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## PROCESSIONS AND THEIR CHANTS IN THE OLD HISPANIC LITURGY

David Andrés Fernández, Carmen Julia Gutiérrez, Emma Hornby and Raquel Rojo Carrillo

### Abstract

Much is known about processions within the Roman liturgy, but the processions of the Old Hispanic rite - practiced in most of Christian Iberia until ca. AD 1080 - have not been studied. Explicit evidence about Old Hispanic processional characteristics and liturgical contexts is preserved in manuscript rubrics. Processions happened around or during Mass (for example, on Palm Sunday), at the end of Vespers or Matutinum (for example, the consecration of a basilica), or outside the usual daily liturgy (for example, votive ordos). We have collated all the extant Old Hispanic rubrics pertaining to liturgical movement. Some of these unquestionably refer to processions, while others describe ceremonies that might better be described more informally as “liturgy in motion”. We focus primarily on the processional rubrics, while also engaging with other liturgical movement. We identify the chant genres associated with processions, and outline the processional practices attested in the rubrics.

**Keywords:** Liturgy, Music, Movement, Iberia, 9th-11th Centuries.

### INTRODUCTION

The Bible describes many examples of processions and, in early Christianity, processions contributed to a rich culture of stational liturgy.<sup>1</sup> Processional practices continued in Christian worship throughout the Middle Ages, performing a number of important functions.<sup>2</sup> Processions marked some of the most solemn moments of the liturgical year, and provided pragmatic solutions for necessary movement such as transferring a corpse from the church to the burial ground. Some processions mirrored the Gospel narratives, such as the ceremony before Mass on Palm Sunday. Here, participants processed with palms into the main church accompanied by antiphons recounting Christ’s triumphant entry into Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup>

In the present article, we introduce a neglected body of evidence about Christian processions from early medieval Iberia. We have collated all the Old Hispanic rubrics pertaining to liturgical movement from the approximately forty extant Old Hispanic liturgical manuscripts or fragments.<sup>4</sup> Some of these unquestionably refer to processions, while others describe ceremonies that might better be described more informally as ‘liturgy in motion’.<sup>5</sup> We focus primarily on the processional rubrics, which give us a rich sense of how multiple liturgical components could combine in choreographed liturgy. We identify the chant genres associated with processions, and outline the processional practices attested in the rubrics. We then reassess some chant genres that have previously been identified by scholars as processional. This lays a foundation for future comparative and in-depth study of Christian processions in early medieval Iberia.

There is not yet any scholarship on Old Hispanic processions to parallel the highly developed work that has been undertaken on liturgical space and processional practices in the Roman liturgy.<sup>6</sup> The Old Hispanic rite flourished in most of Christian Iberia from the seventh century to the eleventh century. Like the Roman liturgy - and other Christian liturgies - the Old Hispanic liturgy included processions for solemn and votive ceremonies, such as the ones in Holy Week, at burials and so on. A valuable tradition of scholarship exists that identifies connections between the liturgical practices of different Christian rites, including their processions.<sup>7</sup> We take a different approach, choosing not to interpret the Iberian liturgical evidence in comparison with other liturgical practices. Instead, we interpret this body of evidence on its own terms, in order to lay out clearly what can be known of processional practices in early medieval Iberia. If we extrapolate information from other liturgies to deduce how Christian communities used processions in early medieval Iberia, we risk obscuring the idiosyncrasy of this independent liturgical tradition.

There are various reasons for the previous lack of scholarly attention paid to Old Hispanic processions and their chants. Old Hispanic chant has had peripheral status in the history of Western music; it was routinely situated at the edge of musicology from the outset, when the German and French branches of the discipline were founded in the nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, the Old Hispanic rite was suppressed after the Council of Burgos in AD 1080. As a result, scholars have viewed Old Hispanic chant as having little continuing cultural impact after that time, and as being of limited relevance to the evolution of musical style, the primary focus of much musicological writing. In a different vein, the Old Hispanic rubrics have contributed to the scholarly literature on Iberian ecclesiastical architecture and archaeology. For example, the rubrics have been used to help identify particular components of buildings, speaking to their structure and use.<sup>9</sup> We approach the rubrics from the other end, as texts that speak to patterns of liturgical practice. Our work offers a new perspective on these texts that can usefully contribute a musico-liturgical perspective to the extensive scholarship on the relationship between Iberian architecture, archeology, and liturgy from the seventh to eleventh centuries.

Another contributing factor to the absence of the Old Hispanic tradition from most scholarship is its notation, which comprises unpitched neumes.<sup>10</sup> Although we can decipher some of its meaning such as number of notes and where the melody rises and falls within each neume, we cannot deduce pitches or the intervallic content, precluding transcription in modern notation. This has presented a real challenge for those studying Old Hispanic chant and notation, although it has also served as a stimulus.<sup>11</sup> Recently, new analytical methods have been developed for working with the unpitched notation, opening the field up considerably.<sup>12</sup>

The great variety of Old Hispanic liturgical book types presents further scholarly challenges. The surviving manuscripts preserve varying combinations of information, and

only some include rubrics pertaining to movement.<sup>13</sup> The Old Hispanic liturgical books may be divided into two general types: those containing the public services; and those containing the cloistered services. This division is unlike the Roman liturgy, where monastic institutions use the monastic liturgy, and secular institutions use the secular liturgy. Instead, the Old Hispanic public liturgy comprises services that anyone (monks, clerics, and lay people) could attend: Vespers, Matutinum and Mass, and, on official fasting days, Terce, Sext and None.<sup>14</sup> Monasteries, cathedrals, and parish churches all used this public liturgy, and we have evidence of processions in all three contexts.<sup>15</sup> By contrast, monastic services excluded the general public, for example, the minor hours, Compline, and the night liturgy.<sup>16</sup> We refer to these collectively as the ‘cloistered liturgy’. All the evidence pertaining to Old Hispanic liturgical movement seems to refer to the public liturgy, except for the ordo for retiring to bed in BL51 (item 60).

Of the approximately forty extant Old Hispanic liturgical manuscripts or fragments, only nine include information about liturgical movements and sacred space.<sup>17</sup> This - while frustrating for the modern scholar - is a familiar state of affairs in medieval studies, where only some manuscripts have detailed rubrics. Very few Old Hispanic manuscripts have clear origins or dating, and the rubric evidence under discussion here does not shed new light on the longstanding questions about their provenance. Here, we briefly introduce each of the nine manuscripts.<sup>18</sup> The eleventh-century S3 contains votive rituals performed by a parish priest, although its place of origin or use is unknown. T5 comprises Lenten prayers, readings and chants for use in a late-thirteenth century Toledan parish. S4 and A56 are eleventh-century books from the Rioja, the latter from San Millán de la Cogolla. Both contain votive rituals, several of them episcopal. These two manuscripts are so closely related in contents, wording and musical notation that they may well have had a common exemplar. L8, a mid-tenth century antiphoner containing complex chants to be sung by specialist singers, includes

the bishop in several rubrics, although it was most likely written for the monastery of Saint Isidore in León rather than for the nearby cathedral itself.<sup>19</sup> OV, the ‘Verona Orational’ contains prayers for the Old Hispanic office. It was copied in the early eighth century, most likely in Tarragona. BL51 is an 11th-century monastic manuscript, including various monastic ceremonies as well as materials for the cloistered liturgy.<sup>20</sup> T35.3 is a *manuale*, a priest’s book containing Mass prayers. Its origin and date are unknown, although its text script is characteristic of Toledo. PB71 is a *commicus*, a book containing liturgical readings, and dating from before AD 1067.

Even when the location and dating of a manuscript has been hypothesized with some degree of confidence, as with L8, there is limited archaeological evidence about the institution for which it was copied. We therefore know little about the specific architectural contexts for which rubrics in individual manuscripts were intended. Conversely, S3 and S4 are among the manuscripts associated with the abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos, which are now scattered between Silos itself, the British Library in London, and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Some have argued that none of these manuscripts were copied at Silos; they may instead have been collected there as a post-AD 1080 repository of the Old Hispanic rite.<sup>21</sup> Because we have so little evidence about the institutions and precise architectural circumstances for which each manuscript was copied, we cannot productively superimpose specific rubrics onto specific architectural contexts. Instead, we survey the rubrics in more general terms, as indicators of the kinds of liturgical activity that were present at some times and in some places, even if those times and places cannot be pinpointed.

#### LITURGY IN MOTION: THE MANUSCRIPT EVIDENCE

The category of ‘processional’ is not strictly defined either in medieval liturgical practice or in modern analysis of it. We do not attempt a strict definition here, either. While some

rubrics clearly signal a procession, and others clearly do not, there are fine judgements to be made when there are instructions for liturgical movement that lack some of the elements we would securely associate with processions. When a manuscript rubric signals liturgical movement between two places, involving a substantial number of clergy and accompanied by music, a procession is certainly indicated, whether or not it is explicitly described as such in the text. Further elements can add to the solemnity of the occasion, including ritual objects and lay participation.<sup>22</sup> By contrast, in some rubrics liturgical movement consists only of a shift in orientation, for example, turning towards the east. Such information informs us about how liturgical practitioners employed architectural space, but it does not signal a procession. A broad spectrum of possibilities exists between such a movement and a procession, and the Old Hispanic manuscripts record information about different occasions in different ways. While some processions are interspersed with non-processional liturgical components,<sup>23</sup> they are easier to identify when they are clearly separated from what surrounds them liturgically.

We have identified sixty-two Old Hispanic rubrics that explicitly mention liturgy in motion. For a summary, see Table 1, grouped according to the *temporale* (twenty-six instances, 42 percent of the cases), the *sanctorale* (two instances, 3 percent), and votive occasions.<sup>24</sup> We further divide votive occasions into services for the dead (ten instances, 16 percent) and other occasions (twenty-four instances, 39 percent). For close study below, we have selected the twenty-eight rubrics that provide the clearest and least ambiguous information about processional practices, some very detailed and others succinct.<sup>25</sup>

Not all Old Hispanic processions were explicitly signaled in the rubrics, and some will not have been preserved in writing, even implicitly; nevertheless, the extant rubrics give us a sense of the characteristic features of the Old Hispanic processions. When a given procession is preserved in more than one manuscript, we have catalogued each instance separately, whether or not there are variants between the versions. For example, the procession



associated with Extreme Unction (items 36 and 37) was copied in two closely-related forms in two episcopal *Libri ordines*, belonging to a single melodic tradition (labelled by scholars as ‘La Rioja’),<sup>26</sup> with similar dating, and probably from the same geographical area of northern Spain. We are acutely aware of the haphazard nature of manuscript survival for the Old Hispanic tradition, and would not want to imply the presence of a single Urtext version of any of these rituals, even when the only surviving witnesses, as with Extreme Unction, are strikingly closely related. Cataloguing the instances separately helps to avoid such implications. In other cases, different manuscripts have different rubrics and liturgical components; we also catalogue each of these instances separately. For example, the Easter Vigil rubric contains more detailed information in L8 (item 23) than in S4 (item 24). Sometimes, a ceremony is preserved with rubricated movement in one manuscript, and without it in another manuscript. Here, we only consider the manuscript(s) that signal movement. Sometimes there is rubricated movement within a much larger ceremony; we include only the part(s) of the ceremony with rubricated movement. For example, we have not included the Easter Vigil blessing of the lights (BL52 78v and OV 96v) because it is not processional, although other manuscripts have other processions on this day.

Table 1. *Rubrics with information about liturgy in motion: summary.*

<b>CYCLE OF TIME (TEMPORALE)</b>			
<b>Item</b>	<b>Day / Office</b>	<b>Liturgical position</b>	<b>MS</b>
1	<i>Carnes tollendas</i> Sunday	End of Matutinum	OV 66v-67r
2	Saturday of third week of Lent	“Finita missa die sabbato ad tertiam”	L8 131r-131v
3	<i>Mediante</i> Sunday / days from here until Palm Sunday	Between the Mass readings	L8 133r-133v
4		At Matutinum, ordo for consecration of the oil	L8 152v-153r
5	Palm Sunday		L8 153v-154r
6		Procession before Mass	S4 131v-139r
7			T5 112v-115r

8		At Mass	L8 163r
9	Maundy Thursday ( <i>In cena domini</i> )		L8 164v
10		Stripping the altar, at the end of Mass	S4 142v-144r
11			T5 139r
12		Foot washing, towards the end of Mass	L8 164v-165r
13		At the end of Matutinum	L8 165r-166v
14			L8 166v
15		At Terce ( <i>lignum crucis</i> )	S4 145v-148r
16			A56 45v-47v
17	Good Friday	During Mass (reconciliation of penitents)	A56 19r-22v
18			S4 75v-79v
19		None ( <i>in parasceve</i> )	L8 166v-170r
20			A56 47v
21			S4 148v-151r
22	Holy Saturday	During Mass	S4 153v
23		Holy Saturday, at the Ninth hour	L8 171v-175v
24	Easter Vigil		S4 157r-162r
25		At the end of the second reading	PB71 p. 259
26	Easter Tuesday	At the end of Mass	L8 177v

CYCLE OF SAINTS ( <i>SANCTORALE</i> )			
Item	Office	Liturgical position	MS
27	Leocadia	At the end of Mass, after the <i>Sacrificium</i>	L8 49v
28	Mass for Hilaria, Easter	At the end of Mass	T35.3 121r

SERVICES OF THE DEAD			
Item	Office / Ordo	Liturgical position	MS
29	Committal of dead (a child)	Liturgical position in day not given, on the way to the tomb	S3 28v
30	Committal of dead ( <i>infra domum</i> )	Liturgical position in day not given, procession in the middle of the ordo	S3 19v-25r
31	Committal of dead (priest-presbyter)		S3 27r
32			A56 39v
33			S4 104v
34	Consecration of a new sepulchre, at a burial	Liturgical position in day not given, beginning and middle of the ordo	A56 28v-35v
35			S4 91v-99r
36	Extreme Unction	Occasional rite, last rites	A56 26r-28r
37			S4 87r-91v
38	Death of a bishop	Day or night, around Mass	S4 102r-103r
VOTIVE AND OCCASIONAL OFFICES / ORDOS			
Item	Office / Ordo	Liturgical position	MS

39	At the shake/jolt of an impure spirit	Liturgical position in day not given, independent ordo	S4 56r-v
40		During Mass	S4 162r-162v
41	Baptismal ordo	Liturgical position in day not given, independent ordo, before the exorcism	S3 8r
42			S4 25v-32r
43	Blessing of a beard	During the 'usual' Mass	A56 7v-8v
44			S4 39r
45	Blessing of a bride	Connected to Mass	S4 336r
46	Blessing of newly-weds	After Mass	S4 334r
47	Blessing of the bridal chamber ( <i>thalamus</i> )	Saturday, at third hour (not part of a Terce service)	S4 332r
48	Consecration of a basilica	End of Matutinum	L8 265r-266v
49	King going to war	Liturgical position in day not given, independent ordo	S4 107v-110r
50	Omnimode/votive Mass	Beginning of Mass	A56 54r, 55r
51			S4 167r
52	Ordination of a bishop	At the end of Mass	L8 271r-271v
53	Ordination of a cleric	Liturgical position in day not given	S4 36v
54	Ordination of a deacon, presbyter, archipresbyter, abbot, clothes, virgin and abbes.	Liturgical position in day not given	S4 40v ff.
55	Ordination of a sacristan	Liturgical position in day not given	S4 37v
56	Ordination of an abbess	At the end of Mass	S4 51v
57	Ordo for a conversion	During Mass	A56 12v
58			S4 67r
59	Ordo for retiring to bed	Liturgical position in day not given, but it is one of the night services	BL51 166v
61	Ordo for the Hebdomadarius in the monastery	Sunday, at the end of Matutinum	BL51 179v
63	Reception of a king	Liturgical position in day not known	L8 273r-273v
62	Salt and water consecration in exorcisms	Liturgical position in day not given, independent ordo	S4 11v-18r

Different rubrics have varying levels of specificity.<sup>27</sup> At one end of the scale, we encounter the word *processione* with a series of notated chants, but without further information (item 48: 'ANTIPHONAE DE PROCESSIONE RELIQUIARVM'). By contrast, sometimes we have detailed processional information, but the chants are unnotated (item 40).

Additionally, different rubrics point to varying levels of liturgical complexity and solemnity. For example, after the stripping of the altar at the end of the Maundy Thursday Mass, the bishop and clergy moved to the *sacrario* (shrine) for the footwashing in the tabernacle, but we have no further information about how they moved (item 12).<sup>28</sup> After close inspection of the rubrics, we offer the following general observations concerning how processions functioned and were described within the Old Hispanic liturgy:<sup>29</sup>

- 1) Processional movement is specified using words such as *processione* (twice, both in votive offices);<sup>30</sup> and *per viam* (five times, all within the liturgy for the dead).<sup>31</sup> Four verbs indicating movement are used relatively frequently: *vado*,<sup>32</sup> *ambulo*,<sup>33</sup> *egredior*,<sup>34</sup> and *ingredior*.<sup>35</sup>
- 2) Clerical roles can appear in the rubrics, sometimes giving a sense of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The general class of cleric can be mentioned: *clero*.<sup>36</sup> The specific types of cleric mentioned are: bishop,<sup>37</sup> archdeacon,<sup>38</sup> deacon,<sup>39</sup> subdeacon,<sup>40</sup> presbyter,<sup>41</sup> and priest (*sacerdote*).<sup>42</sup> The most common combination is the bishop and deacon(s), quite often together with presbyter(s). Exploring the detailed hierarchy and possible terminological variants within the manuscript record lies beyond the scope of this study.
- 3) Specific departure and destination points of processions are signaled, with varying specificity: an altar of Saint John (item 40), or Holy Jerusalem, Saint Fructuoso, and Saint Peter (item 1),<sup>43</sup> referring to churches, chapels or altars dedicated to these saints. Items 14, 15 and 16 inform us about the Good Friday procession's starting point (principal church) and destination (church or chapel of the Holy Cross).<sup>44</sup> Other places mentioned in processional rubrics would be found in every church:<sup>45</sup> an altar,<sup>46</sup> an atrium,<sup>47</sup> a baptistry,<sup>48</sup> a (rood) screen (*cancelli*),<sup>49</sup> the choir,<sup>50</sup> the baptismal font,<sup>51</sup> the church building (the processional party enters or leaves the church, or moves to

another one),<sup>52</sup> a monument,<sup>53</sup> the *preparatorio*,<sup>54</sup> a church door,<sup>55</sup> a shrine,<sup>56</sup> a sepulchre,<sup>57</sup> the treasury,<sup>58</sup> the rostrum,<sup>59</sup> and a tomb.<sup>60</sup>

- 4) The chants to be used (discussed below).
- 5) Sacred objects can be specified such as a cross,<sup>61</sup> a Gospel book,<sup>62</sup> palm branches,<sup>63</sup> relics,<sup>64</sup> and candles.<sup>65</sup>
- 6) The laity can be involved in processions. This may include children,<sup>66</sup> their parents,<sup>67</sup> the ‘people’,<sup>68</sup> and the king.<sup>69</sup> Burial processions also include the corpse(s).<sup>70</sup> As in other Christian rites the laity played an active (albeit circumscribed) role in the liturgy.

Even though only some of these variables are present in each case, they provide information concerning: the visual spectacle of a procession; where there was explicitly defined lay participation; the kinds of liturgical objects used; how many clerics were involved in a complex liturgical ceremony; and the kinds of chants that accompanied processions (and thus a sense of the wider sound world). The processional evidence also points towards liturgical connections between functional spaces of the ecclesiastical precinct.

Rather than focusing closely on a single procession as a case study, we have chosen to give brief descriptions of twenty-eight Old Hispanic processional rubrics to illustrate the different kinds of information preserved in the manuscript rubrics. Because some of these comprise more than one version of the same ritual, in two or three manuscripts, the rubrics give information about nineteen distinct ceremonies in total. These ceremonies are eight *temporale* processions; five processions for the liturgy of the dead; and six processions for other votive rituals.<sup>71</sup>

*The Temporale*

The Old Hispanic Temporale processions under discussion all fall between the beginning of Lent (*Carnes tollendas* Sunday) and Easter Tuesday, the most solemn period of the liturgical year. In this period, children were prepared for baptism, a process involving various initiation rites which included processional movement. These Temporale processions vary both in their solemnity, and in the amount of information provided in the extant manuscripts. Several of these processions are closely related to processions found elsewhere in the western medieval church.

*Carnes tollendas* Sunday opens Lent with a day-long ‘farewell to the alleluia’.<sup>72</sup> The processional rubric in the eighth-century OV is extremely brief, specifying only the procession’s likely destination(s) (item 1): ‘ITEM COMPLETURIA POST EXPLICITAS LAUDES QUAS PSALLENDU UADUNT USQUE AD SANCTA IHERUSALEM QUE IN SANCTO FRUCTUOSO DICENDA EST... COMPLETURIA AD SANCTO PETRO’.<sup>73</sup> In this rubric, the word *psallendo* is ambiguous, since it could refer to a chant genre, or (more likely) it could refer more generally to singing while walking.<sup>74</sup> Pinell assumed that the rubric referred to the *psallendo* genre at the end of Vespers and Matutinum, which he believed to be processional.<sup>75</sup> He described a hypothetical procession of the bishop, clergy and laity to the baptismal font at the end of second Vespers on this day, where the bishop sealed the baptistry, and said farewell to the singing of the alleluia.<sup>76</sup> Pinell thought that there was routinely a procession to the baptistry at the end of Vespers,<sup>77</sup> and that it was transferred in Lent to martyrs’ or saints’ tombs.<sup>78</sup> In fact, the only direct evidence of a procession at the end of second Vespers is this isolated *Carnes tollendas* Sunday rubric, where the connection to the *psallendo* genre remains ambiguous.

In the tenth-century antiphoner L8, *Mediante* Sunday, three weeks before Easter, included a procession in which the children to be baptized were presented to the bishop. The Mass

began with a series of antiphons.<sup>79</sup> In L8 (item 3), these antiphons are followed by a detailed rubric about the movements of the clergy, the children, and their parents. This culminates with a procession between the Mass readings where, uniquely among Old Hispanic processions, the sung items are prayers. According to the rubric, this ordo should be observed every day up to, and including, Palm Sunday.

Palm Sunday itself had three further processions, the last one preserved in L8, S4 and T5, and the first two only preserved in L8. The first procession (item 4) took place during the second Matutinum *missa* in L8.<sup>80</sup> During the second antiphon, the bishop and deacons exited, clothed themselves in albs, blew out a candle over oil three times, and said an exorcism (*Exorcidio te creatura olei*). Then, several deacons went along the *via sacra* – a walking route for sacred purposes – and back to the choir,<sup>81</sup> calling the bishop with the third antiphon (*Egredere in occursum*, with its verse *Dominus custodiat te*).<sup>82</sup> After this *missa*, a deacon ascended to the tribunal. Three times, he intoned the exorcism *Recordare satanas*,<sup>83</sup> and each time the choir responded with the antiphon *Resistite diabolo*.<sup>84</sup> This was followed in L8 by the second procession of the day, descending to the bishop's chair, singing the same antiphon, *Resistite diabolo*. The children to be baptised stood to the right and left of the bishop.

The third procession (item 5) preceded the Mass and has the most parallels with the Palm Sunday processions in other Christian rites.<sup>85</sup> This procession is attested not only in L8 but also in S4 and T5. The people went to a church, collected palms and carried them to another church to be blessed, singing psalms. After the blessing, an archdeacon or deacon intoned antiphons, probably during the procession to the main church, since the final antiphon was sung when the deacon approached the church door. There is considerably less information about this procession in S4 (item 6 includes some antiphons that may be processional) and T5 (item 7 has an introductory rubric before a lacuna). Despite the similarity of their broad

liturgical structure (blessing, distribution, procession, then Mass) the Old Hispanic and Roman processions have almost entirely distinct repertoires, sharing only a few chant texts.<sup>86</sup>

In L8 and S4, there are rubrics pertaining to a procession during the stripping of the altar on Maundy Thursday, at the end of the main Mass (items 9 and 10). Apparently in silence, the clergy preceded the bishop from the altar to the *preparatorio*, where twelve deacons accepted twelve candles. All of the congregation returned to the altar, where the bishop stood with the rest of the deacons surrounding him. Then, *subtili voci*, the bishop intoned an antiphon alternating with three verses but without the doxology.<sup>87</sup> He then sang a second antiphon three times, while the altar was stripped and everyone else remained silent. There was no musical component to accompany the movement of all the liturgical participants (with candles) to and from the *preparatorio*.

Three manuscripts (L8, S4 and A56) attest to a Good Friday procession at Terce with a wooden cross (*lignum crucis*) (items 14, 15 and 16). Each manuscript gives a slightly different version. For example, item 14 does not mention that a gold cross and several relics were to be carried along with the wooden cross. Despite the differences, all coincide in the procession's trajectory - from the main church to the church or chapel of the Holy Cross - and in its chants - the antiphons *Signum habentes salutis*, *Iter facimus lignum* and *Benedictum est lignum*, and the versus *Ecce lignum gloriosum*<sup>88</sup> followed by the first verse of Venantius Fortunatus' hymn *Crux fidelis*, and then, with the same melody and metrical structure, the abecedary hymn *Ab ore verbum*.<sup>89</sup> After everyone kissed the cross, it was returned, singing in procession, probably with the same chants, to the treasury of the main church, where it was kept. Item 14 specifies the participants as "episcopus, presbyter, clerus uel cunctis fidelium populus sanctum".<sup>90</sup> These rubrics, therefore, attest to many of the possible categories of processional evidence: liturgical objects, starting point and destination, musical repertoire, and the people involved.



Two manuscripts, L8 and S4, provide information about two clerical processions, one large and one modest, at the Easter Vigil (items 23 and 24).<sup>91</sup> The modest procession took place after the bishop, accompanied by priests and deacons, had blessed the lamp in the sacristy. After various acclamations, they sang the antiphon *Lumen verum inluminans* while processing to the choir, arriving there during or after the doxology.<sup>92</sup> During the antiphon, the older laity (*seniores populi*) lit candles and passed the flame to the rest of the congregation. The second procession happened later, following the signing of the cross on the baptisands' foreheads (*crismatio*). The children were accompanied by the bishop and separated into two lines: boys on the right and girls on the left, moving from the baptistery, to the choir, then the altar, and back to the choir. A cross and the gospel book were carried. In L8, the antiphon *Ecce grex* was sung during this procession, with three verses specified. This procession was elaborate, with multiple stations, liturgical objects, lay and clerical participants, and a long antiphon.

The final temporale processional rubric appears in L8 on Easter Tuesday at the end of Mass (item 26). We know its destination (the main altar) and its participants (the children), who received several prayers of absolution from the bishop, and then another from a deacon on the rostrum. During this procession, again with the boys on the right and the girls on the left, the antiphon *Quodquod receperunt deum* was sung, with three verses.

All but one of the extant temporale processions attested by the rubrics took place in Lent, with the exception completing the Lenten initiations. Indeed, no fewer than four of the L8 processions involved the baptisands, with that in item 3 used daily for a fortnight. In three processions, the laity interacted with ritual objects: carrying palms on Palm Sunday (L8, T5, S4); processing with and kissing the Cross on Good Friday (L8, A56, S4); and passing the flame at the Easter Vigil (L8, S4). Processional silence is explicitly instructed only in the L8 Maundy Thursday rubric, although there are no chants specified for the OV procession at the

end of second Vespers on *Carnes tollendas* Sunday. Sometimes the procession interrupted the usual liturgical flow. For example in L8: on *Mediante* Sunday, the procession was inserted after the praelegenda antiphons at the start of Mass;<sup>93</sup> and in the second Palm Sunday procession, an exorcism ordo was inserted into Matutinum. Other processions were integrated into the regular liturgical structure, such as the first Palm Sunday procession in L8, where the usual sequence of chants and prayers within a Matutinum *missa* incorporates processional movements.

Temporale processions are not attested in many Old Hispanic manuscripts. This is largely because these processions seem to have been clustered in Lent. Almost all of the manuscripts preserving Lenten materials include one or more processions. L8 - which includes all but one of these Temporale processions - points to a tradition in the city of León in the mid-tenth century; A56 is perhaps a century later, from San Millán de la Cogolla in the Rioja (and the closely-related S4 is from the same area); T5 is from thirteenth-century Toledo; OV, from eighth-century Tarragona, preserves only the *Carnes tollendas* procession, which is not attested in any other manuscript. We have no evidence with which to hypothesise that any of these processions were practised widely in the ways described in these manuscripts, but they are at least illustrative of the way that liturgy in motion could function in the Old Hispanic liturgy.

#### *Votive offices: services of the dead*<sup>94</sup>

Three manuscripts (S3, S4 and A56) preserve rubrics about the processions of the dead, almost all including the expression *per viam* (on the way). Some rubrics specify that a valuable object (e.g. a liturgical book) was placed on the corpse's chest. This object varied according to where the dead person stood in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.<sup>95</sup> Antiphons and responsories are specified for all these processions.<sup>96</sup>

S3, a priest's *liber ordinum*, preserves three such processions. During the burial of a child (item 29), the antiphon *Sinite parvulos venire* was sung while the body was taken to the tomb.<sup>97</sup> Once there, the presbyter gave a greeting, and sang the responsory *Jerusalem civitas sancta*. Here we know the musical content, the procession's end point, and the fact that a corpse was carried. We do not know where the procession began, who participated, or who sang the antiphon.

In another procession in S3 (item 30), a deceased person was taken from his/her house (*infra domum*) to the burial mound (*tumulus*), while indulgences were said and two antiphons were sung: *Educ domine de carcere* and *Emitte manu tuam*. Once at the destination, the body was placed on the left of the tomb. S3 also has a procession for the burial of a priest (*sacerdoti*) (item 31). Here, the body was removed from the priest's house (*de domo eicitur*) and carried in procession, probably to the church or the tomb, while the responsory *Ne elonges a me* was sung. On the way, the deacon said the prayer *Dominus nostrum*, perhaps at a station. After a greeting between him and the presbyter, the procession continued, with the responsory *Ecce ego viam* being sung.<sup>98</sup> These three processions illustrate how the amount of processional information is inconsistent and variable even within a single manuscript: S3 always indicates the processional chants, but they are not always notated; likewise, information about precisely where to place the body is provided only once.

The episcopal books S4 and A56 also contain a processional rubric for carrying a body to the burial mound (items 36 and 37), during which indulgences were said, and appropriate antiphons were sung. A book was placed on the corpse's chest: a manual containing Mass prayers<sup>99</sup> if he was a priest; a gospel book if he was a deacon. S4 has similar information about the procession for the death of a bishop (item 38). Here, the bishop's body was brought to the tomb in a procession preceded by lamps (*luminariis*), while all sang the customary antiphons and responsories for the deceased. Although the manuscript does not specify these

chants, it does preserve the antiphon used during the deposition of the bishop's body in the sepulchre: *In sinu Abrae*.

One would expect burial processions to be part of the Old Hispanic liturgy, as in other religious rites. The corpses had to be taken from the place of death to the burial site, and this rite of passage is ritualized in many cultures. According to the extant Old Hispanic manuscripts, the precise processional shape, and the liturgical objects interred with the bodies of those in holy orders, reflected the status of the deceased.<sup>100</sup>

#### *Other votive rituals*

The remaining processional rubrics are for other votive occasions. The clearest instances use the ablative *processione* or the verb *ambulare* to describe movement. These verbs occur in rubrics for occasional rituals such as the consecration of a church, the departure of a king going to war, or the ordination of a bishop. Those associated with a king going to war are described in most detail, perhaps because of the importance of the king and the unique structure of the ritual. We have less information about most votive processions (including those in the ceremonies for the blessing of a beard, and for blessing a bride) than about some of the temporale and funeral processions discussed above.<sup>101</sup>

According to the rubrics for the blessing of a beard (items 43 and 44; S4 and A56), after the person's beard had been cut (or shaved if he was a monk), the clergy sang the antiphon *Benedictus est* (notated in both manuscripts) as he walked out of the church (*ceperit ambulare*). When he returned, they sang the alleluiaticus *Gloriam et magnum*.<sup>102</sup> Because of the ritual movement and the presence of chant, we have categorized this as a procession, although only one person was moving. By contrast, in the ordo for blessing a bride more than one person processed, with the bride accompanied out of the church (*ambulare ceperint*) while the antiphon *Vos quos ad coniugalis* was sung (item 45). This ordo was probably

connected in some way with the Mass, because it is placed among Masses and other Mass-related ordines in S4.

During the ordo when a king departed for war (item 49; S4),<sup>103</sup> several liturgical movements took place, including reception of the king at the church door, movement towards the altar, and then movement back to the door while a long antiphon, *Accipe de manu domini*, was sung in alternation with ten verses. The first procession took place during the third and subsequent verses: the clerics sang in the choir while the bishop and king left the church. The second procession was at the end of the ordo, when a cross bearer and those singing an antiphon, *Domine deus virtus*, walked in front of the king. In the first procession two people walked together accompanied by chant (although the singers were not in the procession); the second procession involved multiple people singing and moving. We should note that, although this ceremony is preserved in an eleventh-century Rioja manuscript, it has been argued that it was intended for use specifically in the Toledan church of Saints Peter and Paul during the seventh century, and is preserved in S4 as an historical curiosity rather than for practical use.<sup>104</sup>

The Mass that includes the baptismal ordo (item 40; S4) has a procession. Multiple clergy were involved (bishop, priests and deacons): they moved to the altar of Saint John and then down to the baptismal font, and they all carried liturgical objects, such as candles. The procession may have been accompanied by chants that were not written down (at least, not in the extant manuscript), or it may have taken place in silence. Certainly, the prayers and readings in S4 seem to be intended for use at the destinations rather than during the procession itself.

In L8, item 48 is the relics procession during Matutinum for the consecration of a church: ‘ANTIPHONAE DE PROCESSIONE RELIQVIARVM’, followed by five antiphons.<sup>105</sup> The rubric ‘ITEM ALLELUIATICI AD PRECEDENDAS RELIQVIAS’ follows, introducing a series of fifteen

alleluiatici.<sup>106</sup> Although the words *processione* and *ad precedendas* clearly attest to a procession, no information is given about where the procession began and ended, who participated and who sang, and how many of the antiphons and alleluiatici were sung (perhaps all, or perhaps a selection depending on the number of relics and the size of the church).

One further votive procession is attested, with the word *processione* in the rubric, (item 52) at the end of the Mass for the ordination of a bishop in L8. Here, a series of six alleluiatici was sung, while the bishop approached the atrium.<sup>107</sup> As with the previous procession, there is very little information provided beyond the procession's existence.

#### MUSIC IN MOTION: PROCESSIONAL CHANTS

As with other medieval Christian rites, most of the Old Hispanic liturgy was sung. Chants were sung with melodies that range from simple and syllabic to complex and melismatic, with many notes per syllable. Both readings and prayers were intoned rather than spoken. The processions are no exception: there are extant chants associated with many of the processions, and even two notated prayers associated with one of them (item 3). Some Old Hispanic chants are exclusively processional: they are not assigned to other contexts. For example, the antiphon *Gloriam et magnum* is preserved only in items 44 (blessing of a beard) and 52 (ordination of a bishop). Similarly, the chants for the L8 relics procession (item 48) appear only in this context in the extant manuscripts. This suggests the existence of a specifically processional repertoire, contrasting with other chants that are used both in processions and on other liturgical occasions. The same distinction is present in the Roman rite.<sup>108</sup>

Most Old Hispanic processions use either one long chant or, perhaps, a variable number of chants. If more or fewer chants (or verses of a long chant) could be sung, processions could

be of flexible length (depending on the size of the church, the number of people involved, etc). The antiphon is the most common Old Hispanic processional chant genre,<sup>109</sup> but responsories and alleluiatici are also used fairly frequently. Occasionally, hymns appear in processions (items 15 and 16), and one procession (item 3) has musical notation for prayers. Although there is no direct evidence in the rubrics, the Mass *sacrificia* (offertories) and *Ad accedentes* were probably used processionally. These processions within the regular liturgy rather than on special occasions must await future study.<sup>110</sup> The rubrics hint at the processional status of two further genres, and we discuss them briefly here: the Mass *praelegenda*; and the Vespers/Matutinum *psallendi*.<sup>111</sup>

### *Praelegenda*

The first item in the Old Hispanic Mass was the *praelegendum*, literally the “pre-reading”. This was usually a chant with the same structure as Old Hispanic office antiphons: an antiphon, a verse (usually indicated by *incipit*), a partial repeat of the antiphon, a doxology, and a further partial repeat of the antiphon.<sup>112</sup> Although the chants in this liturgical position before the Mass readings are sometimes rubricated as *praelegenda*, they are frequently rubricated instead as antiphons or alleluiatici and, indeed, some of these chants also appear at different points in the liturgy as alleluiatici.<sup>113</sup> For Pinell, the Old Hispanic *praelegendum* is processional, because it shares the same liturgical position as the processional Roman introit and Milanese *ingressa*.<sup>114</sup> He also draws on the description of the ‘*praelegendum*’ in the Gallican Mass of pseudo-German which, according to Pinell, demonstrates this genre’s true nature as a processional chant for the celebrant and ministers’ entrance and access to the altar.<sup>115</sup>

The Old Hispanic Mass certainly began with a sung procession on Palm Sunday (discussed above, items 5, 6 and 7). Although there are no explicit *praelegenda* for the Palm Sunday Mass in the manuscripts, the processional antiphons preceding this Mass may have

shared the liturgical function of praelegenda. In isolated manuscripts, several other important occasions have a series of chants at the beginning of Mass, which may similarly have been processional. In Tm25-1 9r-v, the Mass for the Nativity of John the Baptist begins with one antiphon and three *laudes*. Tradition B praelegenda are sometimes rubricated as *laudes*. These chants lack verses, like the Palm Sunday processional antiphons before Mass. There are three other series of antiphons that open Mass on a single occasion in a single manuscript: a long series of antiphons with verses on *Mediante* Sunday in L8 132v-133r (just before item 3); three long antiphons on Saint Julian's day in L8 117r; and two antiphons on the Assumption in S3 186v. Each time, the number of chants opening the Mass is comparable with Palm Sunday: perhaps all of these occasions had processions, or more extensive processions than usual, but - unlike Palm Sunday - there are no confirmatory rubrics.

The rubric in item 50 (A56), however, suggests that the praelegendum was not necessarily processional: 'QUUM VENERIT SACERDOS UT SACRIFICIUM OFFERAT, ANTEQUAM PRELEGENDUM DECANTARE INCIPIAT ADCLINIS ANTE ALTARE TACITE DICIT HANC ORATIONEM'.<sup>116</sup> In this *Missa omnimoda*, the priest bows before the altar and says a prayer before the praelegendum. Here, then, the praelegendum cannot accompany an entrance procession of the minister(s).

Thus, rubric evidence does not confirm that the Old Hispanic Mass routinely began with a sung procession, as in other rites. There are no Old Hispanic customaries to resolve the question. When a series of praelegenda is provided for a single Mass, there may well have been a particularly elaborate entrance, paralleling the Palm Sunday procession. We cannot know for certain, however, that the praelegendum was regularly sung during a processional entrance at the beginning of Mass, and we can be sure that sometimes this chant was sung after the entrance.



### *Psallendo*

The psallendo was sung at or near the end of Vespers and Matutinum.<sup>117</sup> This is a similar liturgical placement to that of the processional *psallendae* or *psallentium* of the Milanese liturgy.<sup>118</sup> This has contributed to the belief that the Old Hispanic psallendo was also processional. The psallendi are usually indicated only through an incipit. Even when given in full, they have no verses.<sup>119</sup> We cannot therefore know how long the psallendi usually were. If they were consistently long chants with multiple verses, one could readily imagine a processional use. Psallendi usually appear alone, not followed by other chants. Unusually, at the end of second Vespers for *Carnes tollendas* Sunday in L8 109r-v, a series of antiphons and alleluiatici follows the psallendo.<sup>120</sup> Similarly, first Vespers for the Apparition closes with three psallendi in L8 84v. In both cases, the list of chants may have comprised a recessional; perhaps this moment was usually processional, and it was more elaborate than usual (and required several chants) on these important days. There is no confirmatory rubric, however.

Just once, movement is mentioned in the usual context of a psallendo. There is a rubric at the end of Good Friday Matutinum in L8 (item 13), just after the laudes, in the normal place of the psallendo: “Finitas laudes dicitur kirieleison tribus uicibus decantando KIRIE LEISON. Et sic egrediuntur in tanto silentio ut alterutrum se non sentiant”.<sup>121</sup> Although suggestive, this does not provide firm evidence of the psallendo usually being sung in motion. In sum, although a few pieces of scattered evidence might suggest that the psallendo was sung processionally at least sometimes, this hypothesis cannot be confirmed.

### CONCLUSION

Old Hispanic rubrics provide information about various kinds of liturgy in motion, describing actions undertaken within particular liturgical ceremonies. We have produced the

first catalogue of liturgical occasions for which the Old Hispanic manuscripts explicitly indicate movement, facilitating future work in this area. The instructions range from simple changes of spatial orientation to full processions. We have engaged closely with the processional rubrics, at least, those that are included in the extant written record, exploring the processions' characteristics, and in what circumstances they took place. We have focused on several factors, including how movement is specified, and the people, places, repertoire, and liturgical objects involved. We must acknowledge, however, that, as with the ordinals of the Roman rite or the later texts of canon law, these instructions are prescriptive, identifying what *should* happen. There are too few extant manuscripts with processional rubrics for us to draw general conclusions about processional practice on the Iberian peninsula in the early middle ages. The evidence certainly does not prove that processions were always realized in this way in all churches and monasteries that used the Old Hispanic rite, across several centuries.

We lack customaries and ordinals for the Old Hispanic rite, and the routine daily liturgy did not usually include rubrics that prescribe or describe movement. As our discussion has shown, even in the genres that scholars have tried to identify as processional (*praelegenda* and *psallendi*), we cannot confirm their processional status with any confidence. In this context, the explicitly processional rubrics become even more valuable. While we can never know the routine liturgical choreography of the Old Hispanic liturgy, it is possible to gain a glimpse of the liturgical choreography associated with special occasions, for example around Holy Week and in votive ceremonies.

In this work, we hope to have established a rigorous basis on which others will be able to explore in detail, through analysis and comparison with other rites, the Old Hispanic processional elements (chants, genres, contexts, and occasions) as well as their relationship with sacred space.

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<sup>1</sup> See François Louvel, “Les processions dans la Bible”, *La Maison-Dieu*, 43 (1955): 5-28; Robin Darling Young, *In Procession Before the World: Martyrdom as Public Liturgy in Early Christianity* (Milwaukee, 2001), 7-8, 22-23 and *passim*. On Christian stational liturgy, see John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: the Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 228 (Rome, 1987).

<sup>2</sup> For scholarship on processions in the medieval Roman liturgy, see n. 6, below.

<sup>3</sup> As well as the gospel texts, one Palm Sunday chant draws on Psalm 117:27, a verse linked by Cassiodorus to processions. ‘In confrequentationibus, id est processionibus crebris, quas populi turba condensat, et reddit celeberrimas devotione festiva.’ ‘*With packed gatherings, that is, in crowded processions packed by flocks of people and celebrated with festive devotion*’ transl. by P.G. Walsh *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms* vol 3 (New York, 1991), 172.

<sup>4</sup> The most common names for this liturgy are: in Spanish, *liturgia hispánica*, *viejo hispánica* or *antigua hispánica*, *mozárabe* and *visigótica*; and in English, *Old Hispanic*, *Mozarabic*, *Hispano-Mozarabic* and *Visigothic*. See Appendix, ‘Manuscripts cited of the Old Hispanic Liturgy’ for the sources that contain rubrics pertaining to movement and others cited in the

article. T5, which contains processional rubrics, is one of three manuscripts that transmit the Old Hispanic liturgy despite dating from the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries. These three manuscripts belong to a distinct liturgical tradition, known as Tradition B. On the relationship between the two liturgical traditions, A and B, see Jordi M. Pinell, *Liturgia hispánica* (Barcelona, 1998), 39-40, and Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy, *Music and Meaning in Old Hispanic Lenten Chants. Psalmi, Threni and the Easter Vigil Canticles* (Woodbridge, 2013), 5-12. See also Raquel Rojo Carrillo, “Old Hispanic Chant Manuscripts of Toledo: Testimonies of a Local or of a Wider Tradition?” in *A Companion to Medieval Toledo: Reconsidering the Canons*, Yasmin Beale-Rivaya and Jason Busic (eds.), (Leiden, 2018), 97-139.

<sup>5</sup> Our thanks to Tom Kelly for a most fruitful discussion of this topic in which he introduced us to this terminology. For an earlier use of “liturgy in motion”, see (*inter alia*) Henry Parkes, *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church: Books, Music and Ritual in Mainz, 950-1050* (Cambridge, 2015), 153.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Harald Buchinger, David Hiley and Sabine Reichert, eds., *Prozessionen und ihre Gesänge* in der mittelalterlichen Stadt. *Gestalt - Hermeneutik - Repräsentation* (Regensburg, 2017), especially the essay by Andreas Odenthal on sacred topography; Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton, eds., *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation* (Surrey, 2016), especially Carolyn Marino Malone’s contribution; Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly, eds., *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound* (Turnhout, 2015); Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Corby, 2013); Megan Cassidy-Welch, “Space and Place in Medieval Contexts”, *Parergon*, 27 (2010): 1-12; Margot E. Fassler, “Adventus at Chartres: Ritual Models for Major Processions”, in *Ceremonial Culture in Premodern Europe*, Nicholas Howe, ed., (Notre Dame, 2007), 13-62; Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, eds., *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny* (Turnhout, 2005), especially the essays by Kristina Krueger and Carolyn Marino Malone; and Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken, eds., *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Amsterdam, 2001).

For Iberia, Richard Bertram Donovan, *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain* (Toronto, 1958) engages closely with Roman liturgy processional practices, but does not mention Old Hispanic materials. Similarly, Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1933) documents numerous western liturgical processions, but no Old Hispanic ones.

<sup>7</sup> The seminal text in this field is Anton Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée* (Chevetogne, 1934). For examples of comparative discussion of processions, see Anton Baumstark, *On the Historical Development of the Liturgy* (Collegeville, 2011), 106; Robert F. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West. The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, 1986), 158-62. In chant studies, there is a comparison of processional practices in Michel Huglo, “Source hagiopolite d’une antienne hispanique pour le Dimanche des Rameaux”, *Hispania Sacra*, 10 (1952): 367-74. An illustrative example of the difficulties of drawing meaningful comparisons between chant melodies in different traditions, see Clyde W. Brockett, “Osanna! New Light on the Palm Sunday Processional Antiphon Series”, *Plainsong & Medieval Music*, 9 (2000): 111.

<sup>8</sup> An honourable exception, in Anglo-American scholarship, is Don Randel, who pioneered analysis of the unpitched Old Hispanic melodies, and completed an indispensable catalogue of the chant texts and their manuscript locations. See Don Randel, *The Responsorial Tones for the Mozarabic Office* (Princeton, 1969); and Don Randel, *An Index to the Chant of the Mozarabic Rite* (Princeton, 1973). Clyde Brockett has recently published a list of

processional antiphons, including many in L8. See Clyde W. Brockett, *The Repertory of Processional Antiphons* (Brepols, 2019), 749-50.

<sup>9</sup> This scholarship has its origins in the pioneering work of Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, “El reflejo de la liturgia visigótico-mozárabe en el arte español de los siglos VII al X”, *Miscelánea Comillas: Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales*, 23 (1965), 293-97. For a recent summary, see Eduardo Carrero Santamaría and Daniel Rico Camps, “La organización del espacio litúrgico hispánico entre los siglos VI y XI”, *Antiquité tardive : Revue internationale d’histoire et d’archéologie*, 23 (2015), 239-48. For recent archaeological perspectives, see Elena Quevedo-Chigas, “Early Medieval Iberian Architecture and the Hispanic Liturgy: A Study of the Development of Church Planning from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries”, Ph.D. diss., New York University (1996); Luis Caballero Zoreda and Isaac Sastre de Diego, “Espacio de la liturgia hispana de los siglos v-x. Según la Arqueología”, in *El canto mozárabe*, Fernández de la Cuesta *et al*, eds, 259-91; and Javier Jiménez Martínez, Isaac Sastre de Diego and Carlos Tejerizo García, *The Iberian Peninsula between 300 and 850: An Archaeological Perspective* (Amsterdam, 2018).

<sup>10</sup> There are approximately two dozen chants preserved in heightened Aquitanian neumes, but none are processional.

<sup>11</sup> On the Old Hispanic notation and melodies see Casiano Rojo and Germán Prado, *El Canto Mozárabe. Estudio histórico-crítico de su antigüedad y estado actual* (Barcelona, 1929), 40-58; many publications by Louis Brou, including “Notes de Paléographie musicale mozarabe”, *Anuario Musical*, 7 (1952): 51-76, Brou, “Notes de Paléographie musicale mozarabe”, *Anuario Musical*, 10 (1955): 23-44, Brou, “Le joyau des antiphonaires latins. Le manuscrit 8 des Archives de la Cathédrale de León”, *Archivos Leoneses*, Año 8, N. 15-16 (1954): 7-114, and Brou, “L’Alleluia dans la liturgie mozarabe. Étude liturgico-musicale d’après les manuscrits de chant”, *Anuario Musical*, 6 (1951): 3-90; a series of publications by Herminio González Barrionuevo, from “Algunos rasgos paleográficos de la notación «mozárabe» del Norte”, *Revista de musicología*, 20 (1987): 37-49 to “La notación del Antifonario de León”, in *El canto mozárabe*, Fernández de la Cuesta *et al*, eds., 95-120; Olivier Cullin, “De la psalmodie sans refrain à la psalmodie responsoriale: Transformation et conservation dans les répertoires liturgiques latins”, *Revue de Musicologie*, 77 (1991): 5-24; several important publications by Don Randel, including *The Responsorial Tones for the Mozarabic Office* (Princeton, 1969); Nils Andre Nadeau, “«Pro sonorum diversitate vel novitate». The Singing of Scripture in the Hispano-Visigothic Votive Mass”, Ph.D. diss., Cornell University (1998); and Susana Zapke, “Sistemas de notación en la Península Ibérica: de las notaciones hispanas a la notación aquitana (siglos IX-XII)”, in *Hispania Vetus: manuscritos litúrgico-musicales de los orígenes visigóticos a la transición francoromana (siglos IX-XII)*, Susana Zapke, ed. (Bilbao, 2007), 189-243.

<sup>12</sup> This was pioneered in Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning* (n. 4 above). See also Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy, “Melodic Dialects in Old Hispanic Chant”, *Plainsong & Medieval Music*, 25 (2016): 37-72; Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy, “Fixity, Flexibility and Compositional Process in Old Hispanic Chant”, *Music and Letters*, 97 (2016): 547-74; Emma Hornby, “Musical Values and Practice in Old Hispanic Chant”, *Journal of American Musicological Society*, 69 (2016): 595-650; Rebecca Maloy, “Old Hispanic Chant and the Early History of Plainsong”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67 (2014): 1-76; Raquel Rojo Carrillo, “Text, Liturgy and Music in the Old Hispanic Rite: The Vespertinus Genre”, Ph.D. diss., University of Bristol (2017); and also the forthcoming monograph *Liturgical and musical culture in early medieval Iberia: decoding a lost tradition*, Hornby *et al* (Cambridge, forthcoming). For detailed analysis of the Old Hispanic processional antiphons, see Emma Hornby, David Andrés, Carmen Julia Gutiérrez and Dianne Scullin, “Processional melodies in the Old Hispanic rite”, forthcoming.

<sup>13</sup> For an introduction to each book type and its contents, see Emma Hornby and Raquel Rojo Carrillo, “Old Hispanic Liturgical books”, in *Liturgical and Musical Culture*, Hornby *et al.*

<sup>14</sup> Note that Old Hispanic Vespers and Matutinum have completely different structures, genres and contents from Roman Vespers and Matins; only the names are shared. The fasting days were: Lenten ferias, *Initio Anni* (2 January) and the days of Apostolic Litanies and Canonical Litanies. See Rojo Carrillo, “Text, Liturgy and Music”, 32, n. 54, and Hornby and Rojo Carrillo, “The Liturgical Year in the Old Hispanic rite”, in *Liturgical and musical culture*, Hornby *et al.*

<sup>15</sup> For example, monasteries in items 54, 56, 59, and 60; cathedrals in items 4 and 52; and parish churches in items 29-31, all preserved in S3, a parish priest’s *liber ordinum*. The list of items can be seen in Table 1, below.

<sup>16</sup> See Hornby and Rojo Carrillo, “Old Hispanic Liturgical books” for more on the distinction between Old Hispanic public and cloistered liturgy, and its fundamental difference from the ‘cathedral/secular’ and ‘monastic’ division of the Roman rite.

<sup>17</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1 for a list of these nine manuscripts and their abbreviations.

<sup>18</sup> For bibliographic apparatus, see Carmen Julia Gutiérrez (coord.), *Musica Hispanica: Spanish Early Music Manuscripts*, 2015, at <http://musicahispanica.eu/> (accessed: April 2020); and Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy, “Melodic dialects in Old Hispanic chant”, *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 25/1 (2016): 37-72, Appendix 1 (permalink at <http://plainsong.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/PMM-Huglo-Hornby-Maloy-Figures-Appendices-Online-1.pdf>),

<sup>19</sup> Although the reference in L8 to abbot Ikila points to this monastery, many of the monks also had ecclesiastical roles at cathedral. This may demonstrate the linkage between the two institutions and explain the antiphoner’s inclusion of materials to be performed by the bishop; for further explanation, and a summary of the extensive debate about the origins of L8, see Carmen Julia Gutiérrez, “‘Librum de auratum conspice pinctum’. Sobre la datación y la procedencia del Antifonario de León”, *Revista de Musicología*, 43/1 (2020), in press. See also Manuel Díaz y Díaz, “Some Incidental Notes on Music Manuscripts”, in *Hispania Vetus*, Zapke (ed.), 93-111.

<sup>20</sup> On this manuscript and its contents, see Emma Hornby and Kati Ihnat, “Continuous Psalmody in the Old Hispanic rite”, *Scriptorium* 73 (2019): 1-33.

<sup>21</sup> For this argument, see Ann Boylan, “The library at Santo Domingo de Silos and its Catalogues (XIth-XVIIIth centuries)”, *Revue Mabillon*, Nouvelle série, 3 (1992): 59-102; Rose Walker, *Views of Transition: Liturgy and Illumination in Medieval Spain* (London, 1998), and further bibliography in those publications.

<sup>22</sup> This notion is close to the broad, anthropological definition of processional performance in Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Brooks McNamara, “Processional Performance: an Introduction”, *The Drama Review*, 29 (1985): 2-3. They understand it as ‘performance in motion’ using space, and including elements such as set design, clothing, music, and movements within a ceremony of symbolic importance.

<sup>23</sup> For example, intermittent clerical movements during the consecration of the oil during Palm Sunday Matutinum, item 4.

<sup>24</sup> We are aware that other categorizations are possible, such as extramural versus intramural, or others related to the life cycle, regularity and solemnity, but we have followed Rojo Carrillo, “Text, Liturgy and Music”, (n. 12 above), 28-54, who divides the Old Hispanic offices into temporale, sanctorale, and votive offices. Here we follow the same order although, for convenience, we treat services for the dead separately. Votive offices involve a vow (e.g. ordination), or pertain to a special, occasional devotion.

Complete rubrics and information are given in the Appendix, in ‘Figure 2. Old Hispanic rubrics that include indications of movement’. The partial rubrics transcribed in this article,

as well as the complete ones in the Appendix, have been transcribed in roman script (not italics) following the original as closely as possible, while allowing a smooth and homogeneous reading for historians, liturgists and musicologists. The original is followed in the use of h (eg ihesu), ę (eg meeę), capital letters (eg Iuda, nazareth), and use of b/v/u as in the manuscript; punctuation marks are standardized (according to the most modern textual edition), words and syllables are separated or grouped according to standard Latin, and abbreviations have been silently expanded, with the exception of those that indicate liturgical genre, which are signalled as follows: ALL. = alleluaticus, A. = antiphon, R. = responsory, O. = prayer/oration, VR. = verse, etc. To refer to the incipits of chants and other Latin texts that do not imply a direct transcription of primary sources we have used standardized secondary sources that will appear throughout this text in italics. For chants we follow Don M. Randel, *An Index to the Chant of the Mozarabic Rite* (Princeton, 1973), while other texts are indicated where appropriate.

<sup>25</sup> Limitations of space prevent close analysis of the remaining rubrics here, although they are included in Table 1.

<sup>26</sup> The two manuscripts are edited together by José Janini Cuesta, *Liber Ordinum Episcopale* (Silos, 1991). On 'La Rioja' and other melodic traditions, see Randel, *Responsorial Tones*, (n. 8 above), 53-76, and Hornby and Maloy, "Melodic Dialects," (n. 11 above).

<sup>27</sup> Figure 2 of the Appendix gives the complete rubrics.

<sup>28</sup> On the antiphons in the footwashing, see Juan Carlos Asensio Palacios, "Las antífonas «Ad lotionem pedum» en la antigua liturgia hispana", *Glosas Silenses*, 6, 4 (1991): 35-42.

<sup>29</sup> We refer in this section only to the twenty-eight processional rubrics themselves (see below). For complete lists including information about 'liturgy in motion', see Appendix: 'Figure 3. Tables of results ordered by category'.

<sup>30</sup> Items 48 and 52. Votive materials are routinely copied near the end of Old Hispanic books, after the temporale and sanctorale. In the Roman liturgy, processional chants are similarly often assigned to liturgical occasions outside the temporale and sanctorale, and thus appear near the ends of antiphoners and graduals from the ninth century to the eleventh century; see Pierre-Marie Gy, *La liturgie dans l'histoire* (Paris, 1990), 123; and Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books: from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century* (Collegeville, 1998), 230.

<sup>31</sup> Items 29, 30, 31, 36, 37. Item 4 has "in uia sacra".

<sup>32</sup> Items 1, 3, 9, 10, 11, 23, 26.

<sup>33</sup> Items 5, 6, 43, 44, 45, 49.

<sup>34</sup> Items 4, 9, 43, 44, 45, 49.

<sup>35</sup> Items 23, 24, 49.

<sup>36</sup> Items 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 43, 44.

<sup>37</sup> Items 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 23, 24, 38, 40, 52.

<sup>38</sup> Also item 11.

<sup>39</sup> Items 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 23, 24, 31, 36, 37, 38, 40, 44, 49; also item 11, *levites*.

<sup>40</sup> Item 3.

<sup>41</sup> Items 14, 15, 16, 23, 24, 31, 36, 37, 40.

<sup>42</sup> Item 5, 6.

<sup>43</sup> For José Vives, these names confirmed the Tarragona origin of the Visigothic Orational. José Vives Castell, ed., *Oracional Visigótico* (Barcelona, 1946), xiii-xv, and his transcription on p. 175, no. 523. On the place names and the background of the procession, see José Janini Cuesta, "Cuaresma visigoda y Carnes Tollendas", *Anthologica Annua*, 9 (1961): 22-24; and Juan V. M. Arbeloa Rigau, "Per una nova interpretació del Còdex Veronensis i les esglésies visigòtiques de Tàrraco", *Butlletí Arqueològic - Reial Societat Arqueològica Tarraconense*, 8-9 (1986-1987): 125-34. As these scholars note, metropolitan churches were often referred to as 'Jerusalem'.

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- <sup>44</sup> Pinell interprets it as a chapel. See Pinell, *Liturgia hispánica*, (n. 4 above), 309. This is a universal feature of Good Friday processions; see (*inter alia*) Righetti, *Historia de la liturgia* (Madrid, 1955), I, 243.
- <sup>45</sup> For a description of each of the parts of a church see Quevedo-Chigas, “Early Medieval Iberian Architecture,” (n. 9 above).
- <sup>46</sup> Items 6, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 23, 26, 40, 49.
- <sup>47</sup> Items 10, 52.
- <sup>48</sup> Item 23.
- <sup>49</sup> Items 11, 36, 37, 43, 44.
- <sup>50</sup> Items 3, 4, 23, 24, 38.
- <sup>51</sup> Item 40.
- <sup>52</sup> Items 3, 5, 6, 14, 15, 16, 36, 37, 38, 43, 44, 45, 49.
- <sup>53</sup> Items 36, 37.
- <sup>54</sup> Items 3, 9, 10, 11, 23. This was a small room at the east end of the church, flanking the altar. See Rodríguez, “El reflejo de la liturgia,” (n. 9 above), 310-11.
- <sup>55</sup> Items 5, 49.
- <sup>56</sup> Items 4, 24.
- <sup>57</sup> Items 29, 30, 36, 38.
- <sup>58</sup> Items 3, 14, 15, 16, 23, 24.
- <sup>59</sup> Item 26.
- <sup>60</sup> Items 30, 36, 37.
- <sup>61</sup> Items 3, 11, 14, 15, 16, 23, 26, 49; gold crosses in items 3, 15, 16, 49.
- <sup>62</sup> Items 23, 36, 37, 38.
- <sup>63</sup> Items 4, 5, 6.
- <sup>64</sup> Items 15, 16, 48.
- <sup>65</sup> Items 9, 10, 11, 23, 24, 26.
- <sup>66</sup> Items 3, 23, 26.
- <sup>67</sup> Item 3.
- <sup>68</sup> Items 5, 6, 14, 15, 16, 24.
- <sup>69</sup> Item 49.
- <sup>70</sup> Items 29, 30, 31, 36, 37, 38.
- <sup>71</sup> These are shown in grey shading in Table 1; none are for the sanctorale.
- <sup>72</sup> Camillus Callewaert, “La Carême primitif dans la liturgie mozarabe”, *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 15 (1914): 28; Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning*, (n. 4 above), 29-30, 50-51.
- <sup>73</sup> Translation: “Another completuria to be said in [the church/chapel of] Saint Fructuosus once the laudes and psallendo are finished, and they have gone all the way to [the church of] Holy Jerusalem”. See discussion above, p. 10. Vives, *Oracional Visigótico* (n. 42 above), xiii-xv; Janini, “Cuaresma visigoda”, 22-24; and Arbeloa, “Per una nova interpretació”, 125-34. The metropolitan church was routinely identified as “Holy Jerusalem”.
- <sup>74</sup> On the psallendo as a chant genre, sung towards the end of Old Hispanic Vespers and Matutinum, see Hornby and Rojo Carrillo, “The Shape of the Old Hispanic Office,” in *Liturgical and Musical Culture* (n. 5 above).
- <sup>75</sup> Pinell, *Liturgia hispánica* (n. 4 above), 244-45. See discussion below, p. 23.
- <sup>76</sup> Pinell, *Liturgia hispánica*, 287.
- <sup>77</sup> Pinell was perhaps inspired by the (unrelated) movements to the font in the Easter Vigil (items 22, 24) and baptism ordo (items 40, 41, 42).
- <sup>78</sup> Pinell, *Liturgia hispánica*, 287: “la procesión de visita al baptisterio al final de las vísperas, que se efectuaba habitualmente en los demás tiempos del año, se transfería en Cuaresma a tumbas de mártires o santos.”



<sup>79</sup> On the chants in this liturgical position before the Mass readings (literally ‘praelegendum’, which is sometimes used at this point as a chant rubric) as possibly processional, see below, p. 21.

<sup>80</sup> One of the main structural components of Old Hispanic Matutinum was the *missa*, consisting of: three antiphons (the third one an alleluia, or alleluia antiphon, outside Lent), each followed by a prayer (or ‘oration’), and a responsory, sometimes followed by an oration. In each case, the oration relates to the text of the preceding chant.

<sup>81</sup> In this context, a *via sacra* was a sacred walking route, within or near the church precinct. Other coetaneous examples can be found in Carol Heitz, *L'architecture religieuse carolingienne. Les formes et leurs fonctions* (Paris, 1980), 43; and Quevedo-Chigas, “Early Medieval Iberian Architecture,” (n. 9 above), 32-45. Quevedo-Chigas argues that the *via sacra* is a passageway down the center of the nave, sometimes demarcated by low walls on either side, and otherwise a natural result of the division of men and women into the two sides of the nave.

<sup>82</sup> Pinell, *Liturgia hispánica* (n. 4 above), 292 interprets this passage as indicating that the bishop comes when a single deacon sings to him from the choir to signal his exit.

<sup>83</sup> *Inponunt* may mean that the deacon began the exorcism, or that he sang the entire exorcism alone.

<sup>84</sup> Both chants are notated in S4 56r, although without an explicit procession following. *Resistite diabolo* is rubricated as an antiphon in S4.

<sup>85</sup> For a complete description, see Pinell, *Liturgia hispánica*, 293-95.

<sup>86</sup> See Huglo, “Source hagiopolite,” 373; and Brockett, “Osanna! New Light,” (n. 7 above), 111, 122-123.

<sup>87</sup> There is a similar action with a different chant in Tradition B (item 11). On Tradition B, see n. 4, above.

<sup>88</sup> Randel, *An Index*, (n. 8 above), xvi, indicates this genre, following A56. S4 has no genre rubric.

<sup>89</sup> On these hymns see Carmen Julia Gutiérrez, “Melodías del canto hispánico en el repertorio litúrgico poético de la Edad Media y el Renacimiento”, in *El canto mozárabe y su entorno: estudios sobre la música de la liturgia viejo hispánica*, I. Fernández de la Cuesta, R. Álvarez Martínez and A. Llorens Martín, ed. (Madrid, 2013), 547-76.

<sup>90</sup> Translation: “Bishop, presbiter, clergy or the whole faithful people”.

<sup>91</sup> L8 has the most information (item 23); S4 (item 24) only testifies to the first procession. The first of these moments is described, without mentioning that it is processional, by José R. Bernal, “Los sistemas de lecturas y oraciones en la Vigilia Pascual hispana”, *Hispania Sacra*, 17 (1964): 292. Pinell describes both processions in *Liturgia hispánica*, (n. 4 above), 316 and 318-19. Both authors point out differences between liturgical traditions A and B, but only Bernal signals in detail which sources he consulted.

<sup>92</sup> L8 (item 23) notes that the choir enter during the doxology, while the rubric in S4 (item 24) indicates that the choir should enter after the *Gloria*.

<sup>93</sup> For discussion of the possible non-processional function of the Mass praelegenda, see below, p. 21.

<sup>94</sup> For a definition of Old Hispanic votive occasions, see n. 24, above.

<sup>95</sup> Other rubrics about movement in burial rites confirm the use of books and objects on the corpse’s chest, as well as signalling the repertoire sung during the deposition of the body in the tomb; see items 32-35.

<sup>96</sup> The custom of accompanying religious burials with the singing of psalms is attested in the sixth century: Canon 22 of the Third Council of Toledo (AD 589) states that, when taking the body of the deceased to the tomb, psalms should be sung by psalmists, and the singing of funeral versi is forbidden, as is the practice of the deceased’s relatives beating their chests.

See Juan Tejada y Ramiro, *Colección de Cánones y de todos los concilios de la Iglesia de España y de América*, 6 vols. (Madrid, 1859), 2: 249-50. On such forbidden funeral lamentation, see John Haines, *Medieval Song in Romance Languages* (Cambridge, 2010), Chapter 2.

<sup>97</sup> This chant text is notated in L8 92r, A56 37r, and S4 36v and 100r, although we cannot be sure that the same melody was used in this S3 procession, where there is no notation.

<sup>98</sup> Both responsories lack music in S3 at this point; a responsory text *Ecce ego viam* is notated in A56 24r, S3 15r, and S4 85r but, again, we cannot be sure that this was the melody used in the S3 procession.

<sup>99</sup> More about the manuales in Hornby and Rojo Carrillo, “Old Hispanic Liturgical books,” (n. 13 above).

<sup>100</sup> It may be fruitful to place this processional information in dialogue with archaeological evidence about Christian burial sites, and their placement relative to dwelling places and ecclesiastical buildings. On burial sites in an earlier period, see Jiménez Martínez et al, *The Iberian Peninsula between 300 and 850*, (n. 9 above), 209-18.

<sup>101</sup> There are also indications of movement during the baptism celebrated at any time of year (*celebrandus quolibet tempore*), but the explicit baptismal processions are found only in association with the Easter Vigil (item 40).

<sup>102</sup> An alleluaticus is an alleluatic antiphon, that was used in specific liturgical positions. The alleluaticus text *Gloriam et magnum* is notated only in L8 271r. As with similar examples discussed above, we cannot tell whether or not a similar melody was used in the procession in S4 and A56. In the Council of Bezieres (AD 1031), it was ordained that all clerics, in major and minor orders, should shave their beards and tonsure their hair. This tradition had been established centuries earlier. See the commentary on tonsuring the hair in the Fourth Council of Toledo (AD 633), in Tejada y Ramiro, *Colección de Cánones*, II, 291 and ff., especially 297 for the shaving of the beard.

<sup>103</sup> On Adventus ceremonies in the wider European context, see Fassler, “Adventus at Chartres,” (n. 6 above).

<sup>104</sup> Roger Collins, “Continuity and Loss in Medieval Spanish Culture: The Evidence of MS Silos, Archivo Monástico 4” in *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict and Co-Existence*, Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman, eds., (London, 2002), 1-22; 9.

<sup>105</sup> *Egredimini qui portatis, In nomini dei nostri ambulavimus, Exite secundum verbum regis, Cum iucunditate exhibitis et cum gaudio, and Ambulate filii ne timeatis.*

<sup>106</sup> *De iherusalem, Leva iherusalem, Alleluia memores esto te, Alleluia egressus est\*, Alleluia audite, Alleluia loquatus, Haec dicit dominus deserta, Haec dicit dominus tempore, Ecce porta domini\*, Aperite aperite\*, Introibimus\*, Alleluia egressus, Ecce recordatus, Visitationem memor erit, and Hylaritate perfusa.* Those with asterisks are also copied in PB99 14r-v, but this fragment lacks any processional rubric.

<sup>107</sup> *Gloriam et magnum decorem, Det tibi dominus de rore, Det tibi dominus prudentiam* with the verse *Benedicat tibi, Dominus custodiat te, Da potestatem puero tuo, and Det dominus gratiam tempore tuo.* Only the first two alleluaticus, and the beginning of the third, have musical notation.

<sup>108</sup> See David Andrés Fernández, “Fit processio et cantantur antiphonae sequentes. Tipología de las formas de música litúrgica en los libros procesionales”, *Medievalia: Revista de Estudios Medievales*, 17 (2014): 103-29, where the repertoire of the Roman processional books is divided into proper processional chants (repertoire with an exclusively processional function) and borrowed processional chants (where materials are borrowed from the Mass or Office repertoires to be sung in processions). We should note here that the Roman and Old Hispanic repertoires have little or nothing in common. As we argue in forthcoming work, the

exclusively processional Old Hispanic chants do not have distinctive shared melodic characteristics.

<sup>109</sup> Brockett, *The Repertory of Processional Antiphons* (n. 8 above), 749-50, lists the antiphons from our items 8, 13, 48, 52, and 61.

<sup>110</sup> On the sacrificia, see Rebecca Maloy, “Old Hispanic Chant,” (n. 11 above) and *Songs of Sacrifice: Chant, Identity, and Christian Formation in Early Medieval Iberia* (Oxford and New York, 2020).

<sup>111</sup> Pinell, *Liturgia hispánica*, (n. 4 above), 155 and 157.

<sup>112</sup> This formal structure may clearly be seen on several folios of L8, where % and G rubrics indicate the repeats after the verse and doxology, respectively (e.g. *Visus est*, on 200r; *Viri iherusalem* on 272v).

<sup>113</sup> On this phenomenon, see Louis Brou, “Notes de paléographie musicale mozarabe”, (n. 10 above), 57, fn. 15; Jorge M. Pinell, “Las «missae» o grupos de cantos y oraciones en el oficio de la antigua liturgia hispana,” *Archivos Leoneses*, 8 (1954): 148; and Jorge M. Pinell, “Los cantos variables de las misas del propio de santos en el rito hispánico”, *Ecclesia orans*, 7 (1990): 246. See also Randel, *Index*, (n. 8 above), 400-11.

<sup>114</sup> Pinell, *Liturgia hispánica*, (n. 4 above), 152-53.

<sup>115</sup> Pinell, *Liturgia hispánica*, 153. Pseudo-German is edited in *Expositio antiquae liturgiae gallicanae*, Edward Craddock Ratcliff ed., (London, 1971).

<sup>116</sup> Translation: “When the priest comes to offer the eucharistic sacrifice, before the *prelegendum* begins to be sung, he bows in front of the altar and he says this prayer in silence”.

<sup>117</sup> Sometimes an oration and/or preces can follow the psallendo at the end of the service. See discussion of the structures of Vespers and Matutinum in Hornby and Rojo Carrillo, “The Shape of the Old Hispanic Office,” (n. 73 above).

Psallendi should not be confused with the psalmi, sung between the Mass readings, and sometimes mis-named Mass psallendi by scholars. This genre has been studied by Louis Brou, “Le psallendo de la messe et les chants connexes”, *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 61 (1947): 13-54, whose incorrect nomenclature was subsequently adopted by other authors, such as Miquel Gros Pujol, “El «Liber Misticus» de San Millán de la Cogolla - Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Aemil. 30”, *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana*, 3 (1984): 216, who calls them psallenda missae; and Louis Brou and José Vives Castell, eds., *Antifonario visigótico mozárabe de la catedral de León* (Barcelona, 1959), who transcribe some rubrics as psld (psallendo), when in reality the manuscript has psl or pslm for psalmus.

<sup>118</sup> On the psallendi as processional chants in the Milanese rite, see Terence William Bailey, “Ambrosian processions to the baptisteries”, *Plainsong & Medieval Music*, 15 (2006): 29-42.

<sup>119</sup> *pace* Pinell, for whom “Las fuentes hispánicas, bajo el nombre de *psallendum*, transcriben una antífona, que acompañaría el salmo que se cantaba procesionalmente” (*Liturgia hispánica*, n. 4 above, 244). Just one psallendo is possibly copied with a verse: *Cantate Domino canticum* for Dom IX de Quotidiano in T4 126r, but the verse is copied in the column before the rest of the chant and the two items may not be connected.

<sup>120</sup> *Dirigat dominus vias tuas, Domine deus patris mei, Alleluia mane apud nos hodie, Deus caeli perducatur te alleluia, Ibis alleluia prosperum iter habetis* and *Alleluia haec dicit dominus*, with various verses. Similarly, there are two psallendi copied at the end of first Vespers for the same office in L8 106r.

<sup>121</sup> Translation: “After the Laudes is finished, Kyrie eleison is said thrice singing *Kyrie eleison*. And thus the clergy go out in so great a silence that they cannot hear each other”.

## APPENDIX

### *Figure 1. Manuscripts cited of the Old Hispanic Liturgy*<sup>1</sup>

A = Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia

A56 = Cod. 56; *Ordinum maior*; Late 10<sup>th</sup> century – 11<sup>th</sup> century\*; San Millán de la Cogolla\*; Janini, 1991.

BL = London, British Library

BL51 = Add MS 30851; *Psalterium, canticorum et hymnorum* and part of a *misticus*; 11<sup>th</sup> century\*; Santo Domingo de Silos\*; Gilson, 1905.

L = León, Archivo de la Catedral

L8 = Ms. 8; *Antiphoner* ('of León', includes a calendar); Before AD 960\*; Kingdom of León; PP. Benedictinos de Silos, 1928 (text); Brou & Vives, 1959 (facs. & text); Fernández de la Cuesta, 2011 (facs).

OV = Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare

OV = Cod. LXXXIX; *Orational*, commonly known as 'Orational of Verona'; 8<sup>th</sup> century\*; Tarragona\*; Vives, 1946.

PB = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

PB71 = NAL 2171; *Commicus* (with a few added antiphons) and calendar; Before AD 1067\*; Santo Domingo de Silos\*; Morin, 1893.

PB99 = NAL 2199; *Antiphoner* (fragment); Late 9<sup>th</sup> century – early 10<sup>th</sup> century\*; Kingdom of León\*; Gros, 1964.

S = Santo Domingo de Silos, Biblioteca de la Abadía

S3 = Ms 3; *Ordinum minor* and *misticus* and calendar; AD 1039; Santo Domingo de Silos\*; Janini, 1981.

S4 = Ms 4; *Ordinum maior* and calendar; 18 May 1052; La Rioja; Janini, 1991.

T = Toledo, Catedral de Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular

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<sup>1</sup> Sorted by library/archive sigla and manuscript record. The following information has been included: type of manuscript, date, provenance, and edition if available. The asterisk indicates the most commonly accepted estimated copy-date or provenance. Sigla for Old Hispanic manuscripts taken from Raquel Rojo Carrillo, *Text, Liturgy and Music in the Old Hispanic Chant: the Vespertinus Genre*, Ph.D. diss., University of Bristol (2017), with additions by David Andrés Fernández. There is a similar version of this document in Online figures and appendices to Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy, "Melodic dialects in Old Hispanic chant", *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 25/1 (2016): 37-72, Appendix 1 (permalink at <http://plainsong.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/PMM-Huglo-Hornby-Maloy-Figures-Appendices-Online-1.pdf>), and additional information can be consulted at Carmen Julia Gutiérrez (coord.), *Musica Hispanica: Spanish Early Music Manuscripts*, 2015- at <http://musicahispanica.eu/> (accessed: April 2019).

T4 = 35.4; *Misticus*, orationum (fragment), manuale, commicus (frag.); ca. AD 1192-1208\*; Parish of Santa Eulalia, Toledo.

T5 = 35.5; *Misticus*; Second half of 13<sup>th</sup> century\*; Any Mozarabic Parish, Toledo\*; Janini, 1980.

T35.3 = 35.3; *Manuale*; ca. AD 1100\*; Parish of St Eulalia, Toledo\*; Janini, 1982.

Tm = Toledo, Museo de los Concilios y la Cultura Visigoda

Tm25-1 = n.i. 1325-1; *Misticus*; 13<sup>th</sup> century\*; Any Mozarabic Parish, Toledo\*; Janini, 1977, App. 1.

Figure 2. Old Hispanic rubrics that include indications of movement <sup>2</sup>

Item 1. OV 66v-67r. *Carnes tollendas* Sunday, end of Matutinum.

ITEM COMPLETURIA POST EXPLICITAS LAUDES QUAS **PSALLENDU UADUNT / USQUE AD SANCTA IHERUSALEM** QUE IN SANCTO FRUCTUOSO DICENDA EST. [...] COMPLETORIA AD SANCTO PETRO.

Item 2. L8 131r-v. Saturday of thrid week of Lent, at Terce.

Finita missa die sabbato ad tertiam, iste ordo est obserbandum: Dirigit episcopus precones **per ciuitatem** ut omnes qui habent infantulos bapuzizatos ad Pascha, crastina ad missam **adducant eos ad eclesiam ad manus impositionis**. // Sicque commonent omnem ciuitatem ut qui certe bapuzizaturi erunt, missa mediantis festi diem, eos presentes in eclesiam, celebretur.

Item 3. L8 133r-v. *Mediante* Sunday and days from here until Palm Sunday, between the Mass readings.

OFFICIUM DE MEDIANTE DIE FESTO. [...]

AD MISSA. [...]

Die sabbato in uicesima, ora prima preco datur in ciuitate ut quicumque non bapuzizatos infantos habent die dominico ante missam ad eclesiam eos deportent. Item in eodem dominico et in sequenti post uicesima, quum per lectum fuerit euangelium, adnuntiant diacones hos tres versos, dicentes uoces preconias. Accedens primus dicit: Si quis initiari querit sacramentum sancte fidei, det nomen. Secundus uero ueniens dicit: Si quis ad uitam eternam desiderat, det nomen. Tertius uero dicit: Si quis uult ad pascha bapuzizari, det nomen. [...] Quo explicito, adorabunt seniores episcopum et **descendum pulpito ante eum euangelium et crux aurea usque ad corum**. Et dum uentum fuerit ad corum, crux illa aurea cum euangelium sedit ad preparatorium. Et alia crux argentea precedet ante episcopum; et precedentes ea descendunt ad sedes ubi ipsi infantos postea effretabuntur. [...] Deinde portat tesaurarius tres libellos cum exorcismis, et offeret eos episcopo. Uenientes tres subdiacones accipiunt singuli libellos ab episcopo, et osculant ei manus. [...] **Signatis omnibus a subdiaconibus, iterum omnes ad subdiacones uadunt ut manu eos tangant dicens as orationes decantando: O. Deus pater omnipotens, qui homani generis [...]** // **Accedens alter diaconus canet hanc secundam orationem: O. Deus auctor uniuerse formationis [...]** Deinde **ad corum reuertentes** sacrificium dicunt [...] Sicque aliis diebus per quottidiano ad tertiam, postquam signum sonaberit ipsi infantos exorcizantur, et regredientes ad corum, tertia incipitur. In eadem quoque tertia, dum explicuerint preces, dicit diaconus: Competentes orate. Post hec iterum exeunt presbiteres, diacones et subdiacones, et transeuntibus similiter isdem infantulis, a sinixtra in dexteram partem signat eos presbiter in frontibus dicens: Signo ergo [...] Et sic iste ordo usque ad ramos palmarum est obserbandus.

Item 4. L8 152v-153r. Palm Sunday, at Matutinum, ordo for the oil consacration.

ORDO PSALLENDI IN RAMOS PALMARUVM. [...]

AD MATUTINUM DE PSAMO III°. [...]

ORDO.

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<sup>2</sup> Bold is ours and highlights the relevant bits. Also, folios indicate where the main rubrics are; however, some titles are taken from previous folios and they are included to give a clear liturgical context of the text. Three dots after a chant means that it is not prescribed by the incipit but full text.

**In hanc secunda antifona egreditur episcopus foris cum diaconibus et induunt se aluis:** Et acceptis cereis exsufflat episcopus super oleum tribus uicibus et dicit [h]unc exorcismum: Exorcidio te creatura olei. Post hec dicit benedictionem: Omnipotens deus qui creant.

Qua finita in coro secunda antifona et collecta oratione, **stans episcopus in sacrario** et ante oleum benedictum, tenente eo diacono qui exorcismum dicturus est, **Exeuntes alii diacones in uia sacra inponunt hanc antifona decantando, aduocantes episcopum, dicentes:**

**A. Egredere in occursum pharaonis et noli timere angelus domini praecedet te hoc erit signum tibi quoniam dominus dilexit te. VR. Dominus custodiat te.** <A. Hoc est oleum odoriferum...> [in margin]

**Quumque peruenerint ad chorum hec antiphona decantando** stantibus diacones in aluis cum cereis circa altare, si preualet, aepiscopus dicit hunc responsorium; Et si non, dicit quem iubet: R. Inquirentes dominum non deficient omni bono uenite filii audite me timorem domini docebo uos. VR. Magnificate dominum mecum et exaltemus nomen eius in unum. [...]

ORDO.

Hoc dicitur tribus uicibus. Finita hanc antifona dicit iterum diaconus: Recordare sathanas. Respondunt similiter in coro: [R]esistite diabolo. Dicit iterum diaconus tertio: Recordare sathanas. Respondunt similiter: Resistite.

**Descendunt ad sedem eadem antiphona decantando.**

Infantibus uero dispositis masculi ad dexteram episcopi, femine uero ad sinistram eius. Quumque sederit episcopus salutatur et legitur lectio Esayae profetae...

Item 5. L8 153v-154r. Palm Sunday, procession before the Mass.

ORDO PSALLENDI IN RAMOS PALMARVM. [...]

ITEM EODEM DIE AD MISSAM.

**Ambulat omnis populus ad ecclesiam unde palme lebantur, et sic psallendo ad aliam ecclesiam ueniunt ubi missa completur.** Accedens primum episcopus, benedicit ramos palmarum; et quum date ab episcopo fuerint palme ad populum, statim imponit episcopus: DEO GRATIAS, usque in tertia uice et dum ter repeti ab omni populo, inponit arcediaconus uoce clara [h]anc antifona:

**A. Quum audisset turba...**

**A. Quum adpropinquaret...**

**A. Quum introires domine...**

**A. Osanna, benedictus qui uenit...**

**A. Amen dico uobis...**

**A. Constituite diem sollemnem...**

Et dum adpropinquaberit ad ostium ecclesie, sic inponunt hanc antiphonam

**A. Gloria in excelsis Deo...**

[...]

Item 6. S4 131v-139r. Palm Sunday, procession before the Mass.

ORDO IN RAMOS PALMARVM AD MISSAM.

**Ambulat omnis populus ad ecclesiam unde palme lebantur, et psallendo ad aliam ubi et missa complebitur peraccedunt:**

Dum uero omnis populus adgregati fuerint unde palme ramique lebantur, tunc **ingrediens episcopus aut sacerdos in ecclesiam**, et ponuntur palma ramique super altare et benedictet eos ita: ORATIONES AD BENEDICENDAS PALMAS. [5 prayers]

Deinde dicit diaconus, qui ipso die ad missam ministrat hanc precem: Oremus. Ut hos ramos palmarum, salicum uel olibarum dextera diuinitatis sue propitius sanctificare dignetur. Presta. K(irie), K(irie), K(irie). Colligitur ab episcopo hec oratio. ORATIO. Domine iesu christe qui ante mundi principium cum deo patre... BENEDICTIO. Benedicat uobis dominus...

Salutante episcopo, complet diaconus dicens:

A. [?]<sup>3</sup>

A. [?]

A. [?]

Item 7. T5 112v-113v. Palm Sunday, procession before the Mass.

IN RAMIS PALMARVM. [...]

ITEM ORATIO AD BENEDICENDOS RAMOS PALMARUM [...]

Deo gratias tribus uicibus.

**A. Ingrediente te domine...**

**II. Quom audissent turbe...**

**III. Gloria in excelsis deo et...**

[...]

Item 8. L8 163r. Maundy Thursday (*in cena domini*), at Mass.

ORDO DIE QUINTA FERIA IN CENA DOMINI AD NONAM.

V feria in cena domini omni tempore monendus erit signo ad sex semis pedes, et incipienda erit lectio ad VIIIm pedes et erit post totum officium expletum siue altare expoliatum, exiendum est ad XXIIos pedes et accedendum ad cenam post pedes labatos sole iam occidente. [...] **Accedens uero episcopus cum diaconibus in tribunal dum infantes, a presbiteri recitato simbolo in sola fronte signantur.** Salutatur episcopus, et legitur lectio iheremie profete: Sileat omnis caro. [...]

Item 9. L8 164v. Maundy Thursday (*in cena domini*), stripping the altar, at the end of Mass.

ORDO AD EXPOLIANDUM ALTARE. Completa missa nihil ex ornamenta altaris tollitur, ed [sic] ornatum eum relinquentes **uadunt omnes ad preparatorium, precedentes episcopum. Et acceptis XIIIm diaconis XIIIm cereis moramque modicam facientes, egrediuntur omnes precedentes episcopum usque ad altare. Quom uero circumdatum fuerit a clero ex omni parte altare, imponit episcopus hanc antifona subtili uoce decantando.**

**A. Ecce uenit ora ut dispargamini... VR. Deus laudem meam.**

**Sicque hic psalmum in tribus clausulis recitantur, et caput supradicte antifone clausulis explicitis recitantur. Prima: deus laudem meam. II: et tu domine fac mecum. III: uiderunt me. Gloria non dicitur sed tantum caput antifone replicatur. Silentibusque omnibus, canit episcopus solus tribus uicibus hanc antifonam: A. Tristis est anima mea ualde.** Sic tamen singulis quibusque uicibus canitur, altare sanctum singulis uestibus denudentur, et tota paulatim luminaria extinguuntur, et sub silentio colligit episcopus orationem; non responditur amen. Eadem uero nocte, nullo iam lumine ecclesia perlustratur.

Item 10. S4 142v-144r. Maundy Thursday (*in cena domini*), stripping the altar, at the end of Mass.

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<sup>3</sup> Cut folio, only three abbreviations for antiphon rubrics remain.



Explicita missa nihil de ornamento altaris ante tollitur. Set ornatum relinquentes altare, **uadunt omnes in unum precedentes episcopum, usque ad preparatorium. Et acceptis cereis duodecim diacones, moram quoque modicam facientes progrediuntur omnes precedentes episcopum usque ad altare. Dum uero circumdatum a clero fuerit altare ex omni parte, stat in medio episcopus et inponit hanc antiphonam. A. Ecce uenit [h]ora ut dispargamini... VR. Deus laudem meam. Hic psalmus in tribus clausulis recitatur, et caput antiphone supradictae isdem clausulis explicitis repetitur. Gloria omnino in hac antiphona non dicitur. Hac explicita item inponit episcopus hanc antiphonam: [A.] Tristis est anima mea [...]**

Perhacta hec omnia, uadit episcopus cum presbiteris ac diaconibus uel omni clero ad atrium, et sedilia iuxta consuetudinem posita, clausis ostiis et laicis omnibus foras eiectionis, succingit se episcopus linteo. Et imponit abba aut arcipresbiter, quibus pedes labantur, hanc antiphonam: A. Bone magister laua me...

Item 11. T5 139r-v. Maundy Thursday (*in cena domini*), stripping the altar, at the end of Mass.

Completaque missa, ab arcidiacono clara uoce dicitur: Pro [h]imno audiendo locis uestris accedite. Ac deinde **stante episcopo iuxta cancellos altaris, uadunt omnes leuite ad preparatorium, et acceptis duodecim cereis cum cruce; et imponunt hanc antiphonam: A. Quomodo ad latronem... VR. Deus laudem meam. VR. Scrutatur. VR. Et dilexit male[dictionem]. VR. Maledicente illi.**

**Hic psalmus in quattuor clausulis, et quinta gloria ab utrisque.**

Item 12. L8 164v-165r. Maundy Thursday (*in cena domini*), foot washing, towards the end of Mass.

ITEM AD PEDES LABANDOS. **Ingresso clero simul cum episcopo in sacrario**, et laicis omnibus foris proiectis, sedilia iuxta consuetudinem residentibus clericis, accipiens episcopus linteum precingit se. Et accepta aqua [...]

Item 13. L8 166v. Good Friday, at the end of Matutinum.

ORDO VI FERIA AD MATUTINUM. [...]

LAUDES. Posuerunt peccatores laqueos michi, et a mandatis tuis non errabi, domine. VR. Iniquos odio.

Finitas laudes dicitur kirieleison tribus uicibus decantando KIRIE LEYSON, Et sic **egrediuntur in tanto silentio** ut alterutrum se non sentiant.

Item 14. L8 166v. Good Friday, at Terce (*lignum crucis*).

ORDO VI FERIA AD MATUTINUM. [...]

EODEM DIE AD TERTIA. Ora huius diei tertia lignum sancte crucis in ecclesia principali in patera ponitur super altaris aram. Exi[n]de lebatur a diacono hoc ipsut lignum in patera post euangelium, **et fertur ad sancte crucis ecclesiam decantando as antifonas:**

**A. Signum habentes salutis...**

**A. Iter facimus ligno portante nos...**

**A. Benedictum est lignum per quod fit...**

Et similiter decantantibus episcopus, presbiter, clerus uel cunctis fidelium populus sanctum idipsut lignum osculantur. Et mox omnes explicuerint, **similiter decantantes redeunt**, et lignum ipsut in thesauro recondunt.

Item 15. S4 145v-148r. Good Friday, at Terce (*lignum crucis*).

ORDO VI FERIA IN PARASCEFEN. [...]

[AD TERTIAM]

Hora huius diei tertia, Lignum sancte crucis in ecclesia principali in patena ponitur super altaris aram. Exinde lebatur a diacono hoc ipsud lignum. Crux aurea cum reliquiis clausa portatur et **adfertur ad sancte crucis ecclesiam decantando:**

**A. Signum habentes salutis...**

**A. Iter facimus ligno portante nos...**

**A. Benedictum est lignum per quod fit...**

Et ibi similiter decantantibus aepiscopis, presbiteris, et diaconibus, cleris uel cunctis fidelium populis, sanctum ipsud lignum osculantvr.

[VS.] **Ecce lignum gloriosum in quo...**

[H.] **Crux fidelis inter omnes...**

**UERSUS DE LIGNO DOMINI. Ab ore uerbum prolatum nuntiante angelo...**

Hoc uero obseruandum est ut unusquisque antequam sanctum lignum osculetur, hanc orationem infra se tacite dicat.

O. Domine iesu christe gloriose conditor mundi...

Et mox omnes explicuerint discedunt exinde. Clerus uero de ecclesia sanctę crucis in eodem die ante **nonam ipsud lignum psallendo deportant ad tesavrum principalis ecclesie.**

Item 16. A56 45v-47v. Good Friday, at Terce (*lignum crucis*).

ORDO VI FERIA IN PARASCEFEN. Die UI feria ad matutinum signum non monitur.

ITEM AD III<sup>a</sup>.

Ora huius diei tertia lignum sanctę crucis in ecclesia principale in patena ponitur super altaris aram. Exinde lebatur a diacono hoc ipsud lignum crux aurea cum reliquiis clausa portatur **et adfertur ad sanctę crucis ecclesiam decantando has antifonas:**

**A. Signum habentes salutis...**

**A. Iter facimus ligno portante nos...**

**A. Benedictum est lignum...**

**VS. Ecce lignum gloriosum in quo...**

**H. Crux fidelis inter omnes...**

**VS. Ab ore uerbum prolatum...**

Et ibi similiter respondentibus ecce lignum et crux fidelis, episcopis, presbiteris et diaconibus, clericis uel cunctis fidelium populis sanctum ipsud lignum osculantur.

Hoc bero obseruandum est, ut unisquisque antequam sanctum lignum osculantur. Hanc orationem infra se tacite dicat:

O. Domine iesu christe gloriose conditor...

Et mox omnes explicuerint, discedunt exinde. clęrus uero de ecclesia sanctę crucis in eodem die **ante nonam ipsud lignum psallendo deportant ad tesaurum principalis ecclesię.**

Item 17. A56 19r-22v. Good Friday, during the Mass (reconciliation of penitents).

ORDO AD RECONCILIANDVM PENITENTEM

**Dum uenerit** his qui a penitentia solbendus est siue uir, seu mulier in loco competenti constitutus instigatur a sacerdote ut susceptum donum penitentię sic semper in sua retineat mente, ne ultra iam illi liceat secularia desideria repetere et arta ista itynera conseruare; ut post huius uite exitum ad eternam uitam mereatur peruenire. Deinde fixis genibus ante altare indutus uestibus mundis religiosis iacet in oratione[m], et dicitur hoc responsorium. R. Deus

cuius ire nemo... [...] Supra quere et benedictio. Deinde com[m]unicat eum, et dicit has IIIes orationes. Seu quando reconciliandi penitens **uenerit in eclesia** communicare per tempora, has orationes dicit: [O.] Ignosce domine [...]

Item 18. S4 75v-79v. Good Friday, during the Mass (reconciliation of penitents).

ORDO AD RECONCILIANDUM PENITENTEM

**Dum uenerit** his qui a penitentia solbendus est siue uir, seu mulier in loco competenti constitutus instigatur a sacerdote ut susceptum donum penitentię sic semper in sua retineat mente, ne ultra iam illi liceat secularia desideria repetere et arta ista itinera conseruare; ut post uitę huius exitum ad eternam uitam mereatur peruenire. Deinde fixis genibus ante altare indutus uestibus mundis religiosis iacet in oratione[m], et dicitur hoc responsorium. R. Deus cuius ire nemo... [...] Supra quere et benedictio. Deinde com[m]unicat eum, et dicit has IIIes orationes. Seu quando reconciliandi penitens **uenerit in eclesia** communicare per tempora, has orationes dicit: [O.] Ignosce domine [...]

Item 19. L8 166v-170r. Good Friday, None (*in parasceve*).

ORDO VI FERIA IN PARASCEPHE AD NONAM

Eodem die, clerus uel episcopus **ab eclesia non discedunt**, [s]ed ora diei nona signum sonat. [E]t discinctis omnibus religiosis, lignum sancte crucis leuatur a diacono in patera, precedendo episcopum. Et ante eum crux aurea cum reliquiis et euangelio sine operimento.

Mos autem et ipsut lignum sanctum **positum fuerit super altare**, episcopus cum presbiteris et diaconibus nudis **uestigiis ascendunt in pulpitem**, et sic inponit episcopus uoce tremula: Popule meus. **Ingrediendum** est eodem die in parascephe ad officium dicendum siue quando temporanea seu quando serotina pascha fuerit, ora legitime nona, quando legimus christum positum in cruce emisisse spiritum. Tunc incipiamus uersos Popule meus dicere, et in nomine domini competenti ora exhibimus. Popule meus, quid feci tibi, aut in quo...

[15 psalms in total]

Post hanc legitur apostolum: fratres predicamus uobis; post hec accedens diaconus **ad altare**, euangelium denudatum accipiens, precedentibus omnibus eum aliis duobus diaconibus sine cruce et lumine **ascendunt in tribunal**, et tacentibus omnibus sic incipit: In illo tempore, consilium. Cofinito, legit episcopus sermo: Karissimi, odie dominus noster.

Et mox ut uenerit ubi dicit: cum gemitu exclamemus atque dicamus, et statim inponit episcopus hanc antifona: A. Memento mei, domine, dum ueneris...

Post hec cantatur L psalmum usque ad eum locum ubi dicit: Redde mici letitiam. Et subsalmatur caput. [...] [Series of psalms]

Quo explicito, caput a diaconibus repetitur [...]

Et accipientibus **in coro clericis** usque in finem consumatur. Et sic **descendunt ad altare**, et inponit episcopus decantando solus hoc uersum: Tu pastor bone animam... [...]

Et dum repetierit caput, stat diaconus ante altare et dicit hunc uersum: VR. Prosternimus preces... Deinde dicitur hec antifona [...]

Cum explicuerit ille, inponit alius clara uoce: INDULGENTIAM, et dicitur ab omnibus non plus LXX duobus uicibus. His expletis, silentium datur; et **accedens episcopus ad altare**, orat silentio hanc orationem: [O.] Magestatis tue omnipotens deus... Hic non responditur amen. ALIA ORATIO. Ingenite patris... Non responditur amen.

Item 20. A56 47v. Good Friday, None (*in parasceve*).

ORDO VI FERIA IN PARASCEFEN [...]

Eo uero die [h]ora nona signum sonat. Et siue quando temporanea seu quando serotina pascua fuerit, ora legitime nonę **ingrediendum est ad officium**, quando legimus christum in cruce positum emisisse spiritum.

Item 21. S4 148v-153r. Good Friday, None (*in parasceve*).

ORDO VI FERIA IN PARASCEFEN [...]

Eo uero die hora nona signum sonat. Et siue quando temporanea seu quando serotina p[er]p[ar]ta fuerit, hora legitime nonę **ingrediendum est ad officium**, quando legimus christum in cruce positum emisisse spiritum.

Et discinctis religiosis omnibus, lignum sancte crucis lebatvr a diacono in patena **ad preparatorium** precedendo episcopum ante euangelium sine coopertorio.

Mox autem [ut] ipsud lignum **positum fuerit super altare**, episcopus cum presbiteris et diaconibus [ascendunt] in **pulpitum**, et inponitur ab episcopo cum diaconibus hic uersus: Popule meus. Et dicuntur omnia per ordinem usque dum euangelium perlegatur. Post hec dicit episcopus hunc sermonem. SERMO: Karissimi, hodie dominus... R. [sic] Memento mei domine dum ueneris...

Deinde quinquagesimus inponitur psalmus, et prout spatium temporis fuerit aut explicitis uersibus subsalmatur, aut etiam caput singulis uicibus iteratur. Explicito isto uersu: Ne proicias me, caput iterum a diaconibus replicatvr.

Exinde iterum repetit episcopus sermonem ab hoc loco. Et dicit: Hanc ergo confessionem sancti illius latronis...

Postque **descendit episcopus de pulpito** et inponit ita: Tu pastor bone. [...]

His explicitis silentium datur. Et **accedens episcopus aut senior presbiter ad altare** orat silentio hanc orationem:

ORATIO POST INDULGENTIAS. Ingeniti patris unigenite christe...

ALIA ORATIO. Quas tibi domine pro cruce lacrimas...

ALIA ORATIO. Maiestatis tue omnipotens deus salutari...

ORATIO SUPER PENITENTES. Exaudi domine supplicum preces, et tibi...

In his supradictis orationibus nemo respondit: Amen.

Sabbato ingrediente, ad matutinum sic in eo ordine celebrandum est: silentio, sine lumine et salutatione aut responsione, sicut et die sexta feria.

Item 22. S4 153v. Holy Saturday, during Mass.

ORDO DIE SABBATO CELEBRANDUM.

Si necessitas exegerit, ante uigilie sollempnitatem, per titulos **infra eclesiam principalem** constitutos, seu per eclesias in conuicinitate principalis eclesie sitas, **Accedens presbiter ad eclesiam** ubi altare uestiendum est, incipit dicere lectionem. Et dum lectio legitur aut psalmus canitur, induit altare uestimentis suis, et sic missa in ordine suo completur.

Item 23. L8 171v-175v. Holy Saturday, at Ninth hour.

ORDO SABBATO IN VIGILIA PASCHAE

Sabbato ingrediente uigilia, ora nona signus sonat. [...]

Et stante omnis populus in locis suis, ingreditur episcopus cum presbiteris diaconibus in tesaurio [...] **Post hec dicitur hanc antifona et cum gloria in coro ingreditur. [A.] Lumen uerum ineliminans omnem hominem in hunc mundum uenientem. VR. Quoniam apud te. Et antequam ad corum perueniant dum hec antifona dicitur accedunt seniores populi et accendunt a cereo benedicto cerea sua. Et sic unus ab alio totius populi cerea inluminantur. Cumque accesserint ad altare, caput predictae antifone repetunt. [...]**

BENEDICTIO LUCERNE ANTE ALTARE [...]

AD CRI[S]MANDOS INFANTES [...]

**[P]ost hanc legitur apostolum, [q]uo explicito in coro apostolum, uadunt cum cruce et euangelio ad precedentos infantes. [M]ox ut baptisterium accesserint, dispositi masculis infantibus ad dexteram et femine ad leuam, inponitur ab episcopo in preparatorio unde munera leuantur hanc antifonam et progrediunt ad corum simulque ad altare decantando: A. Ecce grex que ascendit de labacro... VR. Hec est generatio. VR. Dicant nunc gentes. VR. De regionibus.**

**et decantando hanc antifonam ueniunt ad corum.** Infantibus uero, per ordinem in coro adstantibus masculi **ad dextris**, feminis uero **ad sinistris**; et accedit episcopus cum diaconibus in pulpitem et euangelium et crucem ante eum ferentibus [...]

Item 24. S4 157r-159r. Easter Vigil, Holy Saturday, at Ninth hour.

ORDO DIE SABBATO IN UIGILIA PASCHE

Die sabbato ingrediente uigilia, hora nona signum sonat. [...]

Et stantes in locis suis, **ingreditur episcopus cum presbiteris et diaconibus tantum, in thesauro** [...]

BENEDICTIO LUCERNE IN SACRARIO [...]

BENEDICTIO CEREI IN SACRARIO [...]

Et postmodum inponit hanc antiphonam. **A. Lumen uerum inluminat omnem hominem in hunc mundum uenientem. VR. Quoniam apud te... Gloria et honor.** Et post gloriam antequam **ad corum perueniant**, dum hec antifona fuerit explicita, accedunt seniores populi et accedunt a cereo benedicto cerea sua. Et sic unus ab alio, totius populi cerei inluminantur. [...]

Item 25. PB71 p. 259. Easter Vigil, at the end of the second reading.

ITEM LECTIONES IN UIGILIA PASCE. [...]

LECTIO IIª. LECTIO LIBRI GENESIS. [...]

**In hac lectione pergit episcopus cum diaconibus ad fontes babtizare.**

LECTIO TERTIA. [...]

Item 26. L8 177v. Easter Tuesday, at the end of Mass.

ITEM SACRIFICIA PER UNOQUOQUE DIE PER OCTABAS PASCHE DICENDI AD MISSA

II FERIA [...]

III FERIA AD MISSA. A. Uos qui in christo babtizati estis [...]

**Completa missa, antequam absoluat diaconus, uadunt cum cruce et cereos ad precedendos infantes: et dispositis masculi ad dexteram feminisque ad leuam, redeunt ad altare principale anc antifonam decantando:**

**A. Quodquod receperunt deum...**

**VR. Quia non ex sanguinibus...**

**II. Hii sunt filii dei...**

**III. Uos estis genus electum...**

Cumque accesserint ad altare dicta gloria, caput repetitur. Et stans episcopus in loco ita ut omnes infantes ante abeat, communicat eos. Et legit simul omnibus orationem absolutionis, in nomine ihesu christe cum sua benedictione. Sicque absoluat diaconus in tribunal: In nomine domini nostri ihesu.

Item 27. L8 49v. Leocadia, at the end of Mass, after the Sacrificium.

OFFICIUM IN DIEM SANCTAE LEOCADIE [...]

Ad missam [...]

**Ad sepulcrum.** Sit nomen domini benedictum, alleluia, amodo et usque in eternum, alleluia, alleluia. VR. Ex[c]elsus super. Ito noma kiriu eologimenon, alleluia, apotonin che os tu eonas, alleluia, alleluia.

Item 28. T35.3 121r. Mass for Hilaria, Easter, at the end of Mass.

MISSA IN ILARIA PASCE DICENDA [...]

CONPLETURIA. Retro quere in uigilia.

Antequam complet diaconus, **uadant ad preparatorio**, sanctificentur agni. Et sic complet diaconus: Sollumnia completa sunt. In nomine domini nostri iesu christi eamus cum pace. Deo gratias.

Item 29. S3 28v. Committal of dead (a child), liturgical position in day not known, on the way to the tomb.

ORDO AD CONMENDANDVM CORPVS PARUVLI [...]

Dum ducitur infans parbuli **ad sepulcrum, dicitur per viam ha[e]c a[ntiphona]:**

**A. Sinite paruulos uenire ad me dicit... VR. Ex ore infantium.**

**AD SEPULCRVM: In primis salutat presbiter, et dicit \hunc responsorium/:**

**R. Iherusalem ciuitas sancta... VR. Quoniam pater meus...**

Item 30. S3 19v-25r. Committal of dead (*infra domum*), liturgical position in day not known, procession in the middle of the ordo.

ORDO AD CONMENDANDVM CORPUS DEFUNCTORUM INFRA DOMUM. In primis salutat presbiter [...]

Post hec, sic ducitur corpus ad tumulum indulgentia[m] postulando, **et has antifonas psallendo per via[m].** Ponitur corpus ad **sinistra sepulcris.**

A. Educ domine de carcere...

A. Emitte manum tuam...

In primis salutat presbiter et adspargit sal **in sepulcro** [...]

Deinde incensat corpus **ac sepulcrum**, et deponitur corpus [...]

Item 31. S3 27r. Committal of dead (priest-presbyter), liturgical position in day not known, beginning of the ordo.

ORDO AD CONMENDANDVM CORPUS SACERDOTI.

Quando corpus de **domo eicitur**, salutat [et] **dicit per via[m]** presbiter hanc responsorium:

R. Ne elonges a me. Post hec orat diaconus: Oremus. dominum nostrum... Et dicit hanc oratio: Quem ad modum. Deinde salutat presbiter et diaconus: In nomine domini nostri... Et post hec incensat corpus et **perget cantando** hanc responsorium: Ecce ego viam uni[verse].

Item 32. A56 39v. Committal of dead (priest-presbyter), liturgical position in day not known, beginning of the ordo.

ORDO IN CONMENDATIONE PRESBITERI.

Quum fuerit corpus ex more conpositum atque uestitum sicut mos ei fuit missa[m] celebrare tunica pedules femoralias alba et super pectus orarium atque casulla **ueniunt omnes** clerici

et ponunt eum in feretro et offerunt ei incensum. Deinde dicitur hoc responsum. R.  
Patientiam abe in me domine...

Item 33. S4 104v. Committal of dead (priest-presbyter), liturgical position in day not known, beginning of the ordo.

ORDO IN CONMENDATIONE PRESBITERI.

Quum fuerit corpus ex more conpositum atque uestitum sicut mos ei fuit missa[m] celebrare tunica pedules femoralias alba et super pectus orarium atque casulla **ueniunt omnes** clerici et ponunt eum in feretro et offerunt ei incensum. Deinde dicitur hoc responsum. R.  
Patientiam habe in me domine...

Item 34. A56 28v-32v. Consecration of a new sepulchre, at a burial, liturgical position in day not known, beginning and middle of the ordo.

ORDO AD CONSECRANDVM NOBUM SEPULCRUM. In primis salutat sacerdos et dicit hanc antifonam: A. Exurgat deus et dissipentur inimici... [...] Post hec ponitur corpus in **sinistra sepulcri** et dicitur hoc responsum: R. De manu inferni deus libera... [...] Post hec incensatur corpus simulque et sepulcrum, et sic **decantantibus clericis hanc antiphonam deponitur corpus in sepulcrum**: A. Si ascendero in celum domine...

Item 35. S4 91v-96r. Consecration of a new sepulchre, at a burial, liturgical position in day not known, beginning and middle of the ordo.

ORDO AD CONSECRANDVM NOBVM SEPULCRVM. In primis salutat sacerdos et dicit hec antiphona: A. Exurgat deus et dissipentur inimici... [...] Post hec ponitur corpus in **sinistra sepulcri** et dicitur hoc responsum: R. De manu inferni deus libera... [...] Post hec incensatur corpus simulque et sepulcrum, et sic **decantantibus clericis hanc antiphonam deponitur corpus in sepulcro**: A. Si ascendero in celum domine...

Item 36. A56 23r-28v. Extreme Unction, occasional rit, last rites.

ORDO IN FINEM HOMINIS DIEI. Dum uenerit aliquis ex fratribus ad extremum uite [...] Deinde si ordine fuit sacerdotali librum ei manulem ponant in pectore, si uero diaconus extitit euangeliorum librum. Hoc interdum est obseruandum ut quis libet sit ab exitu mortis **usque dum ad monumentum** ducatur semper ad caput lectuli sacram habeat crucem. Quum uero fuerit ex more corpus labatum uestitur [...] Sicque indutum conponitur in feretro **et adductum ante fores ecclesie sonantibus signis clamorem personatur a cunctis, expleto et enim clamore incensatur a diacono corpus et salutante presbitero inponitur hoc responsum: R. Dies mei transierunt... [R. Requiem eternam...] [...] Hac explicita precedente cruce perducunt eum ad ecclesiam foris, cancello posito. Canuntur a clericis has preces: [Preces] [...] Post hec ducitur corpus ad sepulcrum <ad tumulum>, indulgentiam postulando, et has antifonas psallendo per uiam, uel alias que ad hoc ipsut conueniunt.**

Item 37. S4 87r-91r. Extreme Unction, occasional rite, last rites.

ORDO IN FINEM HOMINIS DIEI. Quum uenerit aliquis ex fratribus ad extremum uite [...] Deinde si ordine fuit sacerdotali librum ei manulem ponant in pectore, si uero diaconus extitit euangeliorum librum. Hoc interdum est obseruandum ut quis libet sit ab exitu mortis **usque dum ad monumentum** ducatur semper ad caput lectuli sacram habeat crucem. Quum uero fuerit ex more corpus labatum uestitur [...] Sicque indutum conponitur in feretro **et adductum ante fores ecclesie sonantibus signis clamorem per sonatur a cunctis, expleto et enim in clamore incensatur a diacono corpus et salutatur presbitero inponitur hoc**

**responsum: R. Dies mei transierunt... R. Requiem eternam... [...] Hac explicita precedente cruce perducunt eum ad ecclesiam foris, cancello posito. Canuntvr a clericis has preces: [Preces] [...] Post hæc ducitur corpus ad tumulum, indulgentiam postulando, et has antiphonas psallendo per uiam, uel alias que ad hoc ipsut conueniunt.**

Item 38. S4 102r-103v. Death of a bishop, day or night, around Mass.

ORDO OBSERUANDUS IN [DE]FUNCTIONE EPISCOPI [...]

Sic deinde in coro ecclesie ubi prefuit cum precedentibus et subsquentibus luminariis ponitur. Ac deinde supra pectus eius euangelium plenarium ponitur, ita ut supra euangelium aliud uelamentum non ponatur [...]

Deinde lebatur corpus eius a diaconibus cum illo euangelio supra eius pectore posito; et sic [eum] **usque ad sepulcrum cum luminariis precedentibus et subsequentiis perducitur, cantantibus omnibus [qui] ex clero sunt antiphonas aut responsoria que solent de mortuis decantare. Post hec, celebrata iterum missa in ecclesia illa ubi sepelliendus est [...] et deponitur corpus a diaconibus in sepulcrum cantantibus aliis religiosis antiphonam hanc: A. In sinu abrae amici tui. [...] Et sic deinde ab eodem episcopo inponitur hec antiphona: A. In pace in idipsum obdormiam et requi[escam]. Deinde dicitur unus iste uersus: VR. Expectans expectaui dominum... Ita tamen ut sub uno unus uersus iste dicatvr, et sic caput repetitur. Dicta Gloria, caput antiphone repetitur. [...]**

Item 39. S4 56r-v. At the shake/jolt of an impure spirit, liturgical position in day not known, independent ordo.

ORDO CELEBRANDUS SUPER EUM QUI AB SPIRITU INMUNDO UEXATVR [...]

Deinde **egreditur episcopus aut sacerdos senior** qui interfuerit de **intra altare / et stat ante coro** ubi antea diaconus stetit exorcismum recitando hec tria capitula faciens crucem **contra occidentem** ad iam dictam hominem egrotantem.

I. Increpet dominus...

II. Tibi dicitur satanas...

III. Uicit leo de tribu iuda...

Item 40. S4 162r-v. Baptismal ordo, during Mass.

ORDO BAPTIZANDI

Fons in hoc die siue in alio tempore quo bapuzandum est, non de cisternis, sed de fluminibus implendus est. Denique post initium supradicte lectionis tertie, **progreduur episcopus cum presbiteris et diaconibus tantum ad sanctum iohannem**, tenentes omnes cerea sua.

Sedente crisma uel sacra communionem **super altare sancti iohannis**. Et **descendentes ad fontem, stantes diacones in circuitu fontis** et infantibus in agnile per ordinem constitutis, exurgit episcopus et orat orationem istam: ORATIO. Ad uenerabilem salutis eterne fontem [...]

Item 41. S3 8r. Baptismal ordo, liturgical position in day not known, independent ordo, before the exorcism.

His perhactis, **uenit sacerdos ad fonte[m]** et exsufflat in fonte IIIbus uicibus, aut uas ubi bapuzaturus est infans, et dicens tribus uicibus: In nomine patris et filii...

Item 42. S4 25v-32r. Baptismal ordo, liturgical position in day not known, independent ordo, before the exorcism.

ORDO BAPTISMI CELEBRANDVS QUOLIBET TEMPORE [...]



Post hec dicit ei sacerdos hunc exorcismum **contra occidentem**: Recordare satanas qui tibi maneat pena. [...] Finita manus inpositionis tradit ei symbolum, dicens: Credet ill. in deum? usque in finem. His peractis **ueniens sacerdos ad fontem**, exsufflat fontem tribus uicibus aut uas ubi bapuzandus est infans, recitans hunc exorcismum **faciem ad occidentem** tenens: Discede inmunde... [...] Qua explicita deponit ei sacerdos albas et post ubi uoluerit discedit.

Item 43. A56 7v-9r. Blessing of a beard, during the 'usual' Mass.

ORDO SUPER EUM QUI BARBAM TANGERE CUPIT.

**Quum uenerit** his qui barbam benedicere desiderat, explicita secundum more[m] missa antequam absolba[t] diaconus accedit ad sacerdotem **iuxta cancellos** [...]

**Et dum ceperit ambulare [h]ac de ecclesia egredere, decantatur ei a clero hec antifona, aut si uoluerit subsequentem alleluiaticum:**

**A. Benedictus est...**

**A. Gloriam et magnum.**

Item 44. S4 37v-39v. Blessing of a beard, during the 'usual' Mass.

ORDO SUPER EUM QUI BARBAM TANGERE CUPIT.

**Quum uenerit** his qui barbam benedicere desiderat, explicita secundum more[m] missa antequam absolbat diaconus accedit ad sacerdotem **iuxta cancellos** [...]

**Et dum ceperit ambulare ac de ecclesia egredere, decantatur ei a clero hec antiphona, aut si uoluerit subsequentem alleluiaticum:**

**A. Benedictus est...**

**A. Gloriam et magnum.**

Item 45. S4 336r. Blessing of a bride, connected to Mass.

BENEDICTIO SOLIUS PUELLE [...]

**Et dum per hinc ambulare ceperint ac de eclesia egredi, decantatur hec antiphona: Uos quos ad coniugalis gratia per.** Supra quere.

Post hec dicit: Benedictio: Benedicat uos trina...

Item 46. S4 334r. Blessing of newly-weds, after Mass.

ORDO AD BENEDICENDUM EOS / QUI NOBITER NUBUNT.

**Quum uenerint** hii qui coniungendi sunt explicita secundum morem missa, antequam absolbat diaconus **accedunt ad sacerdotem iuxta cancello. Et uenientes parentes puelle** aut aliquis ex propinquis, si parentes non habuerit tradit puellam [...]

Item 47. S4 332r. Blessing of the bridal chamber (*thalamus*), Saturday, at third hour (not part of a Terce service).

ORDO AD TALAMUM BENEDICEDVM.

Primum quidem secundum consuetudinem die sabbato hora tertia salis adsparsio facienda est in loco domorum uel talami. Deinde cum **ingreditur sacerdos ad talamum** benedicendum, inponit hunc uersum et dicit: VR. Respice in seruos tuos... Deinde hanc orationem: O. Domine cuius benedictione plena... BNO. Omnipotens dominus uic receptaculo...

Item 48. L8 265r-266v. Consecration of a basilica, end of Matutinum.

ANTIPHONAE DE PROCESSIONE RELIQVIARVM.

A. Egredimini qui portatis... A. In nomine domini dei nostri ambulauimus... A. Exite secundum uerbum regis... A. Cum iucunditate exhibitis et cum gaudio... A. Ambulate filii, ne timeatis...

**ITEM ALLELUIATICI AD PRECEDENDAS RELIQUIAS.**

ALL. De iherusalem exeunt reliquie... A. Leba iherusalem oculos tuos... A. Alleluia, memores estote diei... A. Alleluia, egressus est populus.. A. Alleluia, audite qui portatis archam... A. Alleluia. Loquutus est dominus ad iosue... A. Haec dicit dominus: deserta carmeli... A. Haec dicit dominus: tempore placito exaudiui... ALL. Ecce porta domini, iusti... ALL. Aperite, aperite, ingrediantur... ALL. Introibimus in tabernaculum eius... ALL. Alleluia, egressus est populus domini... ALL. Ecce recordatus est dominus... ALL. Visitationem memor erit uestri... ALL. Hylaritate perfusa est omnis terra...

Post hec tacto foramine altaris de crismate, in quo reliquie reconduntur, dicitur hec antifona: A. Exiit iacob lapidem in titulum... VR. Fundamenta eius... II. Diligit dominus portas syon... III. Quia memor fuit uerbi sancti...

AD CONDITIONE RELIQUIARVM.

ALL. Corpora sanctorum in pace... VR. Omnes isti in generationibus... II. Usque in eternum manet semen... III. Sapientia eorum narrent... IIII. Qui non aduersi sunt a domino...

Item 49. S4 107v-110r. King going to war, liturgical position in day not known, independent ordo.

INCIPIIT ORDO QUANDO REX CVM EXERCITV AD PRELIUM EGREDITVR [...]

Quando rex ad **osteum eclesie accesserit** [...] **ingressus** fuerit rex [...] Post hec non statim absolbitur, sed mox accedit diaconus **ad altare** et lebat crucem auream [...] Mox tamen episcopus ut eandem crucem in manu regis tradiderit inponunt hanc antiphonam decantando cum uersibus: A. Accipe de manu domini... VR. Sume scutum inexpugnabilem...

II. Quoniam data est uobis potestas a domino...

**Hoc secundo uerso explicito, accedentes unusquisque accipiunt de post altare a sacerdote bandos suos; et statim egrediuntur foras cantantibus clericis in coro eandem antiphonam cum his uersibus:**

**III. Benedictus srachel quis similis...**

**IIII. Negabunt te inimici...**

[V-IX]

**X. Dominus custodiat introitum...**

Postquam omnes bandos suos lebauerint et foris **osteum eclesie egressi** fuerint statim gloria in predicta antipona inponunt. [...]

Post hanc benedictionem absoluit diaconus: In nomine domini... deo gratias. Et sic rex episcopum uale facit uel ceteros quos iusserit et **statim inponitur hec antiphona ab his qui cum illa cruce ante regem ambulant: A. Domine deus uirtus...**

Item 50. A56 54r. Omnimode / votive Mass, beginnng of Mass.

ORDO MISSARVM BOTIBARVM DE SSACERDOTE PROS [sic] SE DICERE DEBEAT. **Quum uenerit** sacerdos ut sacrificium offerat, antequam prolegendum [sic] decantare incipat adclinis **ante altare** tacite dicit hanc orationem. O. Accedam ad te domine in humilitate...

Item 51. S4 167r. Omnimode / votive Mass, beginning of Mass.

ORDO MISSÆ OMNIMODE. **Quum uenerit** sacerdos ut sacrificium offerat, antequam prolegendum decantare incipat adclinis **ante altare** tacite dicit hanc orationem. O. Accedam ad te domine in humilitate...

Item 52. L8 271r-v. Ordination of a bishop, at the end of Mass.

OFFICIUM IN ORDINATIONE EPISCOPI

AD VESPERVM [...]

AD MISSA [...]

**ITEM ALLELUIATICI DECANTANDI IN PROCESSIONE ÆPISCOPI USQUE AD ATRIUM.**

A. [All] Gloriam et magnum decorem... A. Det tibi dominus... A. Det tibi dominus prudentiam... VR. Benedicat tibi d[ominus]. A. Dominus custodiat te, dominus protectio... A. Da potestatem puero tuo, domine... A. Det dominus gratiam tempore tuo...

Item 53. S4 36v-37r. Ordination of a cleric, liturgical position in day not known.

ORDO AD ORDINANDUM CLERICUM

In primis dum uenerit is qui ordinandus est clericus, induit eum sacerdos tunica et alba, et fixis genibus in terra **in medio coro**, acceptis tonsuriis sacerdos faciat crucem in capite eius dicens: In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti

reg[nantis]. Statimque inponit hanc antiphonam, premissa tamen prius salutatione: A. Sinite paruulos uenire ad me... VR. Deus deorum. Gloria. Oremus... O. Domine ihesu christe qui dixisti discipulis tuis... Benedictio. Deuotionem huius famuli tui domine clementer intende...

Item 54. S4 40v ff. Ordination of a deacon, presbyter, archipresbyter, abbot, clothes, virgin..., liturgical position in day not known.

Quum **uenerit** [etc]

Item 55. S4 37v, Ordination of a sacristan, liturgical position in day not known.

ORDO in ordinatione sacristę

Q[u]um ordinatur sacrista adstantibus cun[c]tis, **episcopus residens in preparatorio**, tradit ei anolum de sacrario, non tamen **ante altarium, sed in preparatorio** dicens ei: Esto custos sacriorum... Et sic ille qui ordinatur osculat[o] pede episcopi, stat in locum ordinis sui.

Item 56. S4 51v. Ordination of an abbess, end of Mass.

ORDO AD ORDINANDAM ABBATISSAM. Quando ordinatur abbatissa uestitur a deuotis **in sacrario** ueste religionis et inponitur ei in capite mitra religiosa, et precedentes ac subsequentes eam alie deuote cum cereis **tacentes ueniunt ad corum**. Adplicans tamen eam episcopus **ad altare** cooperit eam pallio per caput et dicit super eam hanc orationem: O. Omnipotens domine deus aput quem...

Item 57. A56 12v. Ordo for a conversion, during Mass.

ORDO CONVERSORUM CONVERSARVMQVE [...]

His finitis datur ei sancta co[m]munio et **ad locum quem uoluerit** succedit. Similiter et in feminis excepto tonsura pro sexuum, discretionem iste ordo seruatur. Monachus uero **in cenobio** quum hunc predictum ordinem primitus suscepit. [...] Postquam enim ad accedentes communicaberit tota iam explicita missa **accedit in coro** ad abbatem et roborato proprio nomine [...]

Item 58. S4 67r. Ordo for a conversion, during Mass.

ORDO CONUERSORUM CONUERSARVMQVE [...]

His finitis datur ei sancta co[m]munio et **ad locum quem uoluerit** succedit. Similiter et in feminis excepto tonsura pro sexuum, discretionem iste ordo seruatur. Monachus uero **in cenobio** quum hunc predictum ordinem primitus susceperit. [...] Postquam enim ad accedentes communicaberit tota iam explicita missa **accedit in coro** ad abbatem et roborato proprio nomine [...]

Item 59. BL51 166r-v. Ordo for retiring to bed, liturgical position not known, but it is one of the night services.

ORDO QUIETE ANTE LECTVLO [...]

Post hec date abinuicem **ueniam** absolbit diaconus et **uadunt** ad lectos et requiescunt.

Item 60. B151 179r-180r. Ordo for the Hebdomadarius in the monastery, Sunday, at the end of Matutinum.

ORDO DE EBDOMARIUS QUOQVINE IN MONASTERIO.

Septimanariis quoque ebdomadum suum completis, dominico die ad matutinum peracto fratribus in uno congregatis inponit ipse hunc uersum: Benedictus es domine... [...]

Subsequitur **ingrediens** et dicitur hunc uersum: Deus in adiuto[ri]um]. Gloria. Deus in adiutorium. O. Domine ihesu christe qui ideo [...]

ITEM PRO LECTORE.

Ipso tamem die post expleta missa **uenit** ebdomarius lector et inponit hanc uersum omnibus recitantibus. Domine labia mea aperies... Domine labia. Gloria. Domine labia mea. [...]

Item 61. L8 273r-v. Reception of a king, liturgical position in day not known.

ANTIPHONAE DE SUSCEPTIONE REGIS QUANDO DE VICINA LOCA **REUERTITUR**.

Item 62. S4 11v-13r. Salt and water consecration in exorcisms, liturgical position in day not known, independent ordo.

ORDO QUANDO SAL ANTE ALTARE PONITVR ANTEQUAM EXORCIZETVR [...]

**Quum uenerit** sacerdos ut salem exorcizet, facit hanc crucem [signum] super ipsum salem et dicit hunc exorcismum **contra occidentem**. EXORCISMVM SALIS. Exorcizo te creatura salis [...] BENEDICTIO SALIS. **Ad orientem**. Uirtutis tuae inuictam fortitudinem [...]

EXORCISMUM AQVE. **Ad occidentem**. Discede inmunde spiritus [...] BENEDICTIO EIUSDEM.

**Ad orientem**. Domine deus pater omnipotens statutor.

Figure 3. *Tables of results ordered by category (in Latin)*

<b>Movements (Verbs)</b>	<b>Item/s</b>
Accedo	3, 8, 10-11, 22-24, 42, 49, 57-58
Adduco	2, 36-37, 42
Ambulare	5-6, 43-45, 49
Ascendo	19
Depono	34-35
Deporto	3, 21
Descendo	3, 40
Discedo	19, 21, 42
Duco	29-30
Egredior	4, 9, 13, 39, 43-45, 49
Eicio	31
Exeo	4, 8, 10
Fero	14-16, 23
Ingredior	12, 19-21, 23-24, 47, 49, 60
Pergo	25, 31
Pervenio	4, 23-24
Progredio	10, 23, 40
Redeo	3, 14, 26
Reverto	3, 57
Transeo	3
Vado	1, 3, 9-11, 23, 26, 28, 42, 59
Venio	3, 5, 17-18, 32-33, 41-44, 46, 50-51, 53-54, 56, 59-60, 62
Volverit	42-44, 57-58

<b>Ecclesiastical personnel</b>	<b>Item/s</b>
Arcediaconus	11
Clerus	9-10, 12, 14-16, 19, 32-33, 43-44
Diaconus	3-4, 6, 8-10, 14-16, 19, 21, 23-25, 28, 31, 36-40, 43-44, 46, 49, 59 <sup>4</sup>
Episcopus	2-6, 8-12, 14-16, 19-21, 23-25, 38-40, 52, 55
Hebdomadarius	60
Levites	11
Presbyter	14-16, 19-24, 31, 36-37, 40
Sacerdos	5-6, 18, 39, 41-42, 47, 50-51, 53, 62
Subdiaconus	3

<b>Spaces / Locations</b>	<b>Item/s</b>
Altar	6, 9-11, 14-16, 19-23, 26, 39-40, 49, 51, 55-56, 62
Atrium	10, 52
Baptisterium	23
Cancelli	11, 36-37, 43-44, 46
Choro	3-4, 19, 23-24, 38-39, 47, 53, 56, 57-58
Ecclesia	2-3, 5-6, 14-19, 21-22, 36-38, 43-45, 49
Fons	25, 40-42
Monumentum	36-37
Officium	20-21
Preparatorium	3, 9-11, 21, 23, 28, 55
Pulpitum	3, 19-21

<sup>4</sup> For item 59, Julius Parnell Gilson, *The Mozarabic Psalter. Ms. British Museum, Add. 30,851* (Harrison and Sons, 1905): 299, reads *decanus* in his transcription, but there the abbreviation is 'dcns', so it might be 'diaconus'. We follow here the latter.

Sacrario	4, 12, 24, 55-56
Sepulcrum	27, 29-30, 34-36, 38
Thalamus	47
Thesaurus	3, 14-16, 21, 23-24
Tribunal	8, 19, 26
Tumulus	30, 37

<b>Objects and people</b>	<b>Item/s</b>
Cereus	9-11, 23-24, 26
Clericus	53
Corpus	29-31, 34-38
Crux	11, 14-16, 19, 21, 23, 26, 49
Evangelium	19, 23, 36-38
Infans	2-3, 8, 23, 26, 41, 46
Paeniteo	17-18
Palm	4-6
Parentes	3, 46
Populus	5-6, 14-16, 24
Reliquiae	15-16, 48
Rex	49, 61
Sacristae	55

<b>Space Orientation</b>	<b>Item/s</b>
Ad orientem	62
Contra occidentem	39, 42, 62
Dextris	23, 26
Siniter	23, 26, 30, 34-35