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JOHN HOTHBY AND THE CULT OF ST REGULUS AT LUCCA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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AN AFRICAN ARCHBISHOP IN LUCCA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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