

The responsories of the Old Hispanic Night Office and their sources

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ABSTRACT. *Despite their paucity, the surviving sources for the Old Hispanic Rite make possible the identification of the earliest kernel of responsories for the Night Office. They show how this first group of responsories, assigned to the Ferial Office, was subsequently distributed over the Sundays of Lent. Comparison of the notation for these responsories, both refrains and verses, across the several sources enables a more solid geographical grouping of the manuscripts than do the palaeographical studies of the verbal texts that have hitherto prevailed.*

The sources for the Old Hispanic Rite are striking for their paucity.¹ The Third Council of Toledo, meeting in 589, was attended by about seventy bishops or their representatives from all across the Spanish peninsula and southern France. The Fourth Council of Toledo, meeting in 633, provided that ‘when presbyters are ordained in the parishes they should receive from their bishop an official book so that they may go to their churches instructed and not give offence in the divine sacraments through ignorance’.² The existence in c.600 of seventy bishoprics and an indeterminate number of dependent parishes with books implies the existence of a great many manuscripts widely distributed. We cannot be certain what these books might have been like or in what kind of detail they might have presented the liturgy. Since the goal, however, was to ensure uniformity of liturgical practice across a broad region, there was surely considerable detail rather than simply an outline upon which to improvise. In any case, by c.700 and the date of the *Oracional visigótico* (the Veronal Orational), the liturgy certainly existed in a form like the one preserved in the first notated sources of the

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¹ For a list with references to current literature on provenance and dating, see Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy, ‘Melodic Dialects in Old Hispanic Chant’, *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 25/1 (2016), 37–72. In what follows, nine manuscripts will be discussed with the following sigla: AL (Antiphoner of León; León Cathedral Archive, MS 8), Sal (Salamanca University Library, MS 2668), Sant (Santiago de Compostela University Library, MS 609), BM45 (London, British Library, MS Add. 30845), BM46 (London, British Library, MS Add. 30846), BM51 (London, British Library, MS Add. 30851), S7 (Santo Domingo de Silos, MS 7), T3 (Toledo Cathedral Library, 35.3) and T6 (Toledo Cathedral Library, 35.6). All these manuscripts have either been published in facsimile or put on line and in some cases both. See later for a discussion of the relation of some of these sources to one another and their likely provenance.

² ‘Quando presbyteres in parrochiis ordinantur, libellum officiale a sacerdote suo accipiant, ut ad ecclesias sibi deputatas instructi succedant, ne per ignorantiam etiam in ipsis divinis sacramentis offendant.’ *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, ed. José Vives (Barcelona-Madrid, 1963), 202.

tenth century, complete with texts for the antiphons and responsories of the office for much of the liturgical year.³ Yet what remains are a few dozen sources, many incomplete, and from a limited number of locations. The part of the peninsula south of Toledo is not represented at all by anything like a complete source. Both the provenance and the dating of many of the surviving sources remain in considerable doubt furthermore.

As far back as the First Council of Braga in 561 it was ordered that monastic practice should be kept separate from public worship, which included the Mass and the offices of matins and vespers. A recently published volume edited by Emma Hornby and others, entitled *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office: Texts, Melodies, and Devotion in Early Medieval Iberia*, distinguishes between ‘public’ worship and ‘cloistered’ worship and gives an excellent summary of what we know about the office, taking account of the substantial bibliography on the topic, which I will not rehearse here.⁴ But what we know does not add up to a complete picture. There are significant voids, and what we do have in the small number of relevant sources does not present a picture of uniformity or even the strict distinction between public and cloistered liturgy that the Hornby volume sets out. The manuscripts BM51 and S7, for example, do include the public services of matins and vespers for the commemoration of general classes of saints (e.g., virgins, bishops, confessors) as well as cloistered services. And AL, the pre-eminent source for public worship, includes music for some of the cloistered services. A few nuggets can be gleaned, however, that cast light on (1) the formation of the liturgy and (2) the relationship among the sources that provide elements of the office.

What follows in addressing these two points limits itself to the study of responsories for those parts of the Night Office that are termed *ad medium noctis* and *ad nocturnos*. Hornby’s book lists all the cloistered services and the manuscripts that preserve them. There are only five, BM51, Sant, Sal, S7 and T3, and no single manuscript preserves them all. Typical of the inconsistencies among sources, AL, which is a source for public worship, nevertheless includes some of the responsories for some of these services. Table 1 lists the responsories occurring in AL, Sant, Sal and BM51.⁵ T3 does not include the services that I will discuss, and S7 includes only some of them, which are listed in Table 2 with their responsories. Furthermore, S7 does not provide notation for most of its pieces and thus cannot be brought to bear on the arguments for grouping the manuscripts on notational grounds.

To begin with the responsories sung *ad medium noctis*, the lists in Sal, Sant and BM51 have a good deal in common, but Sant and BM51 have two or three unica each, Sal specifies that most of its pieces are assigned to Lent, and BM51 assigns its pieces to various seasons and the common of saints. One might say that Sal and

³ On this point, see my ‘Leander, Isidore, and Gregory’, *The Journal of Musicology*, 36 (2019), 500–24, esp. fn. 33, and the works by Louis Brou and Kenneth Levy cited there.

⁴ Emma Hornby, Kati Ihnat, Rebecca Maloy and Raquel Rojo Camillo, eds., *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office: Texts, Melodies, and Devotion in Early Medieval Iberia* (Cambridge, 2022).

⁵ In order to facilitate the comparison of the manuscripts, I have indicated in parentheses next to the column for Sal the other manuscripts with which each piece is shared.

Table 1. Responsories *ad medium noctis* and *ad nocturnos* in AL, Sant, Sal and BM51

AL	Sal	Sant	BM51
	<i>Med noct Dom</i>	<i>Med noct</i>	<i>Med noct</i>
(Sant, BM51)	Per diem clamavi et nocte (Ps 87:2-3) VR Media nocte surgebam (Ps 118:62)	Per diem clamavi et nocte (Ps 87:2-3) VR Media nocte surgebam (Ps 118:62)	Media nocte clamor factus est (Mt 25:6) VR Oleum recondite in vasis (Mt 25:4?)
	<i>Med noct Xlmae</i>		
(Sant BM51)	Vigilate et orate dicit Dominus (Mc 13:35-36; Lc 18:1) VR Domminus Ihesus Christus locutus est (Mt 26:41)	Vigilate et orate dicit Dominus (Mc 13:35-36; Lc 18:1) VR Domminus Ihesus Christus locutus est (Mt 26:41)	Vigila Domine super oves (Io 10:10) VR Custodi nos Domine ut pupillam (Ps 16:8)
(BM51)	Acceperunt prudentes oleum (Mt 25:4,6) VR Oleum recondite in vasis (Mt 25:4?)	Vigilate et orate ne intretis (Mt 26:41) VR Videte ne quando adgraventur (Lc 21:34)	<i>De una virgine</i> Simile est regnum (Mt 25:1) VR Media nocte clamor factus est (Mt 25:6)
(BM51)	Clamor factus est (Mt 25:6) VR Oleum recondite in vasis (Mt 25:4?) Gloria et honor patri	Anima mea desiderat te Deus (Is 26:9) VR Sicut cervus desiderat (Ps 41:2)	<i>De virginibus</i> Acceperunt prudentes oleum (Mt 25:4,6) VR Date nomini eius magnificentia (Eccli 39:20)
(Sant, BM51)	Meditatus sum nocte (Ps 76:7-8) VR Timor et tremor venerunt (Ps 54:6)	Vigila Domine super oves (Io 10:10) VRCustodi nos Domine ut pupillam (Ps 16:8)	Clamor factus est (Mt 25:6) VR Oleum recondite in vasis (Mt 25:4?)
(Sant, BM51)	Vigila Domine super oves (Io 10:10) VRCustodi nos Domine ut pupillam (Ps 16:8)	Domine Deus ad te levavi oculos (Ps 122:1) VR De profundis clamavi (Ps 129:1-2)	<i>De sanctis</i> Servi Dei benedicite (Dan 3:85; Lc 18:1)
(Sant)	Vigilate et orate ne intretis (Mt 26:41) VR Videte ne quando adgraventur (Lc 21:34)	Meditatus sum nocte (Ps 76:7-8) VR Timor et tremor venerunt (Ps 54:6)	<i>Dom Xlmae</i> Meditatus sum nocte (Ps 76:7-8) VR Timor et tremor venerunt (Ps 54:6)
(BM51)	Simile est regnum (Mt 25:1) VR Media nocte clamor factus est (Mt 25:6)	Anima mea cessa iam peccare (?) VR Quare tristis es anima mea (Ps 41:6)	Vigilate et orate dicit Dominus (Mc 13:35-36; Lc 18:1) VR Domminus Ihesus Christus locutus est (Mt 26:41)
	<i>Per dies Dominicis</i>		
(Sant)	Ora Dominum ante lucem (?) VR Si simplex fueris (Iob 1:1)	Ora Dominum ante lucem (?) VR Si simplex fueris (Iob 1:1)	Per diem clamavi et nocte (Ps 87:2-3) VR Media nocte surgebam (Ps 118:62)

Ad noct Dom

Alleluia deduc me (Ps 118:35)
VR Legem pone mihi (Ps 118:33)

Repleatur os meum (Ps 70:8)
VR Vide humilitatem (Ps 24:18)

Alleluia vide humilitatem (Ps 24:18)
VR Viam iniquitatis (Ps 118:29)

Congrega Domine dispersionem (II
Mach 1:27)
VR Qui das salutem regibus
(Ps 143:10)

Alleluia misericordia mea (Ps 143:2)

VR Diligam te Domine (Ps 17:2-3)

Letor ego super eloquia (Ps 118:162)

VR Iniquos odio abui (Ps 118:113)

Assignments in AL:

(1) *De defunctis generalis mat*

(2) *De quotidiano Dom mat*

(3) *De quotidiano Dom mat*

(4) *De quotidiano Dom noct et mat sive in
ora diei*

(5) VR Deus in nomine tuo salvos (Ps
53:3)
*De quotidiano Dom noct et mat sive in
ora diei*

(6) *De quotidiano Dom mat*

Noct Dom

Alleluia deduc me (Ps 118:35)
VR Legem pone mihi (Ps 118:33)

Repleatur os meum (Ps 70:8)
VR Vide humilitatem (Ps 24:18)

Alleluia vide humilitatem (Ps 24:18)
VR Viam iniquitatis (Ps 118:29)

Congrega Domine dispersionem
(II Mach 1:27)
VR Qui das salutem regibus
(Ps 143:10)

Alleluia misericordia mea (Ps 143:2)

VR Diligam te Domine (Ps 17:2-3)

Letor ego super eloquia (Ps 118:162)

VR Iniquos odio abui (Ps 118:113)

Noct Dom

Alleluia deduc me (Ps 118:35)
VR Legem pone mihi (Ps 118:33)

Repleatur os meum (Ps 70:8)
VR Vide humilitatem (Ps 24:18)

Alleluia vide humilitatem (Ps 24:18)
VR Viam iniquitatis (Ps 118:29)

Congrega Domine dispersionem (II
Mach 1:27)
VR Qui das salutem regibus
(Ps 143:10)

Magnus Dominus noster (Ps 146:5-6) (8)

VR Et sapientiae eius (Ps 146:5)

Benedictus Dominus in aeternum (Ps
88:53)
VR Sit nomen Domini (Ps 112:2)

De noct Dom

Alleluia deduc me (Ps 118:35)
VR Legem pone mihi (Ps 118:33)

Ne memor fueris (Ps 78:8) (1)
VR Ne irascaris (Is 64:9)

Alleluia misericordia mea (Ps 143:2)
VR Diligam te Domine (Ps 17:2-3)
Alleluia vide humilitatem (Ps 24:18)

VR Viam iniquitatis amove (Ps 118:29)

Congrega Domine dispersionem
(II Mach 1:27)
VR Qui das salutem regibus (Ps 143:10)

Omnibus querentibus gratiam (?) (2)

VR Omnia enim qui petit (Mt. 7:8)

Benedictus Dominus in aeternum
(Ps 88:53) (3)
VR Sit nomen Domini (Ps 112:2)
In omni loco oculi Dei (Prov 15:3-4)
VR Verbum dulce (Eccl 6:5)

Misericordiam et iudicium cantabo
(Ps 100:1) (4)
VR Perambulabam in innocentiam (Ps
100:2)
Alleluia iudicia iudicium (Ps 118:154)

VR Vide humilitatem (Ps 24:18)

Adiuva Domine sperantes in te (?)

VR Adiuva no Deus (Ps 78:9; 64:6) (5)

Funes peccatorum circumplexi
(Ps 118:61, 97) (6)

- (7) *De quotidiano Dom noct et mat sive in ora diei*
(8) *De quotidiano Dom mat*

Post noct

Suspiro ego et gemo (Iob 3:24-26)
VR Ve misero mici (Ier 45:3)

Quis mihi det (Iob 6:8,6)
VR Quis mihi tribuat (Iob 6:8-10)

Scio Domine quia nihil in terra (Iob 5:6-7)
VR Ego vero deprecabor (Iob 5:8)

Si apenderentur peccata mea (Iob 6:2-3)
VR Quia sagittae Domini (Iob 6:4)

Quae est enim Domine fortitudo (Iob 6:11)
VR Nec fortitudo lapidum (Iob 6:12)

Ecce ego plorans (Thr 1:16)
VR Deducant oculi mei lacrimas (Ier 14:17)

VR Quomodo dilexi legem tuam (Ps 118:97)

Letor ego super eloquia (Ps 118:162)
VR Magnificat anima mea (Lc 1:46)

Auxilium meum a Domino (Ps 120:2) (7)
VR Levavi oculos meos (Ps 120:1)

Repleatur os meum...ut possim (Ps 70:8)
VR Vide humilitatem (Ps 24:18)

Noct Dom XLmae

Suspiro ego et gemo (Iob 3:24-26)
VR Ve misero mici (Ier 45:3)

Scio Domine quia nihil in terra (Iob 5:6-7)
VR Ego vero deprecabor (Iob 5:8)

Si apenderentur peccata mea (Iob 6:2-3)
VR Quia sagittae Domini (Iob 6:4)

Quae est enim Domine fortitudo (Iob 6:11)
VR Nec fortitudo lapidum (Iob 6:12)

Quis mihi det (Iob 6:8,6)

VR Quis mihi tribuat (Iob 6:8-10)

Ecce ego plorans (Thr 1:16)
VR Deducant oculi mei lacrimas (Ier 14:17)

Sal <i>Additional assignments:</i>	<i>Noct feria II</i>	<i>Noct feria II</i>	<i>Noct feria II</i>
<i>Noct Dom [I] XLmae</i>	(1) In lege Domini meditemur (Ps 1:2) VR Venite filii audite me (Ps 33:12)	In lege Domini meditemur (Ps 1:2) VR Venite filii audite me (Ps 33:12)	In lege Domini meditemur (Ps 1:2) VR Venite filii audite me (Ps 33:12)
<i>Noct Dom II XLmae</i>	(2) Adprehendite disciplinam nequando (Ps 2:12) VR Servite Domino in timore (Ps 2:11)	Adprehendite disciplinam nequando (Ps 2:12) VR Servite Domino in timore (Ps 2:11)	Adprehendite disciplinam nequando (Ps 2:12) VR Servite Domino in timore (Ps 2:11)
<i>Noct Dom de Med</i>	(3) Tu Domine susceptor meus es (Ps 3:4) VR Misericordia mea et refugium (Ps 143:2)	Tu Domine susceptor meus es (Ps 3:4) VR Misericordia mea et refugium (Ps 143:2)	Tu Domine susceptor meus es (Ps 3:4) VR Misericordia mea et refugium (Ps 143:2)
<i>Noct in Lazaro</i>	(4) Miserere mei Domine et exaudi (Ps 4:2) VR Inclina Domine aurem tuam (Ps 16:6)	Miserere mei Domine et exaudi (Ps 4:2) VR Inclina Domine aurem tuam (Ps 16:6)	Miserere mei Domine et exaudi (Ps 4:2) VR Inclina Domine aurem tuam (Ps 16:6)
	<i>Noct feria III</i>	<i>Noct feria III</i>	<i>Noct feria III</i>
<i>Noct Dom [I] XLmae</i>	(5) Intellige clamorem meum Deus (Ps 5:2) VR Intende voci orationis meae (Ps 5:3)	Intellige clamorem meum Deus (Ps 5:2) VR Intende voci orationis meae (Ps 5:3)	Intellige clamorem meum Deus (Ps 5:2) VR Intende voci orationis meae (Ps 5:3)
<i>Noct Dom II XLmae</i>	(6) Infirmus sum sana me Domine (Ps 6:3) VR Quoniam turbata sunt ossa (Ps 6:3-4)	Infirmus sum sana me Domine (Ps 6:3) VR Quoniam turbata sunt ossa (Ps 6:3-4)	Infirmus sum sana me Domine (Ps 6:3) VR Quoniam turbata sunt ossa (Ps 6:3-4)
<i>Noct Dom de Med</i>	(7) Confitebor Domino qui salvos (Ps 7:18, 11) VR Et psallam nomini Domini (Ps 7:18)	Confitebor Domino qui salvos (Ps 7:18, 11) VR Et psallam nomini Domini (Ps 7:18)	Confitebor Domino qui salvos (Ps 7:18, 11) VR Et psallam nomini Domini (Ps 7:18)
<i>Noct in Lazaro</i>	(8) Quam admirabile est nomen tuum (Ps 8:2) VR Ex ore infantium et lactantium (Ps 16:7)	Quam admirabile est nomen tuum (Ps 8:2) VR Ex ore infantium et lactantium (Ps 16:7)	Quam admirabile est nomen tuum (Ps 8:2) VR Ex ore infantium et lactantium (Ps 16:7)
	<i>Noct feria IV</i>	<i>Noct feria IV</i>	<i>Noct feria IV</i>
<i>Noct Dom [I] XLmae</i>	(9) Mirifica Domine misericordias tuas (Ps 16:7) VR Custodi nos Domine ut pupillam (Ps 16:8)	Mirifica Domine misericordias tuas (Ps 16:7) VR Custodi nos Domine ut pupillam (Ps 16:8)	Mirifica Domine misericordias tuas (Ps 16:7) VR Custodi nos Domine ut pupillam (Ps 16:8)
<i>Noct Dom II XLmae</i>	(10) Non timebo mala Domine (Ps 22:4) VR Virga tua et baculus (Ps 22:14)	Non timebo mala Domine (Ps 22:4) VR Virga tua et baculus (Ps 22:14)	Non timebo mala Domine (Ps 22:4) VR Virga tua et baculus (Ps 22:14)
<i>Noct Dom de Med</i>	(11) Benedicam Domino in omni tempore (Ps 33:2) VR In Domino laudabitur (Ps 33:3)	Benedicam Domino in omni tempore (Ps 33:2) VR In Domino laudabitur (Ps 33:3)	Benedicam Domino in omni tempore (Ps 33:2) VR In Domino laudabitur (Ps 33:3)
<i>Noct in Lazaro</i>	(12) Adiutor et liberator meus (Ps 39:18) VR Exaudi orationem meam (Ps 38:13)	Adiutor et liberator meus (Ps 39:18) VR Exaudi orationem meam (Ps 38:13)	Adiutor et liberator meus (Ps 39:18) VR Exaudi orationem meam (Ps 38:13)

	<i>Noct feria V</i>	<i>Noct feria V</i>	<i>Noct feria V</i>
<i>Noct Dom [I] XLmae</i>	(13) Cor mundum crea in me Deus (Ps 50:12) VR Spiritum rectum innova (Ps 50:12)	Cor mundum crea in me Deus (Ps 50:12) VR Spiritum rectum innova (Ps 50:12)	Cor mundum crea in me Deus (Ps 50:12) VR Spiritum rectum innova (Ps 50:12)
<i>Noct Dom II XLmae</i>	(14) Benigne fac Domine (Ps 50:20) VR Ut aedificentur muri (Ps 50:20)	Benigne fac Domine (Ps 50:20) VR Ut aedificentur muri (Ps 50:20)	Benigne fac Domine (Ps 50:20) VR Ut aedificentur muri (Ps 50:20)
<i>Noct Dom de Med</i>	(15) In te confidet anima mea (Ps 56:2) VR Et in umbra alarum tuarum (Ps 56:2)	In te confidet anima mea (Ps 56:2) VR Et in umbra alarum tuarum (Ps 56:2)	In te confidet anima mea (Ps 56:2) VR Et in umbra alarum tuarum (Ps 56:2)
<i>Noct in Lazaro</i>	(16) Spes nostra in Deo est (Ps 61:8) VR Sperate in eum (Ps 61:9)	Spes nostra in Deo est (Ps 61:8) VR Sperate in eum (Ps 61:9)	Spes nostra in Deo est (Ps 61:8) VR Sperate in eum (Ps 61:9)
	<i>Noct feria VI</i>	<i>Noct feria VI</i>	<i>Noct feria VI</i>
<i>Noct Dom [I] XLmae</i>	(17) Misereatur nobis et benedicat nos (Ps 66:2) VR Inluminet Dominus vultum (Ps 66:2)	Misereatur nobis et benedicat nos (Ps 66:2) VR Inluminet Dominus vultum (Ps 66:2)	Misereatur nobis et benedicat nos (Ps 66:2) VR Inluminet Dominus vultum (Ps 66:2)
<i>Noct Dom II XLmae</i>	(18) De die in die benedictus (Ps 67:36) VR Deus Israhel ipse dabit (Ps 67:36)	De die in die benedictus (Ps 67:36) VR Deus Israhel ipse dabit (Ps 67:36)	De die in die benedictus (Ps 67:36) VR Deus Israhel ipse dabit (Ps 67:36)
<i>Noct Dom de Med</i>	(19) Exaudi me Domine quoniam benigna (Ps 68:17) VR Secundum multitudinem (Ps 68:17)	Exaudi me Domine quoniam benigna (Ps 68:17) VR Secundum multitudinem (Ps 68:17)	Exaudi me Domine quoniam benigna (Ps 68:17) VR Secundum multitudinem (Ps 68:17)
<i>Noct in Lazaro</i>	(20) Ad adiuvandum me festina (Ps 69:2,6) VR Deus in adiutorium meum (Ps 69:2)	Ad adiuvandum me festina (Ps 69:2,6) VR Deus in adiutorium meum (Ps 69:2)	Ad adiuvandum me festina (Ps 69:2,6) VR Deus in adiutorium meum (Ps 69:2)
	<i>Noct sabbato</i>	[<i>Noct sabbato</i>]	<i>Noct sabbato</i>
<i>Noct Dom [I] XLmae</i>	(21) Domine Deus virtutum beatus (Ps 83:13) VR Quam amabilia sunt tabernacula (Ps 83:2)	Domine Deus virtutum beatus (Ps 83:13) VR Quam amabilia sunt tabernacula (Ps 83:2)	Domine Deus virtutum beatus (Ps 83:13) VR Quam amabilia sunt tabernacula (Ps 83:2)
<i>Noct Dom II XLmae</i>	(22) Qui respicit in terra (Ps 103:32) VR Peccavimus cum patribus (Ps 105:6)	Qui respicit in terra (Ps 103:32) VR Peccavimus cum patribus (Ps 105:6)	Qui respicit in terra (Ps 103:32) VR Ad te levamus (Ps 122:1)
<i>Noct Dom de Med</i>	(23) Vivit anima mea Deus (Ps 118:175) VR Erravi sicut ovis (Ps 118:176)	Vivit anima mea Deus (Ps 118:175) VR Erravi sicut ovis (Ps 118:176)	Vivit anima mea Deus (Ps 118:175) VR Erravi sicut ovis (Ps 118:176)
<i>Noct in Lazaro</i>	(24) Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini (Ps 123:8) VR Laqueus contritus est (Ps 123:7) Gloria et honor patri	Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini (Ps 123:8) VR Laqueus contritus est (Ps 123:7) Gloria et honor patri	Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini (Ps 123:8) VR Laqueus contritus est (Ps 123:7) Gloria et honor patri

Table 2. Responsories *ad nocturnos dominicales* in S7

Repleatur os meum (Ps 70:8)	134
VR Vide humilitatem (Ps 24:18)	
Alleluia deduc me (Ps 118:35)	134
VR Legem pone michi (Ps 118:33)	
Ne memor fueris (Ps 78:8)	134
VR Ne irascaris Domine (Is 64:9)	
Alleluia misericordia mea (Ps 143:2)	134
VR Diligam te Domine (Ps 17:2-3)	
Alleluia vide humilitatem (Ps 24:18)	134v
VR Viam iniquitatis amove (Ps 118:29)	
Alleluia laudabo te Domine semper (?)	136
VR Exaltabo te Domine rex (Ps 144:1)	
<i>Alias responsorias de nocturnos dominicales</i>	
Benedictus Dominus in eternum (Ps 88:53)	140v
VR Sit nomen Domini (Ps 112:2)	
Misericordiam et iudicium cantabo (Ps 100:1)	140v
VR Perambulabam in innocentiam (Ps 100:2)	
Magnus Dominus [noster] alleluia (Ps 146:5-6)	140v
VR Et sapientia eius (Ps 146:5)	
Letor ego super eloquia (Ps 118:162)	140v
VR Magnificat anima mea (Lc 1:46)	
Funes peccatorum circumplexi (Ps 118:61, 97)	141
VR Quomodo dilexi legem tuam (Ps 118:97)	
Viri sancti germinate (Eccli 24:19?)	141
VR Florete flores quasi liliam (Eccli 39:19)	
<i>De sanctis</i>	
Si Deus pro nobis (Rom 8:31)	141v
[VR] Et effundite coram illo (Ps 61:9)	
Dabo sanctis meis primam (IV Esdras 2:23, 25)	141v
VR Fulgebunt iusti sicut splendor (Dan 12:3)	
Iusti sunt sancti qui pro testamento (I Mach 2:50)	142
VR Exultabunt sancti in gloria (Ps 149:5)	
Sanctis ab altissimo conceditur (Ezra 24:33?)	142
VR Et adduxit eos in montem (Ps 77:54)	
Omnes iusti regem in decore (Is 33:17; 65:14)	142
VR Omnes iusti hereditabunt (Is 33:20)	
<i>De unius iusti</i>	
Beatus ille servus dicit Dominus (Mt 24:45, 47)	142v
VR Beatus servus ille (Mt 24:46)	
Iste homo supplicabat (Eccli 23:4, 3)	142v (MS ends)

Sant are more closely related to one another than either is to BM51, but the picture is decidedly mixed.

For responsories to be sung *ad nocturnos* on Sundays, AL provides a list of six that is identical to the list in Sal. In Sant, the first four are identical in order to the first four in AL and Sal and are followed by two unica. BM51 includes four that are shared among the other manuscripts, but not in the same order, and two unica. Most important here is that AL and Sal are identical and closely related to Sant, whereas BM51 stands somewhat apart from the others.

BM51 then continues with nine further responsories *ad nocturnos* on Sundays that are not found in Sal or Sant but that do appear in AL assigned variously to matins on ordinary Sundays, to the commemoration of the dead and to nominally

cloistered services. What follows is a set of six pieces shared between BM51 and Sant but not in the same order and assigned in Sant to *post nocturnos* and in BM51 to *ad nocturnos* for the Sundays in Lent. This is the closest correspondence between BM51 and any of the other sources, though once again there are considerable differences in the order in which the pieces appear and the places in the liturgy to which they are assigned.

Sal, Sant and BM51 then provide pieces to be sung *ad nocturnos* for weekdays, and here a very different picture emerges. There are four pieces for each day, and thus a total of twenty-four, and they are identical in all three sources in the order in which they are presented (Table 3). Especially striking is that they are all psalmic, and they proceed through the psalms in order. Furthermore, BM51 takes this list and assigns its pieces in a systematic way to the Sundays in Lent. Here each of the four Sundays in Lent has six responsories. The four pieces for Monday are distributed across the four Sundays as the first in the series of six. The four pieces for Tuesday are distributed across the four Sundays as the second in the series of six. And so forth, as described in Table 4, where the numbers are the order-numbers in the psalmically arranged list of the twenty-four assigned to weekdays. This arrangement suggests strongly that the list for the weekdays precedes the arrangement for Sundays, which evidently derives from it, since it is very difficult to imagine that the arrangement for Sundays in Lent in BM51, which obscures or at least complicates the orderly progression through the Psalms, can have been the source for the very straightforward distribution of these pieces across the weekdays in all three manuscripts.

From all of this we can conclude that our four sources have common roots and share a loose collection of responsories for the Night Office but that this collection was also employed in some degree in public worship. The list of pieces for the Ferial Office, because of the way in which it uses the psalms and the fact that it appears identically in Sal, Sant and BM51, must antedate the shared loose collection and the divergences of these sources from one another. This list must therefore be part of the oldest surviving core of the Night Office. The evolution of the Night Office thus began with a set of pieces for the Ferial Office, drawn from the psalms in order and all closely related in appealing to God to listen and to have mercy. Only later were pieces assigned to or composed for Sundays and other occasions, by which time the traditions embodied in these manuscripts (as defined especially by their musical notation, as we will see) had begun to diverge. The systematic distribution of pieces for the Ferial Office across the Sundays in Lent speaks to the ways in which the structure of Lenten worship evolved, for other sources suggest that the two halves of Lent emerged separately, whereas BM51 distributes the list of psalmic responsories across the whole of Lent as a single structure.⁶ In particular, this list must antedate the separation between BM51, on the one hand, and AL, Sal and Sant, on the other, that has been

⁶ The structure of Lent is treated at length and with ample reference to earlier scholarship on the subject in Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy, *Music and Meaning in Old Hispanic Lenten Chants* (Woodbridge, 2013), esp. in chapter 1.

Table 3. Order of Reponsories *ad nocturnos* for weekdays in Sal, Sant and BM51

Feria					
II	III	IV	V	VI	Sabb
1	5	9	13	17	21
2	6	10	14	18	22
3	7	11	15	19	23
4	8	12	16	20	24

Table 4. Order of Responsories *ad nocturnos* for Sundays in Sal, Sant and BM51

Sundays in Lent			
I	II	Med.	Lazaro
1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24

hinted at in several ways in what we have seen so far. To this separation we now turn in examining the musical notation of these responsories.

Figure 1 transcribes in parallel and in alphabetical order all the responsories shared among AL, Sant, Sal and BM51.⁷ In my earlier study of the responsorial psalm tones, I showed how AL, Sant and Sal share a version of these tones that differs from the version in BM51 and related manuscripts. I called these the León and Rioja traditions, respectively.⁸ Figure 1 makes possible a comparison of versions of the whole of each piece and not just the verse. The responsory refrains are, of course, much more elaborate than the verses and employ a much wider array of notational symbols. It is nevertheless clear that AL, Sant and Sal form a consistently similar group that regularly differs from BM51 in notational detail, even though there is no doubt that all four manuscripts give versions of the same melodies and surely have a common ancestor. For example, *Alleluia deduc me*, the second piece in Figure 1 and the first piece that is present in all four sources, sets the word 'Alleluia' at the opening in BM51 with a series of puncta and podatus. AL, Sant and Sal, on the other hand, set this word with a much more elaborate melody and are virtually identical to one another. Careful comparison of the richer notation of the refrains thus shows how the refrains

⁷ It will be recalled from Table 1 that many of the pieces in AL are assigned to occasions for public worship. In Figures 1, 2 and 3 I have myself transcribed the neumes from the sources so as to align them. Although these transcriptions render accurately individual neume shapes, they do not capture in every case the vertical placement of neumes in relation to one another, nor are the sources perfectly aligned in every case because of the constraints of horizontal spacing.

⁸ Don Michael Randel, *The Responsorial Psalm Tones for the Mozarabic Office* (Princeton, 1969).

	AL	Sal	Sant
Acceperunt prudentes oleum (Mt 25:4, 6)			
VR Oleum recondite in vasis (Mt?)	220v	Iust, Ruf	150v med noct
Alleluia deduc me per semitam (Ps 118:35)			
VR Legem pone mihi Domine (Ps 118:33)	295 noct Dom	165	216
Alleluia misericordia mea alleluia (Ps 143:2)			
VR Diligam te Domine virtus mea (Ps 17:2)	295 noct Dom	166	
Alleluia vide humilitatem mean (Ps 24:18)			
VR Viam iniquitatis amobe a me (Ps 118:29)	295 noct Dom	165v	216
Benedictus Dominus in eternum (Ps 88:53)			
VR Sit nomen Domini benedictum (Ps 112:2)	294 noct Dom		216v
Clamor factus est (Mt 25:6)			
VR Audite me divini fructus (Eccli 39:17)	221 Iust, Ruf		
II Gloria et honor Patri		150v med noct	
Congrega Domine disperionem nostram (II Mach 1:27)			
VR Qui das salutem regibus (Ps 143:10)	295 noct Dom	166	216
Laetor ego super eloquia (Ps 118:162)			
VR Iniquos odio abui (Ps 118:113)	295v noct Dom	166v	
Magnus Dominus noster alleluia (Ps 146:5-6)			
VR Et sapientie eius (Ps 146:5)	291v noct Dom		216v
Repleatur os meum Deus (Ps 70:8)			
VR Vide humilitatem (Ps 24:18)	295 noct Dom	165v	216

Figure 1. Responsories shared between AL, Sant, Sal and BM51 in alphabetical order.

too confirm the grouping of the manuscripts made on the basis of their verse formulas.

Figure 2 similarly transcribes in parallel and in the order in which they appear in the manuscripts the twenty-four responsories assigned to the Ferial Office. AL does not include these pieces, and Sal gives each one twice – once for the Ferial Office and once for the Sundays in Lent. Here, again, Sal and Sant clearly form a pair that differs in detail from BM51 while nevertheless presenting the same melodies. That Sal gives each piece

BM51

Sal

Sant

AL

Acceperunt prudentes oleum in vasis suis cum lampadibus media autem noc-te clamor factus est ecce sponsus venit exite

BM51

VR Date nomini eius magnificentia et confitemini illi. Ecce

Sal

Sant

AL

obviam ei. VR Oleum recondite in vasis vestris ut lampades vestre sint semper accense. Ecce

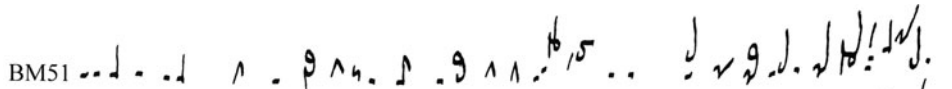
Figure 1. Continued.

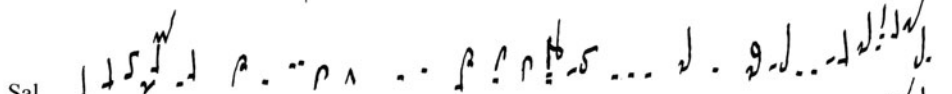
twice offers a unique opportunity to study this notation as employed by a single scribe and thus to learn something about the variability and lack of it between two examples of the same piece. In general, the notation within Sal and between Sal and Sant is remarkably consistent. They were both, like AL and BM51, copied from well-established written traditions in which scribes did not exercise any significant individual freedoms.


Much remains to be learned about the provenance and dating of Old Hispanic sources, and even the manuscripts studied here have occasioned differing views. Indeed, there is not a unanimous view about any of the manuscripts under study here. The following summary account relies on the list of sources given in the appendix to Hornby and Maloy's 'Melodic Dialects in Old Hispanic Chant' (see fn. 1).

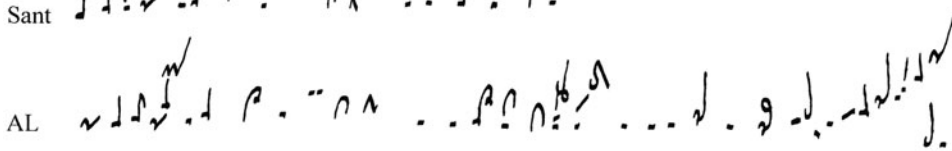
AL has been dated in both the tenth and the eleventh centuries, and its provenance has been most often said to be in or near León but perhaps copied from a model from as far away as Toledo or the southern part of the peninsula.⁹ One item in this manuscript

⁹ Carmen Julia Gutiérrez, 'Librum de auratum conspice pinctum. Sobre la datación y la procedencia del Antifonario de León', *Revista de musicología*, 43 (2020), 19–76, is of fundamental importance and brings to bear art historical evidence in new ways. She dates it 950–60. She links the style of the illuminations to

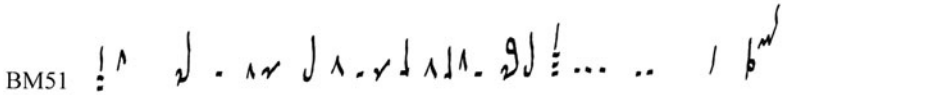
BM51 

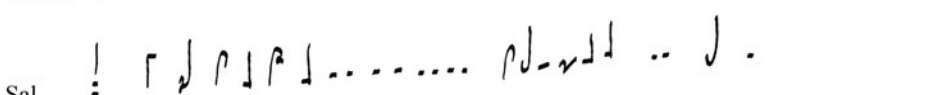
Sal 

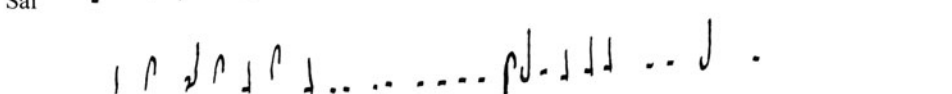
Sant 

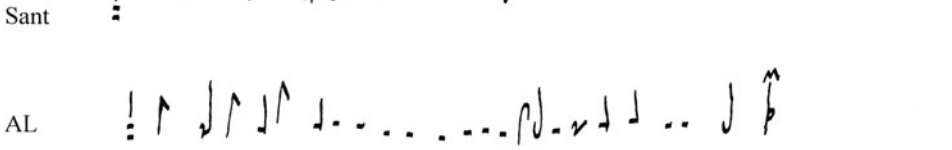
AL 

Alleluia deduc me per semitam mandatorum tuorum quoniam ipsam volui ale (I)uia.

BM51 

Sal 

Sant 

AL 

VR Legem pone mihi domine viam iustitie tue et exquiram eam semper. Quo(niam)

Figure 1. Continued.

has not yet been satisfactorily explained, however, and that is the appearance at the end of the Mass for St Leocadia (fol. 49v) of two pieces with the rubric *Ad sepulcrum*. St Leocadia was from Toledo, and there are early references to her sepulchre as a site of devotion there. It is not clear why a manuscript copied anywhere else but Toledo should include such a rubric, even if it was being copied from a model that did indeed come from Toledo.

that of Florencio of Valeránica and notes the close relationship between Valeránica, Silos, and San Millan. On AL as well as Sant, see her 'Melodías del canto hispánico en el repertorio litúrgico de la Edad Media y el Renacimiento', in *El canto mozárabe y su entorno: Estudios sobre la música de la liturgia Viejo hispánica* (Madrid, 2013), 547–75, esp. 572–5.

BM51

Sal

Sant

AL

Alleluia misericordia mea alleluia refugium meum alleluia susceptor meus et liberator meus es tu deus meus alleluia.

BM51

Sal

Sant

AL

VR Diligam te domine virtus mea dominus firmamentum meum et refugium meum. Et libera(tor)

Figure 1. Continued.

Miguel Vivancos views Sal, on the basis of writing and decoration, as similar to the products of Silos and reports that it was copied by Cristóbal in 1059.¹⁰ Similarly, the scribe of Sant, one Pedro, is described by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz as having finished his work on the manuscript in León in 1055 but to display clear evidence of training in or near Silos and to display a debt to the style of Florencio of Valeránica. He notes that Sal could be thought of as a 'twin' of Sant but for its quality. Of Pedro he says that 'at no time can he be considered to be from León on the basis of his writing'.¹¹ BM51 is most often said to be from Silos, but some have expressed doubts.¹²

The musical notation of these sources does, nevertheless, offer some evidence that is clearer than arguments based on the palaeography of the texts and leads to conclusions different from those just cited. The comparison of manuscripts based on the handwriting of the texts ultimately rests on questions of style. To

¹⁰ Miguel C. Vivancos Gómez, OSB, *Glosas y notas marginales de los manuscritos visigóticos del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, *Studia silensia* 19 (Abadía de Silos, 1996) 57.

¹¹ Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, 'Some Incidental Notes on the Music Manuscripts', in *Hispania vetus*, ed. Susana Zapke (Bilbao, 2007), 93–111, esp. 104–5.

¹² Zapke, ed., *Hispania vetus*, cites relevant bibliography for this and virtually all Old Hispanic sources.

BM51 *Alleluia*

Sal

Sant

AL

Allelu- ia vide humilitatem meamet miserere mei alleluia allelu- ia.

BM51

Sal

Sant

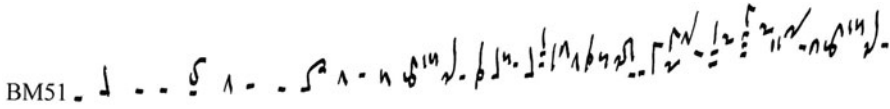
AL

VR Viam iniquitatis amobe a me et de lege tua. Miserere

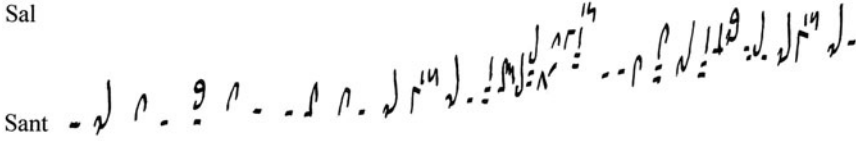
Figure 1. Continued.

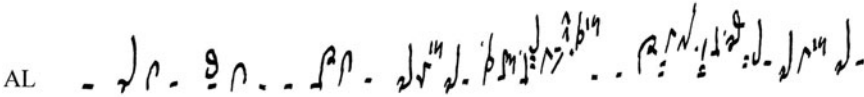
compare them based on their musical notation, however, rests in the first instance on whether they use the same or different neumes in any given position. Different scribes might of course write one and the same neume in slightly different ways. But in comparing two manuscripts on the basis of their neumes, one can determine the frequency with which the two do or do not use the same neume in the same place. This is not a matter of style, about which distinguished palaeographers might disagree, but rather the sum of a series of questions to which the answer is either yes or no.

What is clearest is that Sant and BM51 cannot be from the same place. The dominant opinion about BM51 is that it is from Silos. If Pedro, the copyist of Sant, shows palaeographical signs of being from Silos or nearby, though he was active in León, then he must not have copied the music, for this music unequivocally belongs in the

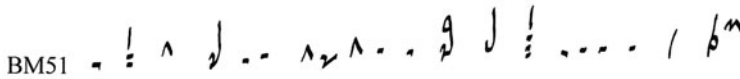
BM51 - 

Sal

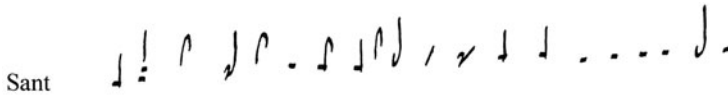
Sant - 

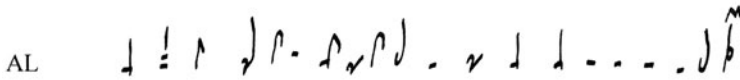
AL - 

Benedictus dominus in eternum alleluia fiat fiat alleluia alle- luia alle- luia.

BM51 - 

Sal

Sant 

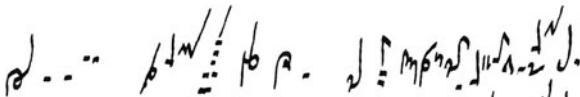
AL 

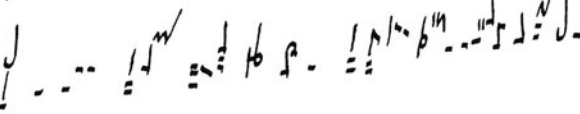
VR Sit nomen domini benedictum ex hoc nunc et usque in seculum. p. Fiat fiat alle(luia).

Figure 1. Continued.

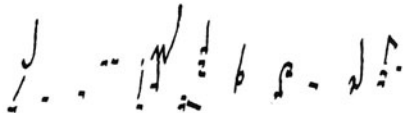
same family as Sal and AL and not in the family of BM51 and other manuscripts from Silos and nearby. Similarly Sal cannot be from Silos and must instead be from León or wherever AL and Sant were copied.

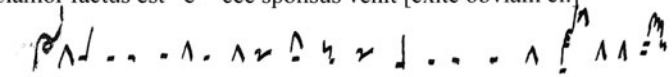
AL, Sal and Sant clearly belong together somewhere, and that is not in Silos. Where then? The one thing of which we can be surest is that Sant is from León, for it was commissioned for King Ferdinand I by his wife, Queen Sancha. Hence, on the basis of the musical notation, AL and Sal must be from somewhere in the Leonese orbit. BM51 clearly belongs somewhere else. That somewhere else may well be Silos, but it is certainly somewhere to the east of León, given its relationship (in regard to the responsorial psalm tones) with other manuscripts thought to be from Silos and the Rioja.

BM51 

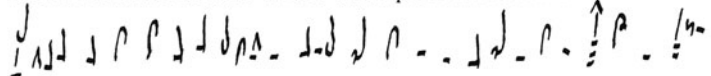
Sal 

Sant

AL 
 Clamor factus est ecce sponsus venit [exite obviam ei.]

BM51 
 VR Oleum recondite in vasis vestris ut lampades vestre sint accense. ecce

Sal

VR Oleum recondite in vasis vestris ut lampades sint accense. exite 

II Gloria et honor patri et filio et spiritui sancto in secula seculorum amen. exite obviam ei

Sant

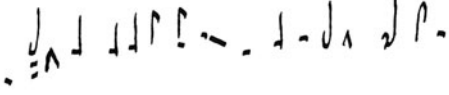
AL 
 VR Audite me divini fructus et quasi rosa plantata s[uper]

Figure 1. Continued.

What then of the origins of AL?¹³ Beja, to the west, and a hypothetical manuscript from 806, has been proposed, as have Toledo and the southern part of the peninsula, from which refugees would have brought manuscripts to the north. The rubric *ad sepulcrum* at the feast of St Leocadia in AL points to Toledo, but there is no other manuscript from Toledo that is anything like it. T6 is perhaps a partial exception. Although its musical texts were clearly intended to receive notation, only a few texts were

¹³ Díaz y Díaz, 'Some Incidental Notes on the Music Manuscripts', reports his own views on AL and Sant, citing with bibliography a variety of opinions. See also Gutiérrez, 'Librum de auratum conspice pinctum. Sobre la datación y la procedencia del Antifonario de León'.

BM51

Sal

Sant

AL

Congrega domine dispersionem nostram et libera nos manu tua alle- luia.

BM51

Sal

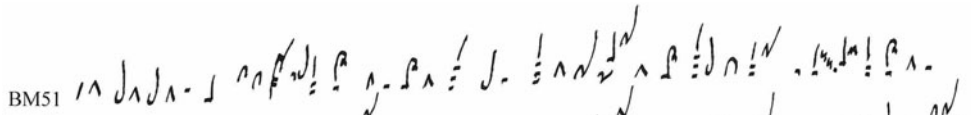
Sant

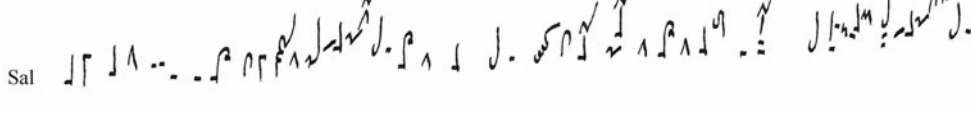
AL

VR Qui das salutem regibus et liberas David servum tuum de gladio maligno. L(i)b(era)

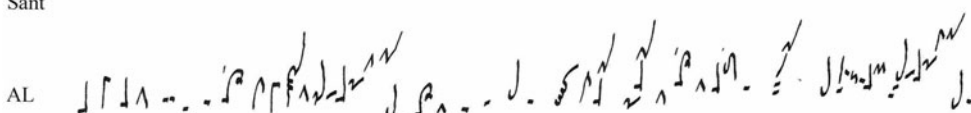
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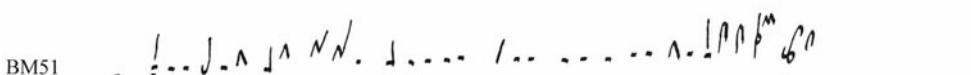
actually so supplied. This notation is in at least three different hands and is of the type described as northern – that is, the type of notation found in AL and related sources and in the manuscripts from Silos and the Rioja. One of these hands bears a strong resemblance to those of the León group and to the hand of BM51. The notation of these manuscripts is in general more upright and could be said to be more elegant than the other northern notations in T6 and in BM45, a manuscript thought to be from Silos. The first part of [Figure 3](#) enables a comparison between AL and one of the hands in T6 and shows their notation for these pieces to be virtually identical. The following pages of [Figure 3](#) enable a comparison of AL, T6 and BM45. Here again, AL and T6 are quite close, and BM45 clearly stands apart in its choice of

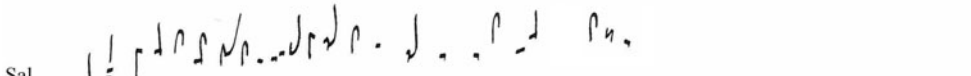
BM51 

Sal 

Sant

AL 
 Letor ego super eloquia tua alle- luia sicut qui invenit spolia mul- ta alleluia a- lle- luia alleluia.

BM51 
 VR Magnificat anima mea dominum et exultabit spiritus meus in deo salutari meo. Sicut.

Sal 

Sant

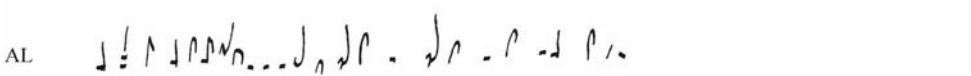
AL 
 VR Iniquos odio abui et abominatus sum legem autem tuam dilexi. Sicut.

Figure 1. Continued.

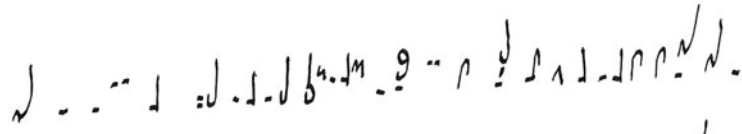
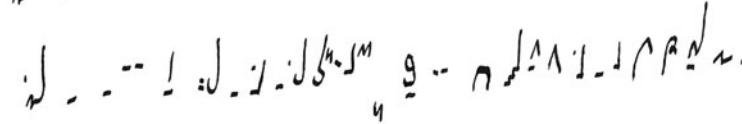
notational symbols, though one could reasonably conclude that all three manuscripts transmit versions of the same melodies. BM45, furthermore, is instantly recognizable as the work of a different and rather cruder hand, like one of the other hands in T6 and the hand of the few examples of notation in BM46, also usually thought to be from Silos. Unfortunately, the melodies shared by AL, T6 and BM45 are not found in any other manuscripts. Hence, one cannot bring other witnesses to bear on whether the hand of the shared pieces in T6 is more like, say, BM51 than like AL. Furthermore, the shared pieces do not include any responsory verses, which could point clearly in one direction or another.

From the southern part of the peninsula, that is from south of Toledo, we have no sources of consequence at all.¹⁴ Do the similarities between AL and T6 suggest a

¹⁴ See the map in Zapke, *Hispania vetus*, 249.

BM51

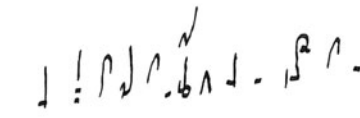
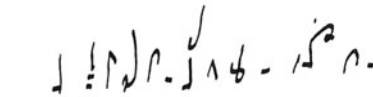
Sal

Sant AL 

Magnus dominus noster alleluia et magna virtus eius alleluia a(II)e(I)uia.

BM51

Sal

Sant AL 

VR Et sapientie eius non est numerus. All(elui)a.

Figure 1. Continued.

relationship of AL to Toledo? That would require a belief that T6 is from Toledo, as has usually been thought. But the unusual character of T6, with its several 'northern' hands and its sparsity of notation, suggests that its origins need to be rethought. At the same time, the origins of all the manuscripts usually labelled as being from Silos should probably be rethought, as there are at least two quite different styles of notation present in them – one represented by BM51 (if indeed it is from Silos) and one by BM45. Perhaps the best we can do, then, is to say that given its strong similarity to Sant, which we know to be from León, AL is likely to be from the north and in a region around León or to the west and not to the east, where we enter the terrain of BM51. This could include Beja, but we have no examples of musical notation from there.

Since there is the possibility that AL was copied from a model that came from somewhere other than León, we might ask what this model could have been like. It would surely have been an antiphoner, like AL, with texts and musical notation. Such a

BM51 - *Repleatur os meum deus laude tua ut possim cantare gloriam tuam alleluia.*

Sal

Sant

AL

Repleatur os meum deus laude tua ut possim cantare gloriam tuam alleluia.

BM51 *me um domina*

Sal

Sant

AL

VR Vide humilitatem meam et laborem meum et dimitte omnia peccata mea. Ut p(ossim).

Figure 1. Continued.

collection of texts must have existed by the time of the *Oracional visigótico* (before 711), but AL includes material not present in the *Oracional*, and its model must therefore be from well after the beginning of the eighth century.¹⁵ Can we imagine an antiphoner with the elaborate set of texts implied by the *Oracional* and expanded upon in AL without musical notation?

I find this hard to imagine. AL and other sources preserve an elaborate and intricate liturgical structure in which the relationships of text to melody, both within individual pieces and among related pieces, was carefully thought out. It is hard to imagine that text and melody were not worked out simultaneously. It is almost as hard to imagine that the elaborate structure of the texts, having been conceived in relation to melodies that would set them, circulated for very long before someone thought to find a way to write down the melodies and the texts together. One might object that the *Sextuplex*

¹⁵ See my 'Leander, Isidore, and Gregory'.

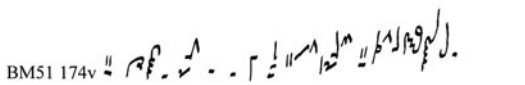
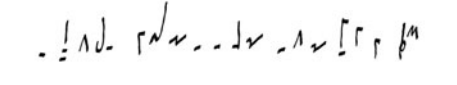
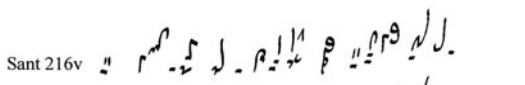
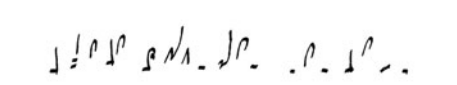
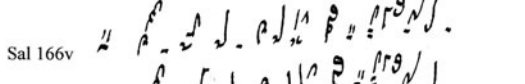
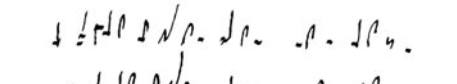
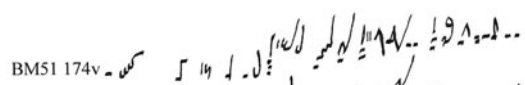
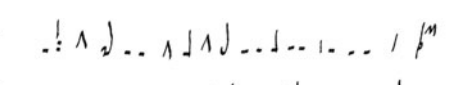
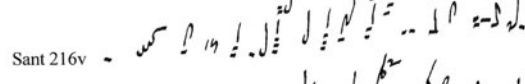
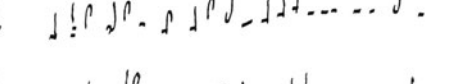
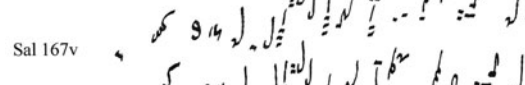
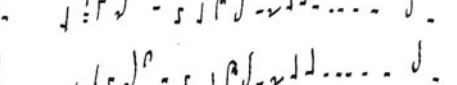
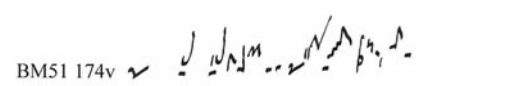

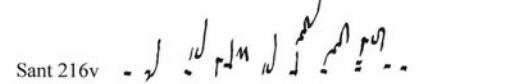

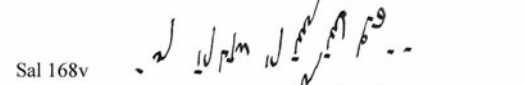
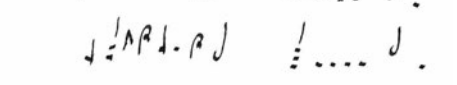
<p>BM51 174v</p> 	
<p>Sant 216v</p> 	
<p>Sal 166v</p> 	
<p>Sal 175 In lege Do-mini me-di-te-mur die ac nocte.</p>	<p>VR Venite filii audite me timorem Domini docebo vos.</p>
<p>BM51 174v</p> 	
<p>Sant 216v</p> 	
<p>Sal 167v</p> 	
<p>Sal 175 Adprehendite discipuli-na nequando irasca-tur Do-minus. VR Servite Domino in timore et exultate ei cum tremore.</p>	<p>VR Servite Domino in timore et exultate ei cum tremore.</p>
<p>BM51 174v</p> 	
<p>Sant 216v</p> 	
<p>Sal 168v</p> 	
<p>Sal 175 Tu Domine susceptor me-us es.</p>	<p>VR Misericordia mea et refugium meum.</p>

Figure 2. Responsories for the Ferial Office in Sal, Sant and BM51.

manuscripts in the Gregorian tradition provide a counter-argument in that they are the earliest sources, and they leave no physical space for notation. But missals and breviaries with complete texts and no notation have existed down to the present. The absence of notation in these early manuscripts, then, cannot be thought to mean that there was no notation at the time of their copying.


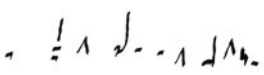
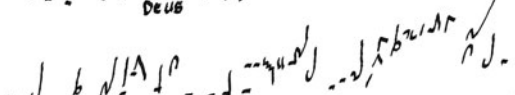
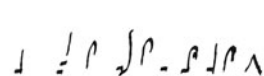
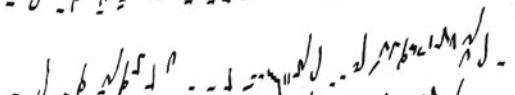
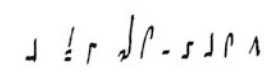
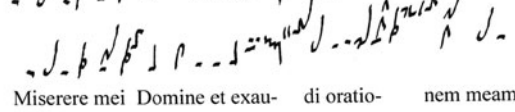
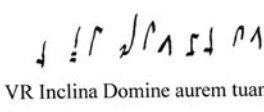
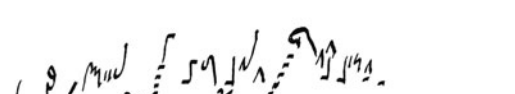
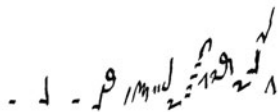
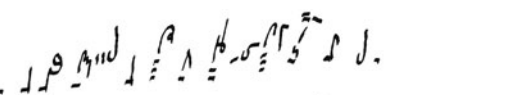
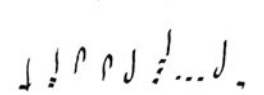
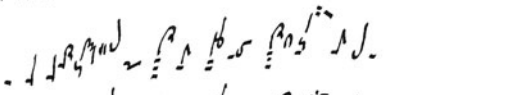
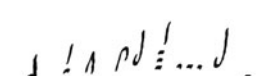
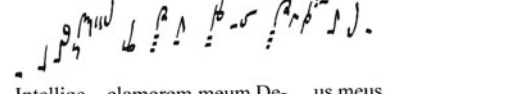
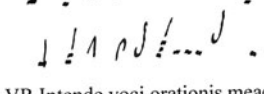
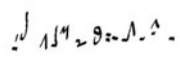
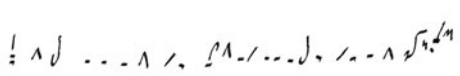
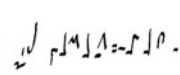
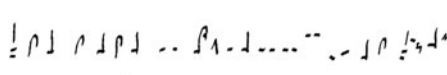
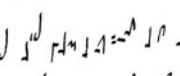
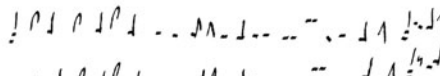
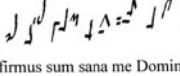
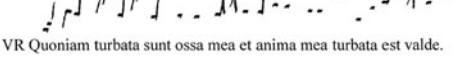
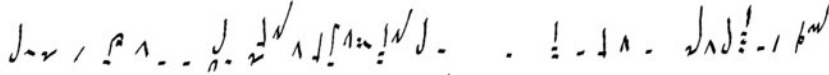
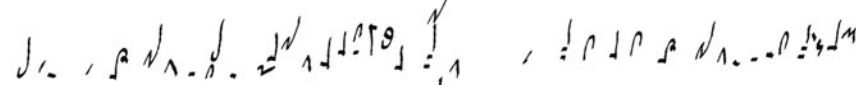
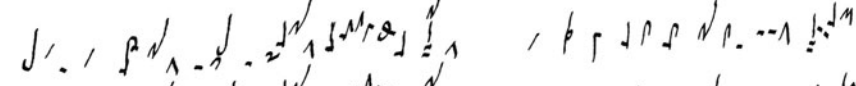
BM51 174v		
Sant 216v		
Sal 169v		
Sal 175v		
	Miserere mei Domine et exaudi orationem meam.	VR Inclina Domine aurem tuam.
BM51 175		
Sant 216v		
Sal 166v		
Sal 152		
	Intellige clamorem meum Deus meus.	VR Intende voci orationis meae.
BM51 175		
Ssant 217		
Sal 167v		
Sal 152		
	Infirmus sum sana me Domine.	VR Quoniam turbata sunt ossa mea et anima mea turbata est valde.

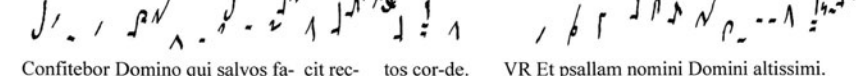
Figure 2. Continued.

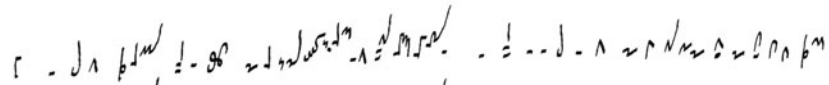
Only one conclusion is certain. We know very little about the dates and provenance of the Old Hispanic sources, and the whole complex requires renewed study. One of the most promising tools for establishing relationships among these sources, however, has not yet been fully exploited. That is musical notation. Exploiting it requires the tedious work of copying all the pieces in all the sources in parallel and comparing

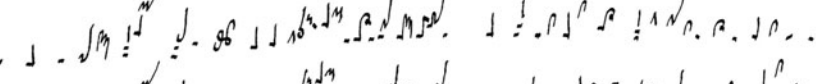
BM51 175 

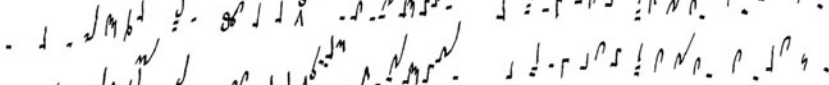
Sant217 

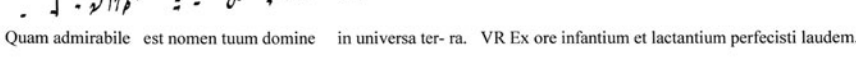
Sal 168v 

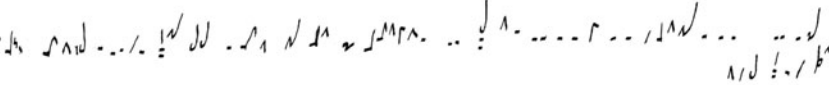
Sal 152  Confitebor Domino qui salvos fa- cit rec- tos cor-de. VR Et psallam nomini Domini altissimi.

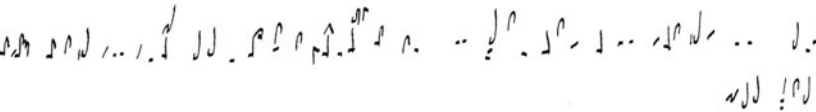
BM51175 

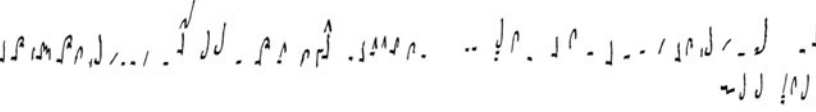
Sant 217 

Sal 169v 

Sal 152v  Quam admirabile est nomen tuum domine in universa ter- ra. VR Ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem.

BM51 175v 

Sant 217 

Sal 167 

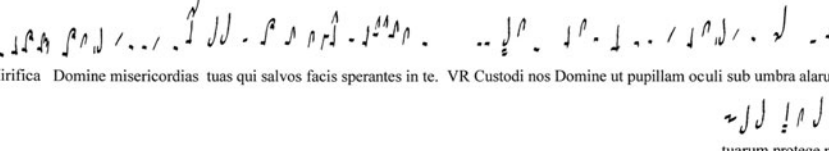
Sal 153  Mirifica Domine misericordias tuas qui salvos facis sperantes in te. VR Custodi nos Domine ut pupillam oculi sub umbra alarum
tuarum protege nos.

Figure 2. Continued.

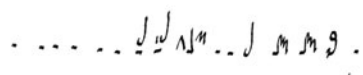
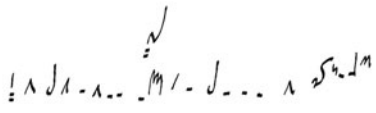
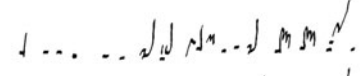
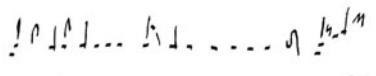
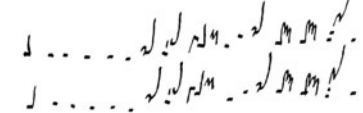
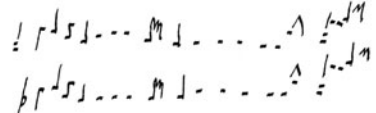
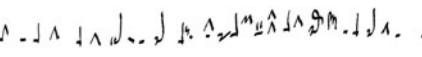
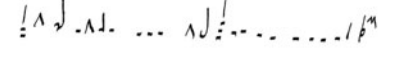
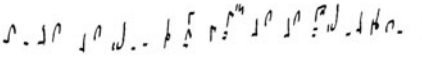
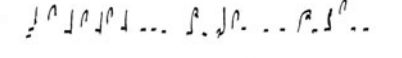

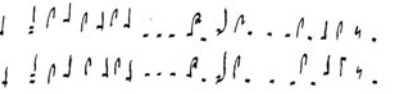
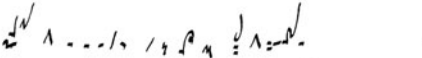
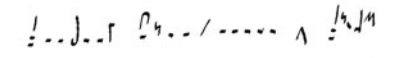
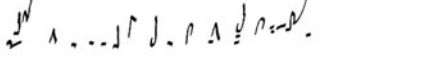
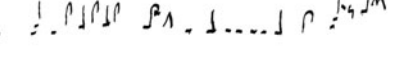
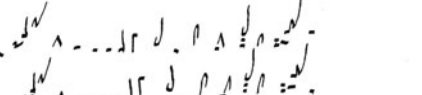
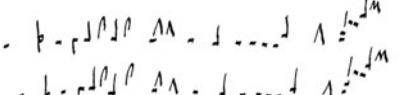
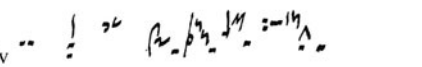
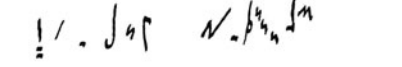
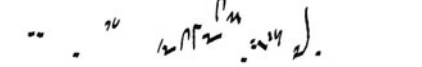
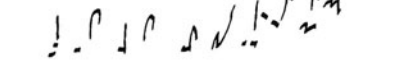
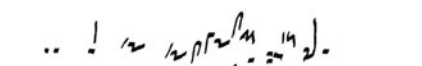
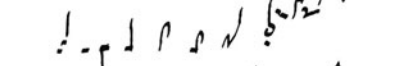
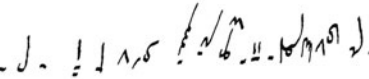

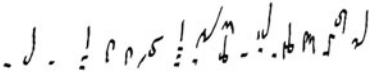
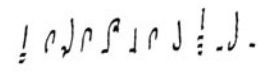
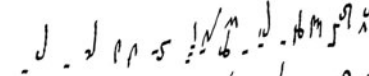
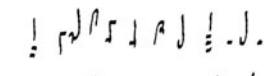
BM51 176		
Sant 217		
Sal 168		
Sal 153	Non timebo mala Domine quoniam tu mecum es.	VR Virga tua et baculus tuus ipsa me consolata sunt.
BM51 176	 	
Sant 217	 	
Sal 168v	 	
Sal 153	Benedicam Domino in omni tempore semper laus eius in ore meo. VR In Domino laudabitur anima mea audient mansueti et laetentur.	
BM51 176	 	
Sant 218	 	
Sal 169v	 	
Sal 153v	Adiu-tor et liberator meus es tu Deus me-us. VR Exaudi orationem meam et deprecationem meam.	
BM51 176v	 	
Sant 217v	 	
Sal 167	 	
Sal 154	Cor mundum crea in me Deus. VR Spiritum rectum innova.	

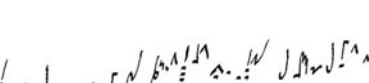
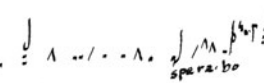
Figure 2. Continued.

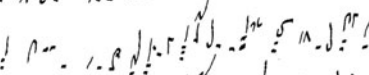
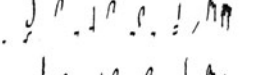
BM51 176v -  

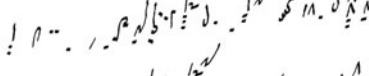
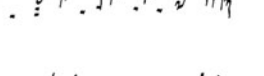
Sant 217v -  

Sal 168 -  

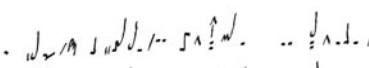
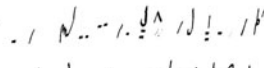
Sal 154v Benigne fac Domine in bona voluntate tua Syon. VR Ut aedificentur muri Iherusalem.

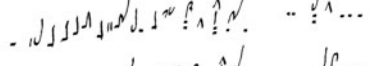
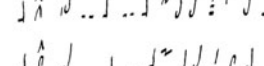
BM51 176v -  

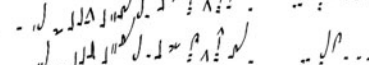
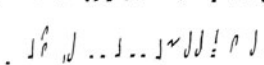
Sant 217v -  

Sal 169 -  

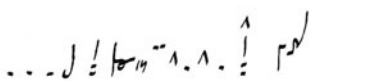
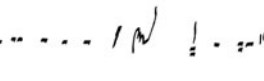
Sal 154v In te confidet anima mea Deus donec transeat iniquitas VR Et in umbra alarum tuarum spero.

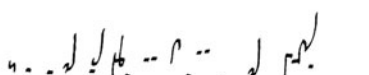
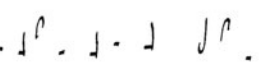
BM51 176v -  

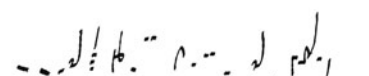
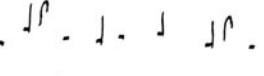
Sant 217v -  

Sal 169v -  

Sal 154v Spes nostra in Deo est et ipse adiuuabit nos. VR Sperate in eum omnis conventus plebis mee et effundite coram illo corda vestra.

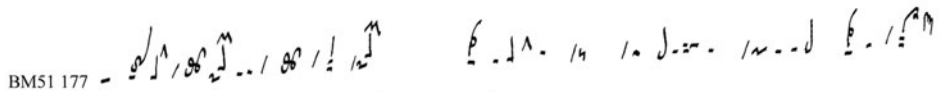
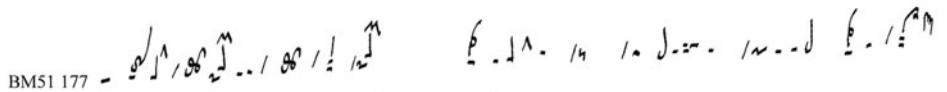
BM51 177 -  

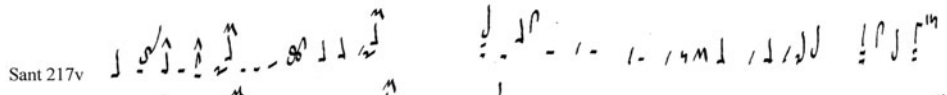
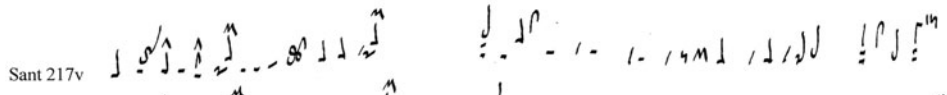
Sant 217v -  

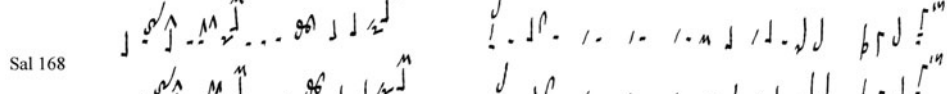
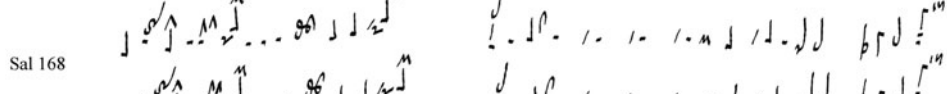
Sal 167 -  

Sal 155v Misereatur nobis et benedicat nos Deus. VR Inluminet Dominus vultum suum super nos.

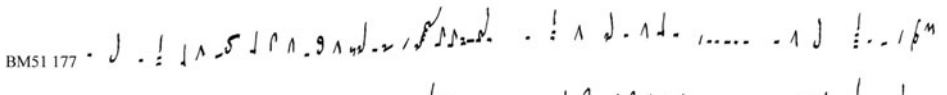
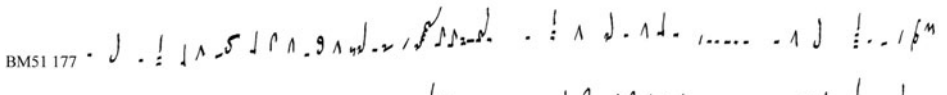
Figure 2. Continued.

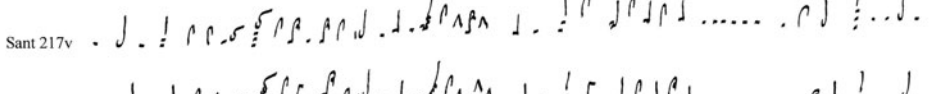
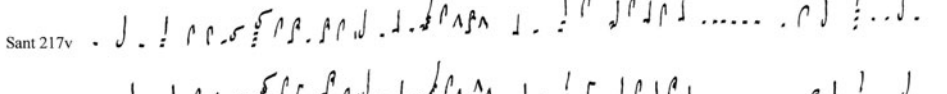
BM51 177 -  

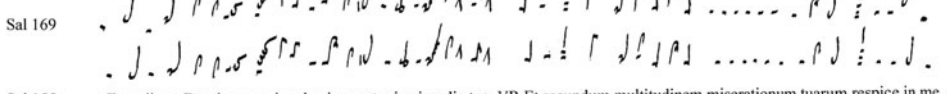
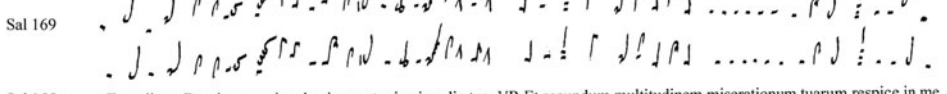
Sant 217v  

Sal 168  

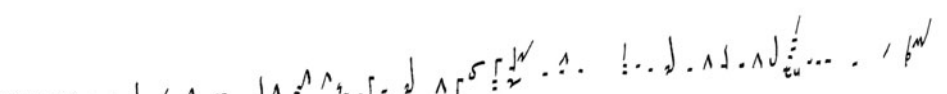
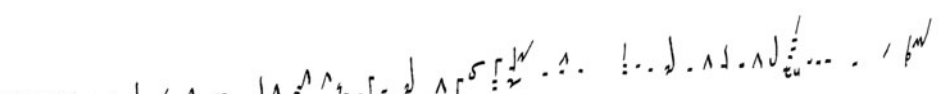
Sal 155v De di-e in die benedictus Dominus. VR Deus Israhel ipse David virtutem et fortitudinem plebis sue.

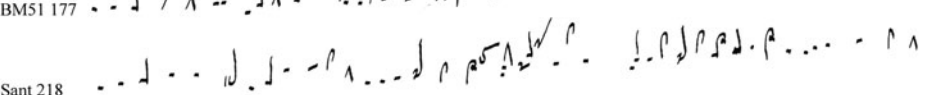
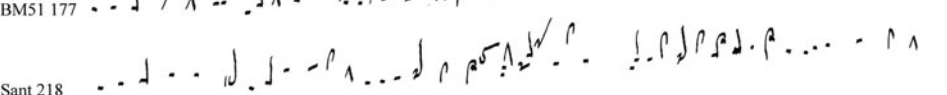
BM51 177 -  

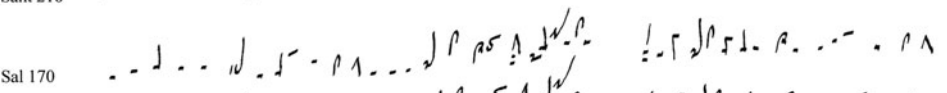
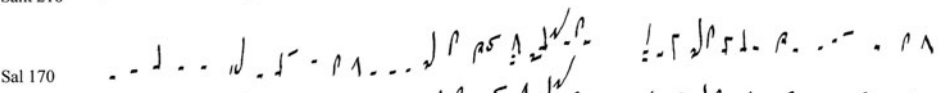
Sant 217v  

Sal 169  

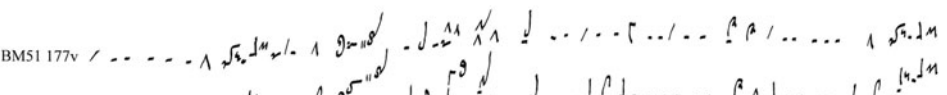
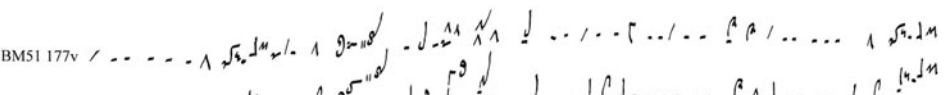
Sal 155v Exaudi me Domine quoniam benigna est misericordia tua. VR Et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum respice in me.

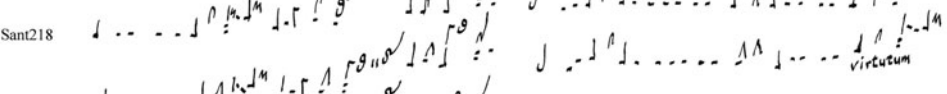
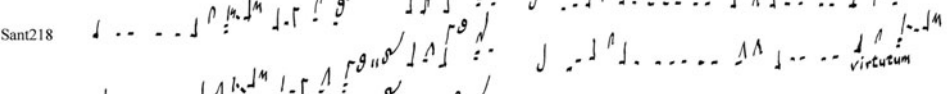
BM51 177  

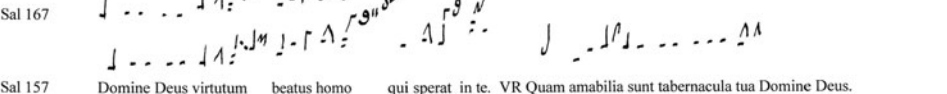
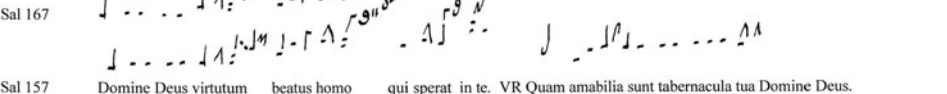
Sant 218  

Sal 170  

Sal 156 Ad adiuvandum me festina Domine ad liberandum me ne tardaveris. VR Deus in adiutorium meum intende Domine.

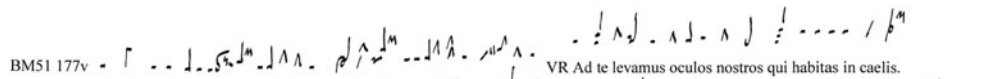
BM51 177v  

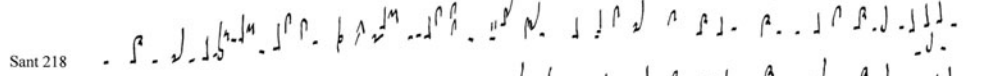
Sant218  

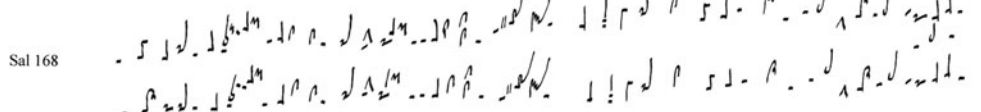
Sal 167  

Sal 157 Domine Deus virtutum beatus homo qui sperat in te. VR Quam amabilia sunt tabernacula tua Domine Deus.

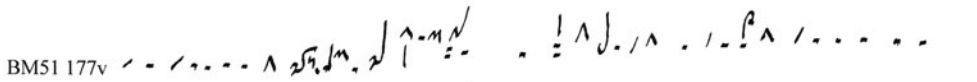
Figure 2. Continued.

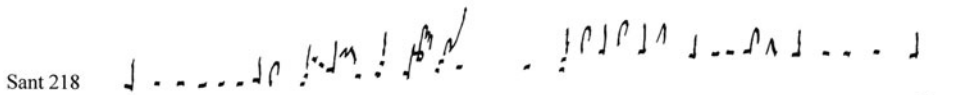
BM51 177v -  VR Ad te levamus oculos nostros qui habitas in caelis.

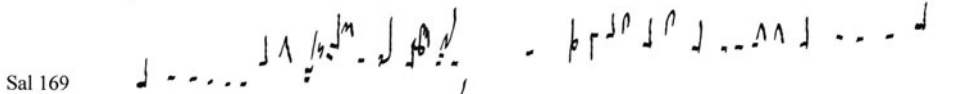
Sant 218 - 

Sal 168 - 


Sal 157 Qui respicis in terra et facis eam tremere miserere nobis Domine. VR Peccavimus quum patribus nostris iniuste egimus iniquitates
fecimus.

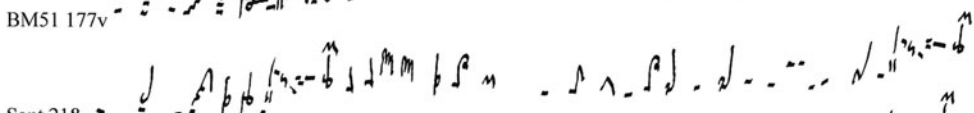
BM51 177v - 

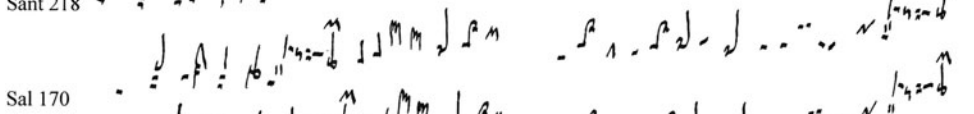
Sant 218 - 

Sal 169 - 

Sal 157 Vivit anima mea Deus et laudabit te. VR Erravi sicut ovis que perierat quare servum tuum.

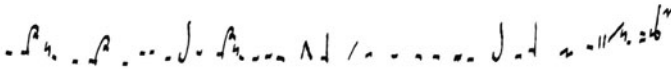
BM51 177v - 


Sant 218 - 

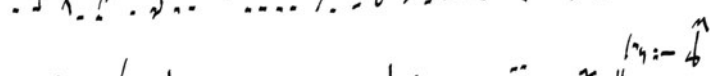
Sal 170 - 

Sal 157 Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini. VR Laqueus contritus est et nos liberati sumus.

Figure 2. Continued.


BM51 177v 

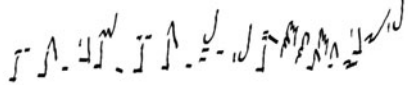
Sant 218 

Sal 170 

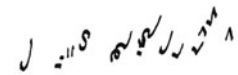
Sal 157v Gloria et honor patri et filio et spiritui sancto in secula seculorum amen.

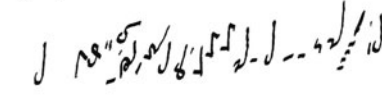
Figure 2. Continued.

T6 28 

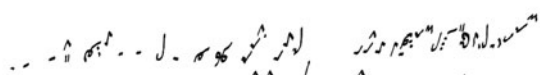
AL 187 

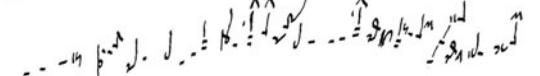
SNO Angelus Dei descendit de celo revolvit lapidem

T6 39 

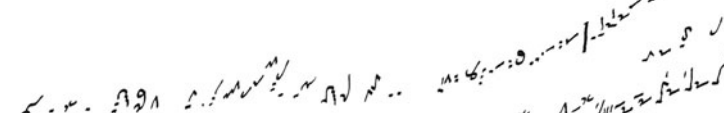
AL 190 

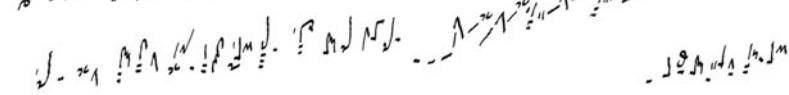
PSLM E- go dormibi et qui- ebi et resurrexi

T6 45v 

AL 191v 

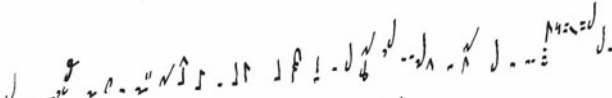
PSLM Memor fuit Do- minus misericordie sue Jacob et veritatis sue domui Israhel.

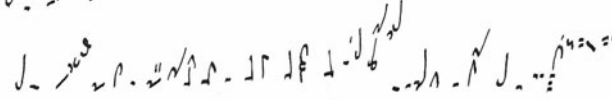
T6 

AL 

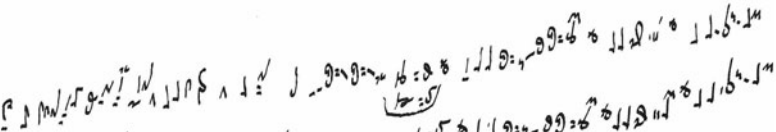
VR Notum fecit Dominus salutare suum ante conspectu gentium revela- bit iustitiam suam.

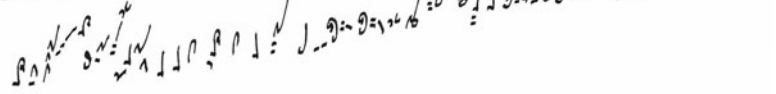
Figure 3. Pieces shared between T6, BM45 and AL.

T6 102 

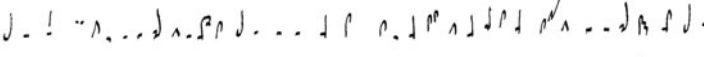
AL 206 

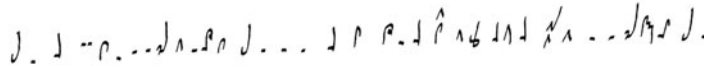
SNO Doce nos Domine facere voluntatem tuam alleluia quia tu es Deus noster ae- uia

T6 

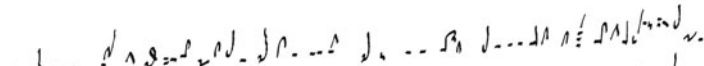
AL 

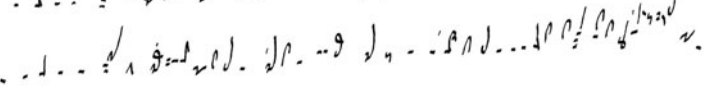
II Spiritus tuus bonus deducat nos in viam rectam.

T6 102 

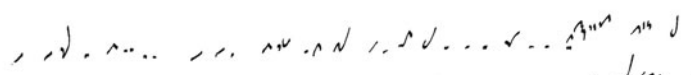
AL 206 

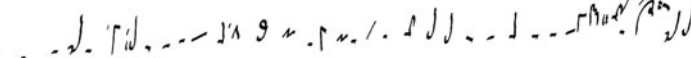
ANT Munda nos Domine ab iniquitatibus nostris et cor mundum crea in nobis et spiritum rectum in visceribus nostris.

T6 102 

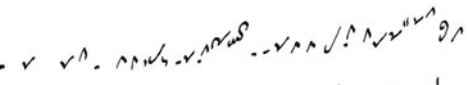
AL 206 

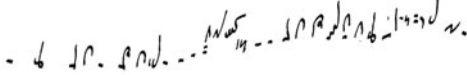
ALL Davo vobis cor nobum dicit Dominus et spiritum meum ponam in medio vestri alleluia alleluia alle- luia.

T6 107v 

AL209v 

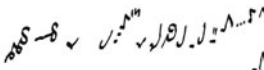
PRLG Dum complerentur dies Pentecosten erant omnes apostoli simul in unum et factus est e ce- lo sonitus

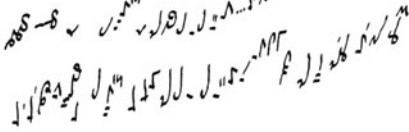
T6 

AL 

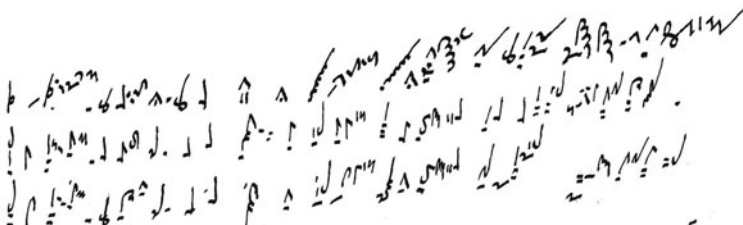
tanquam spiritus validi advenien- tis alleluia alleluia alle- luia.

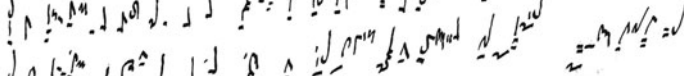
Figure 3. Continued.

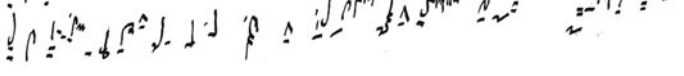
T6 108v 

AL 210 

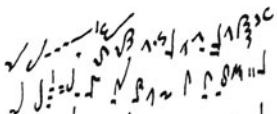
PSLM Re- dde mihi laetitiam saluta- ris tui

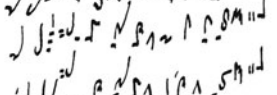
BM45 13 

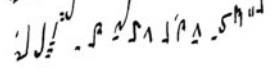
T6 123v 

AL 211v 

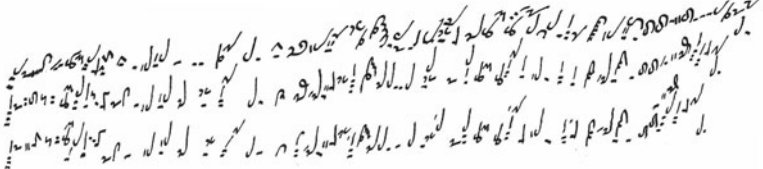
VPR Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum Domine et lumens semitis me- is.

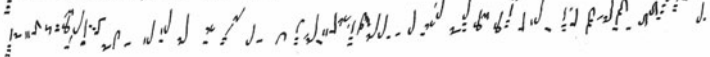
BM45 

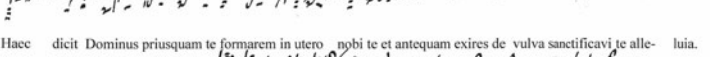
T6 

AL 

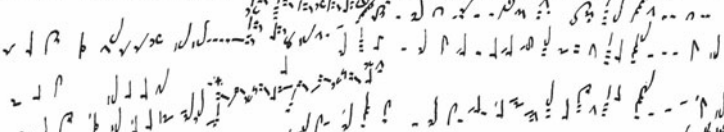
VR Iura- bi et statui custodire.

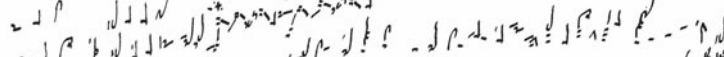
BM45 

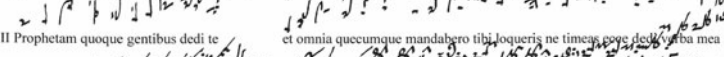
T6 123v 

AL 211v 

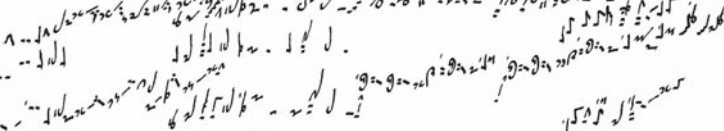
SNO Haec dicit Dominus priusquam te formarem in utero nobi te et antequam exires de vulva sanctificavi te alle- luia.

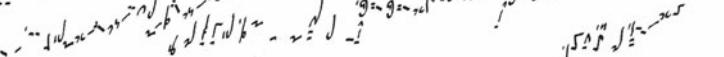
BM45 

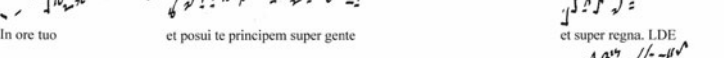
T6 

AL 

II Prophetam quoque gentibus dedi te et omnia quaecumque mandabero tibi loqueris ne timeas ego deduxi te in terra mea

BM45 

T6 

AL 

In ore tuo et posui te principem super gente et super regna. LDE

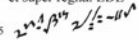
BM45 

Figure 3. Continued.

BM45 13

T6 123v

AL 212

ANT Apparuit angelus Zaccarie a dextris altaris dicens ei ne timeas quia exaudita est deprecatio tua

BM45

T6

AL

ecce nascetur tibi filius erit enim magnus coram Domino. VR Celi enarrant

BM45 13v

T6 123v

AL 212

ANT Ne timeas Zaccarias quoniam exaudita est oratio tua ecce nascetur tibi filius Johannes est nomen eius.

BM45 13v

T6 124

AL 212

ALL Angelus Domini dixit Zaccarie alleluia ecce Elisabet in utero accipiet alleluia et pariet filium


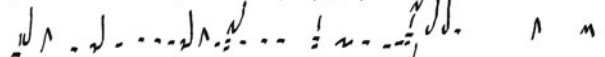
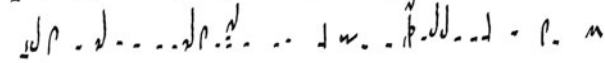
BM45

T6

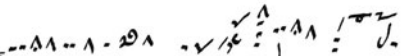
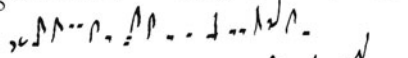
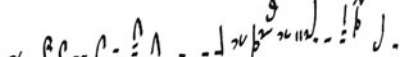
AL


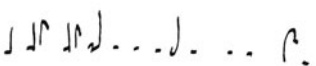
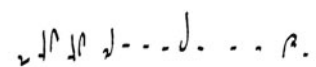
et nomen eius Johannem vocabis alleluia alleluia.

Figure 3. Continued.

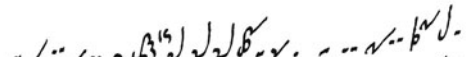
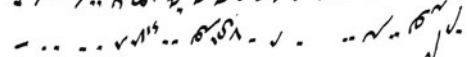
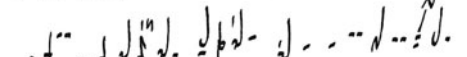
BM45 14v 
 T6 124v 
 AL 212 

PSLD Ponam te in exultatione eterna dicit Dominus alleluia et erit gaudium tuum

BM45 
 T6 
 AL 
 in secula seculorum alleluia alleluia alleluia.

BM45 14v 
 T6 125 
 AL 288 

ANT Gloria mea Deus et exaltans caput meum.

BM45 19 
 T6 132 
 AL 214v 

PRLG Floruit terra alleluia maturitas messis advenit alleluia


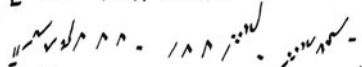
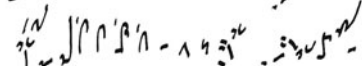
BM45 
 T6 
 AL 
 vitis dedit odorem alleluia alleluia.

Figure 3. Continued.

BM45 19v
 T6 133
 AL 215

PSLM Tu es Domine qui eduxisti me de ventre spes mea ab uberibus matris mee.

BM45
 T6
 AL

VR In te iactatus sum ex utero de ventre matris mee tu es Deus meus in te est decantatio mea.

BM45 21v
 BM45 115
 T6 135v
 AL 236v

LDS Alleluia Loquebar de testimoniis tuis in conspectu regum et non confundar.

BM45 21v
 T6 135v
 AL 215

SCR Sacerdos Zaccarias de vice Avia et huxor illi de filiabus Aaron erant enim iusti ambo ante Deum

Figure 3. Continued.

BM45 ✓
 T6 ✓
 AL ✓
 incedentes in omnibus mandatis et iustificationibus Domini sine querella alleluia alle- luia.

BM45 29v
 T6 140
 AL 216
 SNO Alle- luia In omnem terram exhibit sonus sanctorum et in fines orbis terre verba illorum alle- luia.

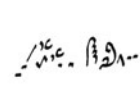
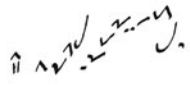
BM45 ✓
 T6 ✓
 AL ✓
 II Alle- luia Non sunt loquellae neque sermones quorum non audiuntur voces eorum.

BM45 42
 T6 151v
 AL 219v
 SNO Alle-luia Iustitia plena est dextera tua laetetur mons Syon et exultent filiae Iudaeae propter iudicia tua alleluia aeuia



II Alleluia Magnus Dominus

BM45 49v ✓
 T6 167v ✓
 AL 222 ✓
 ALL In locum quem elegerit Dominus et ponat nomen suum ibi offeretis decimas et primitias vestras

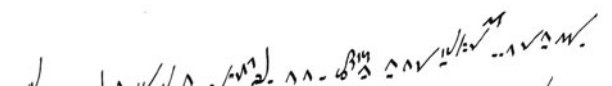
Figure 3. Continued.

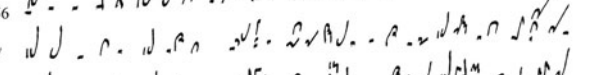
BM45  

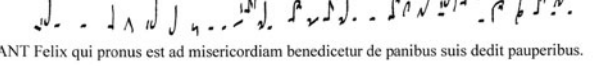
T6

AL  


II Gloria et divitie in domo eius et iustitia eius manet in seculum se- culi alle- Lde

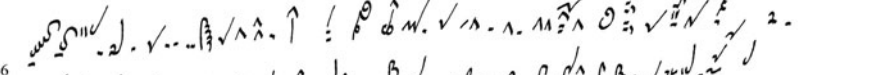
BM45 56 

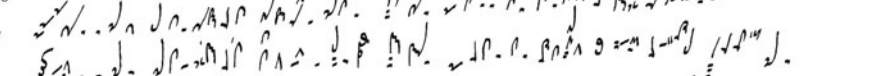
T6 182v 

AL 224 

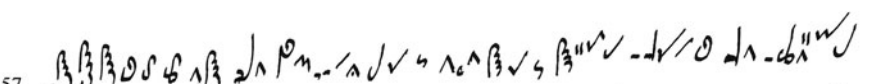
ANT Felix qui pronus est ad misericordiam benedicetur de panibus suis dedit pauperibus.


BM45 56 

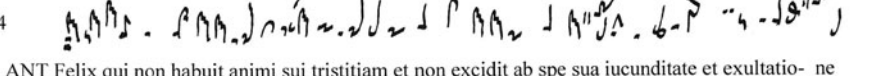
T6 182v 

AL 224 

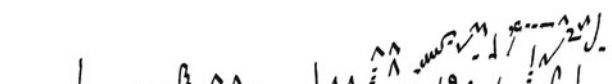
ALL Felix qui ex abundantia sua cibos ponit in visceribus pauperum de opere suo recipiet fructum laboris alle- luita.

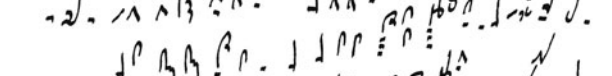
BM45 57 

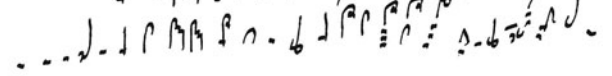
T6 183v 

AL 224 

ANT Felix qui non habuit animi sui tristitiam et non excidit ab spe sua iucunditate et exultatio- ne

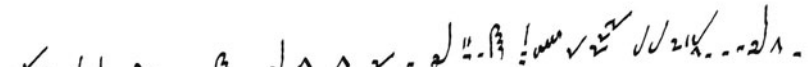
BM45 

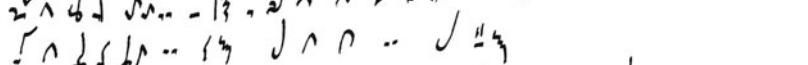
T6 

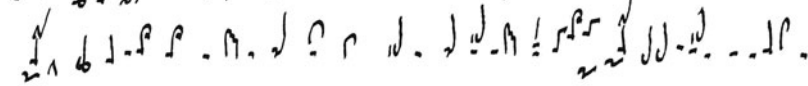
AL 

thesaurizabit super eum Dominus et nomine eterno heredita- bit illum.

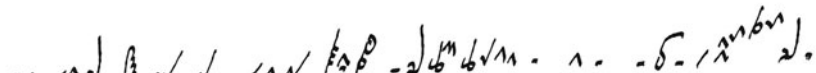
Figure 3. Continued.

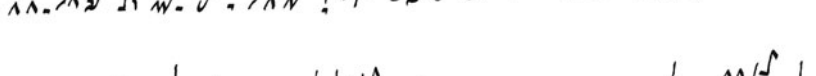
BM45 57 

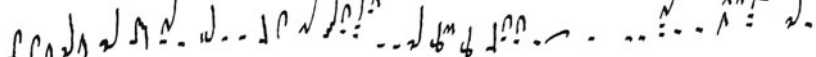
T6 184 

AL 224v 


ALL Felix qui potuit transgredi et non est transgressus et facere mala et non fecit ideo stabilita sunt

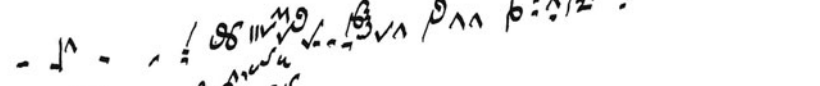
BM45 

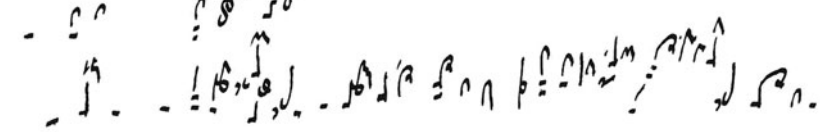
T6 

AL 

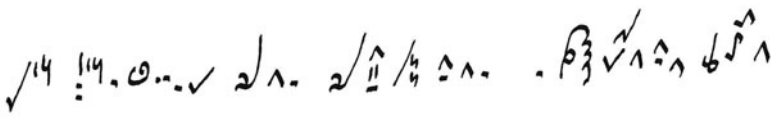
opera eius in Domino et elemosinas illius enarrabit ecclesia sanctorum alleluia alle- luia.

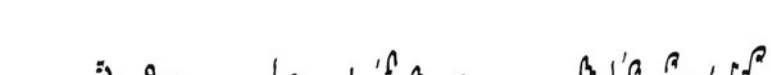
BM45 64 

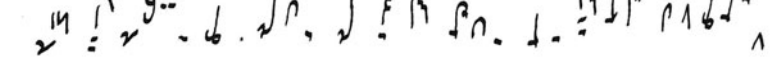
T6 192 

AL 226 

VPR Praeceptum Domini lucidum inluminans oculos sapientia pre- stans parvulis

BM45 

T6 

AL 

VR Lex Domini inreprehensibilis convertens animas testimonium Dei fidele.

Figure 3. Continued.

them symbol by symbol. For example, there are several different forms of the *scandicus* that are clearly distinguishable from one another to a much greater degree than different versions of the letters of the alphabet. This notation thus provides a much more concrete basis for judging similarities and differences among sources than does palaeographic study of the texts.