Introduction

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Although the Old Hispanic rite was used across much of Christian Iberia for half a millennium, few modern scholars have concentrated on this rite, its texts and its music. There are several reasons for its 'peripheral' status in the scholarship. Relatively little evidence of the rite survives, and what does survive is challenging to engage with. Visigothic script is difficult to decipher, even for those accustomed to medieval scripts.[1] The liturgical structures are unlike those found in the Roman rite, whose outlines are well known.[2] The Old Hispanic melodies are almost all preserved in unpitched notation, ruling out most conventional analytical methods. Because Old Hispanic chant was largely suppressed in the late eleventh century, its continuing influence on musical history is questionable, making it difficult to fit into teleological historical narratives. The geographical specificity of the rite isolates it from the mainstream of much Western European history of the early Middle Ages, where the focus has often been on the Frankish empire or Anglo-Saxon England.

As can be seen in the bibliographical underpinning of this book, however, multiple scholars have made valuable contributions to a developing understanding of the Old Hispanic rite and its chant. Seminal editing work was undertaken by Janini, among others, making readily available many of the liturgical texts.[3] Díaz y Díaz systematically pinned down manuscript datings and origins for much early Iberian material.[4] Pinell's work on identifying and categorising liturgical manuscripts is a seminal starting point for investigating the field.[5] Early explorations of service structures by Porter are still very useful summaries,[6] and Pinell's 1998 *Liturgia*

[1] Considerable progress has been made on this task recently by Ainoa Castro Correa, whose website (http://litteravisigothica.com) has made many materials, including a large bibliography, freely available.
[2] For an exemplary outline of Roman liturgical structures, see Harper, *Forms and Orders*.
[3] See the first section of the bibliography in this volume.
[4] See, for example, *Códices visigóticos de la monarquía leonesa*; *Libros y librerías*; *Manuscritos visigóticos del sur*.
[5] Pinell, 'Los textos'; and 'El oficio'.
[6] See, in particular, Porter, 'Early Spanish monasticism' (1934); and 'Studies'.

hispánica also helped us puzzle out which genres were used in which services.[7] Several genre studies have already been undertaken, and we were able to build on those in Chapter 4.[8] Louis Brou's work is central to the discipline. He wrote a series of magisterial articles in the 1940s and 1950s, mostly on individual genres, and often including a level of engagement with the melodies that was extraordinary for the time in which he was writing.[9]

Don Randel's *Index* is the foundation on which research in this field has rested since its publication in 1973.[10] This book is extraordinarily accurate, especially considering that it was published without access to computer databases to help keep the materials in order. It is not simply a catalogue of Old Hispanic chants; the *Index* represents a significant amount of painstaking, fundamental work to define which chants fit in which genres (and, as can be seen in Chapter 4, we disagree with Randel's judgements only in rare and difficult cases). Randel also developed the principle that the chants can fruitfully be analysed without the researcher being able to invoke pitch, and without even attempting to invoke pitch.[11] We have built on his work with gratitude and appreciation.[12]

In 1993, Randel admonished the discipline to take seriously the status of the Old Hispanic rite as 'by far the largest, earliest body of evidence for almost everything about the character of the Western Christian liturgies before the time of Charlemagne; and to urge that more scholars aid in the investigation of the Old Hispanic Rite as a topic central to our common interests rather than as a topic that is merely peripheral and exotic'.[13] In this short essay, Randel advocated for – among other things – a concentration on the formal structures of early chant and a focus on musical notation and what that notation tells us about the melodies. We hope that this book goes some way towards fulfilling those aspirations.

The aim of this book is to take up the challenge put forward by Randel and more widely to introduce the Old Hispanic office to students and scholars, historians, theologians and musicologists who may be unfamiliar

[7] Woolfenden, *Daily Prayer* also includes useful summary information on the liturgical structures.
[8] See the bibliographic summaries at the beginning of each genre section.
[9] See bibliography for details. [10] Randel, *Index*.
[11] Randel exemplified this in the case of formal analysis, as in 'Antiphonal psalmody' and 'Responsorial psalmody'. He has also analysed individual melodies and melodic grammar, as in *Responsorial Psalm Tones* and, more recently, 'Las formas musicales'.
[12] We should also mention the PhD dissertation of Randel's student, Nadeau, a detailed and useful musical analysis across several genres: '"Pro Sonorum Diversitate"'.
[13] Randel, 'The Old Hispanic rite', 492.

with what is still a little-known tradition of religious practice.[14] Growing interest in the social history of liturgy, and in liturgy's place in understanding the history of ritual and religious life in the Middle Ages, makes this an opportune time to bring the Old Hispanic traditions to light.[15] The Old Hispanic material can then be brought into conversation with practices celebrated elsewhere and thus considerably enrich our understanding of the history of the office on a larger scale. The Old Hispanic materials are sufficiently unfamiliar to most scholars, even specialists of medieval chant and liturgy, that such conversation is simply not feasible until those materials have been introduced clearly and comprehensively. Recent work on the Old Hispanic mass has been undertaken by two of the authors of the present book.[16] It is now imperative for us to reveal the story behind the office, whose complexity and divergence from other traditions are especially ripe for exploration.

The resulting book is written in the tradition of essential handbooks of the medieval liturgy. Magisterial and much-used examples include John Harper's *Forms and Orders of the Western Liturgy*, David Hiley's *Western Plainchant*, Cyrille Vogel's *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources* and Andrew Hughes's *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*. Our aim is not to provide a history of the Old Hispanic office in the style of the important works by Paul Bradshaw and Robert Taft on the early development of the office, East and West, Jesse Billett on the Anglo-Saxon office, Matthew Cheung Salisbury on the late medieval English cathedral office and Eric Palazzo on the evolution of liturgical books.[17] Instead, we set out the basic elements and structures of the Old Hispanic rite, introduce the terminology and essential features, and provide a few methodological case studies outlining ways of approaching particular aspects of the Old Hispanic office: its notational system; its melodies; and the combination of text, melody and theology in a case study feast. We hope this attempt to lay out the foundations of the Old Hispanic office will invite future scholars to produce their own histories, incorporating the elements described here

[14] The only previous attempt to provide a comprehensive introduction to the rite was Pinell, *Liturgia hispánica*. This book was completed posthumously and leaves many issues unclear.

[15] This broadening interest in liturgy as a historical subdiscipline is reflected in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy*, ed. Gittos and Hamilton; Poleg, *Approaching the Bible*; Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture and Sacred Places*; Hen, *Culture and Religion*; *Defining the Holy*, ed. Hamilton and Spicer; Palazzo, *L'invention chrétienne*; *idem*, *Liturgie et société*; Romano, *Liturgy and Society*.

[16] Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning*; Maloy, *Songs of Sacrifice*. See also Fassler, 'Mary in seventh-century Spain'.

[17] Taft, *Liturgy*; Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer*; Billett, *Divine Office*; Salisbury, *Secular Liturgical Office*; Palazzo, *History of Liturgical Books*.

into wider liturgical and cultural studies. We see the future appearance of such studies as the measure of success of our current endeavour.

Chapter 1 provides a sketch history of the Old Hispanic office over the four hundred years it was practised in the monasteries and churches of the Iberian Peninsula. We follow the evidence, which is inconsistent and unbalanced; there is significant theoretical and legislative evidence concerning the office from the Visigothic period, but hardly any manuscript witnesses; for the eighth to eleventh centuries, there is almost nothing from the southern part of the peninsula, and a limited number of liturgical manuscripts ascribable to the Christian northern kingdoms. Our survey does not aim to be exhaustive, but rather to give a sense of possible moments of development and the historical processes underpinning this development.

Chapters 2 to 5 survey the basic elements of the Old Hispanic rite, to provide the foundation for the methodological case studies in Chapters 6 to 8. In Chapter 2, we lay out the structure of the liturgical year, including the interaction of temporale and sanctorale cycles. In Chapter 3, we introduce the manuscript types that include Old Hispanic liturgical materials. We assign each extant manuscript or fragment to the relevant category or categories, and summarise the parts of the liturgical year preserved in each. Chapter 4 gives a detailed introduction to the characteristics of each liturgical genre of the Old Hispanic office, in the style of a set of encyclopedia articles. Chapter 5 outlines the five office services included in the public liturgy: vespers, matutinum, and (on official fasting days) terce, sext and none. We bring together the evidence of different manuscripts and manuscript types to establish the contents of each service, including liturgical elements that are included only on some occasions, and including tables that match the contents and layout of each service with its presentation in particular manuscripts. These four chapters will equip readers with the information required to combine evidence from multiple liturgical sources in order to reconstruct Old Hispanic liturgical practices for individual days, types of days, or seasons. Previous overviews of Old Hispanic liturgical structures have often been drawn from sources from the sixth to the sixteenth centuries, incorporating the early modern witnesses to the Neo-Mozarabic rite. Here, by contrast, we ground our summary of Old Hispanic liturgical practice exclusively in the medieval evidence base.

Chapters 6 to 8 build on the fundamental parameters established in Chapters 2 to 5. Chapter 6 introduces the principles of Old Hispanic melodic notation. This shows the rise and fall of the melody within each notational sign, but does not provide information about pitches or

intervals. We also provide a case study of one neume whose meaning is difficult to discern, giving a methodological model for those wishing to embark on detailed music-palaeographical study of this kind in future. In Chapter 7, we explore how the notational signs communicate information about individual melodies. We introduce the musical grammar, concentrating on the recurring neume combinations that permeate the repertory and exploring three key components of the melodies: cadences, phrase and chant openings, and melismas. The analytical methodology introduced here can be applied to other Old Hispanic chants and to other repertories preserved in unpitched notations. In a case study analysis, we show how the Old Hispanic melodic language was used to shape individual liturgical texts. Chapters 2 to 7 all build towards Chapter 8, which takes the office liturgy for the Old Hispanic feast of the Virgin Mary as a case study. Founded in the mid-seventh century by council decree, the feast has one of the largest offices in the entire Old Hispanic repertory, which presents an ideal opportunity to understand how the various liturgical elements interacted, how the exegesis functioned through juxtaposition of chants and orations and how music created its own exegesis through emphasis and reiteration.

This book seeks to address a wide audience that includes, but is not limited to, historians of music, theology, religion, liturgy and ritual of Iberia and also of Western Europe more widely. Scholars engaging with early and high medieval religious thought and intellectual culture have tended to pay less attention to the office than to the mass.[18] As this book illustrates, the complex juxtaposition of biblical and non-biblical texts in the Old Hispanic office offers a substantial untapped source for understanding medieval intellectual culture, starting in the seventh century and evolving over half a millennium.[19] The Old Hispanic office also speaks to cultural historians, providing a source of information about religious culture that goes beyond book-learning and into the realm of ritual. Through study of the office, we can begin to understand the religious life and practice of individuals in early medieval Iberia and to imagine not just how ideas were transmitted through the liturgy but how they were received: by clerics, by monks and nuns and by lay men and women. Our work lays the foundations for wider exploration of monastic education and the culture of lay priests, the

[18] Notable exceptions include Billett, *Divine Office*; Salisbury, *Secular Liturgical Office*; Fassler and Baltzer, eds., *The Divine Office*.

[19] The potential interest of this complexity for theological history was remarked on by Díaz y Díaz, 'Literary aspects'.

production and circulation of books, and questions of literacy, not to mention royal interest and involvement in regular religious practice, thereby reflecting an important if understudied area of political culture. We should note in passing the huge challenges presented by the Old Hispanic materials with regard to book production and circulation. As can be seen in Appendix 1, many of the Old Hispanic manuscripts are of uncertain or contested date. The origins and intended places of use of most of the manuscripts are similarly uncertain. Rather than engaging closely with these questions – which have been a focus of much scholarship on the materials – we have decided to engage with more general questions, whose answers do not rely on specific locations or dating of primary source materials.

The Old Hispanic office is distinct both structurally and textually from the Roman rite with which modern scholars are more familiar. This book offers a glimpse into alternative models of arranging the office, moving our understanding of liturgical history away from a Rome-centric narrative, and encouraging us to acknowledge liturgical diversity more than has previously been common.[20] Finally, this work will be of importance to musicologists, since it sets out a musical grammar for a huge amount of material, across genres and across the liturgical year, and offers routes for close engagement with a repertory whose unpitched notation previously made it analytically intractable. The early nature of the surviving evidence in itself makes this work crucial as we seek to unravel the impulses behind the early musical notation and the oral and written cultures it reflects. Some chapters may be more relevant to specialists in particular disciplines than others but, placed together in the various studies that make up this book, we hope to unlock the immense potential presented by the Old Hispanic office for a better understanding of medieval religion and culture.[21]

[20] The relationship between Old Hispanic and Roman liturgy has been discussed piecemeal in general descriptions of the Old Hispanic rite (Pinell, *Liturgia hispánica*; Prado, *Manual*), or discussed in general terms in early scholarship on comparative liturgy (e.g., Bishop, *Mozarabic and Milanese Rites*, and Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*).

[21] In this focus on different subdisciplines in different chapters of a book that aspires – as a whole – to address historians, musicologists and liturgical scholars, we are inspired by Flynn, *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis*.

1 The Old Hispanic Office: Evidence and Silence

KATI IHNAT

The office was the foundation of medieval Christian liturgical practice, in addition to the mass. The sequences of chants, readings and prayers practised in community at Christian institutions throughout the medieval East and West cycled through each day, week and year, marking time with their recurring rhythms.[1] Choirs of monks, nuns or secular clerics sang the day and night services in an almost continuous address of praise and prayer, glorifying God and the saints while beseeching divine aid in this world and in the next. Lay people could participate in parts of the office too, drawn into the ritual life of the church, with its prescribed sights, sounds, smells, objects and movements. The office comprised a complex web of sung, intoned and spoken texts that echoed those performed at the mass, infusing each day with a unique character. The office includes many elements and across the different liturgical rites of Christendom there was great diversity in the office genres, their organisation and their repertories. There were local saints and local traditions of venerating them, and other moments in the Christian calendar were also celebrated in astonishing variety, something that is increasingly being acknowledged.[2]

The office explored in this book was celebrated in Iberia between at least the seventh and eleventh centuries, although vestiges of the rite remained after that time, and an early modern version of the rite is still celebrated at present in some institutions.[3] This rite, although Nicene and Roman Catholic, remained independent of Rome when much of Western Europe adopted the Roman rite in the eighth century; it retained currency right through to the Council of Burgos in 1080, when it was largely suppressed (on which, more later). This rite is often compared with the Gallican and Ambrosian rites, and was also infused with Byzantine features.[4]

[1] For exemplary studies of the Divine office as celebrated in the Middle Ages, see Fassler and Baltzer, eds., *The Divine Office*; Billett, *Divine Office*.
[2] See, for example, Gittos, 'History of rites'.
[3] The Neo-Mozarabic rite (the Old Hispanic rite as reimagined in the early modern period) is still practised in a chapel in Toledo Cathedral. For this rite, see Ivorra Robla, *Liturgia hispano-mozárabe*.
[4] On the connection between Old Hispanic and Gallican/Milanese traditions, see, for example, Levy, 'Old-Hispanic chant'; *idem*, 'Toledo'. On the connection with the Byzantine tradition,

Liturgical manuscripts dating from the early eighth to the fourteenth century bear witness to the diverse elements and overarching structures of the Old Hispanic office. These manuscripts build on the picture provided by the extensive legislation and theoretical writing about liturgical practice that were the legacy of the Visigothic period, when a series of active bishops set out basic rules for a common practice throughout the peninsula. The ideal of liturgical uniformity that is often discussed with respect to the aims of the Visigothic prelates nevertheless glosses over a long history in which diversity inevitably emerged.[5] It is to help make sense of this rich and varied tradition in its context that we offer this first chapter as a historical survey of the Old Hispanic office.

The evidence suggests that the Old Hispanic office continued to be practised in Iberian monasteries and churches over the five hundred years that separated the Visigothic conversion to Nicene Christianity at the end of the sixth century from the so-called Gregorian reform at the end of the eleventh.[6] That evidence is not evenly distributed, however, and points to punctuated moments of composition and revision. The sources are also fragmented and of varying types. We have no surviving liturgical manuscripts that can be dated securely before the eighth century, although Visigothic pizarras (slates) containing the Creed and psalms are tantalising if enigmatic witnesses to liturgical practice as much as they are to lay and clerical literacy.[7] The main body of early evidence is narrative, prescriptive or theoretical: a few chronicles and biographies, the proceedings of church councils, and theological commentaries. Each genre should be taken with some degree of caution; conciliar legislation in particular was, first, often regional, and, second, idealised in so far as it prescribed practice, often repeatedly, which in itself suggests limited compliance.[8] The later evidence – largely tenth- and eleventh-century – comes mainly in the form of liturgical manuscripts, with only limited conciliar and narrative witnesses. This historical overview places the sources at the centre of the discussion, following them where they lead in untangling the evolving nature of the Old Hispanic office.

see Baumstark, 'Orientalisches'; Fernández Jiménez, 'Influencias y contactos'; and Arce, 'Ceremonial visigodo'.

[5] For a measured discussion of the problem of liturgical uniformity, see Lester, 'Word as Lived', 159–60.

[6] This chapter does not aim to trace the evolution of the office in dialogue with other liturgical traditions, as was already done artfully by Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer*.

[7] Velázquez Soriano, *Las pizarras visigodas*; Ruiz Asencio, 'Pizarra Visigoda'.

[8] Noted by Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer*, 115. See also McConnell, 'Baptism'.

Pre-Visigothic and Early Visigothic Evidence: Diversity of Practice

Already in the fifth century, a number of hymns for Iberian martyrs written by the poet Prudentius suggest that some form of regular liturgical commemoration was in place. Its shape – and the place of the hymns within it – is nevertheless unknown.[9] Early Iberian church councils – such as those held in Elvira in *c.*300 and a hundred years later in Zaragoza (380) and Toledo (400) – have general injunctions about lay church attendance and the prohibition of private practice (including the singing of antiphons) without the presence of a cleric, but have nothing further to say concerning the office.[10] When the peninsula fell under Visigothic rule following the early fifth-century conquest, diversity of practice was most certainly the rule up to the late sixth century. At least two official forms of Christian practice were in place, one Nicene, representing that of the native Hispano-Roman population, and one Arian, corresponding to (most of) the Visigothic aristocracy.[11] We know little about the form of the Arian office, although Arian churches must have practised the rite in cities such as Mérida into the late sixth century.[12] The Suevic kingdom in the northwest followed yet another tradition between its conversion from Arianism *c.*550 and its conquest by the Visigothic king Leovigild in 585: the usage of Rome. The instructions sent by Pope Vigilius to the bishop Profuturus of Braga on how to follow Roman practice concern only baptism and the mass, however, and we have no evidence about what a Roman model may have meant for celebration of the office in this period.[13] Whether an Eastern form of the office was celebrated in the area of the peninsula under Byzantine rule (a strip along the southern coast) into the early seventh century is probably only ever going to be a matter for speculation, although some Greek features can be identified in the Old Hispanic rite.[14]

As for the Nicene rite practised by the majority of the population, a series of sixth-century councils provide glimpses of the office as celebrated in various provinces of the Visigothic kingdom. There were six of these provinces: the province of Cartaginense, whose metropolitan diocese was

[9] Germán Prado, *Textos inéditos*, 20–1.
[10] Elvira, Can. 21, *Colección canónica*, IV, 249; Zaragoza I, Cans. 2, 3, *Colección canónica*, IV, 293–4; Toledo I, Can. 9, *Colección canónica*, IV, 332.
[11] There are exceptions to this distribution, for example John of Biclar and Masona of Mérida, two Nicene Goths.
[12] Fear, *Lives*. [13] Vigilius to Profuturus, Epistle. *PL* 69, col. 15–20.
[14] See Janeras, 'Elements orientals'.

Toledo; Tarraconense (Tarragona); Bética (Seville); Lusitania (Mérida); Galicia (Braga); and Narbonense (Narbonne). The records of provincial councils held in some of these centres refer to the services held at the beginning and end of the day: matutinum (morning) and vespers (evening). The council of Agde (province of Narbonense) in 506 prescribed morning and evening services composed of psalms ('hymni'), antiphons followed by collects, *capitella de psalmis* (or 'preces'), and, at the end of vespers, a blessing said by the bishop.[15] In prescribing general uniformity in the office at the provincial level, the council for Tarraconensis held in Gerona in 517 also prescribed the Lord's Prayer (pater noster) at each of the two services.[16] The previous year in Tarragona, prescription was made for deacons to alternate every week with priests in carrying out the morning and evening offices.[17] At the subsequent provincial council, this time held in Barcelona in 540, it was further stipulated that Psalm 50 should be sung before the canticle – a feature of matutinum preserved in later liturgical sources – and that blessings should be read out at matutinum as well as at vespers.[18] At the First Council of Braga in 561, what was then still the Suevic kingdom prescribed a common usage in vespers and matutinum, which included a blanket ban on all non-biblical hymns.[19] These are perhaps the most office-specific regulations appearing in the earlier provincial Visigothic councils. They reflect concern mostly with fixing aspects of the services of matutinum and vespers at provincial level, although some of the solutions may have been shared across the peninsula.

The Visigothic 'Golden Age': Search for Uniformity

An important phase of liturgical development with particular consequences for the Old Hispanic office took place in the late sixth and seventh centuries. Most evidence of activity follows the Third Council of Toledo in 589, when the official conversion of King Reccared and the Visigothic aristocracy from Arianism marked a decisive change in the religious and

[15] Agde, Can. 30, *Colección canónica*, IV, 133. On this canon, particularly what it reflects in terms of the relationship and evolution of cathedral and monastic office traditions, see Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer*, 116–20.
[16] Gerona, Can. 10, *Colección canónica*, IV, 289.
[17] Tarragona, Can. 7, *Colección canónica*, IV, 275.
[18] Barcelona, Can. 1, 2, Vives, *Concilios Visigóticos*, 53.
[19] Braga I, Can. 1 and 12, Vives, *Concilios Visigóticos*, 71, 73.