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Musical Values and Practice in Old Hispanic Chant

Some cultures have implicit musical values, latent within their musical practices and/or products.¹ In other cultures, musical values are explicitly theorized about, although the relationship between those values and musical practice can range from very close to completely disjunct. The present article explores the parallels between musical values and practice in early medieval Iberia. There was a period of intense intellectual and religious activity after the Visigothic kings converted to Nicene Christianity in 589. Evidence of this activity is preserved in the writings of (among others) the celebrated Iberian encyclopedist Isidore of Seville (ca. 570-636). Isidore's musical values comprise a selective and critical reading of late-Antique theology, and went on being influential for centuries after his death. Isidore contributed to the creation of the Old Hispanic ("Mozarabic") chant repertoire, whose texts are preserved in a manuscript (OV) dated before 732, less than a hundred years after his death. The chant melodies are preserved in unpitched notation ca. 900.² Here, I test the hypothesis that Isidore's musical values shaped the extant Old Hispanic chant texts and melodies. This leads to a new appraisal of how musical values and practice relate in one of the oldest liturgical chant traditions in Western Europe.

There is much scholarship on late antique "musica," the speculative art of Christianized cosmic harmony which expresses the relationship between God and man in numerical terms.³

¹ For their advice and suggestions, I am grateful to Rebecca Maloy, Gillian Clark, Margot Fassler, the Old Hispanic Office project team (Elsa De Luca, Litha Efthymiou, Kati Ihnat, and Raquel Rojo Carrillo), David Fay, and participants in Bristol University Music Department's postgraduate reading group, the Music and Theology Seminar, Worcester College, Oxford (May 2015), and the *Senses of Liturgy* conference at Bristol University (April 2015), as well as the anonymous reviewers for this **Journal**.

² Appendix 1 contains sigla of chant manuscripts cited in this article. On repertorial continuities between OV and later manuscripts, see Brou, "L'antiphonaire wisigothique."

³ For a recent summary and bibliography, see Calvin Bower, "The Transmission."

Similarly, the evidence pertaining to late antique Christian musical practice has been much discussed.⁴ Considered in this late antique context, *Confessions* by Augustine of Hippo (354-430) is unusual in engaging explicitly with the moral value of different musical styles within worship. While these ideas about music's moral value are well known, they are rarely compared with surviving music, chiefly because of the chronological distance between Augustine's lifetime and the earliest extant Franco-Roman liturgical texts (late eighth-century) and melodies (ninth century).

In two ways, Iberia provides a bridge between this late antique thought and early medieval chant. First, Augustine's theology was filtered through the interpretative lens of Isidore of Seville, underpinning much of Isidore's music commentary.⁵ Second, the Old Hispanic liturgy was in use on the Iberian peninsula until its suppression in the late-eleventh century. Its texts date back to the early eighth century at the latest; many of them were likely compiled during the seventh century. Indeed, three chants were directly attributed to Isidore: one by Elipandus of Toledo (eighth century) and two in L8 (900-905).⁶ It is certainly plausible that Isidore himself participated in compiling the Old Hispanic liturgy, since he played a central role in the Iberian Councils that debated its shape.⁷ Further, Isidore's writings were a mainstay of Iberian culture through the period in which the liturgy was practised.⁸ Here, then, I outline Isidore's musical values, before exploring the interpretative

⁴ For general introductions, see Stapert, *A New Song*; Page, *The Christian West*, chapter 2.

⁵ Pellegrino, "Le 'Confessionis'"; Lawson, "The sources." On the importance of Augustine to Isidore, see Fontaine, "Théorie et pratique," 66ff. On Augustine's influence in early medieval Iberia, see Díaz y Díaz, "Agustín"; Ramis Miquel, "Fuentes agustinianas"; Domínguez del Val, "La utilización"; Rubio, "Presencia"; Martín-Iglesias, "La biblioteca cristiana."

⁶ f.172 and f.200. See Brou, "Problèmes liturgiques"; Pérez de Urbel, *Isidoro de Sevilla*, 150ff. On L8's dating, see most recently Elsa De Luca, "Musical Cryptography and the Early History of the 'León Antiphoner'," *Early Music History* (forthcoming, 2017).

⁷ Stocking, *Bishops, Councils and Consensus*, 170.

⁸ Lawson lists Visigothic manuscripts preserving *De ecclesiasticis Officiis* (Sancti Isidori Episcopi Hispalensis, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, 33*) and cites further evidence for Visigothic knowledge of the treatise (153*-59*). In Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae* (LXXIV-LXXV), Cazier describes two Iberian manuscripts containing this text, Escorial T.II.25 (ninth century) and Madrid BNE 10067 (tenth century). Almost a thousand manuscript copies of

landscape of the chant texts in combination with their melodic characteristics. This leads to a new appraisal of how Isidore's musical values may have shaped Old Hispanic musical practice.

Augustine and Isidore: theologies of sounded music

One discursive thread in Augustine's *Confessions* (and a departure point for Isidore) explores how music points towards and enacts the relationship between man and God. This might be termed a "music theology."⁹ The *jubilus* is a particularly well-known music-theological topos transferred from late antique thought to the Middle Ages.¹⁰ For Augustine and others, the *jubilus* is a textless vocalisation that happens when, focused on God, someone feels such joy that their praise transcends words.¹¹ Many commentators, including Gregory the Great and seventh-century Iberian writers, mention jubilation as a generic "praise" word.¹² While, on

Etymologiae survive. Many use Visigothic script, including Madrid, BNE, 10008 (eleventh century), Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 76 (tenth century) and 25 (dated 946).

⁹ For this term, see Zon, "Bedazzled by Breakthrough."

¹⁰ See McKinnon, "Preface," 214-18; McKinnon, "The patristic Jubilus;" Wiora, "Jubilare sine verbis."

¹¹ See fn9; Moneta Caglio, *Lo Jubilus*, 5-7 (Augustine's psalm commentaries); and Maloy, "Old Hispanic Chant," 6-9 (Augustine's sermons).

¹² E.g.: Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 8.88: "Iubilum uero dicimus cum tantam laetitiam corde concipimus, quantam sermonis efficacia non explemus; et tamen mentis exsultatio hoc quod sermone non explicat, uoce sonat." ("But we call it *jubilus* when we feel so much joy in our hearts that we cannot satisfy by the perfection of speech; and yet the exultation of the mind utters in voice what it cannot express in words.")

Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 28.35: "Iubilatio quippe dicitur cum cordis laetitia oris efficacia non expletur, sed quibusdam modis gaudium prodit, quod ipse qui gaudet, nec tegere praeualet, nec explere. Laudent itaque angeli, qui iam tantae claritatis latitudinem in sublimibus uident. Iubilent uero homines, qui adhuc in inferioribus oris sui angustias sustinent." ("It is called *jubilatio*, of course, when the joy of the heart is not fully expressed by the efficacy of the voice, but it reveals in some ways the joy which he who rejoices can neither hide, nor complete. Therefore let angels praise, who already see the breadth of such great brightness in His high places. Let us men jubilate, however, who still endure the constraints of speech down on earth.")

Leander of Seville, *Homilia in Laudem Ecclesiae*: "jubila exsultatione; quoniam tui moerores in gaudium sunt mutati, tristitiae habitum in amictum laetitiae uersum est." ("jubilate with exultation, because your sorrows have been changed to joy, your habit of sadness has become a cloak of rejoicing.") *ibid.*, "Ergo, fratres, tota charitate animi exsultemus in Domino, et jubilemus Deo salutari nostro." ("Therefore, brothers, let us exult in the Lord with all the love of our soul, and jubilate to God our saviour.") Similar examples appear in writings by Julian of Toledo and Ildefonsus of Toledo.

some occasions, Augustine describes *jubilus* specifically as song,¹³ Isidore does not, although his definition of *jubilus* selectively paraphrases Augustine's (see Table 1).¹⁴ However, Isidore's portrayal of the offertory chant as jubilatory shows that he too understood *jubilus* as sung.¹⁵ It is unsurprising that modern scholars have interpreted *jubilus*, manifesting devotion beyond words, as being synonymous with melisma, at least from the Carolingian period onwards.¹⁶

[INSERT TABLE 1]

Descriptions of *jubilatio* are universally positive. This contrasts strikingly with Augustine's sustained discussion in *Confessions* 10.33 of music's role in conversion (see Table 2). *Confessions* book 10 is about the potential for experiences based in each of the five senses to distract us from God, a concern shared by many late Antique writers.¹⁷ In *Confessions* 10.33, as in other Christian writings, the hearer's intentions are of paramount importance when judging sacred music's moral value.¹⁸ Further, rational thought must lead, keeping physical delight subordinate.¹⁹ The corollary of this, made explicit three times in

¹³ E.g.: Augustine, *Sermo* 336.3 (Dedication of a Church): "Proponitur dedicatio, et cantatur liberatio; jubilatur **canticum** dedicationis domus, et dicitur *Exaltabo te Domine, quoniam suscepisti me, et non iucundasti inimicos meos super me* [Psalm 29:2]." ("The dedication is set before us, and liberation is sung; the **song** of the dedication of the house is jubilated, and it is said *I will extol you, O Lord, for you have upheld me, and there made my enemies to rejoice over me.*") See also Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps. 18, sermo.1*; *Enarr. in Ps. 32, sermo 1.8*; and *Enarr. in Ps. 99, sermo.4*.

¹⁴ In this and subsequent tables, shared text is marked in boldface. Bracketed numbers indicate the parallel passages.

¹⁵ Maloy, "Old Hispanic Chant," 7-9.

¹⁶ McKinnon, "Preface;" McKinnon, "The patristic Jubilus," 69; Wiora, "Jubilare sine verbis." Iversen explores the association of *jubilus* with the alleluia melisma from Amalar of Metz onwards (*Chanter avec les anges*, 145-75); see also Haug, "Melisma."

¹⁷ The five senses are synthesised in *Confessions* 10.54. On music's potential for distraction, see Blackwell, *The Sacred in Music*, 128-9; Stapert, *A New Song*, 88; Quasten, *Music and Worship*, 94-99; Harrison, *Beauty and Revelation*, 170-1. On Platonic anxiety about music's relationship with the emotions, see Begbie, *Resounding Truth*, 81-2.

¹⁸ Following 1 Cor. 14:15 (uniting heart and voice in song) see, *inter alia*, *Confessions*, 9.7.15; the Benedictine rule, chapter 4; Niceta of Remesiana, *De utilitate hymnorum* (McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, 135); Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae*, 3.7.30, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, 1.14.1, and *Regula monachorum*, 6.2.

¹⁹ Understanding has primacy even in Augustine's discussion of the *jubilus* in *Enarr. in Ps. 99, sermo.3*: "Sonus enim cordis intellectus est." ("For this sound [the *jubilus*] is the comprehension of the heart.") My thanks to Jeremy Llewellyn for drawing my attention to this detail.

Confessions 10.33, is that one should focus on the religious text presented through melody, not on the melody *per se*. Although Augustine acknowledges the devotional value of elaborate singing when well-intentioned hearers focus on the words, he repeatedly articulates anxiety about music's tendency to claim the listener's attention.

[INSERT TABLE 2]

Although no Visigothic copies of *Confessions* survive,²⁰ it was certainly known in early medieval Iberia, since it was extensively mined by Isidore of Seville. As Table 2 illustrates, much of Isidore's discussion in *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* of music's role in worship paraphrases *Confessions* 10.33.²¹

Significantly, Isidore's quotation is selective. For Augustine, simple recitation has Bishop Athanasius's authority, and seems "a safer course" than elaborate melodies; for Isidore, such recitation is associated with the "primitive church," without mentioning its relative worth. After Augustine approves singing in church, he expresses concern about being moved more by melody than by textual meaning. Isidore quotes only Augustine's approval. Similarly, Isidore quotes Augustine on sacred song's power to move people to piety, but omits Augustine's caveat about the enervating effects of physical delight.

This selective quotation may be contrasted with Agobard of Lyon's use of *Confessions* 10.33 in *De correctione Antiphonarii*, 14. Here, the quotation is literal and

²⁰ Díaz y Díaz, *Manuscritos visigóticos del sur*, 174n565 refers to a (now lost) sixth-century Iberian manuscript preserved until 1936 at the Monasterio de la Encarnación in Madrid. Part of a folio is reproduced in Lowe, *Codices Latini antiquiores* vol. 11, n^o 1640.

²¹ See Pellegrino, "Le 'Confessioni'," 251. There is also direct quotation from Augustine's *Epistolarum* in *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* 1.6.1, where the "inflaming" idea draws on *Confessions* 9.4.8. For other influences on Isidore's musical thought, especially Cassiodorus, see Fontaine, *Isidore de Seville*, 413-40; Bower, "The Transmission."

extensive.²² Although born in Spain ca. 779, Agobard spent his adulthood in the Carolingian cultural sphere; *De correctione Antiphonarii* highlights the distinctiveness of Isidore's treatment of *Confessions*. While Isidore does not repeat Augustine's reservations about music in worship, he does value concentration on liturgical text,²³ and admonishes Christians to maintain focus on God while singing psalms and hymns. In *Regula monachorum*, 5.5, for example: "Monks who are working should either meditate or chant psalms, so that they make light their work with the delight of song and the words of God... They must therefore work with their body and an intent fixed on God so that, with their hands enveloped in work, their mind is not distracted from God."²⁴

Both Augustine and Isidore observe music's power to move the emotions, although they articulate it differently. For Augustine, diverse emotions are stirred by various modes of melody, and the emotive power of text increases when it is sung "in this way" (i.e., with an "attractive and technically-skilled voice"; see Table 2). Isidore shifts the meaning significantly. First, he omits "in this way" (perhaps because the "attractive and technically-skilled voice" comes later in his paraphrase), resulting in a binary assertion that sacred words with melody are more effective than those without melody for moving emotions. Second, Isidore values diverse and novel melody (Table 2), externalizing Augustine's "diverse emotions" into the purview of sound. See also Isidore's *Regula Monachorum*, 6.4: "During vigils it will be usual to recite, and during matins it will be the custom to chant and sing, so that in both ways the minds of the servants of God are exercised with the pleasure of

²² As well as "Nunc... acquiesco" and "ipsis sanctis... cantarentur," Agobard quotes in full "Tutiusque mihi uidetur" to "non audire cantantem," omitting only "Ita fluctuo inter periculum uoluptatis et experimentum salubritatis."

²³ See *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, 2.11-12.

²⁴ Unpublished translation by Neil Allies. ("Monachi operantes meditari aut psallere debent, ut carminis verbiq; Dei delectatione consolentur ipsum laborem. ... Laborandum est enim corpore animi fixa in Deum intentione; sicque manus in opere implicanda est ut mens non avertatur a Deo.")

diversity and are moved more ardently to the praise of God without boredom.”²⁵ In *Sententiae* 3.7.32, straight after quoting Augustine’s prioritization of text over melody, Isidore describes music as having greater emotive power than text (Table 3). Three ways that music positively stirs the emotions are enumerated in *Etymologiae*: a battle trumpet’s rousing sound; music promoting physical endurance; and music’s healing power.²⁶ For Isidore, melody’s diversity is key to this power. Further, Augustine notes the importance of fitting melody (“conuenientissima modulatio”) in liturgical song; the thrust of the sentence is utilitarian. Isidore’s paraphrase is instead about aesthetic value, emphasized through the synonymous pairing “dulcedo suavissima.” Here, the salient quality of “modulatio” in *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* is its attractiveness, not its functionality (Table 3).

[INSERT TABLE 3]

How can we account for Isidore’s enthusiastic embrace of diverse and attractive liturgical melody, and Augustine’s more circumspect appraisal? There is ongoing tension in Augustine’s thought between sounded music and music as platonic ideal.²⁷ Human perception of time passing is affected in complex ways by sounded music. Sometimes, temporal awareness fades into the background as musical participants become completely immersed in the present moment.²⁸ This can result in an experience of transcendent bliss.²⁹ This immersion does not always occur, though. In grappling with human experience of time,

²⁵ Unpublished translation by Neil Allies. (“Verum in vigiliis recitandi aderit usus; in matutinis psallendi canendique consuetudo, ut utroque modo servorum Dei mentes diversitatis oblectamento exerceantur, et ad laudem Dei sine fastidio affluentius excitentur.”)

²⁶ *Etymologiae* 3.17.1-3: “Musica movet affectus, provocat in diversum habitum sensus. In praeliis quoque tubae concentus pugnantem accendit; et quanto vehementior fuerit clangor, tanto fit fortior ad certamen animus. Siquidem et remiges cantus hortatur. Ad tolerandos quoque labores musica animum mulcet, et singulorum operum fatigationem modulatio vocis solatur. Excitatos quoque animos musica sedat, sicut legitur de David, qui a spiritu immundo Saule arte modulationis eripuit.”

²⁷ Holsinger, *Music, Body and Desire*, chapter 2.

²⁸ For extended discussion, see Begbie, *Theology, Music and Time*; Blackwell, *The Sacred in Music*, chapter 6.

²⁹ For a firsthand account of stroke-induced ecstasy in the “present moment,” see Bolte-Taylor, *My Stroke of Insight*.

Augustine discusses how memory makes us aware of the past, and expectation makes us anticipate the future:

I am about to repeat a song [*canticum*] that I know. Before I begin, my expectation extends over the whole song. But, when I have begun, that much of the song which I carry away [*decerpsero*] into the past is extended into my memory. The life of this act of mine [*vita huius actionis meae*] is stretched in two ways [*distenditur*] into my memory, because of the words I have already said, and into my expectation, because of those I am about to say. But all this happens while my attention is present at hand [*praesens tamen adest attentio mea*]: the future is transferred [*traicitur*] into the memory through this [*per quam* (i.e. *attentionem*)] to become the past.³⁰

Constant distension – anticipation and remembering – in human minds distances humanity from God, who transcends time and place.³¹ During singing, participants can easily be distracted from the part of the song that is present at any one moment.³² At the same time, though, human ability instantaneously to apprehend the song as a unit (“my expectation extends over the whole song”) can offer a weak approximation of the divinely eternal perspective.³³ Indeed, the following paragraph of *Confessions* refers to Christ as “mediator between you the One and us the many,” who will gather Augustine “to follow the One, ‘forgetting the past’ and moving not towards those future things which are transitory but to ‘the things which are before’ me, not stretched out in distraction [distension] but extended in

³⁰ Translated by Nightingale, *Once out of Nature*, 89. *Confessions* 11.28.38: “Dicturus sum canticum, quod noui: antequam incipiam, et totum expectatio mea tenditur, cum autem coepero, quantum ex illa in praeteritum decerpsero, tenditur in memoria mea, atque distenditur uita huius actionis meae in memoriam propter quod dixi et in expectationem, propter quod dicturus sum: praesens tamen adest attentio mea, per quam traicitur quod erat futurum, ut fiat praeteritum.”

³¹ Gillian Clark, “*Psallite sapienter*,” 177; Nightingale, *Once out of Nature*, 16.

³² Nightingale, *Once out of Nature*, 82-91. On Augustine’s difficulty with “giving validity to the present,” see Begbie, *Theology, Music and Time*, 64.

³³ Begbie, *Theology, Music and Time*, 84. O’Connell, *Art, aesthetics*, 94-5; Harrison, “Enchanting the Soul,” 212.

reach, not by being pulled apart but by concentration.”³⁴ Sounded music figures in this passage primarily as an analogy with which to begin to make the theological point that Christ’s metaphysical mediation enables humanity to transcend time.

Elsewhere, Augustine describes sounded music as offering an experience of the divine in unity with the angels: sweet music draws the psalmist “through and up to the celestial dwelling itself;”³⁵ and a similar idea is articulated in the passage cited in Table 1.

Paradoxically, however, heavenly music is not physically audible;³⁶ Augustine’s glimpse of the divine is marked precisely by transcendence beyond the five earthly senses:

When I love you, what do I love? It is not physical beauty nor temporal glory nor the brightness of light dear to earthly eyes, nor the sweet melodies of all kinds of songs, nor the gentle odour of flowers and ointments and perfumes, nor manna or honey, nor limbs welcoming the embraces of the flesh; it is not these I love when I love my God. Yet there is a light I love, and a food, and a kind of embrace when I love my God – a light, voice, odour, food, embrace of my inner man, where my soul is floodlit by light which space cannot contain, where there is sound that time cannot seize, where there is a perfume which no breeze disperses, where there is a taste for food no amount of eating can lessen, and where there is a bond of union that no satiety can part.³⁷

³⁴ Chadwick, *Confessions*, 244. *Confessions* 11.29.39: “...mediatore filio hominis inter te unum et nos multos, in multis per multa, ut per eum apprehendam, in quo et apprehensus sum, et a ueteribus diebus conligar sequens unum, praeterita oblitus, non in ea quae futura et transitura sunt, sed in ea quae ante sunt non distentus, sed extensus, non secundum distentionem, sed secundam intentionem...”

³⁵ Carruthers, “The concept of *ductus*,” 195. Augustine, *Enarr. In Ps. 41.9*. See also Cassiodorus *Expositio in Ps. 97.9.conclusio*. Later, Amalar of Metz understood the (textless) sequence as journeying to “a higher level of contemplation.” Bower, “From alleluia to sequence,” 368.

³⁶ Clark, “*Psallite sapienter*,” 178.

³⁷ Translated by Chadwick, *Confessions*, 183. *Confessions* 10.6.8: “Quid autem amo, cum te amo? Non speciem corporis nec decus temporis, non candorem lucis ecce istis amicis oculis, non dulces melodias cantilenarum omnimodarum, non florum et unguentorum et aromatum suauolentiam, non manna et mella, non membra acceptabilia carnis amplexibus: non haec amo, cum amo deum meum. Et tamen amo quandam lucem et

In Augustine's devotional ideal, the abstract realm of cosmic harmony is encountered beyond time and the physical senses. Thus, while sounded devotional melody has moral value on the journey towards perceiving the incorporeal,³⁸ it still has potential to distract from God. Rather than wholeheartedly embracing elaborate liturgical music's power, then, Augustine aspires through concentrated text-based piety to neo-platonic transcendence of the senses. Isidore's priorities are more pragmatic. Conversion was a live issue in the years after the Visigothic kings' rejection of Arianism (589),³⁹ and this contextualizes Isidore's concern for those who are not spiritually inclined (see Table 2 and 3). For Isidore, beautiful melody that arouses the emotions is a gateway to Christian spirituality, as long as it is congruent with the religious setting, regardless of whether or not the participants focus on the words.

Some of these ideas are present in the four prologues to L8 (ff. 2v-3r). Although probably copied in the tenth century, they were most likely composed in the eighth century, in response to the Adoptionist controversy.⁴⁰ As well as defending the Old Hispanic liturgy, the prologues discuss liturgical song's power to move the emotions. As in Isidore's writing, the tone is pragmatic: the fourth prologue admonishes cantors to avoid excess and pride, and to maintain liturgical decorum.⁴¹ Prologues 2-3 touch on general themes pertaining to liturgical song that have been explored above, notably: jubilation (2+3); alignment of voice

quendam uocem et quendam odorem et quendam cibum et quendam amplexum, cum amo deum meum, lucem, uocem, odorem, cibum, amplexum interioris hominis mei, ubi fulget animae meae, quod non capit locus, et ubi sonat, quod non rapit tempus, et ubi olet, quod non spargit flatus, et ubi sapit, quod non minuit edacitas, et ubi haeret, quod non diuellit satietas."

³⁸ Stock, *Augustine the Reader*, 211ff; Burton, *Language in the Confessions*, 149; Harrison, *Beauty and Revelation*, 25.

³⁹ On Isidore and conversion, see Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour*, 106-11; Wood, *The Politics of Identity*, chapter 5.

⁴⁰ Adoptionists believe that Jesus was adopted into the Godhead rather than being divine from the outset. This belief has been regarded as heretical by Trinitarian Christians since the second century; it had some currency in eighth- and ninth-century Spain. For a dating of the L8 prologues to the eighth century on linguistic grounds, see Gil "El Latín;" see also Díaz y Díaz, "Some Incidental Notes." Zapke ("En torno") prefers an eleventh-century dating.

⁴¹ Page, *The Christian West*, 240-42. See Fontaine, "Théorie et pratique", 86-7, on Isidore's avoidance of excess in monastic life and liturgy.

and heart (3); and uniting humanity with angel choirs (2+3).⁴² In prologues 1-3, “dulce” and “suave” appear in close proximity (e.g. “diversa suavitatum modulatione” in prologue 1); this is reminiscent of Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.7.32 (Table 3).

As we have seen, then, the musical values of Isidore and Augustine are closely related – indeed, Isidore’s words are largely derived from Augustine’s. But Isidore’s process of *brevitas* – selective quotation and paraphrase – is not uncritical.⁴³ Instead, it leads to a distinctive music theology in which elaborate liturgical melody’s power is embraced in addition to concentration on the verbal text. The L8 prologues show the continuing currency of the idea that beautiful liturgical melody engenders effective worship.

Intertextuality and Old Hispanic chant texts

For Augustine, liturgical text is central in building rational devotion. For Isidore – when thinking of the already pious – the same is true. As in any set of texts utilized within an enculturated community, Old Hispanic liturgical texts cumulatively build webs of meaning that vary depending on the experience and knowledge of those encountering the texts.⁴⁴ Such features can readily be reconciled with Augustine’s and Isidore’s valuing of textual meaning in devotion.

The simplest way of achieving intertextual resonance is repetition, which marks particular words and concepts as noteworthy. It is well known that textual repetition abounds in the Old Hispanic liturgy: across a season, a feast, a single office, or a *missa*.⁴⁵ Two brief

⁴² cf *Etymologiae* 6.19.7-8.

⁴³ See Wood, “*Brevitas* in the writings of Isidore of Seville.”

⁴⁴ Tomlinson, “The Web of Culture.” On textual communities, see Stock, *Listening for the Text*, chapter 7.

⁴⁵ See Pinell, “Las Missae,” and (briefer discussions) Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning*, 37-9; Zapke, *El antifonario*, 143; Huglo, “Les chants liturgiques.” Within *ad matutinum* (the dawn office), a *missa* comprises two antiphons, an alleluaticum (alleluatic antiphon) and a responsory, each followed by an oration.

examples will serve to illustrate the point. In L8 and A30 the first week in Advent includes 18 chants beginning “Ecce” (“Behold!”; see Table 4), inviting liturgical participants to witness the Lord’s coming.⁴⁶ The textual repetition would be noticed by any attentive listener, especially because three sets of four “Ecce” chants constitute single *missae*. The liturgy for S. Cucuphas provides a second illustration. (Table 5). In vespers and the first *missa* of *ad matutinum*, the chant texts prominently feature “the just man” (almost all shared with the common *de uno iusto*), focusing veneration on S. Cucuphas’s justness.⁴⁷

[INSERT TABLE 4 and Table 5]

As well as building intertextual meaning through textual repetition, the feast for S. Cucuphas incorporates thematic allusion to the saint’s *vita*. In the second *ad matutinum missa* (only in L8), “this man” is the primary focus. In the alleluia, “this man” stands against terrible kings in portents and signs, mirroring the *vita*’s description of S. Cucuphas’s miraculous escapes from prefect Maximianus’ multiple attempts to kill him.⁴⁸ In the responsory, “this man” prays much for the people; S. Cucuphas speaks eight prayers in the *vita*.⁴⁹ The thematic links between the biblical chant texts and the *vita* focus the saint’s veneration.

Particularly rich layers of meaning are built by late-antique and early-medieval-Iberian commentaries on the Old Hispanic chant texts’ biblical sources. Such commentaries are sometimes directly used within the Old Hispanic liturgy, showing their relevance to its interpretation. For example, Ildefonsus’s (d. 667) *De virginitate* was read during the Marian

⁴⁶ Rankin, “Beyond the Boundaries” discusses a series of “Ecce” Advent antiphons in an early “Irish” or “Gallican” manuscript. The association of “Ecce” with Advent was evidently in circulation before the Carolingian imposition of Franco-Roman chant. There are no textual overlaps with the Old Hispanic series.

⁴⁷ All but one of the prayers refer directly to S. Cucuphas: *completuria* and *benedictio* in T6 (vespers and *ad matutinum*) and BL45 (vespers); one *missa* of *ad matutinum* orations (T6).

⁴⁸ Paris, BNF, n.a.l. 2179 (234v onwards) marks up the *vita* into sections for liturgical reading. (Fabrega Grau, *Pasionario hispanico* II, 309-314.)

⁴⁹ Paris, BNF, n.a.l. 2179 has marginal identification of four as orations.

feast (December 18), and extracts from Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* were read at Christmas.⁵⁰ Some Old Hispanic orations build on biblical commentaries, particularly *Moralia in Job* by Gregory the Great (d. 604), dedicated to Leander of Seville,⁵¹ and works by Augustine.⁵² In L8, the devotional literature is evoked in eleven marginal glosses. These extracts from theological writings each relate to a chant in the main text. For example, Isidore's *De fide catholica* 1.10.4, combining Isaiah 7:14 and Isaiah 8:4 as a single unit for exegesis, is quoted in the margin of f.68v. This gloss is copied next to the psallendum *Alleluia vocabitis*, which comprises exactly these two biblical verses. Such examples show that the commentary tradition and Old Hispanic chant were directly connected, although we cannot usually tell which came first.

This wider intellectual context also underpins the choices of chant texts for particular feasts, and the themes of their orations. Examples here are drawn from the feast of S. Crucis (May 3), which combines Exaltation of the Cross with commemoration of its finding (the Invention).⁵³ It always falls within Eastertide, and some of its office has wider Eastertide assignments (Appendix 2). This feast is interpretatively rich because it has a single clear focus (Exaltation of the Cross) while also intersecting theologically and textually with Eastertide. There are early witnesses to almost all of the feast's texts: the prayers and chant incipits are in the orationals; complete chants in L8; and some readings in the passionaria. Unsurprisingly, most of the uniquely-assigned chant texts (or their orations) mention the

⁵⁰ Pinell, "El Oficio Hispano-Visigótico," 393-4.

⁵¹ Ninth- to eleventh-century Visigothic manuscripts containing *Moralia* include Barcelona, Bibl. De Catalunya, no shelfmark (one folio); Burgo de Osma, Bibl. Cathedral, 117; León, Arch. Diocesano, Fondo M. Bravo, núm. 1; Madrid, Arch. Histórico Nacional, fragment 7; Madrid, BNE, 80; Madrid, RAH, 5; Toledo Bibl. Cap. 11.4. (Millares Carlo, *Manuscritos visigóticos: notas bibliográficas*).

⁵² Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning*, 47-9 and 90 (on Gregory), 171, 181-2, and 207-9 (on Augustine), and, with references to previous scholarship, at 41-5.

⁵³ T6 assigns the Invention as a Mass reading (70r-79r). Without liturgical rubrics, it appears in the passionaria (Fabrega Grau, *Pasionario hispanico* II, 260-66). The narrative is also evoked in the hymn *Dulce carmen lingua* (Appendix 2, item 33).

cross and/or the crucifixion.⁵⁴ Sometimes the cross theme is implied rather than explicit, as in Psalm 1:3 (Appendix 2, item 26). In this text about a tree growing and bearing fruit, the tree is often interpreted as prefiguring the Cross.⁵⁵ The oration's (item 27) tree of the Cross "redeeming the offence of the tree of transgression" also appears in the hymn *Pange lingua* (item 6); and its "sweetness" is in the hymn *Dulce carmen lingua* (item 33). Ambrose of Milan identifies Psalm 1:3's tree as being the tree of life (from Proverbs 3:18).⁵⁶ Through the oration, then, the responsory text's tree becomes the living tree of the incarnate Christ, whose fruit is the loving and redemptive sign of the cross. This illustrates the way the orations gloss the chant texts, sometimes drawing on other liturgical texts as well as on the commentary tradition that apparently shaped the decisions of the liturgy's compilers.

The commentary tradition reveals that four chants with Eastertide and S. Crucis assignments draw on both resurrection and crucifixion themes. The sono *Ego dormivi* (item 31) is based on Psalm 3: 6-7 which, for most commentators, prefigures the resurrection.⁵⁷ Many commentators also reference the passion as the cause of the sleep from which Jesus is seen to have risen.⁵⁸ The crucifixion itself is juxtaposed with Psalm 3:6 in Isidore's *In Genesin* 3.8,⁵⁹ and in one of Augustine's sermons.⁶⁰ This provides an interpretative context

⁵⁴ Appendix 2, Items 4-6, 12, 14, 18, 20, 23 and 25. Psalm 95:10 is frequently altered in Iberian psalters (including BL51 and BN01) to read "Dominus regnavit **a ligno**," giving the text a cross-related interpretation.

⁵⁵ E.g. Augustine, *Sermones de vetere testamento* 40.3; Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmodum* 1.3.

⁵⁶ Ambrose, *Explanatio 1.Enarr.*35 "Lignum vitae est omnibus percipientibus eum. Qui ergo beatus est, imitator erit Domini Jesu, qui est lignum vitae, lignum sapientiae, plantatum in utero Virginis, voluntate Patris; a quo in perpetuum mansurum plantatur, ut fructum daret in tempore suo." ("He is a tree of life to all who receive him' (Proverbs 3:18). He therefore who is blessed, models himself on the Lord Jesus, who is the living tree, the wise tree, planted in the womb of the virgin by the will of the father; by whom it will remain forever planted, that he might bring forth fruit in due season").

⁵⁷ E.g. Hilary of Poitiers, *Tractatus super psalmos* 131.8; St Ambrose of Milan, *Hexameron*, 6.10; Augustine, *In Ioannis Evangelium tractatus* 47.7; Ildefonsus, *De Virginitate perpetua* (CCSL 143A, 209).

⁵⁸ See, *inter alia*, Augustine, *de Genesi*, 2.24; Augustine, *Enarr. In Ps. 3.5*; Ambrose of Milan, *de Tobia*, 1.20.73; and Isidore, *De Fide Catholica* 1.53.

⁵⁹ "Patitur Christus in cruce, pungitur latus lancea, et profluunt sacramenta sanguinis, ex quibus formetur Ecclesia. Hanc dormitionem cantat Propheta, dicens: *Ego dormivi, et quievi, et resurrexi, quoniam Dominus suscitavit me* (Psalm. III, 6)." ("Christ suffered on the cross, his side was pierced by a spear, and the sacrament of blood flowed forth, from which the Church is formed. Of this sleep the prophet sings, saying, *I laid me down, and I remained quiet, and I rose, for the Lord waked me* (Ps. 3: 6).").

for *Ego dormivi*'s assignment to S. Crucis: for the liturgy's compilers, Psalm 3 likely prefigured the crucifixion as well as the passion and resurrection.

L8 and BL46 instead use the sono *Alleluia torcular*, based on Isaiah 63:3 and 5 (item 30). Isaiah 63:1-6 is the S. Crucis (and Eastertide) canticle, and the day's canticle antiphon (item 28) comes from Isaiah 63:5. For Jerome, Isaiah 63:3-5 prefigures Christ alone on the cross,⁶¹ while Gregory the Great also evokes the resurrection.⁶² Gregory's interpretation may have prompted the dual Eastertide and S. Crucis assignments of *Alleluia torcular* and the Isaiah 63 canticle.⁶³

The "evening sacrifice" of the vespertinus *Elevatio manum* (item 1), makes this the vespers text *par excellence* and, indeed, there was an early-medieval Iberian tradition of interpreting Psalm 140:2 in those terms.⁶⁴ In an alternative interpretation, Psalm 140:2 prefigures Jesus' arms stretched forth on the cross,⁶⁵ and the two interpretations are

⁶⁰ In Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps. 101, sermo 1.8*, the pelican symbolises Christ's birth, the owl his dying (with reference to Psalm 3:6), the sparrow his ascension, and the turtle dove symbolises the nest made for the Church from the wood of the Cross.

⁶¹ Jerome, *Commentariorum in Esaiam*, 4.10.33-4; Jerome, *Breviarium in psalmos*, Psalm 143.15; Jerome, *Commentariorum in Osee prophetam* 2.9.10.

⁶² Gregory, *Homiliary in Ezechielem Prophetam* 2.1.9: "Hoc autem vestimentum illius longe ante Isaias aspiciens per crucem passionis sanguine cruentatum, dixit: Quare rubrum est indumentum tuum, et vestimenta tua quasi calcantium in torculari? (Isai. LXIII, 2.) Cui ipse respondit: Torcular calcavi solus, et de gentibus non est vir mecum (Ibid., 3). Solus enim torcular in quo calcatus est calcavit, qui sua potentia eam quam pertulit passionem vicit. Nam qui usque ad mortem crucis passus est, de morte cum gloria surrexit." ("But this is the garment of he who, long before Isaiah, looked through the bloody cross of suffering, and said: 'Why have you red in your apparel, and your garments like him that treads in the winepress?' (Isai. 63, 2.) To whom he answered: 'I have trodden the winepress alone; and of the people there was none with me' (Ibid., 3). For he alone trod the wine-press in which he was trodden, who with his own power overcame the suffering which he bore. For he who suffered even to death on the cross arose from death with glory.")

⁶³ On Visigothic uses of Gregory's writings, see Martin-Iglesias, "La biblioteca Cristiana," 268-9. tenth-century Iberian manuscripts containing Gregory's *Homiliary in Ezechielem* include Toledo bibl. Cap. 9.6 and Madrid, RAH, 38.

⁶⁴ Isidore of Seville, *Appendix ad Libros Regum*, para. 20: "Is, qui in divino versatur officio, omnia gesta ejus, dictaque ad orationem reputantur, quia justus sine intermissione quae justa sunt agit. Propter hoc sine intermissione justus orabit. Et in Psalmis dicit: *Elevatio manuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum*." ("He who is employed in the divine office, all his words and deeds are counted as prayer, because the just man does just works without ceasing. Because of this, the just shall pray without ceasing. And in the Psalms, he says: *The lifting up of my hands be like the evening sacrifice*."). See also [anonymous] *La Vida de San Fructuoso*, chapter 10. For a late antique precedent, see Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, 140.2.

⁶⁵ E.g., Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps. 64, sermo.6*; Augustine, *Sermo* 342.1 'De Sacrificio vespertino'; Gregory, *Moralia in Job* 20.2; Isidore of Seville, *De Fide Catholica*, 1.35.2.

juxtaposed in Isidore's *De Ecclesiasticis officiis* 1.20.1-2. Use of *Elevatio manum* on the feast of S. Crucis, and specifically as a vespertinum, is thus readily explicable.

As I have shown, Old Hispanic texts combine to create meaning in several ways. Textual repetitions, often observed in this repertoire, are the tip of the interpretative iceberg. There are more complex textual interactions at play here, in which the chant and oration texts draw on, and participate in, biblical commentary. Like other western liturgies, but with the added specificity of the orations, the Old Hispanic liturgy seems to have been designed to direct reasoned concentration on devotional text. As such, the liturgy is compatible with the importance assigned to text by both Augustine and Isidore.

Text and melody

It is more challenging to assess how the melodies contribute to each chant's web of meaning. Conceptually, melody and text are inextricably linked, since the melodies are preserved in neumes whose purpose is to attach musical gestures to individual syllables. The notation is unpitched, showing the rise and fall of the melody within each neume, but not defining pitch or intervallic content.⁶⁶ Chant analysis conventionally focuses on tonal space. Notes lying above the main tessitura and approached by leap are often understood by scholars as marking the text with which they appear.⁶⁷ Similarly, changes in tessitura can contribute to a musical "reading" of the text.⁶⁸ Because almost all Old Hispanic chants lack pitched notation, such methodologies do not translate into this repertoire. Close engagement with the

⁶⁶ Just 21 chants, mostly antiphons, have been preserved in heightened Aquitanian neumes. (Edited in Rojo and Prado, *El canto mozárabe*.)

⁶⁷ See, *inter alia*: Rankin, "Carolingian Music," 285; Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres*, 125; Crocker, *introduction*, 184.

⁶⁸ See, e.g., Rankin, "Carolingian Music."

melodies has consequently been rare.⁶⁹ Exploration of how textual meaning and melody intersect has been almost non-existent.⁷⁰ The neumes do offer hints, however, about how Old Hispanic melodic structure and detail might shape text reception and relate to the music theologies of Isidore and Augustine.

In Franco-Roman chant, musical and textual caesuras almost always coincide, and the musical phrase divisions thus punctuate the texts.⁷¹ The same routinely occurs in Old Hispanic chants; I have chosen the antiphon *Haec dicit dominus speculator* (paraphrasing Isaiah 21:8 in four clauses)⁷² at random, to illustrate this phenomenon. (See Figure 1). The second clause includes a genitive (“universe terre”), and the last is followed by a relative clause (“ut non periret”).

INSERT FIGURE 1

Secure identification of the cadence points requires knowledge of Old Hispanic melodic idioms. In *Haec dicit dominus speculator*, “domin-” has NH+NL+NH in L8 (Figure 2, box 1), and N+NHL+N in BL45 (box 2).⁷³ These neume shapes (with N or NH interchangeably on the last syllable) are very commonly found at the ends of textual units, especially those ending “domin-”. Further, NH+NL+N/NH is strongly associated with the León melodic

⁶⁹ Brou made penetrating studies of several genres, among the most important of which are: “Le Psallendum;” “Les ‘Benedictiones;’” and “l’Alleluia.” Randel’s seminal *The Responsorial Psalm Tones* and “Responsorial Psalmody” focus on various responsorial genres. Zapke, *El antifonario* is based on one fragment, with necessarily limited engagement with melodic style across the wider corpus. Cullin interpreted Old Hispanic formal structures and melodies through the lens of a theory of melodic evolution that has not found universal approval: “De la psalmodie sans respond;” “Le repertoire;” and “Richesse et diversité.”

⁷⁰ Exceptions are Nadeau, “*Pro sonorum diversitate vel novitate;*” Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning;* and Maloy, “Old Hispanic Chant.”

⁷¹ See (*inter alia*) Rankin, “Carolingian Music;” Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, 441-54 and 461-80; Desmond, “*Sicut in grammatica;*” Bower, “The Grammatical Model.”

⁷² Isaiah 21:8: “Et clamavit leo: Super speculam Domini ego sum, stans jugiter per diem; et super custodiam meam ego sum, stans totis noctibus.” (“And a lion cried out: I am upon the watchtower of the Lord, standing continually by day: and I am upon my ward, standing whole nights.”) (BNE, MS Vitr/13/1 [Biblia hispalense], 110r)

⁷³ “N” refers to a note whose pitch relative to the previous note is unknown; H is higher than, L is lower than, and S is the same as the previous note; + shows the division between syllables. It is very common for BL45 to have no neume when other manuscripts have a single note on a syllable.

dialect;⁷⁴ cognate chants in the Rioja melodic dialect instead have N+NHL+N/NH, as BL45 does here. The other clause endings share identical neumes with moments in Old Hispanic chant that are certainly cadential, at the ends of clauses, sentences or whole chants. This strongly suggests that there are cadences at “terre” (L8; box 3) and “nocte” (both manuscripts; boxes 4-5);⁷⁵ “istum” (L8; box 6);⁷⁶ and “istum” and “terre” (BL45; boxes 7-8).⁷⁷ A genitive is commonly preceded by a caesura in medieval chant, and this is the case on “ego sum,” whose neumes are characteristic of Old Hispanic internal cadences (boxes 9-10).⁷⁸ The end of the chant also uses a common closing gesture (boxes 11-12).⁷⁹ As this shows, the repertoire is constructed in such a way that familiar cadential gestures are used across genres in order to articulate phrase divisions, contributing to effective text delivery. This is perhaps especially helpful when, as with this example, the biblical text is paraphrased rather than directly quoted. Thus, the frequently recurring cadence patterns in Old Hispanic chant facilitate devout apprehension of the text.

[INSERT FIGURE 2]

⁷⁴ Across all ninth- to eleventh-century manuscripts it appears in the responsories 162 times, including 77 cadences on “domin-”, and in the sacrificia 48 times, including 19 cadences on “domin-.” On the melodic dialects of Old Hispanic chant, see Randel, *The Responsorial Psalm Tones* and, most recently, Hornby and Maloy, “Melodic dialects in Old Hispanic chant,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 25 (2016), 37-72.

⁷⁵ It appears, *inter alia*, in L8: at the end of the responsories *Animam meam* (146r), *Iniquitates nostrae* (119v) and *Exurge domine miserere* (116v); at the end of a sentence in alleluaticum *Dignus est agnus* (185v); at the end of a clause in antiphon *Benedictus dominus qui* (273v) and responsory *Conclusit vias* (155v); before a prepositional phrase in responsory *Quare persequimini* (147v). The neume forms of BL45 appear at the end of the verse in vespertinus *Exortum est* in BL45 (8r). The two manuscripts have this cadence, each with their characteristic forms of the neumes, at the end of a clause in antiphon *Ne timeas* (L8, 212r; BL45, 13v) and alleluaticum *Gloria iustorum timor* (BL45, 9v; L8, 273v), and before a prepositional phrase in sacrificium *Sacerdos zacharias* (BL45, 21v; L8, 212v).

⁷⁶ E.g., before a prepositional phrase in vespertinus *Conserva me Domine* (L8, 140r) and responsory *Habundaverunt* (L8, f.118v); and before a conjugation in sono *Custodi me domine* (BL51, 202v; L8, 282r; PB99, 15r; S6, 60r).

⁷⁷ This appears as a cadence in L8 in (e.g.) the responsories *Ecce vir impius graditur* (135r), *Induta est caro mea* (115v) and *Habitatores iherusalem* (159v).

⁷⁸ Seen in L8 responsories, e.g.: before a prepositional phrase in *Haec dicit dominus prevaricati sunt* (137v) and *Habitatores* (159v); before a genitive in *Domine deus noster* (293r); and at the end of a sentence in *Domine tu cognovisti* (272v).

⁷⁹ E.g., in L8, it ends responsory *Doctrina domini* (161v) and antiphon *Dabit vobis dominus requiem* (278v).

Structural repetition is intrinsic to many liturgical chants. Responsorial chants have the structure respond – verse – repetendum (repetition of the last part or all of the respond). Old Hispanic antiphons have the structure antiphon – psalm verse(s) – repetendum 1 – doxology – repetendum 2 (often shorter than repetendum 1).⁸⁰ For hearers, these structures help to establish the repeated material as key to the chant’s meaning.⁸¹ Some Old Hispanic chants have melodic rhymes between the verse end and the material preceding the repetendum.⁸² This gives a strong connection between the verse end and the repetendum, since the same melody has approached the repetendum before: familiarity helps to cement the association. The psalmus *In omnem terram* illustrates the phenomenon (Figure 3). The chant is based on Psalm 18:5 (respond) and Psalm 18:4 (verse); these psalm verses end with the near synonyms “verba illorum” and “voces eorum.” In the psalmus, “voces eorum” is omitted from the verse text, and the sense is completed by the repetendum, “verba illorum” (Figure 3, box 1). The two syllables preceding “verba” in both verse and respond share a melody (boxes 2 and 3). This underlines the textual parallel.⁸³ The melody’s impact is cumulative within the chant’s formal structure.

[INSERT FIGURE 3]

Particular portions of text can be marked by deviation from the melodic norms of that chant, its genre, or its liturgical season.⁸⁴ Through such deviations, textual meaning and chant

⁸⁰ On the question of whether a whole psalm was sung or a single verse, see Brou, “Le joyau,” 97-101; Pinell, “El Oficio Hispano-Visigótico,” 412-19.

⁸¹ See Nadeau, “*Pro Sonorum Diversitate vel Novitate*,” 88-89 and 120-22. Nadeau mentions that the repetenda texts “do not always flow smoothly from the verse,” bringing to mind Carolingian anxiety about the same phenomenon in the Franco-Roman repertory (see Levy, “Abbot Helisacher’s Antiphoner,” and Agobard of Lyon, *De correctione antiphonarii*, on the dangers of heresy arising from re-ordering and combining biblical texts).

⁸² Nadeau, “*Pro Sonorum Diversitate vel Novitate*,” 184-5.

⁸³ The same phenomenon occurs in the same chant in T4 (47r) and BL45 (34r).

⁸⁴ Leonard Meyer first articulated the idea that musical meaning arises from musical expectations being confounded. See *Emotion and Meaning in Music*.

melody can combine symbiotically to promote a particular theological message.⁸⁵ The Franco-Roman, Old Roman, Milanese, and Beneventan traditions include families of formulaic chants, of which the best-known examples are the tracts (“cantus” in Milan). Within such chant families, deviation from the formulaic norms are striking, particularly when these non-formulaic moments incorporate distinctive melodic material from otherwise unrelated chants.⁸⁶ By contrast, the (very few) formulaic Old Hispanic chants have a single melody for many verses in one chant (psalmi with multiple verses, and Easter Vigil canticles), or use a single verse melody across the whole genre (threni).⁸⁷ There is no emphasis through melodic contrast here, since these melodies never depart from the formulaic shapes.

Franco-Roman chants in certain modes exhibit particular tonal behaviours, as do chants in certain genres within those modes.⁸⁸ Departures from these norms can be understood as musically emphatic. Old Hispanic chants seem to have a rather different melodic grammar. Beyond the small minority of strictly formulaic Old Hispanic chants, almost every chant is built up of melodic patterns that appear across multiple genres. While some patterns are particularly associated with phrase openings or cadences, I have not yet encountered evidence of “road maps” according to which cantors would navigate through familiar paths of melodic formulas.⁸⁹ These melodic patterns are recognizable to modern analysts when they consist of several neumes, consistently combined. I have already highlighted some such patterns at cadence points in the antiphon *Haec dicit dominus speculator* (see above). Similarly, a phrase

⁸⁵ Pioneering studies using this approach are Fassler, *Gothic Song*; and Flynn, *Medieval Music*. See also Hornby, *Medieval Liturgical Chant*, and, with direct reference to the Old Hispanic material, Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning*.

⁸⁶ See Hornby, *Medieval Liturgical Chant*, chapter 4.

⁸⁷ For analyses, see Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning*.

⁸⁸ See, *inter alia*, McAlpine, *Tonal Consciousness*.

⁸⁹ On “road maps” of cadential goal pitches, see Helsen “The Great Responsories.” There is extensive discussion of repeated Old Hispanic melodic material in Nadeau, “*Pro sonorum diversitate vel novitate*,” 125-63.

or chant opening can often be traced across multiple chants, genres, and manuscripts. One example is found in twelve chants in L8.⁹⁰ (Figure 4, box 1; an illustrative four chants are shown here). Some of these chants have cognate versions in other tenth- or eleventh-century manuscripts, and these use the same opening.⁹¹ Each of these twelve chants has a different continuation, each of which draws on melodic patterns that can also be traced across the repertoire (box 2 shows further material shared by two chants, which subsequently diverge melodically). As this illustrates, it is normal practice in Old Hispanic chant for melodic patterns to be combined to make phrases, but rarely in fixed combinations. Instead, it is a departure from the norm when a series of melodic patterns combines to make a whole phrase that is repeated from chant to chant. Such a combination occurs at the beginning of *Haec dicit dominus speculator* (Figure 3). L8's melody on "Haec dicit dominus" is used otherwise in this manuscript only on three unica antiphons that begin with the same three words.⁹² The melody that opens *Haec dicit dominus speculator* in BL45 is preserved in four other chants beginning with these words, across four manuscripts, and also begins the responsory *Ecce vir impius*.⁹³ Both melodies are almost exclusively associated with the text "Haec dicit Dominus." The unpitched neumes suggest a level of markedness in these chant openings because there is much more consecutive shared musical material than is normal for Old Hispanic chant.

[insert Figure 4]

⁹⁰ Alleluaticum *Ego quasi* (44v); responsory *Timor* (113v); psalmus *Ecce quam bonum* (131r); antiphon *Peccatores tetenderunt* (136v); antiphon *Vana locuti sunt* (136v); responsory *Felix* (225v); responsory *Dabo sanctis* (239r); antiphon *Brebes anni mei* (277v); psalmus *Tu nosti* (verse; 278r); antiphon *Quis enarrabit* (284r); responsory *Delicta* (294v); psalmus *Delicta* (300v).

⁹¹ A30: alleluaticum *Ego quasi* (53v); S3: psalmus *Delicta* (161v, with one extra note); S4: psalmus *Delicta* (263r); S6: antiphon *Quis enarrabit* (60v). This particular shape may have fallen out of use by the twelfth century: it does not appear in the cognate chants in the Toledan manuscripts T4, T5 and BN10.

⁹² 41v, 262r, and 272r.

⁹³ *Haec dicit dominus in indignatione* (antiphon; L8); *Haec dicit dominus si custodieritis* (responsory; L8, S6); *Haec dicit dominus prevaricati sunt* (responsory; L8); *Haec dicit dominus non cessabo* (responsory; L8, S3, S6, T4). *Ecce vir impius* is preserved in L8, 135r and BL52, 48v.

Even though we cannot deduce which pitches were sung in Old Hispanic chant, we can always tell – at least approximately – how many notes were sung on each syllable.⁹⁴ Therefore, we can establish the norms of melodic density within a chant or a feast. When different syllables have varying numbers of notes, the pacing of text delivery shifts; this affects our understanding of time passing.⁹⁵ Melismas can underscore the text by lingering on a word in an otherwise swiftly articulated text;⁹⁶ equally, within an otherwise neumatic or melismatic texture, the clear enunciation of a syllabic passage might mark it out. Such contrasts are common in Old Hispanic chant. Examples are drawn here from the offices for S. Crucis, as preserved in L8 (Figure 5); Old Hispanic musical language is sufficiently universal across the entire repertoire that the chants of almost any feast could be used to demonstrate how that musical language functions. Several of the S. Crucis chants have a modest melodic density, with 1-4 notes per syllable and up to 8 or 9 at cadences.⁹⁷ This sets an expectation for the “normal” speed of text delivery within the S. Crucis offices. When a syllable (or word) receives many more notes than those surrounding it, it stands out.

[INSERT FIGURE 5]

First, there are instances in which the elongated syllable articulates the relevance of the biblical message to the gathered community. Verse 1 of the *sono Dominus ihesus Christus* has almost entirely undifferentiated pacing, with up to six notes per syllable except for the 16-note melisma on the final alleluia. Verse 2 opens with a long melisma (Figure 5, box 1; 27 notes), on “Salvator noster.” Similarly, the longest melisma in the antiphon *Redemisti nos domine* is on “nos” (box 2; 10 notes), and “our redemption” appears three

⁹⁴ I provide note counts in the subsequent examples. This does not imply that medieval cantors necessarily conceptualised these melodic gestures as separate notes; nor does it indicate that I am always certain exactly how many notes are involved in each neume. Note counts are provided solely to give a relative sense of melodic flow.

⁹⁵ Nadeau, “*Pro sonorum diversitate vel novitate*,” 10.

⁹⁶ Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres*, 126.

⁹⁷ Appendix 2, items 4, 5, 12, 20, and 22. In item 16, the one 10-note melisma before the final alleluias is a very common (and hence commonplace) formulaic pattern.

times in the accompanying oration (Appendix 2, row 23). The same idea is presented, but this time in the voice of Christ, in the 45-note melisma on “salvabit mici” (“I did the saving myself”) in the sono *Alleluia torcular* (box 3). In all three cases, the music lingers on Christ as savior of the gathered community.

Before the final “alleluia,” the responsory *Ihesum nazarenum* has 1-5 notes per syllable and 8 at cadences, except that T4 has 12 notes on “unxi” (“Jesus of Nazareth whom God anointed with the Holy Ghost”). Like the emphasis on Jesus as redeemer and savior, the lengthening here coincides with assertion of the orthodox Trinitarian position. By contrast, the antiphon *Dominus deus patrum nostrorum* has 11 notes on “quem vos interemistis” (box 4). Heresy is a common theme in Old Hispanic liturgical texts, often associated – as here – with the Jews (see also row 19).⁹⁸ At least sometimes, the Jews may have been a conceptual foil for Arians, who were a very present “other” in early Visigothic culture;⁹⁹ the choice of musically-lengthened syllables in these chants perhaps demonstrates that the assertion of orthodox trinitarianism against heresy had continuing importance.

As discussed above, the S. Crucis feast centered on the crucifixion as the means by which Christ conquered death. The sono *Dominus ihesus Christus* refers to death twice. Once it is prolonged with a long melisma (box 5; 37 notes). Before this, there may be an elision between the participle phrase “resurgens a mortuis” and “curvavit mortem;” I have not yet encountered the neumes on “mortuis” in a cadential context (box 7). The lack of a familiar cadential gesture here perhaps focuses attention on “mortuis,” so that the conquered death is doubly emphasized. The passion is also underscored in the alleluiaticum *Testis fidelis* and the sono *Alleluia torcular*, with expanded melodic density on “sanguine suo,” the blood of Christ

⁹⁸ On anti-Jewish texts in this feast, see van Tongeren, *Exaltation*, 272-3.

⁹⁹ On the anti-Arian assignment to Christ of the epithets *redemptor*, *creator* and *salvator*, see van Tongeren, *Exaltation*, 263-4.

(box 8), and “calcabi” (box 9), respectively. As noted above, the “winepress trodden alone” signified the Cross for late antique commentators.

As these examples show, phrase divisions, coincidence of melodic and structural repetitions, entire melodic phrases repeated between chants, and striking shifts of melodic density contribute to a “reading” of the texts, with some words being underscored musically. These Old Hispanic musical strategies chime with Augustine’s understanding of music’s potential to contribute to textual appreciation (“sounds which your words animate”).¹⁰⁰ In this way, text and melody combine to nudge liturgical participants towards a particular devotional experience.

Melody beyond text

Each melisma discussed thus far can be understood as lending emphasis to the word or phrase on which it appears. Longer melismas of 50-300 notes or more are characteristic of Old Hispanic chants, particularly the *soni* and *sacrificia*. They almost always have a repetitive musical structure, with the final segment not repeated (e.g. AA’BB’C).¹⁰¹ Sometimes these long melismas are later additions to the manuscripts, marching up the margins in a visually striking way. However, they were certainly part of the musical language by the early-tenth century; there are multiple long melismas in L8’s main text for which ample space was left by the original text scribe(s). During such melismas, textual meaning inevitably recedes into the background for singers and hearers alike. Rather than reflecting Augustine’s prioritisation of text over melody in *Confessions*, these extended melismas provide an opportunity for liturgical participants to enter a state of jubilation. They are compatible with Isidore’s value

¹⁰⁰ My thanks to Gillian Clark for sharing this reading of *Confessions* 10.33.49 with me.

¹⁰¹ Brou, ‘Le joyau’, 20; *idem*, ‘L’alleluia’, 47-50; Maloy, “Old Hispanic Chant,” 17.

system (discussed above) in which novel and diverse liturgical melody positively moves the emotions, with or without concentration on text.

Praising words are typically associated with long melismas, particularly alleluia.¹⁰² While several alleluias in the office for S. Crucis have modest melismas (approximately 20-25 notes; Figure 5, boxes 10-13), one is longer, and has a repetitive structure (box 14; AA'B). "Alleluia" was frequently added to the biblical texts when the Old Hispanic chant texts were compiled (there are no fewer than twenty added alleluias in Appendix 2). Although by no means all alleluias receive long melismas, the word permeates the whole repertory (outside Lent). Other examples (among many) of praising texts with a long melisma include "Gloria," "exaltabo te," "psallant ei," and "laude."¹⁰³ Similarly, "divine imperatives" and "divine vocatives," directly pleading with or addressing God, can coincide with long melismas.¹⁰⁴ While the "laudes" is an Old Hispanic chant genre that emphasizes praise, the word is also used 29 times in L8 to signal the melismatic "alleluia" of the office sono.¹⁰⁵ This lends fresh significance to Isidore's definition of "laudes" in *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 1.13.1-2:

To sing *Laudes*, that is, 'alleluia', is an ancient Hebrew custom, whose explanation consists in the interpretation of two words: that is, "praise of God." About this mystery, John refers in the Apocalypse to the Spirit revealing itself to him, and hearing the voice of a company of angels out of heaven, 'like the sound of many waters and like the sound of mighty thunderpeals, crying out 'alleluia'.' [Rev 19:6] From this, it is

¹⁰² Brou, "L'Alleluia," 44-7.

¹⁰³ Respectively: L8, 246r, 59 notes and Silos 5, 40r, 41 notes; L8, 49r, 95 notes and A30, 65r, 118 notes (BL45, 141v has only 1 note); L8, 90v, 64 notes and A30, 179v, 60+ notes (lacuna at opening); L8, 188v, 79 notes.

¹⁰⁴ Nadeau, "Pro sonorum diversitate vel novitate," 96-9.

¹⁰⁵ Brou, "L'Alleluia," 46.

indisputable that this mystery of praise, if celebrated with suitable faith and devotion, is joined to of the angels.¹⁰⁶

After Isidore, many commentators developed the idea of textless chant melody unifying the church and the angels in songs of praise, through the agency of the Holy Spirit.¹⁰⁷ Isidore understands “laudes” as sung with the angels; and Old Hispanic alleluias are often associated with long melismas. It thus seems likely that textless melody on alleluia and other praising words was understood in medieval Iberia as joining the devout with the angels, paralleling the later commentaries from north of the Pyrenees. This association would have been equally strong in long melismas whose texts explicitly locate the praise in heaven. (Examples include “*excelso,*”¹⁰⁸ “*excelsi,*”¹⁰⁹ and “*firmamentum.*”¹¹⁰)

We should bear in mind that expressions of praise, divine vocatives, divine imperatives, and descriptions of heaven can equally receive a modest musical treatment in Old Hispanic chants. The opportunity for jubilation can be overridden by other textual or musical priorities. Similarly, long melismas can appear on words that are unconnected to these praising themes. These commonly appear at or near the end of a chant. Rather than being stimulated by a praising text, this is a different way of transcending the words in praise: once liturgical participants have received all of the textual sense, it is the perfect opportunity for jubilation, whatever the word (e.g. Figure 5, box 6; AA’BBC).¹¹¹ A striking example

¹⁰⁶ “Laudes, hoc est alleluia canere, canticum est Hebreorum; cuius expositio duorum uerborum interpretatione consistit, hoc est ‘laus dei’; de cuius mysterio Iohannis in Apocalypsin refert spiritu reuelante uidisse se, et *audisse uocem* caelestis exercitus angelorum *tamquam uocem aquarum multarum, et tamquam uocem ualidorum tonitruum dicentium ‘alleluia’*. Ex quo nullus debet ambigere hoc laudis mysterium, si digna fide et deuotione celebretur, angelis esse coniunctum.”

¹⁰⁷ Ekenberg, *Cur cantatur?*; Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 31ff. On the role of the Holy Spirit, see Harrison, “Enchanting the Soul: The Music of the Psalms,” 214. See also Iversen, “*Psallite regi nostro,*” 13-14; and Iversen, *Chanter avec les anges*, 105-143 (on the Gloria as a song common to angels and men) and 191-226 (on the Sanctus). Iversen takes Amalar of Metz as her chronological starting point.

¹⁰⁸ L8, 139r, 87 notes.

¹⁰⁹ L8, 60r, 110 notes and A30, 96r, 122+ notes (part of the melisma is faded).

¹¹⁰ L8, 218r, 74 notes; and T4, 47r, 122 notes. BL45, 34r has just 12 notes.

¹¹¹ In L8, melodic repetition can be signalled, as here for B, by the symbol “d”.

occurs in the laudes “Alleluia omnes gentes plaudete manibus iubilate deo in voce letitie” (L8, 35v). Rather than a direct depiction or enactment of praise on “iubilate,” the jubilatory long melisma is reserved until the final syllable (Figure 6).

[INSERT FIGURE 6]

There is a paradox in these long melismas. While the *jubilus* was a spontaneous outpouring of joy, notated melismas occurred outside the moment of liturgical praise. Singing them subsequently might incite jubilation in others, but how could it be a spontaneous act of jubilation for the singers? Comparison of cognate chants in different Iberian witnesses reveals, however, that the long melismas are the least stable parts of chants. They are built up of independent segments of melody, which could be substituted, omitted or added at different times, in different institutions, and even within a single manuscript witness. In L8, the final “laudes” of a *sono* is often signalled by the abbreviation “LDE” in the main text, and the alleluia is added in the margin.¹¹² Sometimes, “LDE” has been written but no marginal melisma has been added.¹¹³ We cannot know whether, in performance, these “laudes” were omitted, a melisma notated elsewhere (in the same or another manuscript) was sung, a melisma was sung from memory, or a melisma was improvised. In two *soni* preserved in the early witnesses PB99 and L8, PB99 preserves only one melisma section, where L8 has a much longer melisma.¹¹⁴ Perhaps the PB99 singers did not use long melismas here, or the same melismas were used as in L8 (but notated in abbreviated form), or different melismas, with abbreviated notation, were used. Further examples involving other manuscripts could be multiplied, where two manuscripts have divergent melismas, or where one manuscript has a notated melisma and another does not. This suggests that there may still have been an

¹¹² E.g., 29r, 30r, 38v, 40r, 41r, 45v, 47r.

¹¹³ E.g., 76v, 202v, 233r.

¹¹⁴ In *Verba mea*, L8 has an AABCCD melisma, and PB99 notates only the first A. In *Custodi me*, L8 has an AA'BBCCD melisma and PB99 notates just material related to the first A.

element of spontaneity in the practice of melisma singing and notation, likely characterised by selection from an existing repertoire of melisma segments rather than drawing on unstructured improvisation. These melismas take attention away from the flow of textual logic and, as such, might be seen as promoting concentrated attention on the present moment and an escape from distension. The Old Hispanic practice of clearly patterning the melismas, however, might tend to pull participants into memory of the recent past, and anticipation of the melody to come. Since these melismas do not facilitate concentration on text and, moreover, have structures that might easily put people in a state of distension, it is hard to imagine Augustine approving their use. For Isidore, however, the flow of beautiful melodies like these could be embraced for their potential in conversion.

Conclusion

The present study offers a methodological model for exploring the music theology of a particular ritual tradition. While it is well known that Isidore derived much of his musical thought from Augustine, the precise nature of the borrowings, and the implications of what is left unsaid tell us that they had distinct music theologies. This gives a new departure point for appraisal of the musical value system evidenced by the Old Hispanic liturgy. For other ritual traditions, coeval commentaries may similarly provide a conceptual framework within which one can freshly appreciate music's place in worship.

As we have seen in the S. Crucis feast, Old Hispanic liturgical texts lead participants along particular devotional paths: the act of selecting, compiling, and combining liturgical texts is a theological act. The relationships between these texts and the theological writings known to liturgical practitioners further enrich the experience. The combination of words and melody can contribute further to the web of textual meaning. Sometimes this seems simply to

be a result of music's role in enunciating, parsing, and acoustically projecting the words. At other times, however, melody gives a particular reading of its text. This can be discerned only when the repertoire's musical norms are understood; departures from those norms mark words and concepts that connect intertextually to the wider culture, or words that have particular rhetorical weight. This can readily be reconciled with Augustine's ethical priority of rational worship, in which the detail of the melodic language helps direct attentive listeners in their text-based devotion. One benefit of this approach is its specificity: liturgical texts are surrounded in practical use by an interpretative apparatus particular to that time and cultural context. These interpretations can be interrogated in tandem with the melodic language, revealing melody's potential to "read" and, sometimes, to transcend text.

There are also moments in Old Hispanic chant when melody transcends words. Strikingly long Iberian melismas offer the opportunity for liturgical jubilation, where praise transcends words in unity with the angels. From Augustine's perspective, while jubilation is a positive thing, elaborate music also has the potential to distract from focus on the divine: the emotions can take over; participants can lose their concentration on the text; or they can fall into distension, rather than unifying past, present, and future in a concentrated experience of the passing moment. Long Iberian melismas are difficult to reconcile with Augustine's assertion that sacred text should be fundamental to religious song, or with his attitude towards distension. However, Isidore's choice of vocabulary and concepts within his practice of *brevitas*, the L8 prologues, and the Old Hispanic melodies themselves, point to a different value system in early medieval Iberia. Here, elaborate devotional melody can lead the faithful and unfaithful alike towards a transcendent anticipation of heaven, beyond a reasoned concentration on liturgical text. Combining consideration of chant texts and melodies, readings and prayers, in the wider theological context, gives us a vivid sense of how this early

chant repertory might have conveyed meaning – musically, devotionally and theologically – in medieval practice.