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THE FLORENTINE BISHOP'S RITUAL ENTRY
AND THE ORIGINS OF THE MEDIEVAL
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Numerous historians have commented upon the elaborate ritual performed when a bishop of Florence first entered the city [1]. Documented from 1286 to 1584, the ceremony was a procession that went from the city gate to the episcopal palace, but it was punctuated by numerous stops at sacred sites and usually took two days to complete. It included four enthronements, at least two feasts, one mass, a ritual marriage, several exchanges of gifts, a special honor guard, and, usually, a great deal of dissension. Constant bickering over participation in the ritual was what produced many of the sources illuminating it [2]. Although the Florentine episcopal *adventus* is perhaps extraordinary in the richness of its documentation, it was not unique. Elaborate rites of episcopal entry have been noted in other northern Italian cities — Bologna,

(1) E. SANESI, *L'Antico ingresso dei vescovi fiorentini*, Florence, Artigianelli, 1932; R. TREXLER, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, Ithaca - London, Cornell University Press, 1980, p. 270-74; R. BIZZOCCHI, *Chiesa e potere nella Toscana del Quattrocento* (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico. Monografia, 6), Bologna, Il Mulino, 1987, p. 34-36; G. DAMERON, *Conflitto rituale e ceto dirigente fiorentino alla fine del Duecento*, in *Richerche Storiche*, 20 (1990), p. 263-86; S. MANTINI, *Lo Spazio sacro della Firenze medicea*, Florence, Loggia de' Lanzi, 1995, p. 89-95; G. ZARRI, *Recinti: Donne, clausura e matrimonio nella prima età moderna*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2000, p. 316-346.

(2) The route of the ritual and its sources are discussed in M. C. MILLER, *Urban Space, Sacred Topography, and Ritual Meanings in Florence: the Route of the Bishop's Entry, c. 1200 -1600*, in *The Italian City from Antiquity to the Present*, eds. A. M. McLEAN, B. DEIMLING, 3 vols., Cambridge, University Press, forthcoming; see also, DAMERON, *Conflitto rituale* [see note 1], p. 264-66; ZARRI, *Recinti* [see note 1], p. 320-24.

Pisa, Pistoia, Ravenna, Volterra — as well as in other regions of Europe ([3]).

The curiosity of historians of ritual has been much aroused by the contention surrounding these rites, but has not extended to their origins. Most either simply assume them to be ancient or posit a distant filiation with the late antique ritual of imperial *adventus* ([4]). Neither is an adequate account of the emergence of the medieval episcopal entry. The evidence of the Florentine ritual suggests that these ceremonies were local adaptations of papal rituals, particularly the rite of entry into the city of Rome developed in the late twelfth century. As such, they are an interesting gauge of the spread of Roman liturgical and ceremonial customs, a trend fostered during the Gregorian reform and under later pontiffs. The development of these rituals, however, suggests not « conformity » to Roman practice, but inspiration by papal models and a great deal of local creativity.

(3) G. BELVEDERI, *Studi liturgici: Ceremonie nel solenne ingresso dei vescovi in Bologna durante il medioevo*, in *Rassegna Gregoriana*, 2 (1913), p. 170-86; BIZZOC-CHI, *Chiesa e potere* [see note 1], p. 34; ZARRI, *Recinti* [see note 1], p. 339-43; J. J. TYLER, *Lord of the Sacred City: The Episcopus Exclusus in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany*, Leiden, Brill, 1999.

(4) SANESI described the Florentine rite as « una tradiziona antico e co-stante », *L'Antico ingresso* [see note 1], p. 15. TYLER demurs, « The provenance of episcopal ritual behavior is not at issue here, » but continues, asserting that « bishops may well have preserved and adapted royal ceremony in the early Middle Ages, » *Lord of the Sacred City* [see note 3], p. 125. More recently, P. BUC, discussing the ritual of *adventus*, referred to the « cross-fertilization between Christ's advent and imperial *adventus* » followed by « a process of devolution that granted *adventus* to relics, bishops, and royal officials », *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory*, Princeton, University Press, 2001, p. 39. Gabriella Zarri traced the ritual marriage component in the Florentine and Pistoian entries to twelfth-century Champagne, where a similar rite was performed at Troyes. She suggested that the intersection of several influences — the strong female monasteries in the region, the vibrant courtly culture of troubadour poetry, currents of scriptural exegesis emphasizing mystical marriage, and the Gregorian Reform's attempts to reinforce episcopal authority — produced the ritual marriage of the bishop of Troyes to the abbess of Notre-Dame-aux-Nonnais. Florentine merchants probably transmitted the rite to Tuscany. This « sposalizio », she rightly points out, was distinct from the rite of entry and peculiar to these particular cities; it does not occur in most other iterations of the episcopal *adventus*. Zarri's inquiry into origins is limited to the ritual marriage; she posits no theory for the rite of entry: ZARRI, *Recinti* [see note 1], p. 341-43, 320.

Characteristics of Medieval Episcopal Entries in Italy

The ceremonies of episcopal *adventus* encountered in sources of the central and later Middle Ages were complex rites. They required detailed planning, the cooperation of numerous institutions and individuals, and the provision of expensive furnishings and gifts. These rites did involve the urban populace, but they were not spontaneous events. In order to distinguish the high medieval episcopal *adventus* from late antique and early medieval entries, a brief summary of its characteristics is necessary.

First, the ceremony took place when the new bishop initially entered the city to take possession of his see. It was not a ritual re-enacted for other episcopal home-comings, no matter how joyous. In sum, the medieval episcopal *adventus* was also a *possesso*. Even when the entry occurred several years after the consecration of the bishop to the see, it was characterized as commemorating his taking possession of the diocese. When Simone della Tosa in 1370 set out the Florentine rite, he referred to it as « l'entrata e venuta di nuovo vescovo la prima fiata che egli viene in Firenze a pigliare il possessione del Vescovado ». ([5]) The ritual enacted at Bologna was also described as the « primo solenne ingresso del vescovo nella città ». ([6])

Another important feature in all these rituals is that one or several local families acted as the new bishop's ceremonial honor guard. At Pisa, two families shared these duties: the Lanfranchi accompanied the bishop from the city walls to the Duomo and then the Vernagalli escorted him from the cathedral to the archiepiscopal palace. At Volterra it was the Gatti who acted as escorts and at Pistoia it was Cellesi and the Buonvassalli ([7]). In Florence, representatives of the Visdomini lineages accompanied the bishop during the *entrata*. These families all descended from the first lay man, Davizio (1009-1054), to exercise the office of episcopal *vicedo-*

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(5) Simone della Tosa's « Memoriale del Vescovado di Firenze in Sede Vacante » (1370) is the most complete account of the rights and customs of the Visdomini: *Archivio di Stato Firenze* [hereafter abbreviated *ASF*], Manoscritti n. 167, f. 16r.

(6) BELVEDERI, *Studi liturgici* [see note 3], p. 169.

(7) BIZZOCCHI, *Chiesa e potere* [see note 1], p. 34; N. RAUTY, *Storia di Pistoia I: Dall'alto medioevo all'età precomunale 406-1105*, Florence, Felice Le Monnier, 1988, p. 61; ZARRI, *Recinti* [see note 1], p. 336.

minus. The duty of this official to administer and protect the patrimony of the see was expanded by the heirs of Davizio into a right to administer the see during vacancies ([8]).

The high medieval episcopal *adventus* was carefully scripted: it had its own material culture and precise roles charged with specific ritual actions. The Florentine rite required a special gold brocade baldachin held over the mounted bishop by six attendants. This special « paleo de drappo orato » was mentioned in the very earliest description of the ritual (1286); later documentation records that the six poles supporting the baldachin were decorated with banners bearing the arms of the reigning pope, of the new bishop, of the commune, of the Popolo, of the Guelf Party, and of the Visdomini family. Additionally, the ritual required special gloves and garlands for the honor guard, all-white vestments and miter for the bishop, and linen runners to cover a part of the processional route that the prelate traversed discalced ([9]). Gifts also had to be exchanged and these could be extremely expensive. When the archbishop of Pisa arrived at his palace, he had to give his Lanfranchi escorts a silver cup ([10]). At both Pistoia and Florence, the saddle and bridle of the bishop's horse had to be given over to specific families, while the horse itself went to the abbess of San Pier Maggiore ([11]).

Specific roles in the ceremony carried enormous honor and the ritual actions assigned these roles became jealously defended « rights. » In Florence, Volterra, and Bologna, the bishop dismounted at a certain point and traversed part of the route bare-

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(8) For the history of this Visdomini lineage see C. LANSING, *The Florentine Magnates: Lineage and Faction in a Medieval Commune*, Princeton, University Press, 1991, p. 65-66, 70-72, 78-80; C. C. CALZOLAI, *S. Michele Visdomini*, Florence, Libreria Editrice Fiorentina, 1977, p. 15-22. In the fourteenth century, the Allioti are named with the Visdomini (or Bisdomini) and Tosinghi, and by the sixteenth century, four families shared in these rights: the Tosi, the Tosinghi, the Bisdomini, and Cornigiani: G. LAMI, *Sanctae ecclesiae Florentinae monumenta*, 4 vols., Florence, Typ. Deiparae ab Angelo Salutatae, 1758, t. 3, p. 1712; *ASF*, Manoscritti, n. 167, f. 40r, and n. 129 (Settimani, Diario Fiorentino IV) f. 326v.

(9) *Archivio Arcivescovile di Firenze* [hereafter abbreviated *AAF*], MAB I, 1: Bulletone, f. 255r, also published in LAMI, *Sanctae ecclesiae Florentinae monumenta* [see note 8], t. 3, p. 1709; *ASF*, Manoscritti n. 167, f. 46r-46v, 45r.

(10) BIZZOCCHI, *Chiesa e potere* [see note 1], p. 34.

(11) For Pistoia, ZARRI, *Recinti* [see note 1], p. 336; for Florence, *ASF*, Diplomatico, S. Pier Maggiore, 1309 dic. 20; LAMI, *Sanctae ecclesiae Florentinae monumenta* [see note 8], t. 3, p. 1732, 1744, 1760.

foot ([12]). The Gatti family at Volterra during this segment of the ritual had the special privilege of carrying the bishop's shoes. At Florence, a communal commission charged in 1386 with clarifying the rights and « preheminentias » of various participants in the ritual specified that the bishop could choose which of the chaplains of San Pier Maggiore or Visdomini « guardiani » he wanted to remove his shoes and which of the canons of the cathedral or Visdomini escorts he wanted to put them back on ([13]). Another specific role was leading the bishop's horse by its bridle. At Florence, two members of the Visdomini clan enjoyed this privilege, while at Pisa members of the Lanfranchi family performed this role ([14]). At the conclusion of the ritual in Florence and Pistoia, the keys to the episcopal palace were consigned to the bishop by a chosen representative of the privileged families ([15]).

These are just a few examples; the ceremony also included specific prayers and benedictions by the bishop, a meticulous ordering of the procession, hymns, and oaths. But these features suffice to demonstrate the highly scripted character of the medieval episcopal *adventus*. Sixteenth-century descriptions emphasized the orderliness and decorum of the ceremony in an attempt to counter criticisms that it involved the bishop in a raucous public parade often marred by altercations ([16]). But even the earliest sources for these high medieval *adventus* rituals reveal a carefully detailed sequence of prescribed actions, words, and movements. Later observers may

(12) In Florence, the stretch was from San Pier Maggiore to the Duomo and commemorated sites associated with one of the see's earliest bishops, Saint Zanobi; in Volterra, the bishop discalced at the monastery of San Giusto just outside the city walls; at Bologna, the bishop's shoes were removed at the monastery of Santo Stefano and he proceeded barefoot to the cathedral: MILLER, *Urban Space* [see note 2], section II; BIZZOCCHI, *Chiesa e potere* [see note 1], p. 34; BELVEDERI, *Studi liturgici* [see note 3], p. 169.

(13) BIZZOCCHI, *Chiesa e potere* [see note 1], p. 34; LAMI, *Sanctae ecclesiae Florentinae monumenta* [see note 8], t. 3, p. 1732-33.

(14) The 1286 Florentine description specified that « Odoaldus filius domini Marsoppini de la Tosa » and « Gherardus iudex filius Uberti de Vicedominis » led the bishop's horse; members of the Lanfranchi family in Pisa had this honor: *AAF*, MAB I, 1: Bulletone, f. 255r; BIZZOCCHI, *Chiesa e potere* [see note 1], p. 34.

(15) *ASF*, Manoscritti, n. 167, f. 45v; BIZZOCCHI, *Chiesa e potere*, p. 34.

(16) The Florentine rite was performed for the last time in 1583: R. DAVIDSOHN, *Storia di Firenze*, 8 vols., Florence, Sansoni, 1969, t. 3, p. 400. On sixteenth-century emphases, see ZARRI, *Recinti* [see note 1], p. 320, 345-46.

have underscored the orderly execution of the rite, but it was clearly a highly orchestrated ritual from the thirteenth century.

The Evidence for Late Antique and Early Medieval Episcopal Entries

Interest in medieval ritual has focused primarily upon kingship and upon tracing the emergence and development of political ceremonial in Western Europe. Research in this area has demonstrated significant continuities between the ancient and medieval worlds with the Christian church playing a crucial role in transmitting Roman traditions of the public expression of power to Germanic rulers, particularly the Franks [17]. In the context of these studies, historians have carefully noted examples of the persistence and transformation of the Roman ceremony of imperial arrival, or *adventus*. In addition to instances of Ostrogothic and Frankish kings being greeted or acclaimed by urban populations, evidence of ducal and episcopal *adventus* has also come to light. Since compelling links have been found for the adaptation of Roman symbols and

(17) M. BLOCH, *Les rois thaumaturges: étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre*, Strasbourg — London, Librarie Istra — Oxford University Press, 1924; A. ALFÖLDI, *Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe*, in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaelogischen Instituts*, Römische Abt. 49, 1934, p. 1-118; P. E. SCHRAMM, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom dritten bis zum sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, 3 vols., MGH Schriften 13, 1-3, Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1954-56; E. KANTOROWICZ, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship*, Berkeley — Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1946; E. KANTOROWICZ, *The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina* in *Selected Studies*, Locust Valley, N.Y., J. J. Augustin, 1965, p. 37-81 (especially p. 51 on devolution to bishops); S. MacCORMACK, *Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: The Ceremony of Adventus*, in *Historia* 21 (1972), p. 721-52; ID., *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley — Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1981; G. KOZIOL, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France*, Ithaca — London, Cornell University Press, 1992; good historiographical orientations are J. M. BAK, *Coronation Studies — Past, Present, and Future* in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. J. M. BAK, Berkeley — Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1990, p. 1-15, and A. BOUREAU, *Ritualité politique et modernité monarchique* in *L'État ou le roi: les fondations de la modernité monarchique en France (XIVe - XVIIe siècles)*, Paris, Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1996, p. 11-25.

ceremonial by early medieval kings and for the continuous development of these royal rituals over the high Middle Ages, a similar continuity has been assumed or suggested for episcopal entries. Certainly the evidence for episcopal appropriation of late Roman symbols and rituals of rulership is strong. What I want to challenge is the supposed continuity between the practices of early medieval bishops and their late medieval successors. Consideration of examples of early medieval episcopal *adventus* reveals only general similarities with the elaborate rituals of episcopal entry into late medieval Italian cities.

An ample collection of evidence for early medieval episcopal *adventus* is presented in Michael McCormick's monumental study, *Eternal victory: Triumphal rulership in late antiquity, Byzantium, and the early medieval West*. In his chapter dedicated to Frankish victory celebrations, McCormick discusses clerical appropriation and defense of prerogatives enjoyed by the old senatorial aristocracy. « The prelates, » he asserts, « never allowed the traditional pomp of their solemn entries to falter: from the sixth century down to the Carolingians and beyond, the episcopal *adventus* flourished north of the Alps ». (18) McCormick supports this interpretation with citation to a dozen examples ranging from the sixth to the ninth centuries and to Karl Hauck's essay on the Christian transmission of Roman traditions to Carolingian Europe. Let us consider the characteristics of early medieval episcopal entries evident in these sources.

First, the ritualized reception of a bishop into his city in the early Middle Ages was not limited to his initial arrival to take possession of the see. Indeed, about half of the examples cited described bishops returning to their flocks after an extended or vexatious absence. Gregory of Tours, for example, recounted how Bishop Theodore, along with Duke Gundulf, was honorably greeted with banners and lauds as he entered Marseilles. This was only after, however, the bishop had been expelled from the town by the provincial governor, Dynamius, and had sought the aid of King

(18) M. McCORMICK, *Eternal victory: Triumphal rulership in late antiquity, Byzantium, and the early medieval West*, Cambridge — Paris, University Press — Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1986, p. 330-31. S. MacCORMACK supplies examples from the east in her *Change and Continuity* [see note 17], p. 747-51.

Childebert to regain his see ([19]). Similarly, the joyful reception of Bishop Caesarius into Arles that is first described in his *vita* marked the return of the pastor from exile. Having been cleared of a charge of treason levied against him, Caesarius reentered his city and was greeted by a large throng bearing candles and crosses ([20]). He received a similar reception after returning from a pilgrimage to Rome ([21]). Saintly bishops who ventured forth from their sees to do God's work were also well received upon their return. Saint Germain of Auxerre was joyfully greeted by the entire populace of Paris on his way back from his second missionary trip to Britain ([22]). Note that this example is of a bishop being honorably received in a city that was not his own see ([23]). Episcopal *adventus* in the early Middle Ages was a more frequently enacted ceremony than its late medieval equivalent: like late antique imperial *adventus*, it was not limited to a specific city or to a specific arrival.

Three cases do indicate that early medieval episcopal *adventus* was sometimes also a *possesso*. When Gregory of Tours described how Saint Nicetius was raised to the see of Trier, he depicted the bishop led into the city and enthroned (*inpositus itaque in cathedra*) ([24]). Venantius Fortunatus also emphasized enthronement in

(19) Gregory of Tours, *Historiae Francorum*, VI.11, *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores rerum merovingicarum* [hereafter *MGH, SRM*], t. I, pars 1, ed. B. KRUSCH, W. LEVISON, Hannover, Hahn, 1951, p. 281; discussed in K. HAUCK, *Von einer spätantiken Randkultur zum karolingischen Europa* in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 1 (1967), p. 37-38.

(20) *Vita S. Caesarii*, c. 25, in *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis opera varia*, ed. G. MORIN, Maretioli, 1942, vol. II, p. 306.

(21) *Ibid.*, p. 313. Bishop Audoin of Rouen was also described as being received with great ceremony after he returned from a pilgrimage: *Vita Audoini episcopi Rotomagensis*, c. 11, *MGH, SRM*, t. V, ed. B. KRUSCH, W. LEVISON, Hannover, Hahn, 1910, p. 560. The *Annales Xantenses* record the archbishop of Cologne's reception after his return from Rome in 866: *Annales Xantenses et Annales Vedastini*, ed. B. DE SIMSON, *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, Hannover, Hahn, 1909, p. 24.

(22) *Vita Genovefae virginis Parisiensis*, c. 11, *MGH, SRM*, t. III, ed. B. KRUSCH, Hannover, Hahn, 1896, p. 219.

(23) Another of McCormick's examples is of Bishop Amand of Maastricht being received by the bishop of another city: *Vita prima Amandi Traiectensis*, c. 21, *MGH, SRM*, t. V [see note 21], p. 444. The *adventus* of Bishop Aignan of Orleans was his reception at a monastery: *Vita Aniani episcopi Aurelianensis*, c. 6, *MGH, SRM*, t. III [see note 22], p. 111.

(24) Gregory of Tours, *Liber vitae patrum*, c. 17, 1, in *MGH, SRM*, t. I pars II, ed. B. KRUSCH, Hannover, Hahn, 1885, rptd. 1969, p. 279.

his account of how Bishop Severin of Treves came to replace Saint Amand as bishop of Bordeaux. God revealed to Amand that Severin would succeed him, and so he rushed with his people to greet Severin, brought him into the city, and ceded to him the episcopal throne ([25]). Our most detailed description of an early medieval *adventus*, the *Narratio clericorum Remensium* from the Council of Ingelheim in 840, also depicted the ritual as central to claims to possess a diocese. The *Narratio* recorded Bishop Ebbo's restoration to the see of Reims in 840 after the death of Louis the Pious. Ebbo had lost the see when he had supported Lothair I against his father, declaring Louis dethroned in 833. The emperor's restoration to power in 835 led to Ebbo's deposition from the see of Reims by the Synod of Thionville. In 840, therefore, the public proclamation of Ebbo's restoration to Reims was achieved through his procession into the city in the company of his suffragens, the singing of « Te Deum laudamus » , his donning of episcopal vestments, his enthronement in the cathedral, and the bestowal of ring and crosier ([26]).

Most descriptions of these early medieval entries, however, do not indicate a ritual as elaborate as Ebbo received in 840. Bishop Amand of Maastricht was simply « honorably received » (*honorifice fuisset susceptus*); Bishop Gaugericus of Cambrai « was led into the aforementioned city, as was fitting, with many honors » (*in memorata civitate fuisset cum multis honoribus ut decuit, introductus*) ([27]). Other sources specify that those greeting the bishop carried palm branches, crosses, torches, or candles ([28]). The *Annales Xantenses*

(25) Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Severini episcopi Burdegalensis*, c. 3, *MGH, SRM*, t. VII, pars I, ed. B. KRUSCH, W. LEVISON, Hannover, Hahn, 1919, p. 220.

(26) *Narratio clericorum Remensium* in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Legum sectio III. Concilia*, t. II, pars II, Hannover, Hahn, 1908, rptd. 1979, p. 809-810.

(27) *Ibid.*; *Vita Gaugerici episcopi Camaracensis*, c. 7, *MGH, SRM*, t. III [see note 22], p. 654. The description Saint Germain's reception into Paris is also abbreviated: « Adveniente sancto Germano Parisius, ...universus populus in occursionem eius egressus ab urbe est, » *Vitae Genovefae* [see note 22].

(28) *Vita Audoini* [see note 21], p. 560: « suburbani cives et vulgi populus, exultantes prae gaudio simulque merentes, catervatim provolvuntur in occursum eius una cum crucibus et lampadibus, obviam pii pastoris adgrediunt »; *Vita S. Caesarii* [see note 20], p. 306: « egreditur in occursum ipsius tota fraternitas totusque sexus cum cereis et crucibus, psallendo sancti viri opperiens introitum »; *Narratio clericorum Remensium* [see note 26], p. 809: « cum infinita multitudine utriusque sexus, qui omnes cum ramis palmarum et cereis ardentibus laudesque

mentioned ringing bells and a procession of clerics carrying the gospels and swinging censers (*clangentibus signis, occurrenti clero cum ewangeliis et turribulis*) ([29]). While the *vita* of Caesarius of Arles mentions the singing of psalms, most accounts specify that the bishop was greeted with acclamations (*laudes*) ([30]). The author of the *vita* of Saint Audoin bishop of Rouen recounted that the crowd of clerics and monks greeting the prelate, « raising their hands to heaven, with one voice sang praises to the Lord, saying: 'We thank you, Jesus Christ, son of the living God, who heard our voices crying out to you and sent us a pastor of souls as well as an overseer of bodies' ». ([31]) Two examples of poems of praise written on episcopal *adventus* survive from the fifth and sixth centuries, one by Sedulius Scottus for Bishop Hartgar and another by Venantius Fortunatus for Gregory of Tours ([32]).

In sum, accounts of early medieval episcopal *adventus* reveal features shared with its late medieval successor, but also significant differences. In the early Middle Ages, the rite was not restricted to the bishop's first solemn entry into the city to take possession of the diocese. Enacted whenever a populace wanted to honor an arriving prelate, the ritual generally involved crowds meeting the

Deo intimis ex cordibus et excelsissimis vocibus proclamantes longe ei ab ecclesia obviaverunt et usque ad ecclesiam indesinenter psallentes eum perduxerunt. »

(29) *Annales Xantenses* [see note 21], p. 24.

(30) For the *Vita S. Caesarii*, see above note 28 and p. 313; *laudes* are mentioned in Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Germani episcopi Parisiaci*, c. 63, *MGH, SRM*, t. VII, pars I [see note 25], p. 110, and the same author's *Vita Severini episcopi Burdegalensis*, c. 3, in the same volume, p. 220; *Narratio clericorum Remensium* [see note 26], p. 809; *Vita Aniani episcopi Aurelianensis* [see note 23], p. 111; Gregory of Tours, *Historiae Francorum* [see note 19], p. 281. KANTOROWICZ provides examples of episcopal lauds in *Laudes Regiae* [see note 17], p. 112-25.

(31) Vita *Audoini episcopi Rotomagensis* [see note 21], p. 561: « ...qui elevantes in caelum manibus cum voce simul canebant Domino laudes, dicentes: 'Gratias agimus tibi, Iesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, qui exaudisti voces clamantium ad te et reddedisti nobis pastorem animarum simulque corporum procuratorem'. »

(32) Sedulius Scottus, *Carmina*, II.8 in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Poetarum latinorum medii aevi*, t. III, ed. L. TRAUBE, Berlin, Weidmann, 1896, rptd. 1964, p. 176-77; Venantius Fortunatus, *Opera Poetica*, V.3 in HAUCK, *Von einer spätantiken Randkultur* [see note 19], p. 40, n. 101, and discussion p. 39-42.

bishop outside the city gates and escorting him, with some cere-
mony, into the town. Several accounts emphasize spontaneity, with
people rushing to intercept the approaching bishop. Noticeably ab-
sent from these early medieval descriptions is anything approach-
ing the precise ritualized character of the late medieval episcopal
adventus.

The Origins of the High Medieval Episcopal Entry

Several aspects of the Florentine ritual of episcopal *adventus* sug-
gest that it was not simply the natural outgrowth of these early
medieval entry ceremonies. We should first note the stability of
this entry rite; from 1286 to 1583 only three significant changes
can be documented. In 1384 a stop in the Piazza della Signoria
was added to allow the leaders of the commune to greet the bishop
from the steps of their palace. The bishop remained mounted but
with both hands securing his miter, he bowed toward them when
entering and leaving the piazza. With the entry of Cosimo de' Paz-
zi in 1508, Florence's spiritual leaders eliminated the ritual's over-
night stay in the monastery of San Pier Maggiore, completing the
entire procession from the city gate to the episcopal palace in one
day. Finally, in 1532 the gate of entry was shifted from San Pier
Gattolino to the Porta San Frediano. This change reflected a shift
in where the archbishop lodged just before the entry. Previously,
the entering prelate had stayed at the Certosa, just four kilometers
south of the Porta San Pietro, but in 1532 Archbishop Andrea
Buondelmonte initiated the custom of staying at the monastery of
San Bartolomeo di Monteoliveto, an institution favored by the
Medici ([33]). Remaining unchanged for three centuries were the cen-
tral characteristics of the rite: the procession across town to San
Pier Maggiore, the ritual marriage of the abbess to the new prelate
(with attendant distribution of gifts and a meal), the route down
Borgo degli Albizzi with a stop at the stone commemorating a
miracle of San Zanobi, the prayers at the altar of San Zanobi in

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(33) On the changes in 1384 and 1532, see MILLER, *Urban Space* [see note
2]; on the elimination of the night at San Pier Maggiore, LAMI, *Sanctae ecclesiae
Florentinae monumenta* [see note 8], t. 3, p. 1744, 1760, 1763; *Ingresso dell'Arci-
vescovo Antonio Altoviti in Firenze*, Florence, S. Antonino, 1868, p. 16-17; *Diario
Fiorentino di Agostino Lapini dal 252 al 1596*, ed. O. CORAZZINI, Florence, San-
soni, 1900, p. 231-32.

the cathedral, the mass in San Giovanni, and the bestowal of the
keys to the palace and the register of acts during the vacancy by
the Visdomini, along with their oaths of fidelity, in the chapel of
San Salvatore.

Stability in the rite from 1286, of course, does not preclude the
possibility of earlier change. But several cardinal points in the ri-
tual did not exist in the early Middle Ages. The monastery of San
Pier Maggiore, the first major stop on the processional route and
where the ritual marriage with the convent's abbess took place,
was founded in 1066 ([34]). Although the church of San Pietro existed
before the foundation of the monastery, it is attested no earlier
than 969 ([35]). The gate of San Pier Gattolino where the citizens
met the bishop, « ut moris est » , was built c. 1173-75 when the city
walls were first expanded to include the Oltrarno ([36]). The emphasis
in the ritual on the cult of Saint Zanobi and places associated with
his life also suggests origins after the millennium. Although Zanobi
was one of Florence's earliest bishops (c. 376-407) and churches
were dedicated to him during the early Middle Ages, the elabora-
tion of his cult through *vitae*, liturgical celebrations, and recogni-
tion of relics only really took off from the eleventh century ([37]).

Additionally, changes in how bishops were made after the Gre-
gorian Reform gave a certain logic to a ritual like the high medie-
val *adventus*. During the controversy over investiture, new
emphasis was put on the consecration of a bishop preceding inves-
titure, and Gregory VII used consecration to assert control over
sees. When King Philip I of France, for example, refused his assent
to the election of Landricus to the see of Mâcon, the pope conse-
crated the *electus* himself in Rome in 1074 ([38]). Over the course of

(34) *ASF*, Diplomatico, San Pier Maggiore, n. 1037 and 1038, both dated 27
February 1066.

(35) A. Cocchi, *Le Chiese di Firenze dal secolo IV al secolo XX, volume I:
Quartiere di San Giovanni*, Florence, Pellas, 1903, p. 97-98, correcting the erro-
neous dating of the church to the fifth century in G. Richa, *Notizie istoriche
delle chiese fiorentine devise ne' suoi quartieri opera, parte prima: del quartiere di
Santa Croce tomo primo*, Florence, Pietro Gaetano Viviani, 1754, p. 124.

(36) Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze* [see note 16], t. 1, p. 790-91.

(37) A. Benvenuti Papi, *San Zanobi: Memoria episcopale, tradizioni civiche
e dignità familiari* in *Pastori del popolo: Storie e leggende di vescovi e di città
nell'Italia medievale*, Florence, Arnaud, 1988, p. 127-76.

(38) H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII 1073-1085*, Oxford, Clarendon
Press, 1998, p. 105, 107-10; G. Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*

the twelfth century, Italian candidates increasingly sought conse-
cration in Rome. Bruno of Segni, after his election by the cathedral
chapter, returned to the Holy See both for confirmation of his elec-
tion and for consecration, as did Lanfranc of Pavia and Ubaldus of
Gubbio ([39]). Indeed, the twelfth-century Roman pontifical contains
an *ordo*, not found in the tenth-century Romano-German pontifical,
in which the bishop-elect is examined and consecrated by the
pope ([10]). Contested elections fueled recourse to Rome and by the
mid-thirteenth century papal provision was becoming the normal
route to the episcopate ([11]). The Florentine see was filled by papal
appointees in 1205, 1231, 1248, and 1286 ([12]). Thus, as it became
common for Italian bishops to be made in Rome, a ceremonial en-
try into their city to take possession of the see would seem an ap-
propriate rite.

Indeed, the need for a rite of solemn entry was even felt in
Rome in the twelfth century. Calixtus II (1119-24), Eugenius III
(1145-53), and Clement III (1189-91) were either elected or conse-
crated outside of the city and arranged entry into Rome after-
wards. Susan Twyman has calculated that in the period from
Alexander III's contested election in 1159 to Clement III's pontifi-
cate, « not one of the five popes had been consecrated in Rome and
only one, Alexander III, had been elected there ». ([13]) Not surpris-
ingly, then, two compilations of Roman liturgical practice dating
from the late twelfth century provided specific instructions for the

from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century, trans. T. REUTHER, Cambridge, Uni-
versity Press, 1993, p. 180; R. BENSON, *The Bishop-Elect: A Study in Medieval
Ecclesiastical Office*, Princeton, University Press, 1968, p. 39, 41, 382.

(39) *Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*, ed. J. BOLLAND et al., Paris -
Rome, Victor Palmé, 1863-..., t. IV Iul. p. 480; *ibid.*, t. V Iun. p. 534; *ibid.*, III
Mai p. 629.

(40) M. ANDRIEU, *Le Pontifical romain au moyen-âge*, tome I: *Le Pontifical
romain du XII*[e] *siècle*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1938,
p. 138-54.

(41) G. BARRACLOUGH, *Papal Provisions: Aspects of Church History Constitu-
tional, Legal and Administrative in the Late Middle Ages*, Oxford, Basil Black-
well, 1935, p. 9-10, 139.

(42) DAMERON, *Conflitto rituale* [see note 1], p. 270-71; G. DAMERON, *Episco-
pal Power and Florentine Society 1000-1320*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univer-
sity Press, 1991, p. 120; DAVIDSOHN, *Storia di Firenze* [see note 16], t. II,
p. 184-85.

(43) S. TWYMAN, *Papal Adventus at Rome in the Twelfth Century* in *Historical
Research*, 69 (1996), p. 244.

ceremonial reception of a pontiff either elected or elected and consecrated outside of Rome: the *ordo* of the papal chamberlain Cencius, compiled c. 1192; and an anonymous compilation discovered by Bernhard Schimmelpfennig in a manuscript in Basel ([14]).

Similarities between these twelfth-century papal rituals of *adventus* and the Florentine rite of episcopal entry lead me to suggest that high medieval rituals of episcopal *adventus* were local adaptations of papal ceremonies rather than direct descendants of late antique and early medieval episcopal entries. In addition to particular resonances with the papal rite of *possesso*, the Florentine episcopal *adventus* transposed Roman Lenten traditions, elements of the Roman stational liturgies, and ceremonial roles and prerogatives enjoyed by Roman noble families. It also borrowed the language of late twelfth-century Roman *ordines* to describe actions and individuals central to the rite. Let us consider these similarities in some detail.

First, there are multiple enthronements in the Florentine *entrata*. The new bishop was enthroned in the church of San Pier Maggiore after his ritual marriage to the abbess, then he was enthroned in the cathedral of Santa Reparata (later, Santa Maria del Fiore), then again in the baptistery of San Giovanni, and finally in the chapel of San Salvatore within the episcopal palace ([15]). The twelfth-century *ordines* for papal *adventus* also detail four enthrone-

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(14) *Ibid.*; P. FABRE, L. DUCHESNE, *Le Liber censuum de l'Église romaine*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Française d'Athènes et de Rome 2e série, 3 vols., Paris, Fontemoing, 1905-1910, t. I, p. 311-13; B. SCHIMMELPFENNIG, *Ein bisher unbekannter Text zur Wahl, Konsekration und Krönung des Papstes im 12. Jahrhundert* in *Archivum historiae pontificae*, 6 (1968), p. 43-701. Another twelfth-century fragment published by Schimmelpfennig includes instructions for the election and consecration of a pope in Rome, but makes no mention of ceremonial alternatives to suite different circumstances: B. SCHIMMELPFENNIG, *Ein Fragment zur Wahl, Konsekration und Krönung des Papstes im 12. Jahrhundert* in *Archivum historiae pontificae*, 7 (1970), p. 323-30. Similarly, the *ordo* compiled c. 1189 by Albinus, cardinal bishop of Albano, contains a chapter on papal election and consecration, but it presupposes a Roman setting: FABRE - DUCHESNE, *Liber censuum*, t. II, p. 123-25.

(15) The initial 1286 account leaves out the enthronement in San Giovanni, but this may be because the ritual was disrupted by Bishop Jacopo Rainucci's decision to say his first mass in Santa Reparata instead of San Giovanni as was customary: *AAF*, MAB I, 1: Bulletone [see note 9], f. 255v-256v; four enthronements are attested throughout the fourteenth and into the sixteenth century: *ASF*, Manoscritti, no. 167, f. 16v-17r; LAMI, *Sanctae ecclesiae Florentinae monu-*

ments. When the pope entered the city on the side of the Lateran, he was first enthroned in the *sedes stercorata* in front of the portico of the Lateran basilica. This stone throne took its name from the verse recited as the pontiff was seated: « The Lord lifts the weak out of the dust ad raises the poor from the dunghill (*de stercore*) to give them a place among the great, to set them in seats of honor » (I Sam. 2: 8). After entering the church and prostrating himself in prayer before the high altar, the new pope was enthroned again and there received the canons of San Giovanni. Led from the basilica into the palace, the pontiff was enthroned two more times before the chapel of San Silvestro. When seated in the first « porphyry » (really red marble) throne, the prior of San Lorenzo gave the new pope a special crosier (*ferulam*) as a symbol of his power to rule and discipline, and the keys to the Lateran basilica and palace. With these objects in hand, the pontiff was enthroned in the other seat before the chapel and received all the officials of the palace ([16]). The Florentine bishop's final enthronement also included the consignment of keys. In the chapel of San Salvatore within the *vescovado*, the Visdomini presented the bishop with the keys to the palace and the registers recording their administration of the patrimony during the vacancy. They all then genuflected before the bishop and received his blessing ([17]).

The rite of papal *possesso* was certainly older than the late twelfth-century *ordines* that modified it to accommodate the pope's election and consecration outside of the city, but not much older. Many of its elements are documented for the first time in the *vitae* of Pope Pascal II (1099-1118) and Pope Honorius II (1124-1130) ([18]). Indeed, the expansive notion of the papal office devel-

menta [see note 8], t. III, p. 1733, 1744, 1761; *Diario Fiorentino di Agostino Lapini* [see note 33], p. 232.

(16) FABRE - DUCHESNE, *Liber censuum* [see note 44], t. I, p. 312-13; SCHIMMELPFENNIG, *Ein bisher unbekannter Text* [see note 44], p. 60-62. These four enthronements are also part of the *possesso* rite when the pope was elected and consecrated in Rome: FABRE - DUCHESNE, *Liber censuum*, t. II, p. 123-24; SCHIMMELPFENNIG, *Ein Fragment*, p. 326-28; A. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *Le Chiavi e la Tiara: Immagini e simboli del papato medievale*, Rome, Viella, 1998, p. 63-66; ID., *The Pope's Body*, trans. D. PETERSON, Chicago - London, University of Chicago Press, 2000, p. 39-52.

(17) *AAF*, MAB I, 1: Bulletone [see note 9], f. 256v; *ASF*, Manoscritti, no. 167, f. 17r-17v; LAMI, *Sanctae ecclesiae Florentinae monumenta* [see note 8], t. III, p. 1725, 1745, 1761, 1763.

(18) PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *The Pope's Body* [see note 16], p. 39.

oped during the Gregorian Reform movement fueled myriad devel-
opments in papal ceremonial over the course of the twelfth cen-
tury ([19]). Several of the novelties of this period in the growth of
papal traditions were incorporated into the Florentine ritual of
episcopal *adventus*. The most precisely dated is the pope's barefoot
procession to the church of Santa Sabina. This became part of the
Roman rite for Ash Wednesday, along with the distribution of
ashes, a custom initiated by Pope Urban II in 1091. The procession
is first documented in the canon Benedict's *Ordo XI*, composed be-
tween 1140 and 1143 ([50]). In the Florentine rite of *adventus*, the
new bishop processed barefoot from San Pier Maggiore to the ca-
thedral along a route particularly associated with miracles worked
by the early Florentine bishop Zanobi ([51]). Episcopal entries in
other cities also included a discalced stretch: in Bologna the new
bishop went barefoot from the church of Santo Stefano outside
the city gate all the way to the cathedral, in Volterra from the
monastery of San Giusto outside the walls to the cathedral, and
at Ravenna, similarly, from the city gate to the basilica Ur-
siana ([52]).

(49) *Ibid.*, 54; B. SCHIMMELPFENIG, *The Papacy*, trans. J. SIEVERT, New
York, Columbia University Press, 1992, pp. 162-63.

(50) FABRE - DUCHESNE, *Liber censuum* [see note 44], t. II, p. 149; also in
the *ordines* of Albinus and Cencius, t. II, p. 129, t. I, p. 294; PARAVICINI BA-
GLIANI, *The Pope's Body* [see note 46], p. 22-25. There are other barefoot proces-
sions described in the twelfth-century *ordines*, but they were inside churches or
within the Lateran complex. On the Purification of the Virgin, Cencius's instruc-
tions make clear that only the atrium and church of Santa Maria Maggiore were
traversed without shoes: FABRE - DUCHESNE, *Liber censuum*, t. I, p. 293 and
p. 314 n. 7 (this is less clear in Benedict's and Albinus's versions, t. II, p. 129,
148). On Good Friday, the pontiff and his clergy processed discalced from the
basilica of San Giovanni to the chapel off the baptistery dedicated to the Holy
Cross: FABRE - DUCHESNE, *Liber censuum*, t. I, p. 295, t. II, p. 130.

(51) *AAF*, MAB I, 1: Bulletone [see note 9], f. 255v; *ASF*, Manoscritti, no.
167, f. 47r; LAMI, *Sanctae ecclesiae Florentinae monumenta* [see note 8], t. III,
p. 1710, 1725, 1732-33. This part of the ritual, like the overnight stay in San
Pier Maggiore, seems to have discomfitted sixteenth-century bishops. Cosimo
de' Pazzi in 1508 insisted on riding this stretch, while Giulio de' Medici in
1513, Antonio Altoviti in 1567 and Alessandro de' Medici in 1583 did at least
walk: *Ibid.*, 1744, 1760; *Ingresso dell'Arcivescovo Antonio Altoviti in Firenze* [see
note 33], p. 17; *Diario Fiorentino di Agostino Lapini* [see note 33], p. 232. On
the associations with S. Zanobi, see MILLER, *Urban Space* [see note 2], section
II.

Among the other similarities with Roman ceremonial of the twelfth century are two aspects of the Florentine rite that parallel instructions in Albinus and Cencius for the stational liturgies the pope celebrated in Roman churches. The first is the specification that the bishop of Florence ride either a horse draped in white or, in the sixteenth century, a white horse ([53]). As Agostino Paravicini Bagliani has pointed out, the popes of the thirteenth century embraced the imperial symbolism of riding a white horse on solemn occasions, a practice illustrated in the mid-thirteenth-century frescoes of Ss. Quattro Coronati ([54]). But even earlier, in the twelfth-century *ordines*, the pope rode a white horse to the stational churches for their special masses, and, as Ingo Herklotz has pointed out, there was a *marescalcus equorum alborum* in the papal household during the twelfth century ([55]).

Another aspect of the Florentine ritual that seems related to twelfth-century Roman traditions is the « staffa del vescovo » in the piazza of San Pier Maggiore. Described variously as a big rock (*petrone*) or a column shaft (*ad truncum colonne ibidem existentem & vulgariter nuncupatum la Stafa del Vescovo*), the new bishop used this stepping stone to descend from his horse with appropriate ceremonial grace once the procession had reached San Pier Maggiore ([56]). Popes had similar props. When the pontiff processed on

(52) BELVEDERI, *Studi liturgici* [see note 3], p. 174-75; BIZZOCCHI, *Chiesa e potere* [see note 1], p. 34.

(53) *ASF*, Manoscritti no. 167, f. 46v (1370: « Suo Cavallo, il quale è covertato tutto di bianco »); LAMI, *Sanctae ecclesiae Florentinae monumenta* [see note 8], t. III, p. 1722 (1384: « equo coperto de sindone albo »), 1742, 1759 (1508 and 1513: « super equum album coopertum supraveste siricea alba usque in terram »); *Ingresso dell'Arcivescovo Antonio Altoviti in Firenze* [see note 33], p. 8 (1567: « sopra una chinea bianca et guarnita tutta de ermesino bianco riccio con fregio d'oro »); *Diario Fiorentino di Agostino Lapini* [see note 33], p. 232 (1583: « non tolsano la chinea »).

(54) PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *Le Chiavi e la Tiara* [see note 46], p. 76-78.

(55) FABRE - DUCHESNE, *Liber censuum* [see note 14], t. I, p. 297, t. II, p. 131; I. HERKLOTZ, *Gli eredi di Costantino: Il papato, il Laterano e la propaganda visiva nel XII secolo*, Rome, Viella, 2000, p. 45-46. The earliest Roman *ordo* indicates that the pope rode to the stational liturgies, but gives no specification of the horse's color: M. ANDRIEU, *Les Ordines Romani du haut Moyen Âge, II: Les Textes (ordines I-XIII)*, p. 70 (ordo I).

(56) LAMI, *Sanctae ecclesiae Florentinae monumenta* [see note 8], t. III, p. 1732, 1744, 1760; *Ingresso dell'Arcivescovo Antonio Altoviti in Firenze* [see

his white horse to Santa Maria Maggiore, he dismounted in front of
the portico of the church *ad petram papalem*.

The most interesting link between the twelfth-century papal rite
of *adventus* and the Florentine ritual is, however, the honor guard.
In the Florentine episcopal *adventus*, the Visdomini families played
a particularly prominent role. They organized the entire ritual, in-
forming everyone of the date and time of the entry, their delegates
supported the baldachin held over the new bishop throughout the
procession, some of them had the privilege of dining with the pre-
late at the monastery of San Pier Maggiore, they held candles as he
knelt in prayer at the stone commemorating San Zanobi's miracle,
they tended and accompanied him throughout the rite. In the ear-
liest (1286) account of the ritual, they are called his *adextratores*.

This is a very particular term. The verb *addextrare* is first at-
tested in a section of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* written
c. 1044 that described Bishop Gerard leading the Empress Cune-
gond in procession ([57]). In the twelfth-century Roman *ordines*, it is
used both to describe clerics escorting other clerics by the hand
during a ceremony, or to indicate laymen leading the pope's horse
by the bridle. The canon Benedict, for example, in his mid-twelfth
century *ordo*, used *addextrare* to indicate how two cardinals were to
lead their prior into the pope's presence during the Holy Saturday
liturgy (*...obedientes accipiunt priorem card[inalium] per manus et
adestrant eum usque ante pontificem*). He also used the verb in de-
scribing how the prefect of Rome accompanied the pope to the La-
teran on *Laetare* Sunday: « Well before the pontiff dismounts, the
prefect dismounts and on foot leads him to the place where the
pope is to dismount ». ([58]) Both of these meanings are used in the
Florentine *adventus*: the Visdomini *addestratores* lead the bishop's
horse in procession and escort him on foot (*semper circuibant eum
predicti vicedomini et supportabant eum, tenentes manibus eorum*

note 33], p. 14 (« smontò al Tronco, sino a hoggi chiamata la Staffa de l'Arcive-
scovo »).

(57) *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores* t. VII, p. 480 line 52 to
p. 481 line 1: *Ipsa vero in die domina imperatrix, quia eam in processionem dom-
nus episcopus addestravit*.

(58) Fabre - Duchesne, *Liber censuum* [see note 44], t. II, p. 151, 153, 150.
Similar examples from the other twelfth-century *ordines* are *Liber censuum*, t. II,
91 (Albinus), t. I, p. 298 (Cencius); Schimmelpfennig, *Ein bisher unbekannter
Text* [see note 44], p. 60, 63; Schimmelpfennig, *Ein Fragment*, p. 326-27.

paramenta eius) ([59]). Thirteenth-century attestations of the word are nearly all in papal sources ([60]).

The noun form, *addestratores*, appears for the first time in the 1192 *ordo* of Cencius ([61]). It referred to representatives of the Roman nobility, organized into a *schola*, who led the pope's horse when he rode to stational liturgies and other ceremonies in the city. This form of service had a long history. In Benedict's mid-twelfth-century *ordo*, the laymen performing these roles are called *stratores* and, as such, they are attested even in the mid-eighth century *ordo primus* edited by Andrieu ([62]). In Cencius's *ordo*, in addition to escorting the mounted pontiff, the *addextratores* help prepare the white papal horse, draping it with red silk, and after the pope has mounted, they hand him his « regnum » (tiara) ([63]). In return for these services, they were to receive ten *solidi*, plus two more for tending the *regnum*. Additionally, after the stational liturgies, four of them had the honor of dining with the pope, and after an *adventus*, the entire *schola* was fed ([64]).

The Florentine *addextratores* also enjoyed the honor of dining with the new bishop at San Pier Maggiore, although after Bishop Lotterio della Tosa brought too many, a protest of the abbess established the convention of inviting no more than four chosen by the prelate. All of the Visdomini attending him during the rite, however, were invited to a feast in the episcopal palace at the conclusion of the *adventus* ([65]). The Florentine *addextratores* were not

(59) *AAF*, MAB I, 1: Bulletone [see note 9], f. 255r, 256r.

(60) Favre's expanded edition of Du Cange gives examples from the *vitae* of Innocent IV (1243-1254) and Pope Gregory X (1271-1276), and concerning Clement V (1305-1314): C. Du CANGE - L. FAVRE, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, Niort, 1883-1887, rptd. Paris, Librairie des Sciences et des Arts, 1937-43, s.v. « addextrare. » The *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert*, Munich, C.H. Beck, 1967, s.v. « addextro, » gives examples from the registers of Honorius III (1216-1227) and Urban IV (1261-1264).

(61) Du CANGE - FAVRE, *Glossarium*, s.v. « addestratores »; FABRE - DUCHESNE, *Liber censuum* [see note 44], t. I, p. 292, 297, 304, 313.

(62) FABRE - DUCHESNE, *Liber censuum* [see note 44], t. II, p. 152; ANDRIEU, *Les Ordines Romani* [see note 55], p. 70: *Stratores autem laici a dextris et a sinistris equi ambulant ne alicubi titubet.* Schimmelpfennig's London fragment also calls these participants *stratores*: *Ein Fragment* [see note 44], p. 68.

(63) FABRE - DUCHESNE, *Liber censuum* [see note 44], t. I, p. 292, 297.

(64) *Ibid.*, p. 304.

(65) The 1286 account recorded that *plures etiam ex dictis Vicedominis* dined with the bishop at San Pier Maggiore and at the end of the second day *predicti*

paid in cash for their services, but the bishop owed them significant comestible gifts on Christmas, Easter, and on the feast of Saint John the Baptist. During the Christmas season, these gifts included a platter of at least four pounds of fresh or salted pork, another platter of at least three pounds of fresh roasted pork accompanied by four meat « tortelli » , one medium Pisan cheese, and one fourth part of « an egg and cheese pie in which there are at least fifty eggs ». ([66]) These remunerations were one reason the Visdomini defended their ceremonial prerogatives in the Florentine episcopal *adventus*, and their Roman counterparts were similarly jealous of their ritual « turf ». In 1288 the Roman *addextratores* brought a suit, along with the *mappularii* (who carried the papal baldachin), against the *servientes nigros de familia domini pape* in order to protect their rights over providing ceremonial escorts during the consecrations of visiting prelates and abbots ([67]).

Conclusion

The Gregorian Reform had any number of paradoxical results, but its impact on the making of bishops in Western Christendom was particularly fraught. The campaign against lay investiture and the revival of « free election » of bishops by clergy and people did begin in the twelfth century to bring different kinds of men to positions of diocesan leadership. In the sees of northern and central

domini Vicedomini commederunt cum eo in episcopatu predicto: AAF, MAB I, 1: Bulletone [see note 9], f. 255v. 256v. On 24 February 1302, however, Abbess Phylippa, accompanied by eight of her sisters and her procurator, the priest Chellus, protested the crowd that Bishop Lotterio had invited to dine at the convent's expense. Simone della Tosa's summary of the ritual and the Visdomini « preheminentie » in it, specified that the bishop could *chiamare due, or quattro de' suoi Padroni, i quali a lui piace, accio che li facciano compagnia dentro al desinare. ASF*, Diplomatico, San Pier Maggiore, 1301 [1302] Feb. 24; Manoscritti, no 167, f. 46v. The latter source (f. 47v) also specified that, after the final benediction on the second day, *Messer lo Vescovo, per sua discrezione e bontà, tutti i detti padroni ritiene quella mattina a mangiare seco con altra sua compagnia, che a lui piace; i padroni predetti restano a mangiare, grandi e piccoli, e loro famigli e servigiali.*

(66) Lami, *Sanctae ecclesiae Florentinae monumenta* [see note 8], t. III, p. 1714, an agreement dated 1251 between Bishop Giovanni de' Mangiadori and the Visdomini listing all the « honoribus et provisionibus. »

(67) Fabre - Duchesne, *Liber censuum* [see note 44], t. I, p. 593-94.

Italy, imperial candidates gave way to local clerics, most of them members of the lower nobility that dominated cathedral chapters and held episcopal lands in *beneficia*. The local knowledge and social connections these men brought to their work as pastors certainly could have beneficial results, but they also further entangled sees in local political struggles. Disputed elections invited papal intervention and by the end of the thirteenth century, « free election » had mostly been replaced by papal provision. The Florentine republic was so disillusioned with the behavior of homegrown prelates that it went a step further and in the early fourteenth century prohibited any of its citizens from accepting the see ([68]).

As bishops came to be made in Rome and sent to their dioceses, the high medieval ritual of episcopal *adventus* was born. The topography and terminology of the Florentine ritual suggest that it emerged no earlier than the late twelfth century and more likely in the early thirteenth. The ritual always assumed entry through one of the city's southern gates, traditionally the Porta San Pietro Gattolino (built 1173-1175), today even called the Porta Romana. The use of the term *addextratores* to describe the Visdomini strongly suggests the influence of late twelfth-century Roman *ordines*, perhaps specifically that of Cencius (compiled c. 1192). Schimmelpfennig's discovery of copies of such ritual handbooks in collections as far afield as Basel and London make it entirely plausible to posit their diffusion among northern Italian sees. Moreover, the many similarities between Roman ceremonial practices of the twelfth century and aspects of the Florentine entry provide compelling evidence that this medieval episcopal *adventus* was a local adaptation of papal rituals.

This should not surprise us. The struggle against imperial power and influence most well known through the dramatic events of the investiture conflict also had a liturgical front. As Roger Reynolds has so aptly observed, from the pontificate of Gregory VII,

> ...there was a concerted effort not only to make the rite used in Rome more Roman and less Germanic, but also to impose that rite elsewhere. As a result a new Roman pontifical was compiled, new liturgical regulations were

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(68) The family of any individual who accepted the see would fall under the commune's severe restrictions for « magnates »: BIZZOCCHI, *Chiesa e potere* [see note 1], p. 203.

enacted for Rome, and attempts were made to suppress indigenous rites in
Armenia, Milan, and Spain and to supplant them with the Roman rite ([69]).

As Roman practice became the standard of orthodoxy and com-
munion with the Holy See, bishops naturally responded by at-
tempting to do things « iuxta morem vero romanae ecclesiae ([70]) ».

Although explicable in this context of increasing Romanization,
the emergence of the high medieval ritual of episcopal *adventus* is
hardly an example of anything Gregory VII might have considered
« success » in this regard. For the purposes of distinguishing these
rituals from late antique and early medieval ceremonies of the
same name, I have emphasized the shared elements with the Ro-
man customs of the twelfth century. But, at least in the case of
Florence, the indigenous contributions to the *adventus* ritual were
just as significant. While the first part of the processional route
and its use of local topography (from the Porta San Pietro to the
monastery of San Pietro) emphasized Roman primacy, the second
stretch used papal symbols of humility to demand at least ritual
acknowledgment of local traditions. The new bishop had to tra-
verse barefoot a neighborhood associated in local lore with Bishop
Zanobi and in this humble mode genuflect at the stone commemor-
ating one of Zanobi's miracles and pray at the early bishop's tomb
in the duomo. Only after such obeisance to the local church was
the bishop enthroned in the cathedral and in San Giovanni, a space
particularly associated with the bishop's rights of lordship. It was
at San Giovanni every year on the Baptist's feast that episcopal
tenants paid their rents and the bishop's vassals swore fidelity. This
is just one example of how the transposition of Roman customs to
local sees could produce meanings that reasserted the validity of
local traditions as much as they acknowledged Roman primacy.
And many of the indigenous elements in these rituals were much
less subtle: the Florentine bishop's ritual marriage to the abbess of
San Pier Maggiore was more than a mystical union with his see.
Women from the most powerful lineages in the city dominated
the convent and the ritual coercively required the new bishop to
ally himself with these families using a ritual vocabulary — the

(69) R. REYNOLDS, *Liturgical Scholarship at the Time of the Investiture Con-
troversy: Past Research and Future Opportunities*, in *Law and Liturgy in the Latin
Church, 5th-12th Centuries*, Aldershot, Variorum, 1994, XVIII, p. 112.
(70) M. ANDRIEU, *Le Pontifical romain* [see note 40], p. 135.

bestowal of a golden ring, the preparation of a bed — wielded by secular elites to cement their truces or confirm their collaboration.

This was hardly « conformity » to Roman practice; the pope never married any abbess on his way to the Lateran. But herein lies the interest of these rituals. They offer a means to explore how local churches throughout Christendom reinterpreted and reasserted their own traditions in the face of increasing centralization. Clearly, in the high medieval episcopal *adventus* Roman and indigenous elements coexisted, and this demonstrates the futility of focusing analysis on binary categories such as conformity/nonconformity. The Florentine evidence suggests a highly creative interplay, even dialogue, at work in these rituals and what was being said seems to me significant in understanding the character of medieval Christianity. What about their own sense of their Christian past did local communities single out for acknowledgment? How did communities try to articulate and visualize the complex and often ambiguous relations between institutions of local governance and episcopal lordship? What do reactions to these rituals and modifications to them tell us about what local communities wanted in their bishop? What possibilities and limits of communication between local Christians and their pastors did these rituals provide? Such questions merit exploration, particularly in light of the criticism and debate over ritual that marked both the Protestant and Catholic reformations. What, precisely, was being rejected when post-Tridentine bishops abandoned these medieval rituals of episcopal *adventus*?

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Summary. — Using the evidence of the Florentine ritual of episcopal entry, the author argues that the complex rites of episcopal *adventus* found in many European cities in the high and late Middle Ages were not direct descendants of late antique and early medieval rituals of *adventus*. Limited to the bishop's initial entrance into his see and highly scripted, these later medieval ceremonies were local adaptations of papal rituals developed in the late twelfth century. As such, they are an interesting gauge of the spread of Roman liturgical and ceremonial customs, a trend fostered during the Gregorian reform. The development of these rituals, however, suggests not « conformity » to Roman practice, but

inspiration by papal models and a great deal of local creativity. The indigenou
additions and modifications to Roman custom often reasserted the validity o
local traditions and ritually forced the new bishop to acknowledge them.

Résumé. — À partir du rituel florentin de l'entrée épiscopale, l'A. affirme qui
les rites complexes de l'*adventus* épiscopal trouvés dans de nombreuses villes eu
ropéennes au milieu et de la fin du moyen âge ne sont pas des descendants di
rects des rituels d'*adventus* de la fin de l'Antiquité et du début du moyen âge
Limitées à l'entrée initiale de l'évêque en son siège épiscopal et minutieusemen
décrites, ces cérémonies tardo-médiévales étaient des adaptations locales de ri
tuels papaux développés à la fin du 12e s. Comme tels, ils sont un test intéres-
sant de la diffusion des coutumes liturgiques et cérémonielles romaines, une
tendance encouragée durant la réforme grégorienne. Le développement de ces
rituels, cependant, suggère qu'il n'y avait pas « conformité » aux pratiques ro-
maines mais inspiration des modèles papaux et beaucoup de créativité locale.
Les additions et modifications locales aux coutumes romaines réaffirmèrent sou-
vent la validité des traditions locales et forcèrent rituellement le nouvel évêque
à les reconnaître.

Zusammenfassung. — Ausgehend vom florentinischen Rituale bezüglich des
Einzugs des Bischofs stellt der Autor die These auf, dass die komplexen Riten
des bischöflichen « adventus », die man im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter in vielen
europäischen Städten antrifft, nicht direkt von den Adventus-Ritualen am Ende
des Altertums und am Beginn des Mittelalters abstammen. Diese spätmittelal-
terlichen Zeremonien, die den bloßen Einzug des Bischofs bis zu seinem Sitz auf
das Genaueste beschreiben, waren in Wirklichkeit örtliche Bearbeitungen von
päpstlichen, am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts verfassten Ritualen. Als solche bil-
den sie einen interessanten Test für die Verbreitung liturgischer und zeremoniel-
ler Traditionen aus Rom. Diese Tendenz wurde vor allem während der gre-
gorianischen Reform gefördert. Die weitere Entwicklung dieser Rituale lässt je-
doch darauf schließen, dass es sich nicht um bloße konforme Kopien der römi-
schen Praktiken handelt, sondern um von den päpstlichen Modellen inspirierte
und durch lokale Kreativität angereicherte Zeremonien. Das Hinzufügen und
ortsgebundene Umformen der römischen Sitten stellte oft den Wert lokaler Tra-
ditionen neu in den Vordergrund und zwang den neuen Bischof, sie anzuerken-
nen.