanctae Mariae ad praesepe sine invitatorio; alterum, quod habet secundam antiphonam *Tanquam sponsus*, solet clericus canere in ecclesia sancti Petri, cum invitatorio *Christus natus est nobis*, nocturnali tempore, quando populus solet ad officium surgere; Amalarius of Metz, *Liber de ordine antiphonarii* 15.2–4, ed. Johannes M. Hanssens, *Amalarii Episcopi Opera Liturgica Omnia*, 3 vols (Vatican City, 1950), 3:49–50. That the omission of the invitatory signalled the private character of the first office Amalarius makes explicit in his description of the feast of Sts Peter and Paul: 'Primam solet apostolicus facere in initio noctis, quae fit sine invitatorio, quoniam ea hora non invitatur populus ad vigiliam' (*Liber* 60.2; ed. Hanssens, 3:97).

⁷ Amalarius of Metz, *Liber* 17:1–2; ed. Hanssens, 3:53–4 (St Stephen, St John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents); *Liber* 59.5; ed. Hanssens, 3:96 (St John the Baptist); *Liber* 60.2; ed. Hanssens, 3:97 (Sts Peter and Paul); *Liber* 61; ed. Hanssens, 3:97 (St Lawrence); *Liber* 62; ed. Hanssens, 3:97 (Assumption of the Virgin); *Liber* 63, ed. Hanssens, 3:98 (St Andrew).

⁸ Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du Haut Moyen Age*, 5 vols, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense 11, 23–24, 28, 29 (Louvain, 1931–1961), 2:460–1 (Nativity) and 465–6 (unidentified sanctoral feasts). *Ordo Romanus XII* concludes by noting that Pope Hadrian I (772–795) ordered sanctoral *vitae* to be read on their feasts not only at the churches dedicated to them but also at St Peter's, a reference that establishes a *terminus post quem* of 772 for the text.

⁹ Joseph Dyer, 'The Double Office at St Peter's Basilica on *Dominica de Gaudete*', in *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham*, ed. Terence Bailey and Alma Santosuosso (Aldershot, 2007), 200–19, esp. 204; idem, 'Double Offices at the Lateran in the Mid-Twelfth Century', in *The Varieties of Musicology: Essays in Honor of Murray Lefkowitz*, ed. John Daverio and John Ogasapian (Warren, Mich., 2000), 27–46, esp. 30–1; Camillus Callewaert, 'Les offices festifs à Rome avant la Règle de saint Benoît', in *Sacris Erudi* (Steenbrugge, 1940), 160–5. The Rule of St Benedict provides the most prominent model for the distribution of psalms across the daily and nightly hours; see Timothy Fry *et al.*, *RB 1980: The Rule of St Benedict* (Collegeville, Minn., 1981), ch. 18, pp. 213–15.

¹⁰ The *Liber politicus* is edited in *Le Liber censuum de l'Église romaine*, ed. Paul Fabre and Louis Duchesne, 2 vols (Paris, 1910), 2:141–74. On the *Liber politicus* as a witness to musical life at the papal court, see Joseph

Matins rather than at dusk. And while seven of the vigils consisted of the nine-lesson offices described by Amalarius, four comprised only three lessons. Meanwhile, the pontiff remained the celebrant, reciting the final lesson and prayer.¹¹ Indeed, its nocturnal celebration probably reinforced the exclusivity of the vigil, and only once did Benedict allude to an attendant populace: on the feast of St Paul, the archdeacon censured those laypeople who were sick with fever and sought relief.¹²

The double office remained part of papal ceremonial for another fifty years but declined with the liturgical reforms of the thirteenth century.¹³ The ordinal of Pope Innocent III (c. 1213–16) prescribed only two vigils, and that of Pope Gregory XII (c. 1274) none at all.¹⁴ The Franciscans accordingly eschewed the double office in adapting the papal rite for their order.¹⁵ Yet this venerable tradition did not entirely disappear from the Eternal City: writing of his visit to Rome in the late fourteenth century, Ralph of Tongres told how certain *clerici romani* sang vigils of three lessons in anticipation of unidentified feasts and one of nine lessons at the Vatican basilica on that of Sts Peter and Paul.¹⁶

Even as the double offices of Rome had thus reached their apogee by the twelfth century, they continued to fascinate northern liturgists as they had Amalarius three

Dyer, 'Roman Singers of the Later Middle Ages', in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 6th Meeting, Eger, Hungary, 1993* (Budapest, 1995), 45–64 and Andrew Tomasello, 'Ritual, Tradition, and Polyphony at the Court of Rome', *Journal of Musicology*, 4 (1985–86), 447–71.

- ¹¹ The Vigil of Sts Peter and Paul is exemplary in this regard: 'Tres lectiones legunt canonici [Sancti Petri] de Actibus apostolorum: Petrus et Johannes ascendebant in templum, et cantant tria responsoria. Deinde iudices legunt duas lectiones de sermonibus apostolorum Petri et Pauli; sextam legit episcopus, septimam cardinalis, octavam prior basilicarius; nonam legit dominus papa de expositione Evangelii. Responsoria cantant cantores et basilicarii. Finita vero lectione domini papae, primicerius dicit: *Te Deum*, et papa dicit *Orationem*, et benedicit' (*Liber politicus* 67; ed. Fabre-Duchesne, 2:157–8).
- ¹² Dominus pontifex [. . .] incensum et carbones dat archidiacono, archidiacono autem dat per populum, hac ratione, ut quicumque febricitans devote in fide Apostoli ex his biberit, sanetur; *Liber politicus* 69; ed. Fabre-Duchesne, 2:158.
- ¹³ For the continued celebration of the double office, see the ordinal compiled in 1192 by the papal chaplain, Censius Savelli: 'Romanus Ordo de Consuetudinibus et Observantiis, Presbyterio videlicet Scholarum et aliis Romane Ecclesie in Precipuis Sollemnitatibus', in *Le Liber censuum*, ch. 1, p. 290 (Nativity); ch. 4, p. 292 (Epiphany); ch. 7, p. 293 (Assumption of the Virgin); ch. 41, p. 310 (Ascension and Pentecost); ch. 42, p. 310 (John the Baptist); ch. 43, p. 310 (St Peter); ch. 44, p. 310 (St Lawrence); ch. 45, p. 310 (Commemoration of St Paul); and ch. 76, p. 311 (Dedication of the churches of St Peter and St Paul).
- ¹⁴ The relevant portions of the ordinal of Innocent III appear in Stephen J. P. Van Dijk, *The Ordinal of the Papal Court from Innocent III to Boniface VIII and Related Documents*, *Spicilegium Friburgense* 22 (Fribourg, 1975), 402 and 407. The ordinal of Gregory XII is edited on pp. 533–91.
- ¹⁵ Morné Bezuidenhout, 'The Old and New Historical Views of Gregorian Chant: Papal and Franciscan Plainchant in Thirteenth-Century Rome', *Revista de Musicologia*, 16 (1993), 883–900, esp. 889. On the relationship between the liturgy of the papal court and Franciscan order in general, see Stephen J. P. Van Dijk and Joan Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1960).
- ¹⁶ Praeterea Romani in festivitibus, in quibus volunt sollemnizare in vigilia, de sero faciunt quoddam officium, quod vocant vigiliam, sub hoc modo. Pulsatis signis absolute incipitur antiphona et dicuntur tres psalmi cum tribus antiphonis, versibus, *Pater noster* cum tribus lectionibus et responsoriis, sicut fit in uno nocturno matutinali. Et cantata *Te Deum* vel *Te decet*, officium concluditur cum oratione et *Benedicamus Domino*. In vigilia sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli hoc officium fit in sancto Petro cum novem lectionibus et suis responsoriis; Cunibert Mohlberg, ed., *Radulph de Rivo, der letzte Vertreter der altrömischen Liturgie*, 2 vols, *Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des Conférences d'histoire et de philologie* 29 and 42 (Louvain, 1911–15), 2:123.

hundred years before. Honorius Augustodunensis (d. c. 1151) similarly noted the double offices that unfolded on high feasts of the Sanctorale in the Eternal City.¹⁷ Far lengthier, however, was his account of a similar ‘ancient custom’ of celebrating ‘two night offices on important feasts’,

one at the beginning of the night by the bishop and his chaplains without the *Venite*, the other in the middle of the night [by] the clergy, just as it is still solemnly celebrated. The populace that had gathered for the feast customarily kept a vigil with praises throughout the entire night. But after mockers rendered this good [institution] a charade and devoted themselves to filthy songs, dances, carousal, and fornication, the vigils were prohibited and days dedicated to fasting retained the name of ‘vigils’. Thus according to ancient custom two night offices occur on the Nativity of the Lord.¹⁸

These services displayed salient features of the papal vigils – the participation of the bishop, the omission of the invitatory, and their beginning at dusk. Conspicuously different, however, was their public character, perversion and resulting prohibition. Honorius was not alone in chronicling this development: his Parisian contemporary, Johannes Beleth (d. 1160), tells of vigils once cultivated by ‘our ancient fathers’ in many regions including Poitou. Magnets for ‘young men and women, singers and game players’, they had become occasions for the ‘deflowering of virgins’ and other misdeeds.¹⁹

The references of Honorius and Beleth to antiquity (i.e., ‘ancient custom’ and ‘ancient fathers’) provoke the suspicion that neither author (unlike Amalarius) had first-hand knowledge of these vigils. So too does the striking similarity between their

¹⁷ In praecipuis festivitibus sanctorum agunt Romani duo officia in nocte. Primum initio noctis sine *Alleluia* peragitur, et vocatur *vigilia*: unde et praecedens dies *vigilia* nominatur. Alterum vero circa mediam noctem, et finitur in die: et hoc habet in tertia nocturna in antiphona *Alleluia*; Honorius Augustodunensis, *Sacramentarium* 99, PL 172:800.

¹⁸ More antiquo duo nocturnalibus officia in praecipuis festivitibus agebantur: unum in initio noctis a pontifice cum suis capellanis absque *Venite*; illud medio nocte in clero, sicut adhuc solemniter celebratur. Et populus, qui ad festum confluerat, tota nocte in laudibus vigilare solebat. Postquam vero illusores bonum in ludibrium permutaverunt, et turpibus cantilenis ac saltationibus, potationibus et fornicationibus operam dederunt, vigilae sunt interdictae et dies jejuniis dedicati sunt, et vigiliarum nomen retinuerunt. Secundum antiquum ergo morem duo officia nocti Natalis Domini ascribuntur; Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma animae* 3.6; PL 172:644. See also Honorius’ account of the vigil of St John the Baptist (*Gemma* 4.48; PL 172:706).

¹⁹ Solebant enim antiqui patres nostri vigilare in vigiliis huiusmodi festivorum dierum, et conveniebant ad ecclesias iuvenes et puellas, cantores et lusores, sicut adhuc fit in plurisque regionibus ut in Pictavia et in festis maxime patronorum ecclesiarum. Sed quoniam inde multa inconvenientia sequebantur, institutum fuit, ut locum vigiliarum obtinerent ieiunia, ut sic cessarent comessiones superflue et ebrietates, que ibi frequenter fiebant [. . .] Festum sancti Iohannis Baptiste vigiliam habet, et precedens dies dicitur *vigilia*, quia ieiunium propter hoc vel loco vigiliarum institutum est mos enim erat, ut in festivitibus venirent homines cum uxoris et filiabus suis ad ecclesiam et ibi cum cereis et luminaribus vigilarent. Sed frequenter contingebat in hiis vigiliis puellas virgines corrupti et ad maleficia explenda maiorem opportunitatem haberi; Johannes Beleth, *Summa de Ecclesiasticis Officiis* 11 and 136, ed. Heribert Doutel, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 41A (Turnhout, 1976), 25 and 262. The raucous character of the vigil of St John in particular recalled the pagan festivities that traditionally occurred on the eve and day of John’s feast throughout medieval Europe, festivities that celebrated the summer solstice. See James G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd edn, 12 vols (London, 1911), 10:160–219. I thank Anne Walters Robertson and Michael Anderson for bringing this to my attention.

vivid language and the criticism levelled by early Christians against licentious behaviour at martyrs' tombs on the vigils of high feasts.²⁰ Nevertheless, the accounts evidently carried some historical truth: as related below, anecdotal evidence suggests that the vigils indeed migrated north of the Alps, although the extent of their diffusion remains uncertain.

Equally important, the descriptions of Honorius and Beleth appear almost verbatim in the work of their Italian counterpart, Sicard of Cremona. In a suggestive modification, however, he characterised the vigils as a living tradition, 'still observed by some people' (*ab aliquibus*).²¹ Perhaps he meant the city-states to the south in Tuscany, where cathedral chapters celebrated vigils during and after his lifetime (see Fig. 1). As prescribed in the ordinals compiled for these communities, the evening offices conformed to the accounts of Honorius and Beleth as public events that retained discernible traces of their Roman origins. Yet, as we shall see, the Tuscan vigils neither devolved into secular revelry nor ceded their centrality to lay devotion. Rather, they became implicated in the cult of local saints, one of the foundations of civic religion in communal Italy.

The Tuscan ordinals and their vigils

The eight ordinals of Tuscany comprise one of the largest collections of such books to survive from a single region (Table 1).²² They codified the musical and ritual customs of the parent cathedral chapter but were also used throughout other churches in the diocese and thus served as a vehicle for liturgical uniformity.²³ These books were

²⁰ See, for instance, Basil the Great (c. 330–79), who called attention to the women who 'cast the veils of modesty from their heads', danced through the martyrs' shrines, and sang 'harlot's songs' on the vigil of Easter; see James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 70.

²¹ Honorius' *Gemma animae* 3.6 (PL 172:644) appears in modified form in Sicard of Cremona's *Mitræ* which in turn furnishes the present quotation; see Enrico Cattaneo, 'La partecipazione dei laici alla liturgia', in *I laici nella 'Societas Christiana' dei secoli XI e XII* (Milan, 1968), p. 416, n. 92. Beleth's *Summa* 136 (PL 172:262) appears in *Mitræ* 9.29 (PL 213:415).

²² Aimé-Georges Martimort (*Les 'Ordines', les Ordinaires et les Cérémoniaux*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 56 (Turnhout, 1991), 53–61) provides a list of edited ordinals and Charles Dereine ('Coutumiers et ordinaires de chanoines réguliers', *Scriptorium*, 5 (1951), 108–13) offers one of ordinals (edited and unedited) compiled for communities of regular canons. On the ordinal as a genre of liturgical manuscript, see Martimort, *Les 'Ordines'*, 62–85 and Edward Foley, 'The "Libri Ordinarii"', *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 102 (1988), 129–37.

²³ Gratian's *Decretum* codified the principle by which the liturgy of all churches in a diocese conformed to that of its cathedral; see 'Decretum Gratiani', in *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. Emil Albert Friedberg, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1879), vol. 1, dist. 12, ch. 13: 'Omnes prouinciales eundem in psallendo modum teneant, quem metropolitanam sedem habere cognouerint,' cols 80–1, quoted in the *Ordo Officiorum Ecclesiae Senensis* (henceforth OOE), fol. 197, and cited in Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125–1325* (University Park, Penn., 2005), 16. (Table 1 provides similar abbreviations for the remaining Tuscan ordinals.) See also the prologues to the OOVE (p. 29) and the OOP (fol. 1v), which explicitly state the purpose of the ordinals to promote liturgical uniformity in the dioceses of Volterra and Pisa respectively. That the Tuscan ordinals indeed circulated beyond the walls of the cathedrals finds confirmation in the copy of the OOVE compiled for the baptismal parish of San Gimignano in the Volterranean diocese: San Gimignano, Biblioteca Comunale, 3 (early thirteenth century). The church of San Giorgio in Sorbano in the Lucchese diocese similarly possessed a copy of the OOL, as an inventory of its sacristy includes 'unum ordinarium officii lucane ecclesie' (Lucca, Archivio Capitolare, LL 45, fol. 35v

Table 1 *Ordinals of Medieval Tuscany*²⁴

City	Title	Date	Manuscript Sigla
Pisa	<i>Ordo Officiorum</i> [OOP]	Mid-twelfth century	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1758
Volterra	<i>Ordo Officiorum Vulterrane Ecclesie</i> [OOVE]	1161	Volterra, Biblioteca Guarnacci, 5789
Florence	<i>Ritus in ecclesia servandi</i> [Ritus]	c. 1173–1205	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 3005
Pistoia	[OOPist1]	Early thirteenth century	Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare, C 114
Siena	<i>Ordo Officiorum Ecclesiae Senensis</i> [OOES]	1215	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, G.V.8
Florence	<i>Mores et Consuetudines Ecclesiae Florentinae</i> [Mores]	c. 1231	Florence, Archivio dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, I.3.8
Pistoia	[OOPist2]	Late thirteenth century	Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare, C 102
Lucca	<i>Ordo Officiorum</i> [OOL]	c. 1292	Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare, 608

typically the work of the senior members of the chapter, the canons; however, in Florence and Lucca, the impetus came from reformist bishops who considered the preservation of liturgical tradition crucial to the renewal of spiritual life.²⁵ As

(18 November 1300)). The concern for liturgical uniformity within dioceses—but not between them—marked a turn away from the eleventh-century ‘Gregorian’ reforms, which had aimed to conform local liturgies with that of Rome: Enrico Cattaneo, ‘La vita comune dei chierici e la liturgia’, in *La vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII. Atti della settimana di studio, Mendola, settembre 1959*, 2 vols (Milan, 1962), 261.

²⁴ My citations to the Tuscan ordinals refer to the original manuscript source with the exception of the OOVE, for which I draw on the modern edition, Mario Bocci, ed., *De Sancti Hugonis Actis Liturgicis* (Florence, 1984). The following studies establish the dating of the Tuscan ordinals: Bocci, ed., *De Sancti Hugonis*, 11–3 (OOVE); Marica S. Tacconi, *Cathedral and Civic Ritual in Late Medieval and Renaissance Florence: The Service-Books of Santa Maria del Fiore* (Cambridge, 2005), 94 and 97–8 (*Ritus* and *Mores* respectively); Giulio Cattin, ‘“Secundare” e “Succinere”’. Polifonia a Padova e Pistoia nel duecento’, *Musica e Storia*, 3 (1985), 45–121, at p. 70 (OOPist1 and OOPist2); Raffaele Argenziano, *Agli inizi dell’iconografia sacra a Siena: Culti, riti e iconografia a Siena nel XII secolo* (Florence, 2000), 54–8 (OOES); and Brand, ‘Liturgical Ceremony’, 6–7 (OOL). The OOP was recently discovered by Augustine Thompson, who dates it to the late twelfth century in *Cities of God*, 9. It seems more likely, however, that the author, Rolando the Deacon, was a cleric identified in several acts drafted in the 1140s and 1150s and published in Natale Caturegli, *Regestum pisanum, Regesta chartarum Italiae* 16 (Rome, 1938). An eponymous deacon and cathedral canon consecrated the church and hospital of San Marco in 1141 (n. 381, p. 256) and witnessed three public acts, two at the episcopal palace in 1147 (n. 407, p. 274) and 1154 (n. 433, p. 297), and one in Pisa in 1158 (n. 457, p. 318). The author of the OOP was probably not, however, the ‘Rolandus diaconus’ named in a financial transaction in 1181 at the church of San Bartolomeo *de Biserno* (n. 550, p. 400).

²⁵ Tacconi (*Cathedral*, 97–8) relates the creation of the *Mores* to the reinstatement of common life at the Florentine cathedral by Bishop Ardingo of Florence in 1231. Benjamin Brand, ‘Liturgical Ceremony at the Cathedral of Lucca, 1275–1500’, Ph.D. diss., Yale University (2006), 6–7, and Martino Giusti, ‘L’*Ordo Officiorum* della Cattedrale di Lucca’, in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, 6 vols (Vatican City, 1946), 2:529–30 likewise tie the OOL to Bishop Paganello of Lucca’s reforms in the 1280s and 1290s. Two ordinals carry ascriptions to cathedral canons: the OOVE was composed by the archpriest (and later bishop) named Ugo, and the OOP by a cathedral canon and deacon named Rolando (see above, n. 24). The OOES carries

Table 2 *Vigils of Tuscany and the Papal Court*

Tuscan Vigil (local variations in footnotes)	Papal Vigil
<i>Deus in adiutorium</i> ²⁶	
Invitatory ²⁷	
Nocturn	Nocturn
Ant. 1 ²⁸	Ant. 1
Ant. 2	Ant. 2
Ant. 3	Ant. 3
Lct. 1	Lct. 1
Rx. 1	Rx. 1
Lct. 2	Lct. 2
Rx. 2	Rx. 2
Lct. 3	Lct. 3
Rx. 3 ²⁹	
(Nocturn 2)	(Nocturn 2)
...	...
(Nocturn 3)	(Nocturn 3)
...	...
<i>Te Deum laudamus</i> ³⁰	<i>Te Deum laudamus</i>
Chapter ³¹	
Versicle ³²	
Antiphon ad Benedictus ³³	
Prayer	Prayer
<i>Benedicamus Domino</i> ³⁴	<i>Benedicamus Domino</i>

prescriptions for liturgical ceremony, the ordinals included no music but rather text of two kinds: the incipits of chants, readings, and prayers, and the rubrics that specified the ritual context for these items.³⁵ The earlier ordinals present only cursory rubrics, while the later ordinals are lengthier and prescribe the ritual actions of the

no ascription but was almost certainly the work of the cathedral canon Oderico, whose obit in a thirteenth-century martyrology reads: 'Anno Domini millesimo CCXXXV indictione nona die VIII Kal. Februarii obiit dominus Oderigus canonicus senensis qui composuit ordinem officiorum senensis ecclesie'; see Argenziano, *Agli inizi*, 55.

²⁶ Siena only.

²⁷ Florence, Siena and Volterra only. On the feasts of St John the Baptist and the Assumption of the Virgin, the Pistoiese vigils featured the invitatory as well.

²⁸ The Florentine vigils featured only one antiphon for all three psalms.

²⁹ Volterra and Pistoia only.

³⁰ Florence, Pisa, Pistoia and Volterra only.

³¹ Lucca and Volterra only.

³² The versicle was chanted in Pisa directly after the third lesson.

³³ Lucca, Siena and Volterra only.

³⁴ Lucca, Pisa, Pistoia and Siena only.

³⁵ Some of the Tuscan ordinals also contain extracts from well-known liturgical commentaries by Amalarius of Metz, Bernaldus of Constance, and others. See, for instance, the list of sources in the OOL in Giusti, 'L'Ordo', 530–2.

clergy in detail. The growing desire to codify this dimension of the liturgy provoked the creation of entirely new ordinals in Florence and Pistoia, the expanded rubrics of which supplemented older exemplars.³⁶

As prescribed in the Tuscan ordinals, the vigils began after Vespers and typically contained three antiphons, three lessons, and two or three responsories (Table 2).³⁷ The material that preceded and followed the nocturn varied from city to city and often diverged from Roman tradition. Most striking was the inclusion of the invitatory and the Benedictus, the latter derived not from Matins but from Lauds. Although the liturgical structure of the Tuscan vigils is thus clear, the development of the ordinals makes an examination of their frequency and devotional function problematic. The later ordinals typically provided lengthier and more numerous descriptions of the vigils, perhaps because those services drew their text and music from other canonical hours and were thus deemed inessential to the cursory rubrics of the earlier ordinals. The two Florentine books illustrate this with particular clarity: the *Ritus* (c. 1173–1205) prescribed only one vigil and the *Mores* (c. 1231) eight. Likewise the first Pistoiese *ordo* (early thirteenth century) contained no vigils and the second (late thirteenth century) fifteen. Whether these discrepancies reflected the codification of pre-existing vigils or the creation of entirely new ones is unclear – both processes may have been at work.³⁸

Nevertheless, such uncertainties do not obscure the strikingly different uses to which the cathedral chapters of Tuscany put their vigils. Just as these communities altered the liturgical structure of the papal services, so they also often modified the cursus of feasts adorned by the vigils in Rome (Appendix 1). The Volterrans confined their vigils to three feasts of this cursus (Appendix 2a) but the Pisans added the *dies natalis* of Sts Ephesus and Potius because their relics lay in the cathedral (Appendix 2b).³⁹ The prominence of local patrons was more pronounced in Siena, where only the titulars of the baptistery (John the Baptist) and of the altars in the cathedral merited vigils (Appendix 2c).⁴⁰ The Florentines likewise honoured saints dear to their cathedral and city (Appendix 2d). The arm of St Philip resided in the cathedral while St

³⁶ See Tacconi, *Cathedral*, 94 on the *Mores* and Cattin, ‘“Secundare” e “Succinere”’, 66–7 on the OOPist2. Martimort (*Les ‘Ordines’*, 78–9) notes the trend towards lengthier rubrics in general.

³⁷ The Tuscan ordinals usually note that either the antiphons or the lessons derived from the first nocturn of Matins, and presumably so too did the responsories. The formulation in the OOP, fols 37v–38 is typical: ‘Sonato signo non dicitur *Deus in adiutorium meum* sed cantor incipit antiphonam de primo nocturno et cantatur tres psalmos cum tribus antiphone. Deinde versus, leguntur tres lectiones de festo, duobus perfectis fit responsorium cum *Gloria*.’

³⁸ The only documented case of the creation of a new vigil occurred in Florence, where the arm of St Philip was brought to that city from Jerusalem in 1215. This prompted the institution of a vigil for Sts Philip and James as prescribed in the *Mores* (fol. 10) but not in the *Ritus*.

³⁹ OOP, fol. 53v: ‘In natalis sanctorum Ephisi et Potiti quorum corpora in nostra requiescunt sollempne et duplicatimente altare ipsorum officium facimus. Vigilia cantamus’. On the cult of St Ephesus, whose *dies natalis* he shared with his fellow martyr Potitus, see Pietro Burchi, ‘Efisio’, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 12 vols (Rome, 1964), 4:939–40.

⁴⁰ The exceptions were St Thomas the Apostle, to whom no altar was dedicated but who received a vigil, and St Michael, whose altar was located in the north or south aisle of that church but for whom no vigil was sung. Argenziano, *Agli inizi*, 70–84 reconstructs the locations of the altars inside the Sienese cathedral at the time of the compilation of the OOES.

Matthew and St Luke were titulars of chapels in that church.⁴¹ More important still were St Reparata, the titular of the cathedral, St Zenobius, an early bishop of Florence, and John the Baptist, regarded as the protector of the entire city since the eleventh century.

The adaptation of the vigils to local patterns of devotion produced an altogether different result in Pistoia, where the cathedral chapter adopted the Roman *cursus* without inserting the feasts of local saints (Appendix 2e). It diverged from papal practice, however, in including the feasts of all but two of the apostles: only St Mathias and St Mark were not included, perhaps because their *dies natales* regularly fell during Lent or Eastertide. Although these were universally venerated saints, the chapter cast seven of the apostles as local patrons by celebrating their vigils at churches with an altar dedicated to them. Yet this too recalled a papal tradition, namely the celebration of stational vigils honouring the titulars of Roman basilicas other than St Peter's (Appendix 1b).

While the evening vigils constituted a regional phenomenon that extended throughout Tuscany, they thus became localised when used to honour the patrons of individual churches or cities. Clerics probably knew the vigils celebrated by their counterparts in neighbouring city-states, but there is no evidence that the tradition of one cathedral directly influenced that of another. Nevertheless, if any city was the 'centre' of the vigils in Tuscany, it was Lucca. There these services found their most complex and elaborate expression, acquiring the singular title of 'major Vespers' (*vesperae maiores*) and occurring on no less than thirty-nine feasts annually (Appendix 2f). As in Siena, many of these vigils honoured titulars of altars located in the cathedral. These included obscure figures such as the Roman martyrs Jason, Maurus and Hilaria, as well as widely venerated ones such as the patron of the entire church, St Martin of Tours.⁴² The sculpture of Christ crucified known as the 'Holy Face' (*Volto Santo*) elicited a vigil on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, as did that of the Dedication of the Church.⁴³

Although many of the *vesperae maiores* were oriented towards local treasures, others evoked papal custom. The vigils of the Nativity and St Stephen belonged to Roman tradition but not that of other cathedrals in Tuscany. The Lucchese even celebrated a vigil on the final three Sundays of Advent, thus exceeding the pope's vigil on *Gaudete* Sunday alone (cf. Appendix 1b). The resonances between the Lucchese and Roman vigils extended to their liturgical structure. Unlike many Tuscan vigils, the *vesperae maiores* lacked the invitatory, that enduring sign of papal exclusivity (Table 2). And on

⁴¹ The *Mores*, fol. 8, notes also that the feast of the titular of the right apsidiole altar of the cathedral, St John the Evangelist, did not merit a vigil because it fell during the octave of Christmas. For a reconstruction of the Florentine cathedral and its altars, see Tacconi, *Cathedral*, Figure 3.6, (p. 125). On the translation of the arm of St Philip, see above n. 38.

⁴² Brand, 'Liturgical Ceremony', Fig. 2.2 (p. 25), provides a reconstruction of San Martino in the thirteenth century, while Graziano Concioni, 'San Martino di Lucca: La cattedrale medioevale', *Rivista di archeologia, storia, costume*, 22 (1994), 265–363 is a documentary history of its altars and chapels.

⁴³ Although a twelfth-century legend dates the translation of the *Volto Santo* from Palestine to the eighth century, the documented history of that relic begins only in the late eleventh: Diana Webb, 'The Holy Face of Lucca', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 9 (1986), 228–37.

five particularly solemn feasts, the chapter celebrated a vigil of nine lessons, which thus formed a true double office with Matins. The clergy of Pisa and Volterra likewise chanted nine-lesson vigils, although the latter eschewed the symmetry of the double office by then abbreviating Matins to three lessons (Appendix 2a and 2b).

The similarities between the *vesperae maiores* and the papal vigils were not fortuitous, but instead reflected broader affinities between the liturgies of Lucca and Rome. These had found an articulate witness in Bishop Rangerio of Lucca (1097–1112), the author of a rhymed *vita* dedicated to his episcopal predecessor, St Anselm (1073–86). An uncompromising reformer and ally of Pope Gregory VII, Anselm's attempt to institute common life at San Martino had incited the canons to drive him into exile.⁴⁴ With such a traumatic conflict fresh in his mind, Rangerio was eager to demonstrate the fidelity of Lucca to the pope, suggesting that his predecessor's allegiance to Rome conformed to a much older alliance between Lucca and the Eternal City. In the *Vita metrica*, Rangerio observed that 'the nobility of the Roman faith' had given 'form to the Lucchese church' and had bestowed upon it 'festal traditions and stations' unknown elsewhere in Tuscany.⁴⁵

Rangerio did not identify the *vesperae maiores* as belonging to the 'festal traditions' inherited from Rome; however, the unusual title of the Lucchese vigil suggests an equally self-conscious attempt to associate them with the Eternal City. 'Major Vespers' evoked not the first half of the double office of the pope but rather the stational Vespers celebrated by the Roman clergy during the Easter Octave. While these ancient and illustrious services did not present the chants and readings of Matins, they too featured responsorial plainsong in the form of the Major Alleluias.⁴⁶ A perceived relationship between the *vesperae maiores* and Easter Vespers is particularly likely given the Lucchese adherence to yet another Roman custom during the Easter Octave. On the seven days of that week, the bishop and chapter celebrated Mass at one of the basilicas of the city, known in Lucca as *ecclesie sedeles*. Largely unknown elsewhere in Tuscany, these Masses were a prime example of the Roman stations lauded by Rangerio.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Cosimo Damiano Fonseca, 'Il capitolo di San Martino e la riforma canonica nella seconda metà del sec. xi', in *Sant'Anselmo vescovo di Lucca (1073–1086). Nel quadro delle trasformazioni sociali e della riforma ecclesiastica*, ed. Cinzio Violante (Rome, 1992), 51–64.

⁴⁵ 'Roma Petri Sedes et rerum prima per orbem, / Sed nec Luca sacris sedibus inferior. / Roma viris, opibus omni sublimior urbe / Et fidei titulo claruit et solio. / Lucca fuit lucens et lucis tramite ducens / Et de Romana nobilitate cluens. / Nobilitas fidei de prima tradizione / Lucensi formam contulit aecclesiae. / Contulit et mores festivos et staciones, / Quod non est Tuscis omnibus aecclesiis'; 'Vita metrica Sancti Anselmi Lucensis episcopi', in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores*, vol. 30, part 2, fasc. 2, ed. Ernest Sackur, Gerhard Schwartz, and Bernhard Schmeidler (Leipzig, 1929), ch. 1, pp. 1171–72, vv. 699–708.

⁴⁶ The most detailed of contemporary descriptions of the Easter Vespers is the treatment in Amalarius of Metz, 'Liber,' 83–5, a thorough critique of which appears in Stephen J. P. Van Dijk, 'The Medieval Easter Vespers of the Roman Clergy', *Sacris Erudiri*, 19 (1969–70), 261–363, esp. 318–25. Although the Roman clergy had celebrated the Easter Vespers since at least the eighth century, Van Dijk argues that they did not belong to the tradition of the papal court and only occasionally featured the attendance of the pope (pp. 347–8).

⁴⁷ While the cathedral chapter of Florence celebrated stational Masses on the four days after Easter (*Ritus*, fols 46v–47; *Mores*, fols. 5–5v; Tacconi, *Cathedral*, 102), those of the other Tuscan cathedrals celebrated

The Easter Masses were only a handful of a larger collection of stations celebrated by the cathedral chapter of Lucca, eighteen of which fell on feasts of the Sanctorale and featured the *vesperae maiores* (Appendix 2f). The dedicatees were the patrons of other Lucchese churches – *ecclesie sedeles*, urban monasteries, and modest chapels – as well as the titulars of altars located therein. An act drafted in 1287 by the canons of San Martino and those of the church of San Pietro Maggiore describes these stations in particular detail. On the evenings before the feasts of St Andrew, St Peter, and St Senesius, the entire chapter – the canons, chaplains, acolytes, schoolmaster, choirboys, and other officials – processed to San Pietro. The prior of that basilica met the assembly at the church doors as the bells pealed. The chapter then chanted a vigil of one nocturn, after which each member received supper and distributions of currency from their hosts. On the following morning, they returned to celebrate High Mass.⁴⁸

The integration of the *vesperae maiores* into the sanctoral stations not only doubled the number of vigils celebrated annually in Lucca but also amplified their associations with the Eternal City. For like the *vesperae maiores*, the stations descended from Roman tradition, namely the *martyria* at which the popes worshipped at the graves of local martyrs during early Christian times.⁴⁹ Cathedral chapters of many peninsular cities adopted such evening stations, although they appear to have been more common in

none at all. The *ecclesie sedeles* of Lucca included San Martino, the old cathedral of Santa Reparata, the adjacent baptistery of San Giovanni, and four suburban basilicas: San Donato, San Pietro Maggiore, Santa Maria Forisportam and San Frediano. The title of ‘ecclesia sedelis’ denoted the status of a church as the bishop’s seat on one of the days of the Easter Octave. It appears in Lucchese documents from the seventh century onwards, and in this is a reflection of the antiquity of the stations themselves: Giusti, ‘L’Ordo’, 549–50 and Almerico Guerra and Pietro Guidi, *Compendio di storia ecclesiastica lucchese dalle origini a tutto il secolo XII* (Lucca, 1924), p. 22* and pp. 118*–129*. On the Roman stations of Easter, see John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 228 (Rome, 1987), 156–7.

⁴⁸ Lucca, Archivio Capitolare, LL 41, fols 69v–70 (30 April 1287): ‘Et infra nos plena deliberatione premissa, dicimus et volumus et inter ipsas partes diffinimus, quod prior et canonici ecclesie Santi Petri [sic] predicti seu aliquis eorum invitent seu invitari faciant ipsum lucanum capitulum vel eius sacristam qui pro tempore fuerit in vigiliis festivitatum Santi Petri, et Santi Andree, et Santi Senesii ante per unum diem vel plures; quod ipsum capitulum lucanum vadat in qualibet vigilia cuiusque dictorum sanctorum et etiam in die festivitatis cuiusque eorum in mane ad dictam ecclesiam Santi Petri pro divino officio ibi celebrando ut infra dicitur; et ipsum capitulum lucanum in vigilia et in die cuiusque festivitatis dictorum sanctorum ad dictam ecclesiam Santi Petri ire teneantur; et in qualibet vigilia teneatur ipsum capitulum dicere ibi maiores vespereas cum tribus salmis et tribus lectionibus et duobus responsoriis; et in mane cuiusque festivitatis dicere et celebrare ibi missam debeant per canonicum cum diacono et subdiacono canonicis; et dictum capitulum lucanum in adventu cuiusque vigile et festivitatis dictorum sanctorum debeat recipi pro dictis priorem et capitulum cum pulsatione campanarum et cum incenso dando per ipsum priorem et aliquem ex canonicis aut per aliquam aliam personam honestam ut moris est’. The subsequent description of the meal after the vigil of St Peter is exemplary: ‘Item dicimus et promitemus quod prior et capitulum Santi Petri maioris predicti dare debeant in festo et pro festo Santi Petri. In prandio ipsius festi eidem capitulo lucano et eius cappellanis et familiaribus clericis ipsius capituli et canonicorum et magistro scholarum et eius scholaribus et operario et casettario ipsius lucane ecclesie unam refectorem in hunc modum, videlicet quia omnes isti habere debeant de bono et convenienti pane et vino ad subficientiam et de carnibus castracinis convenienter. Et nomine quoslibet duos canonicos habere debeant unum pollastrum assatum et salsamentum cum eo vel ad guarunigiam, et aliquos fructus, et inter quos libros quattuor cappellanos et accolitos unum pollastrum sibi modo’ (fols 70–70v).

⁴⁹ Baldovin, *The Urban Character*, 146 and Johann. P. Kirsch, ‘L’origine des stations liturgiques du missel romain’, *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 41 (1927), 137–51, esp. 145–6.

northern Italy than in Tuscany.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the celebration of a vigil and not Vespers at the evening stations remained exceptional, occurring only in Lucca and Pistoia.⁵¹

The incorporation of the *vesperae maiores* into the sanctoral stations thus marked the intersection of two great Roman customs – precisely those ‘festal traditions and stations’ that Rangerio had praised. But these services also communicated a social message that had little to do with their august heritage. The stational vigils confirmed the place of the patrons of local churches within the pantheon of Lucchese saints, thus underscoring the prestige of the clerics resident at these religious houses. The supper that followed portrayed the cathedral canons as visiting dignitaries who alone were responsible for such solemn expressions of liturgical ceremony.⁵² These political subtexts reached not only the clergy but also the local populace, which like its counterparts throughout Tuscany, flocked to the evening vigils.

The vigils and their public

As the seats of local bishops and spiritual centres of their cities, the Tuscan cathedrals were veritable magnets for public worship. The Florentine ordinals were particularly attuned to the public dimension of the liturgy at these great churches. The *Ritus* dubbed feasts of local significance ‘popular’ (*popularia*) and distinguished them from the ‘highest’ (*precipue*) feasts celebrated universally. The *Mores* likewise provided detailed prescriptions for the ringing of the bells calling the ‘clergy and populace’ to worship.⁵³ Throughout Italy, the laity attended High Mass on Sundays and solemn feasts, as well as the hours of Vespers and Compline. Most popular, however, was the Low Mass chanted daily after prime: the celebrant gave a sermon ‘to the people’ that explicated the gospel reading that had come just before.⁵⁴

From their position in the naves of most Tuscan cathedrals, the populace enjoyed an unimpeded view of the liturgical action: the central choir typically stood before

⁵⁰ In Bergamo, for instance, the cathedral canons processed to each chapel of their city on the evening before the *dies natalis* of its titular saint. They chanted first Vespers, dined at the chapel’s expense, and returned for High Mass on the following day. See Giangiuseppina Valsecchi, ‘*Interrogatus . . . Respondit*’: *Storia di un processo del XII secolo* (Bergamo, 1989), 69–70. The cathedral canons of Bologna honoured the patronal feasts of their urban chapels in a similar manner; Thompson, *Cities of God*, 150–1. By contrast, the canons of the Florentine cathedral observed only ten such stations, which involved a Mass but not first Vespers: Tacconi, *Cathedral*, 101–5 and Table 3.2.

⁵¹ The only exception was the celebration in Siena of the vigil of St John the Baptist in the baptistery dedicated to him (Appendix 2c).

⁵² On the symbolic import of ecclesiastical meals in general, see Massimo Montanari, ‘Il pranzo dei canonici’, in *Alimentazione e cultura nel Medioevo* (Rome, 1988), 117–8 and Richard C. Trexler, ‘Ritual Behavior in Renaissance Florence: The Setting’, in *Church and Community 1200–1600: Studies in the History of Florence and New Spain* (Rome, 1987), 30–1.

⁵³ *Ritus*, fols 98v–99; e.g., *Mores*, fol. 5; Tacconi, *Cathedral*, 98–9.

⁵⁴ So pivotal was the recitation of the gospel to the congregation that, according to Sicard of Cremona, many lay worshipers left directly afterwards, on which account the sermon was often recited before that scriptural reading. ‘Deinde, facit episcopus sermonem ad populum, aliqui etiam ante evangelium praedicant, forte ex prava consuetudine laicorum cantato evangelio recedentium’ (Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale* 3.4; PL 213:112).

the High Altar, enclosed not by a tall screen as in northern churches but rather a low wall or railing.⁵⁵ This layout fostered a shared sense of worship and helped the laity to coordinate its kneeling, genuflection and recitation of short responses with the ecclesiastical ritual. And while the participation of lay worshipers is often assumed to have been confined to such formulaic gestures, many were far more engaged. The well-educated merchants, bankers and their families who constituted the political foundation of the Italian city-states comprehended much of the sung and recited Latin.⁵⁶

If some Tuscans were receptive to the intellectual subtleties offered by the paired lessons and responsories of the vigil, the majority was surely drawn by the sonic splendours of that office. The chapters of their cathedrals encouraged lay attendance with impressive performances that went beyond the singing of the prolix responsories. In Lucca, the canons bestowed unusual prominence on the choirboys, one of whom intoned the first antiphon of every *vesperae maiores*.⁵⁷ Equally striking was the ornamentation of plainchant with improvised polyphony in Lucca, Pistoia and Siena. Such 'organum' likely resembled the note-against-note discant prescribed in Guido's *Micrologus* (c. 1024–33) or in the later complex of treatises tied to *Ad organum faciendum* (c. 1050–1100).⁵⁸ The Pistoiese and Sienese regularly sang the final responsory and the Benedicamus Domino of the vigil *cum organo*; the former applied it to the antiphons as well, singing them first monophonically and then polyphonically after the recitation of each psalm.⁵⁹ By contrast, the Lucchese were

⁵⁵ As noted below, this arrangement did not obtain at the cathedral of Florence. Lofty screens were hardly unknown in Italy but were confined to monastic or mendicant churches: Marcia B. Hall, 'The Ponte in S. Maria Novella: The Problem of the Rood Screen in Italy', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37 (1974): 157–73, esp. 167. Although such barriers are generally assumed to have impeded lay participation in the liturgy, Jacqueline Elaine Jung ('The West Choir Screen of Naumburg Cathedral and the Formation of Social and Sacred Space' (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2002), 52–64) argues that they were in fact permeable (both visually and physically).

⁵⁶ Thompson emphasises the relative sophistication of many lay worshipers in communal Italy and their active participation in the liturgy; *Cities of God*, ch. 6, esp. pp. 239–42. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven, 1992), 109–21, and Virginia Reinburg, 'Liturgy and the Laity in Late Medieval and Reformation France', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 23 (1992), 526–47, similarly stress the active role of the congregation in late medieval England and France respectively. Such perspectives contrast with the traditional view of a largely illiterate and passive laity in Argenziano, *Agli inizi*, 68 and Cattaneo, 'La partecipazione', 408–10.

⁵⁷ OOL, fol. 45: 'Vesperas [sic] maiores sonatis signis sic celebramus. Unus de scola incipit antiphonam a primo nocturno'.

⁵⁸ Brand, 'Liturgical Ceremony', 178–88; Frank D'Accone, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1997), 93–7. For a concise overview of Guidonian and post-Guidonian organum, see Sarah Fuller, 'Early Polyphony', in *The New Oxford History of Music*, vol. 2, 2nd edn, ed. Richard Crocker and David Hiley (Oxford, 1990), 500–2 and 508–17, respectively.

⁵⁹ The description of the vigil of St Andrew at the cathedral of Pistoia is exemplary: 'Ibique nullo introitu precedenti cantor incipit primam antiphonam primi nocturni predictae ystorie et ita cantamus ibi tres psalmos cum tribus antiphonis primi nocturni, quarum quilibet ante psalmum canitur et post succinitur et legimus tres lectiones et cantamus tria responsoria primi nocturni predictae ystorie, versus succinentes. Tertio responsorio terminato sacerdos coram altari dicit *Ora pro nobis beate Andree exinde Dominus vobiscum*. Oremus sequitur oratio festivitatis, Benedicamus succinitur' (OOPist2, fol. 44v). On the use of 'succentus/succinere' ('to sing under') to denote polyphony in the OOPist1 and OOPist2, see Cattin, "'Secundare"' e "'Succinere"'', 70–7.

more circumspect with organum, so embellishing the *vesperae maiores* just five times annually.⁶⁰

Whether by virtue of their contemplative or musical riches, the Tuscan vigils indeed attracted lay worshipers. The Lucchese ordinal instructed the cathedral chapter to 'recite the passion [of St Blaise] in the nocturn to the people' at his vigil.⁶¹ That of Pistoia likewise noted the attendance of the congregation on the vigil of St James Major, whose relic had resided in the cathedral since 1145.⁶² So popular was his cult that the laity attended the vigil and Matins, both of which the canons sang 'briefly and succinctly, as the noise of the people interferes'.⁶³

In Lucca the populace was even more disruptive when a scheduled vigil did not occur. An interdict imposed upon its citizens in 1308 prohibited the cathedral canons from admitting the laity to their services.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, 'many laymen, workers, and women' had gathered at the church of San Donato in anticipation of the vigil (*officium vigilie*) of its patron saint, going so far as to mark the beginning of that office by ringing the bells themselves. Having witnessed this act of bravado, the canons' representative, Don Manso, demanded that the prior and chapter of San Donato 'give them the church free from the presence of laypeople'. Manso then turned to those interlopers and ordered them to vacate the premises. Only then, he declared, would the canons celebrate the *vesperae maiores*, but 'in a hushed voice, with the doors closed, and without the ringing of the bells'.⁶⁵

This unusual case illustrates not only the imperious attitude of the cathedral canons towards their clerical hosts, but also the importance of the vigils to the ordinary

⁶⁰ OOL, fol. 4 (Nativity), fol. 48 (Sts Fabian and Sebastian), fol. 49v (St Agatha), fol. 61 (St Regulus) and fol. 64v (St Martin).

⁶¹ 'De festo maiores vesperas de ipso celebratur agimus et in ipsis et in nocturno passione eius populo recitamus et de uno martire cantamus' (OOL, fol. 49v).

⁶² Diana Webb, *Patrons and Defenders: The Saints in the Italian City-States* (London, 1996), 78–81. On the cult of St James in Pistoia in the fourteenth century, see eadem, 'St James in Tuscany: The Opera di San Jacopo of Pistoia and Pilgrimage to Compostela', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50 (1998), 207–34.

⁶³ OOPist2, fol. 61v: 'Clerus cantat vigiliam in choro beati Zenonis breviter et succinte rumore populi impediante. Similiter matutinum celebratur ibidem breviter et discursim eodem rumore sic impediante.'

⁶⁴ Bishop Enrico II (1300–30) had imposed the interdict in retaliation for infringements by the commune on the traditional immunity of the local clergy to civil jurisdiction; Enrico Coturri, 'La Chiesa Lucchese al Tempo di Castruccio', in *Castruccio Castracani e il suo tempo. Convegno Internazionale, Lucca 5–10 Ottobre 1981, Actum Luce*, 13–14 (1984–85), 113–24, esp. 115–16, and Augusto Mancini, *Storia di Lucca* (Lucca, 1999), 107.

⁶⁵ Lucca, Archivio Capitolare, Diploma L 169 (6 August 1308): '1308, in die sexta Augusti statim et incontinenti apertis foris ipsius ecclesie [Sancti Donati] ibique laicis pluribus et operariis etiam laicis existentibus et venientibus mulieribus laicis ad sonum campanarum, quas laici vel alii sonaverunt, in iniuriam lucani capituli et canonicorum et etiam interdicti volentes predicti dominus Mansus et canonici lucani in ipsa ecclesia officium vigilie facere, et dicere vespertinum, ac non volentibus preter inderdictum adstantibus laicis et in ipsa ecclesia presentibus. Idem dominus Mansus rogavit et requisivit ipsos priorem et capitulum [Sancti Donati], quod eisdem darent pro dicto officio faciendo ecclesiam laicorum presentia expeditam, ut ibidem laici ipsis volentibus officium dicere non adstarent. Insuper et versa vice dictus dominus Mansus dicto nomine requisivit et rogavit laicos in ipsa ecclesia adstantes et operarios, quod ab ipsa ecclesia recederent et ipsos promitterent libere supradictum officium celebrare submissa voce et clausis januis etiam non pulsatis campanis.'

'laymen, workers, and women' who attended them. If these evening offices were thus prime venues for expressions of lay as well as clerical piety throughout the region, they approached true sacred spectacle in both Florence and Lucca. At the vigils of their most venerated saints, the cathedral canons of these cities constructed an image of unified worship, thereby promoting St Zenobius and St Reparata (in Florence), St Regulus and St Martin (in Lucca) as civic patrons. In the hands of these clerics, then, the papal vigil achieved its most striking transformation from private ritual to public spectacle.

Civic patrons and sacred spectacle

Of the eight vigils prescribed in the *Mores*, that of St Zenobius was the most important and perhaps the oldest because it alone appeared in the earlier *Ritus*.⁶⁶ The lessons probably derived from the *Vita Sancti Zenobii* by Lorenzo of Amalfi (d. 1049), who recounts Zenobius' childhood, his entrance into the clergy, and his career as bishop of Florence in the fourth century.⁶⁷ According to Lorenzo's *vita*, Zenobius was not, as would later be claimed, the founder of the diocese, but nevertheless formed an important link to St Ambrose of Milan, an early supporter of the local church. Zenobius witnessed Ambrose's consecration of the first cathedral of Florence, San Lorenzo, as well as his spirit praying at the High Altar many years later.⁶⁸ Although Zenobius was buried in San Lorenzo, his body was later translated to the new cathedral of Santa Reparata in the ninth century.

Because there was not yet a full proper office for the sanctified bishop, the cathedral chapter of Florence chanted two responsories from other feasts at the vigil. *Beatus vir* derived from the common of saints' feasts during Eastertide.⁶⁹ *Iam non dicam* belonged to the office of Pentecost, which fell just before or after Zenobius' *dies*

⁶⁶ *Ritus*, fol. 82v: 'Vigiliam celebramus in sero hoc modo. Invitatorium *Alleluia regem confessorum*, dicto *Venite* sollempniter imponitur antiphona *Zenobi mundo* super tres psalmos primi nocturni confessorum, que ante psalmos tota canitur et post psalmos repetitur. III lectiones legimus de vita eius, primum responsorium *Beatus vir*, secundum *Iam non dicam*, post tertiam lectionem non dicimus responsorium, sed *Te Deum laudamus*. Quo cantato, dicitur a sacerdote versus, *Ora pro nobis*, deinde *Dominus vobiscum*, deinde oratio *Propitiare*.'

⁶⁷ The *Vita Sancti Zenobii* appears in an eleventh-century hagiographic lectionary Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Edili 139, fols 105–9, and is published as the 'Vita Tertia [Sancti Zenobii]', in *Acta Sanctorum Maii* 6 (Antwerp, 1688), cols 58–62. Lorenzo's was but the first of three *vitae* of St Zenobius, the second of which was written in the twelfth or thirteenth century and spuriously attributed to Simplician, the successor to St Ambrose to the see of Milan (published in cols 52–4). The third life (published in cols 54–6) was the work of a fourteenth-century Vallombrosan monk named Biagio.

⁶⁸ Lorenzo of Amalfi, 'Vita Tertia,' col. 1059, ch. 1, n. 7. On the figure of St Ambrose in Lorenzo's *vita*, see Carlo Nardi, 'La fortuna di Ambrogio nelle memorie medioevali di Zanobi, vescovo di Firenze', in *Le radici cristiane di Firenze* (Florence, 1994), 77–116, esp. 94–7.

⁶⁹ 'Beatus vir qui metuit Dominum, alleluia; in mandatis ejus cupit nimis, alleluia alleluia alleluia. V. Gloria et divitiae in domo ejus, et justitia ejus manet in saeculum saeculi'. This and other chants for the vigil of St Zenobius appear in the mid-twelfth-century antiphoner Florence, Archivio Arcivescovile, n.s., inventoried in Keith Glaeske, Charles Downey, and Lila Collamore, eds, *The Twelfth-Century Antiphoner of Firenze, Curia Arcivescovile: A CANTUS Index* (Washington, 1994). For *Beatus vir* in particular, see fols 124–124v.

natalis.⁷⁰ If the responsories thus evoked the Easter season, the antiphons engaged the subject of Zenobius himself. The invitatory came from the common of confessor bishops and thus made explicit reference to his episcopal office.⁷¹ By contrast, the antiphon framing the psalms was the first of five proper chants sung at Vespers and Lauds on the feast of St Zenobius (Ex. 1). *Zenobi mundo* sets a plea for intercession by the Florentine people, the directness of which mirrors the modest style of the chant. The syllabic declamation ensured that the text would be understood by most of the congregation. The twin ascents above the reciting tone, moreover, underscored the bond between the 'Florentines' and their 'shining' protector.



Ex. 1 *Zenobi mundo* (Zenobius, shining so brightly throughout the world, do not spurn the vows of your Florentines.)

The portrait of Zenobius as civic patron found further expression in ecclesiastical ceremony. Although the cathedral chapter typically celebrated its vigils alone, here it required clerics from local churches (*clerici de civitate*) to participate.⁷² The vigil unfolded before Zenobius' altar, which stood in a crypt (*subtus voltas*) located beneath a raised presbytery at the east end of the church.⁷³ The canons decorated the crypt in anticipation of Zenobius' feast and placed chairs in the nave for clerics who could not be accommodated in that subterranean space. The meaning of this considerable gathering was surely clear to the congregation: as protector of Florence, Zenobius demanded the veneration of all the clerics of the city.

⁷⁰ Florence, Archivio Arcivescovile, n.s. fols. 133–133v: 'Iam non dicam servos sed amicos meos, quia omnia cognovistis quae operatus sum in medio vestri, alleluia. Accipite Spiritum Sanctum in vobis Paraclitum: ille est quem Pater mittet vobis, alleluia. V. Vos amici mei estis, si feceritis quae ego praecipio vobis.'

⁷¹ Although the *Ritus* identifies the invitatory antiphon as *Alleluia, Regem confessorum* (see above, n. 66), this is surely a conflation between the normal antiphon of the same incipit and the invitatory antiphon preserved in Florence, Archivio Arcivescovile, n.s., fol. 224, *Regem confessorum*, the text of which reads 'Regem confessorum Dominum venite adoremus'.

⁷² *Mores*, fol. 10v: 'In Festo Sancti Zenobii pulsamus vespervas, vigiliam, et mattutinum quatuor vicibus sicut in summis festis. Ecclesia mundetur per totum, lampades abluantur, et ornentur ubique in ecclesia precipue subtus voltas et in medio navis ecclesie sedei pro clericis ante voltas ecclesie preperentur. In vesperis vero, vigilia, et missa omnes clerici de civitate debent interesse, totum officium diurnum silicet, et nocturnum ante ipsius altare hodie.'

⁷³ The cathedral of Florence thus did not conform to the model described above by which the choir was situated in the nave before the High Altar. Instead, the chapter normally chanted the liturgy from the raised presbytery. This arrangement resembled that at St Peter's in Rome and is still visible at the cathedrals of Fiesole and Pistoia. Indeed, the vigil of St Zenobius resembled the papal vigils of *Gaudete* Sunday and Epiphany celebrated in the annular crypt of St Peter's: Dyer, 'The Double Office', 214–16.

At the vigil of St Zenobius, then, the cathedral canons employed music and ritual to depict their sanctified bishop as a true civic patron. The political as well as spiritual overtones of this message become clear when we consider the vigil of yet another local patron, John the Baptist. While the Florentines had claimed John as their protector since the eleventh century, his cult was associated with the city and not the cathedral.⁷⁴ The canons thus had little incentive to promote John as a civic patron and indeed chanted his vigil alone. By contrast, they celebrated the vigil of the titular of their church, St Reparata, just as they had that of St Zenobius.⁷⁵ No account of the liturgical content of this service survives, but the vigil likely featured lessons from her *vita*, responsories from the *commune sanctorum*, and a proper antiphon.⁷⁶

Florence was not the only Tuscan city-state where the vigils became vehicles for civic devotion. In Siena, for instance, the bishop and the city's clergy joined the cathedral canons in the celebration of first Vespers on the evening before the *dies natalis* of John the Baptist at the baptistery dedicated to him. The grand assembly likely remained for the vigil that occurred just after sunset.⁷⁷ Even more reminiscent of Florentine practice were the vigils enacted by the cathedral canons of Lucca for their two dearest saints. Martin and Regulus enjoyed a relationship similar to that of Reparata and Zenobius: the former was the titular of the cathedral and the latter a bishop whose relics lay in a crypt below the presbytery. This arrangement ended in 1109 with destruction of the crypt and the translation of Regulus to a new altar in the south tribune.⁷⁸ The enduring similarities between the vigils of Regulus and Martin, however, were among the many signs that their cults remained equally important to the cathedral canons.⁷⁹

These clerics underscored the solemnity of the *vesperae maiores* for St Regulus by chanting an office of three nocturns and enlisting the rare participation of the bishop. He presided over the entire service, censing the three altars in the east end of the cathedral, including that of St Regulus. Although the canons possessed a 'passion' (i.e. the *vita* of a martyr) from which they might have drawn the nine lessons, they

⁷⁴ Anna Benvenuti Papi, *Pastori di popolo: Storie e legende di vescovi e di città nell'Italia medievale* (Florence, 1988), 129–31.

⁷⁵ *Mores*, fol. 12: 'In festo Sancte Reparate facimus per singula, sicut supra signatum est in festo Sancti Zenobii, et precipue orientur altaria, lampades, et chorum desuper voltas per totum, et mirtus, et laurus undique apponantur.'

⁷⁶ The *Vita Sancte Reparate* is preserved in Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Edili 139 (fols. 192v–193v) and published in *Acta Sanctorum Octobris IV* (Brussels, 1780), 39–40. The *Ritus* notes that five antiphons 'quas habemus de ipsa [Reparata]' were sung at Lauds, but these chants survive neither in Florence, Archivio Arcivescovile, n.s. nor other liturgical sources (*Ritus*, fol. 94; Tacconi, *Cathedral*, 208).

⁷⁷ OOES, fol. 133: 'Sic statim tertia pulsatio et tunc vadunt omnes [canonici] in plebem ubi tali die totus clerus civitatis cum domino episcopo vesperis interesse consueunt. Deinde dictis psalmis ad vesperum [. . .] more consueto tandem post solis occasum in plebe vigilia cum tribus psalmis et lectionibus more solito celebratur.'

⁷⁸ See the *Sermo in translatione corporum sanctorum martirum Reguli, Iasonis, et Mauri atque Ilarie*, preserved in a thirteenth-century hagiographic lectionary of San Martino, Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare, 47, fols 1–6, and partially published in Pietro Guidi, 'Per la storia della cattedrale e del Volto Santo', *Bollettino storico lucchese*, 4 (1932), 169–86, esp. 184–6.

⁷⁹ On the liturgy of St Regulus in general and its resonances with that of St Martin, see Brand, 'Liturgical Ceremony', 97–106.

instead used the readings and paired responsories from the common of one martyr.⁸⁰ It was left to the nine proper antiphons from Matins to relate the details of Regulus' biography.⁸¹ These works collectively described this sixth-century archbishop's struggle with Arian heresy in Africa, his exile to Tuscany, and his adoption of the life of a hermit. This tranquil existence ended with Regulus' confrontation with the minions of King Totila. Having refused to appear before this Goth lord, Regulus was summarily beheaded, after which he miraculously picked up his own head and walked to the site of his first tomb in southern Tuscany.⁸²

Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare, 602, fol. 191 (ca. 1100-1125)

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.

Ex. 2 *Beatus Regulus* (While the blessed archbishop Regulus was being drawn by the executioners, he cried out and said, 'I reject the commands of Totila because I serve the son of the eternal king.')

The most dramatic of the proper chants sung at the vigil was the Benedictus antiphon, *Beatus Regulus* (Ex. 2). The syllabic text-setting and dependence on common melodic formulae recall the style of the Matins antiphons for St Regulus, but its longer text portrays a particularly decisive moment: his refusal to submit to Totila's henchmen.⁸³ This elicited the only instance of direct speech in the entire office, as the

⁸⁰ The canons nevertheless recited Regulus' passion as the first three lessons of Matins on each of the six days within the octave of his *dies natalis* (OOL, fols. 60v-61). The *Passio Sancti Reguli* is preserved in the hagiographic lectionary of San Martino, Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare, P+, fols 90v-92 (c. 1130-50) and published in Manlio 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), 119-28.

⁸¹ These were part of a proper office for St Regulus comprising of seventeen antiphons and edited in Benjamin Brand, ed., *Historia Sancti Reguli* (Ottawa: Institute for Medieval Music, forthcoming).

⁸² Beheaded martyrs who carried their heads to their resting places, or 'cephalophors', were common figures in medieval hagiography. Scott 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), 48-64, esp. p. 62, n. 40, provides an extensive bibliography on the subject.

⁸³ *Beatus Regulus* exemplifies the melodic type catalogued in Walter Howard Frere, *Antiphonale Saris-buriense: A Reproduction in Facsimile of a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century*, 5 vols (London, 1901), 1:68. The classic work of François-Auguste Gevaert, *La Mélopée antique dans le chant de l'église latine* (Ghent, 1895) and the more recent study of László Dobszay, 'Experiences in the Musical Classification of Antiphons', in *Cantus planus. Papers Read at the Third Meeting, Tihany, Hungary, 19-24 September 1988*, ed. László Dobszay, et al. (Budapest, 1990), 143-56, address the broader issue of melodic classification in the antiphon repertory.

Table 3 *The Nocturnus de sero of St Regulus*

Chant, reading or prayer	Performers
<i>Domine labia mea</i>	
<i>Deus in adiutorium</i>	
Invitatory	Four canons of Santa Reparata
Nocturn 1	
Antiphons 1–3	Choirboys of San Martino
Lessons 1–3	Choirboys of San Martino
Responsories 1–3	Choirboys of San Martino
Nocturn 2	
Antiphons 4–6	Choirboys of San Martino
Lesson 4	Canon of San Alessandro Maggiore
Lesson 5	Canon of Santa Maria Forisportam
Lesson 6	Canon of San Pietro Maggiore
Responsories 4–6	Choirboys of San Martino
Nocturn 3	
Antiphons 7–9	Choirboys of San Martino
Lessons 7–9	Canons of Santa Reparata
Responsory 7–8	Rectors of lesser churches
Responsory 9	Three canons of Santa Reparata
<i>Te Deum laudamus</i>	Canons of Santa Reparata
Chapter	
Benedictus	
<i>Benedicamus Domino</i>	Four canons of Santa Reparata

saint proclaims, ‘I reject the commands of Totila because I serve the son of the eternal king.’ The melody emphasises the significance of this utterance, ascending above the reciting tone in conjunction with the phrase ‘he exclaimed and said’ (*exclamavit et dixit*).

The nine Matins antiphons and *Beatus Regulus* thus diverged sharply from the proper chant sung at the vigil of St Zenobius in Florence. While *Zenobi mundo* was a simple plea for intercession, the Lucchese antiphons recounted Regulus’ exotic homeland, adventures and miracles. In this respect, they acquired the role normally fulfilled by proper lessons, which perhaps explains why the canons of San Martino felt at liberty to draw the latter from the *commune sanctorum*. Yet if plainsong thus did not construe Regulus as a common object of worship, ecclesiastical ceremony did precisely that. Unlike the vigil of St Zenobius, the *vesperae maiores* was sung by the bishop and cathedral chapter alone; the clerics of the entire city afterwards celebrated their own vigil for St Regulus at the cathedral. Dubbed the ‘evening nocturn’ (*nocturnus de sero*), it began with the versicles and invitatory from Matins but was otherwise identical to the first vigil (Table 3).

Although the cathedral canons did not celebrate the *nocturnus de sero*, their cantor remained to direct the service and to assign the chants and readings to the clerics from

various churches.⁸⁴ These included unspecified chapels and four basilicas, of which the most important was the former cathedral, Santa Reparata. In one respect, this vigil was not as impressive as the *vesperae maiores*: unlike the earlier service, it did not feature the ninth responsory sung polyphonically. In other ways, however, the *nocturnus de sero* was a more elaborate occasion. The choirboys remained after the departure of the canons to chant all the antiphons and responsories of the first two nocturns. Their lofty voices found visual expression in the spectacular illumination of the office. Custom demanded that six candles burn at the *vesperae maiores*: four at the High Altar and two at a side altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary. At the *nocturnus de sero*, by contrast, no less than fifty candles burnt atop the low choral enclosure in which the visiting clergy worshipped.⁸⁵

The twin vigils of the *vesperae maiores* and *nocturnus de sero* were an exceptional variation on both Roman and Tuscan tradition and fulfilled several purposes. While the two offices allowed both the cathedral chapter and other Lucchese clerics to honour St Regulus separately, they may have also accommodated a congregation that was too great for a single vigil. And although the offices consisted of identical antiphons, lessons and responsories, they couched the veneration of St Regulus in different terms. The *vesperae maiores* situated the Lucchese bishop front and centre, juxtaposing the current *praesul* with a model of episcopal sanctity. The *nocturnus de sero*, by contrast, showed Regulus to be patron of not only the cathedral and its chapter but also the entire city.

The creation of a second vigil not only allowed the Lucchese clergy to present a dual message but also resulted in an unprecedented 'triple office' consisting of the *vesperae maiores*, *nocturnus de sero* and Matins. Little wonder that no single group chanted all three services, each of which lasted approximately two hours: the bishop and canons were responsible for the first vigil and night office, the choirboys for the first and second vigil, and the 'clerics of the city' for the *nocturnus de sero* alone. The clergy would re-enact this tour de force on the feast of the titular of the cathedral, St Martin. Again the bishop presided over the *vesperae maiores* of nine lessons, intoning the

⁸⁴ OOL, fol. 61: '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. Tres prime lectiones leguntur a scolaribus et responsoria et antiphone. Quarta lectio ab uno de sancto Alexandro. 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 tres 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.'

⁸⁵ See the agreement between the cathedral chapter and the Opera del Duomo in 1274, the latter of which was responsible for the maintenance of the cathedral edifice and the provision of candles. 'In festivitate Beati Martini [...] sollempniter ponantur et poni debeant et adendantur in quolibet officio quando divina celebrantur officia quattuor cerei ante altare Beati Martini et duo ante altare Beate Marie Virginis. Verum in qualibet festivitate sanctorum Martini et Reguli ponantur et adendantur quinquaginta cerei super corum super lignis ad hoc ordinatis in vigiliis predictorum sollempnitatum quando celebratur nocturnum de sero' (Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Opera di Santa Croce, 3, fol. 17; published in Concioni, 'San Martino di Lucca', 43).

Benedictus antiphon and the *Benedicamus Domino*.⁸⁶ The cathedral chapter meanwhile drew its chants from the widely circulating office of St Martin and the lessons from the definitive *vita* by Sulpicius Severus and the account of his miracles by Gregory of Tours.⁸⁷ Afterwards the ‘clerics of the city’ – presumably the same clerics who had so honoured St Regulus – replaced the cathedral chapter and celebrated the *nocturnus de sero*.

If the cathedral canons of Florence used the vigils to promote St Zenobius and St Reparata as civic patrons, their Lucchese counterparts pursued the same goal by creating a second vigil for St Regulus and St Martin. The latter did not confine this ‘double vigil’ to the feasts of these two saints, but celebrated the *vesperae maiores* and *nocturnus de sero* of three lessons each for the titulars of two altars in San Martino, St Apollinaris and St Blaise.⁸⁸ Moreover, the evening nocturn found echoes at other Tuscan cathedrals. In Pisa, for instance, the ‘clerics of the city’ alone chanted an ‘office of nine lessons’ on the evening before the Dedication of the Church (27 September). This did not interfere with the canons’ celebration of Matins later that night.⁸⁹ Also relevant is the commemoration enacted by the cathedral chapter of Pistoia on the evening before the *dies natalis* of St Rufinus (11 February), whose body was interred in its church. Like the *nocturnus de sero*, this service began with the versicles of Matins, after which the clergy recited the Psalter from the beginning to ‘*omnis spiritus laudet Dominum*’, namely to the end of Psalm 150! The service concluded with a litany, the *Te Deum*, a prayer and the *Benedicamus Domino*.⁹⁰

The Florentine and Lucchese vigils reveal, then, the extent to which the civic religion of medieval Tuscany shaped this ancient papal tradition. Scholars often

⁸⁶ OOL, fol. 64v: ‘Cantatis vesperis finitis sonatisque post hec omnibus signis sollempniter cantantur maiores vesperae cum novem lectionibus. Prime tres a scolaribus nostris leguntur, reliquis a canonicis. Responsorium ad vesperas [maiores], ad nocturnum, et ad matutinum bini et bini decantant. Novum responsorium cantatur cum organo. Antiphona ad Benedictus *O beatum virum*. Nocturnum vero a clericis [civitatis] cum novem lectionibus celebratur a scolaribus nostris. Tres prime lectiones leguntur ab octo invitatis. Novum responsorium cum organo cantatur. Ad Benedictus antiphona *O quantus*.’ While the OOL refers to the clergy of Lucca as simple ‘clericis’, elsewhere it makes clear that these were in fact the clerics of the city. ‘Ad nocturnum de sero quando celebratur de sero fit sicut in vigilia beati Reguli tamen in festo Santi Reguli et Santi Martini dicuntur lectiones *per clericos civitatis* sicut ibidem continetur. In aliis autem dicuntur *per familiam nostram* ut moris est’ (fol. 45v; emphasis added).

⁸⁷ Brand, ‘Liturgical Ceremony’, 278–83 (Appendix 2b) presents the office of St Martin as chanted at San Martino of Lucca, while Martha Van Zandt Fickett, ‘Chants for the Feast of St Martin of Tours’, Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America (1983) a catalogue of that office as it circulated throughout western Christendom. The works of Sulpicius Severus and Gregory of Tours appear in the hagiographic lectionary of San Martino, Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare, P+, fols 178v–182v and fols 182v–184 respectively. See also Baudouin de Gaiffier, ‘Catalogue des passionnaires de la Bibliothèque Capitulare de Lucques’, in his *Recherches d’hagiographie latine* (Brussels: 1971), 77–124, esp. 123.

⁸⁸ OOL, fol. 49v and fol. 56v.

⁸⁹ OOP, fols. 51–51v: ‘In sero presbiteri civitatis conveniunt et in ecclesia nostra officium novem lectionibus protrahunt. Ad matutinum antiphone et responsoria ut habentur in antiphonario.’

⁹⁰ OOPist2, fol. 50: ‘Cantatis vesperis statim archpresbiter stans ante corpus Beati Rufini dicit *Domine labia mea aperi, Deus in adiutorium mea intende*, et cantor incipit antiphona *Nec reminiscaris* [sic] sub qua antiphona legitur totum psalterium usque ad *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum*. Quo terminato cantatur predicta antiphona sine succentu ex inde prostrati ante predictam corpus dicimus letanias, quibus terminantis dicitur *Te Deum laudamus*, exinde *Ora pro nobis beate Rufine*, sequitur oratio *Benedicamus* subticetur.’

depict the communes that governed the Italian city-states as purely secular institutions, but these municipal corporations freely appropriated Christian rhetoric and symbols to buttress their authority.⁹¹ This was particularly evident in the elevation of ancient local saints such as Zenobius to the status of civic patrons. As Diana Webb has observed, such figures ‘represented a source of authority and security on which [the communes,] all too conscious of their own impermanence and provisional character, needed to draw’.⁹² But if secular authorities benefited from the sense of historical continuity provided by an early bishop or martyr, the current bishop and cathedral canons profited as well. As the most common guardians of the relics and cults of such saints, the latter ensured their relevance to civic life.

The mutual dependence of ecclesiastic and civic institutions found its most enduring expression in the Tuscan cathedrals themselves. These churches were not only the bishop’s seat and thus the spiritual centre of the city, but also administered by public works (*opere*) and the site of communal assemblies, markets and fairs.⁹³ The cathedrals were thus ideal stages for the vigils of Zenobius, Reparata, Regulus and Martin, which promoted the passage of these four saints from the status of purely ecclesiastical patrons to that of civic ones. These were not the exclusive vigils enacted by the pope, but rather an opportunity for the clergy to *perform* the common worship that it aimed to promote among the populace. The cathedral canons and their dependent clerics thus sang not only for the intercession of a patron saint or the greater glory of God, but also for a lay audience. Thus while these four vigils were not liturgical dramas in the strict sense, they were nevertheless eminently theatrical productions of sacred spectacle.⁹⁴

The evening offices were apparently effective impetus for public devotion, for in the fourteenth century the patrons of the Florentine and Lucchese cathedrals indeed emerged as civic patrons. Two events confirm the rise of Zenobius and Reparata: the commune of Florence exhumed the former saint from his altar for the delectation of the populace in 1331 and imported the alleged arm of the latter from southern Italy in 1352.⁹⁵ Meanwhile, its Lucchese counterpart sponsored fairs and horse races on the feasts of St Regulus and St Martin, and even affixed Martin’s image to its currency in

⁹¹ Re-evaluations of the traditional view of the Italian communes as secular institutions include Thompson, *Cities of God*, Webb, *Patrons*, and Enrico Cattaneo, *Città e religione nell’età dei comuni* (Milan, 1979).

⁹² *Patrons*, 135. On the role of the cults of local saints in the development of civic consciousness, see also Philip Jones, *The Italian City-State: From Commune to Signoria* (Oxford, 1997), 124.

⁹³ Thompson, *Cities of God*, 20–1 and 23–4; Maureen C. Miller, *The Bishop’s Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2000), 86–9.

⁹⁴ Medieval commentators and modern scholars alike have underscored the dramatic potential of the liturgy, and the Mass in particular. See the classic study of Osborne B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages: Essays in the Origin and Early History of Modern Drama* (Baltimore, 1965), and more recently DonnaLee Dox, ‘Roman Theatre and Roman Rite: Twelfth-Century Transformations in Allegory, Ritual, and the Idea of Theatre’, in *The Appearances of Medieval Rituals: The Play of Construction and Modification*, ed. Nils Holger Petersen, et al. (Turnhout, 2004), 33–48. Jaime Lara, *City, Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2004), 190–5 and the essays in *Dimensioni drammatiche della liturgia medioevale. Atti del I convegno di studio: Viterbo, 31 maggio, 1–2 giugno 1976* (Rome, 1977) explore theatrical elements in the medieval and early modern liturgy in general.

⁹⁵ Tacconi, *Cathedral*, 140–1 and 202–3 respectively.

the late Quattrocento.⁹⁶ These expressions of civic piety had their roots in the ecclesiastical ritual of earlier centuries, and the solemn vigils in particular.

Epilogue: the vigils beyond Tuscany

An examination of the Tuscan vigils not only sheds light on a previously obscure office, but also provides a case study in the diffusion of the papal rite in Italy. The medieval papacy was typically a force for liturgical uniformity, particularly with the efforts of eleventh-century reformers to suppress local practices in favour of the Roman use.⁹⁷ The adoption of the papal vigils, however, instead encouraged liturgical diversity as cathedral chapters adapted these services to local needs. When the vigils reached the cathedrals of central and northern Italy remains uncertain. Following Honorius, Sicard described the services as an 'ancient custom', but reformist bishops such as Rangerio of Lucca may have adopted them as late as the twelfth century in emulation of the pope.⁹⁸ Whatever the precise antiquity of the Tuscan vigils, however, it seems likely that they were freely adopted by local bishops and cathedral chapters rather than prescribed from above by the pope.

The civic religion of the Italian city-states accounts for the enduring vitality of the vigils in Tuscany, and their geographical proximity to Rome explains the original and widespread diffusion of those services on the peninsula. Nevertheless, a twelfth-century customary of Saint-Martin of Tours provides a rare and perhaps exceptional source for the vigils north of the Alps. It also lends credence to Johannes Belet's assertion that such services once flourished not far from that church in Poitou.⁹⁹ The resident chapter sang vigils at five feasts annually, including the translation (4 July) and *dies natalis* (11 November) of its patron saint. The office typically comprised nine antiphons and the first, second and ninth responsories of Matins; only Martin's feast merited a full vigil of nine lessons.¹⁰⁰

Despite the common dedication of Saint-Martin and the cathedral of Lucca, there are no discernible ties between these institutions that can explain the shared liturgical practice. Nevertheless, two cases remain in which the Lucchese manifestly exported their vigils beyond Tuscany. This was due not to the efforts of the cathedral canons, but rather to those resident at the suburban basilica and *ecclesia sedelis*, San Frediano.

⁹⁶ Brand, 'Liturgical Ceremony', 92–5 and 106. Domenico Massagli, *Introduzione alla storia della zecca e delle monete lucchesi* (Lucca, 1870), plate 10 (reproduction of the Lucchese coinage featuring the image of St Martin).

⁹⁷ Cattaneo, 'La vita comune', 253–60. A prominent example of the eradication of local practices in favour of the Roman rite is the suppression of the Beneventan Chant in the eleventh century as related in Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge, 1989), 38–40.

⁹⁸ See above, n. 45.

⁹⁹ See above, n. 19.

¹⁰⁰ The relevant passages from the customary of Saint-Martin (c. 1226–37) are published in A. Fleuret, ed., *Consuetudines Ecclesiae Beati Martini Turonensis. Rituel de Saint-Martin de Tours, documents et manuscrits* (Paris, 1899–1901), 27 and 87 (St Andrew), 34 (St John the Evangelist), 76–7 (St John the Baptist), 78 (Translation of St Martin), and 83 (St Martin). On the dating and origin of this source, see Joseph Maurey, 'Music and Ceremony in Saint-Martin of Tours, 1205–1500', Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago (2005), 57–8.

These were the richest and most influential clerics in Lucca, enjoying a long list of papal privileges, dependent churches, and a reputation for strict adherence to the Augustinian Rule.¹⁰¹ They were thus natural rivals to the cathedral chapter, which resented their wealth and exemption from episcopal jurisdiction.¹⁰² Indeed, the contentious relationship between San Frediano and San Martino found expression in liturgical ceremony, and in the vigils in particular. The Augustinian canons were conspicuously missing from the *nocturnus de sero* of St Regulus and St Martin; the cathedral chapter sang no *vesperae maiores* for the patron saint of their adversaries, despite the fact that St Fridian had been bishop of Lucca.¹⁰³

Because no ordinal survives from San Frediano, it is uncertain whether its clerics celebrated the *vesperae maiores* separately from the cathedral chapter.¹⁰⁴ Evidence in the affirmative comes from their many dependents, the most prominent of which was the Lateran basilica in Rome. Invited by Pope Paschal II (1099–1118) to reform the chapter of that cathedral, the Augustinian canons from Lucca left an enduring legacy in an ordinal compiled shortly before 1145.¹⁰⁵ It included St Fridian in the Sanctorale and prescribed twenty-eight vigils, the structure and function of which

¹⁰¹ An inventory of the property and revenue of religious foundations in the Lucchese diocese drafted in 1260 fixed the wealth of San Frediano at £5300. By way of comparison, that of the cathedral chapter and the bishopric was £4200 and £3500 respectively. See Domenico Barsocchini and Domenico Bertini, *Dissertazioni sopra la storia ecclesiastica lucchese*, 2 vols, Memorie e documenti di Lucca 4–5 (Lucca, 1818–1844), appendix to vol. 1, pp. 37–38, n. 27. The papal indulgences for San Frediano are summarised in Paul Fridolin Kehr, *Italia pontificia*, 8 vols (Berlin, 1908), 3:413–37. By 1288, its dependents in Italy had numbered twenty-eight; Enrico Cotturi, 'Le chiese di S. Frediano e di S. Pietro a Pistoia e i loro rapporti con la canonica di S. Frediano di Lucca', *Bullettino Storico Pistoiese*, 73 (1971), 13–19, esp. 5. On the history of San Frediano, see idem, 'La canonica di S. Frediano di Lucca dalla prima istituzione (metà del sec. xi) alla unione all congregazione riformata di Fregionaia (1517)', *Actum Luce*, 3 (1974), 47–80.

¹⁰² Raffaele Savigni, *Episcopato e società cittadina a Lucca: Da Anselmo II (d. 1086) a Roberto (d. 1255)* (Lucca, 1996), 257–63; Martino Giusti, 'Le canoniche della città e diocesi di Lucca al tempo della riforma gregoriana', in *Studi Gregoriani: Per la storia di Gregorio VII e della riforma gregoriana*, ed. Giovanni Battista Borino, 3 vols (Rome, 1948), 3:347–8.

¹⁰³ Lucca, Archivio Capitolare, Diploma +3 (19 April 1194), which was published in Pietro Guidi and Oreste Parenti, eds, *Regesto del capitolo di Lucca*, 3 vols (Rome, 1910–33), vol. 3, pp. 168–170, n. 1714, codified the liturgical duties of the cathedral chapter at San Frediano, which included the celebration of High Mass on Fridian's *dies natalis* but not a vigil on the evening before. For further expressions in liturgical ceremony of the conflict between the two churches, see Brand, 'Liturgical Ceremony', 73–5.

¹⁰⁴ The only service books from San Frediano to survive from the Middle Ages are five illuminated antiphoners of the late thirteenth century, Lucca, San Frediano, Guardaroba, A, B, C, D, and E. See Marco Paoli, 'Appunti sulla Miniatura Duecentesca Lucchese', in *La miniatura italiana in età romanica e gotica. Atti del I congresso di storia della miniatura italiana: Cortona 26–28 maggio 1978*, ed. Grazia Vailati Schoenburg Waldenburg (Florence, 1979), 195–202.

¹⁰⁵ Though the original exemplar no longer survives, an Augustinian canon of the cathedral of Salzburg made a copy around 1220 now preserved in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1482, and published in *Bernhardi Cardinalis et Lateranensis Ecclesiae Prioris Ordo Officiorum Ecclesiae Lateranensis*, ed. Ludwig Fischer, *Historische Forschungen und Quellen* 2–3 (Munich, 1916). Pope Paschall II's invitation to the canons of San Frediano is summarised in Kehr, *Italia pontificia*, vol. 3, p. 418, n. 26. Edward Garrison has called attention to traces of Lucchese influence in other Roman manuscripts in 'A Lucchese Passionary in the Lateran', in *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, 4 vols (Florence, 1953–1954), 1:177–91 and 'Three Manuscripts for Lucchese Canons of S. Frediano in Rome', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 38 (1975), 1–52.

recall those of the *vesperae maiores* (Appendix 3).¹⁰⁶ On all but the most solemn feasts, the Lateran vigils comprised three lessons rather than nine, and almost all honoured titulars of the altars located in the church and its baptistery.¹⁰⁷ The vigils followed Lucchese use by beginning after first Vespers, and several references to the populace in the Lateran ordinal suggest that they were likewise public events.¹⁰⁸

At Saint John Lateran, then, the canons of San Frediano introduced the *vesperae maiores* into the pope's own church, thus creating a second tradition of Roman vigil distinct from its older, papal counterpart.¹⁰⁹ Yet they also exported the Lucchese vigils farther afield, namely to the church of St Nicholas in Passau. A twelfth-century ordinal compiled for the resident canons shares much of its text with the Lateran ordinal and is based on a common exemplar from San Frediano.¹¹⁰ It contains an account of the *vesperae maiores*, moreover, that is largely identical to that in the *Ordo Officiorum* of Lucca.¹¹¹ Yet, unlike the Lateran ordinal, that of St Nicholas does not assign the vigils to individual feasts, which perhaps indicates that the canons of that church saw the services as incompatible with their native customs.

Paradoxically, then, it was the Augustinian canons of a small Italian city-state and not the Holy Father who carried the ancient tradition of the Roman vigils to

¹⁰⁶ The Lateran canons observed the *dies natalis* of St Fridian (18 March) but not the feast of his translation (18 November): Fischer, ed., *Bernhardi Cardinalis*, 131.

¹⁰⁷ Dyer, 'Double Offices', 32–3. Sible de Blaauw provides reconstructions of Saint John Lateran and its baptistery in the twelfth century; *Cultus et Decor: Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*, trans. Maria Beatrice Annis, 2nd ed., 2 vols, Studi e testi 355–356 (Vatican City, 1994), vol. 2, Figs 6 and 8.

¹⁰⁸ At the vigil of the Nativity, the canons censed the 'altars, clerics, and populace' (*ad singulos nocturnos incensantur altaria et datur incensum clero et populo*) while at the vigil of St Thomas the Apostle they recited 'three lessons from his passion to the people according to ancient use' (*in quibus III lectiones in passione eius pro antiquo usu populo recitamus, licet inter apocryphas deputetur*); ed. Fischer, *Bernhardi Cardinalis*, pp. 10 and 124, respectively.

¹⁰⁹ Note, however, that the vigils of the papal court and Lateran converged on the feast of St John the Baptist, when the pope celebrated a solemn vigil of nine lessons with the canons. See *Bernhardi Cardinalis*, ed. Fischer, 140–1; Benedict of St Peters, *Liber politicus* 66, ed. Fabre-Duchesne, 2:157; and Dyer, 'Double Offices', 39–42. In addition, the pope celebrated first Vespers and High Mass at the Lateran basilica on the feast of its dedication (9 November), but left the celebration of the vigil to one of the cardinal bishops: *Bernhardi Cardinalis*, ed. Fischer, 301, and Dyer, 'Double Offices', 37.

¹¹⁰ Pierre-Marie Gy, 'L'Influence des chanoines de Lucques sur la liturgie du Latran', *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 58 (1984), 31–41; *Bernhardi Cardinalis*, ed. Fischer, LVI–LIX. Though the manuscript source is lost, the text is published in Eusebius Amort, *Vetus disciplina canonicorum regularium & saecularium: ex documentis magna parte hucusque ineditis a temporibus apostolicis usque ad saeculum XVII* (Venice, 1747), 932–1048. Confirmation that the ordinal of Passau derived from San Frediano and not the cathedral of Lucca appears in the instruction that baptism occur on the vigil of Pentecost but not on Holy Saturday as was common elsewhere (Amort, *Vetus disciplina*, 993, as cited in Gy, 'L'influence', p. 35, n. 25). This reflected the unusual circumstances by which there were two baptismal fonts in Lucca, one at San Giovanni near the cathedral and another at San Frediano. Because the bishop alone had the right to bless the font, he did so at San Giovanni on the vigil of Easter and at San Frediano on that of Pentecost (OOL, fol. 30v and fols 39–40; Giusti, 'L'Ordo', 547 and 552). On baptismal rites throughout communal Italy, see Thompson, *Cities of God*, 312–14.

¹¹¹ Amort, *Vetus disciplina*, 1012: 'De majoribus vesperis. Sonato signo non dicitur *Deus in adiutorium*. Sed cantor incipit antiphonam de primo nocturno et cantatur tres psalmi cum tres antiphonis. Deinde vero leguntur tres lectiones de festivitate. Secundum responsorium festive canitur. Inter lectiones incensantur altaria ecclesiae omnia, et datur incensum clero et populo. Post tertiam lectionem non cantatur responsorium sed *Te Deum laudamus*. Deinde sequitur oratio, post quam dicitur festive *Benedicamus Domino*.' The corresponding passage in the OOL appears on fol. 45.

institutions as near to the papacy as Saint John Lateran and as distant as St Nicholas of Passau. Yet this is not so surprising: even as the popes suppressed their vigils in the thirteenth century, the cathedral chapters of Tuscany celebrated these services with undiminished enthusiasm. Nowhere was this more true than in Lucca, that self-styled outpost of the Roman liturgy. If the canons of San Frediano were instrumental in the diffusion of the *vesperae maiores* outside the diocese, the cathedral chapter assumed responsibility for their preservation at home. References to the 'nocturns' that honoured patron saints on the evenings before their feasts appear in cathedral documents through the late sixteenth century.¹¹² In these offices reverberated the echoes of a tradition that stretched back to Carolingian times but had found its most vital expression in the golden age of the Tuscan communes.

Appendix 1: Vigils of the Papal Court and their stations

*=Vigil of nine lessons

a. Amalarius, *Liber de ordine antiphonarii* (c. 830)

St Andrew (30 November)*	
Nativity (25 December)*	Santa Maria Maggiore
St Stephen (26 December)*	
St John the Evangelist (27 December)*	
Holy Innocents (28 December)*	
St John the Baptist (24 June)*	
Sts Peter and Paul (29 June)*	
Assumption of the BMV (15 August)*	
St Lawrence (10 August)*	

b. Canon Benedict of St Peter's, '*Liber politicus*' (1140s)

Third Sunday of Advent	Crypt, St Peter's
St Andrew (30 November)*	Altar of St Andrew, St Peter's
Nativity (25 December)	Santa Maria Maggiore
Epiphany (6 January)	Crypt, St Peter's
Ascension*	St Peter's
Pentecost	St Peter's
St John the Baptist (24 June)*	Saint John Lateran
Sts Peter and Paul (29 June)*	St Peter's
Commemoration of St Paul (30 June)*	San Paolo (?)
St Lawrence (10 August)*	Santa Maria Maggiore
Assumption of the BMV (15 August)*	Santa Maria Maggiore

¹¹² 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 OOL at the later 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 'nocturnus alicuius sancti' in addition to Vespers and Matins: Lucca, Archivio Capitolare, I+ 28 (1589).

Appendix 2: Vigils of Medieval Tuscany and their stations

Key:

Bold=Feast with a vigil at the papal court

Italics=Feast of a patron of the local church

*=Vigil of nine lessons

NB. Unless noted otherwise in the right column, vigils occurred at the cathedral.

a. Volterra

St John the Baptist (24 June)*

Sts Peter and Paul (29 June)*

Assumption of the BMV (15 August)*

b. Pisa

St Andrew (30 November)

St Nicholas (6 December)

St John the Baptist (24 June)

Sts Peter and Paul (29 June)

St Lawrence (10 August)

Assumption of the BMV (15 August)*

St Ephisius and Potius (13 November)

c. Siena

St Ansanus (1 December)

St Nicholas (6 December)

St Lucy (13 December)

St Thomas the Apostle (21 December)

St John the Evangelist (27 December)

Sts Fabian and Sebastian (20 January)

Translation of St Ansanus (6 February)

St John the Baptist (24 June)

San Giovanni (i.e., baptistery)

St Bartholomew (24 August)

St Crescentius (14 September)

Translation of St Crescentius (12 October)

St Savinus (30 October)

d. Florence

Sts Philip and James (1 May)

St Zenobius (25 May)

Octave of St Zenobius (1 June)

St John the Baptist (24 June)

St Matthew (21 September)
St Reparata (8 October)
Octave of St Reparata (15 October)
St Luke (18 October)

e. Pistoia

St Andrew (30 November)	Sant'Andrea
St Thomas (21 December)	
St John the Evangelist (27 December)	San Giovanni
Conversion of St Paul (25 January)	San Paolo
Sts Philip and James (1 May)	San Mercurio
St Barnabas (11 June)	
St John the Baptist (24 June)	
Sts Peter and Paul (29 June)	San Pietro Maggiore
St James Major (25 July)	
St Lawrence (10 August)	San Pietro Maggiore
Assumption of the BMV (15 August)	
St Bartholomew (24 August)	
St Mathew (21 September)	
Sts Simon and Jude (28 September)	
All Saints (1 November)	

f. Lucca

Second Sunday of Advent	
Third Sunday of Advent (i.e. Gaudete Sunday)	
Fourth Sunday of Advent	
St Andrew (30 November)	San Pietro Maggiore
<i>Sts Jason, Maurus and Hilaria</i> (3 December)	
<i>St Nicholas</i> (6 December)	Santa Reparata
<i>St Agnellus</i> (14 December)	
Nativity (25 December)	
St Stephen (26 December)	
St John the Evangelist (27 December)*	San Giovanni (i.e., baptistery)
Sts Fabian and Sebastian (20 January)	
<i>St Agnes</i> (21 January)	
<i>St Blaise</i> (3 February)	
<i>St Agatha</i> (5 February)	
<i>Sts Philip and James</i> (1 May)	San Ponziano
<i>St Alexander and his Companions</i> (3 May)	San Alessandro Maggiore
<i>St Senesius</i> (4 May)	San Pietro Maggiore
<i>Appearing of St Michael</i> (8 May)	San Michele in Foro
<i>St Theodolus</i> (19 May)	San Donato

<i>Sts Vincent and Benignus</i> (6 June)	
<i>Ten Thousand Martyrs</i> (22 June)	
St John the Baptist (24 June)*	San Giovanni (i.e., Baptistry)
St Peter (29 June)	San Pietro Maggiore
<i>St Lucine</i> (1 July)*	
<i>St Mary Magdalene</i> (22 July)	San Alessandro Minore
<i>St Apollinaris</i> (23 July)	
<i>St Christopher</i> (25 July)	San Cristoforo
<i>St Pantaleon</i> (26 July)	Santa Reparata
<i>St Donatus</i> (7 August)	San Donato
Assumption of the BVM (15 August)	Santa Maria Forisportam
<i>St Pontianus and his Companions</i> (25 August)	San Ponziano
<i>St Regulus</i> (1 September)*	
<i>Nativity of the BMV</i> (8 September)	
<i>Exaltation of the Cross</i> (14 September)	
<i>St Justine</i> (26 September)	Santa Giustina
<i>Dedication of the Church</i> (3 October)	
<i>St Reparata</i> (8 October)	Santa Reparata
All Saints (1 November)	
<i>St Martin</i> (11 November)*	

Appendix 3: Vigils at Saint John Lateran¹¹³

St Andrew (30 November)	Altar of Sts Andrew and Lucy
<i>St Nicholas</i> (6 December)	Altar of St Nicholas
<i>St Lucy</i> (13 December)	Altar of Sts Andrew and Lucy
<i>St Thomas the Apostle</i> (21 December)	Chapel of St Thomas (= sacristy)
Nativity (25 December)*	Choir
<i>St Stephen</i> (26 December)	Altar of St Stephen
<i>St John the Evangelist</i> (27 December)	Chapel of St John the Evangelist
<i>St Sylvester</i> (31 December)	Choir
<i>Forty Martyrs</i> (9 March)	Altar of the Forty Martyrs
<i>Invention of the Holy Cross</i> (3 May)	Chapel of the Holy Cross
<i>John before the Latin Gates</i> (6 May)	Chapel of St John the Evangelist
<i>Sts Pancras, Nereus and Achilleus</i> (12 May)	Chapel of St Pancras
<i>St Venantius</i> (30 May)	Chapel of St Venantius
St John the Baptist (24 June)*	Chapel of St John the Baptist
Sts Peter and Paul (29 June)	Choir
<i>Octave of St John the Baptist</i> (1 July)	Chapel of St John the Baptist
<i>Sts Rufina and Secunda</i> (10 July)	Chapel of Sts Rufina and Secunda
<i>St Mary Magdalene</i> (22 July)	Choir

¹¹³ Appendix 3 essentially replicates Dyer, 'Double Offices', 33–5 (Table 2.2). Note, however, that Dyer does not include the vigils of St Lucy, the Forty Martyrs, and St Fausta.

<i>St Lawrence</i> (10 August)	Altar of St Lawrence
Assumption of the Virgin (15 August)*	Choir
St Augustine (28 August)	Choir
<i>Beheading of St John the Baptist</i> (29 August)	Chapel of St John the Baptist
<i>St Antoninus</i> (2 September)	Altar of St Antoninus
<i>Exaltation of the Holy Cross</i> (14 September)	Chapel of the Holy Cross
St Fausta (25 September)	Baptistry
<i>Sts Chrysanthus and Daria</i> (25 October)	Chapel of St Pancratius
All Saints (1 November)	Choir
<i>Dedication of the Church</i> (9 November)*	Choir