Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle (2023), 54, 94–118
doi:10.1017/rrc.2024.3

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

ARTICLE

Creating and Using Liturgies for the *Commune sanctorum* in Medieval Iberia

Emma Hornby[1], Marcus Jones[1] and Melanie Shaffer[2]

[1]University of Bristol and [2]Radboud University Nijmegen
Corresponding author: Emma Hornby; Email: emma.hornby@bris.ac.uk

Abstract
Providing source material for liturgical practice on a significant proportion of feast days in each *sanctorale* cycle, the *Commune sanctorum* liturgies had crucial daily importance for medieval Christians. Despite their frequent use, or perhaps because of this prosaic nature, the *Commune sanctorum* has rarely been considered as a liturgical phenomenon in its own right. Focusing on the Old Hispanic liturgy, this article explores the creation and presentation of the *Commune sanctorum.* We address systematically a question left unexamined in previous scholarship: where did the *Commune sanctorum* come from? We first survey the Old Hispanic material shared with other rites. Turning then to the Old Hispanic rite's unique material, we examine materials found only in the Commons and those shared elsewhere in the rite. We set out a methodology for determining the direction of origin for such shared chants, demonstrating the importance of proper saints' liturgies in the creation of the *Commune sanctorum* as well as the creative interest in producing new Commons materials. In addition to the origin of the *Commune sanctorum*, this article engages with manuscript presentation, asking how Commons materials were organized and how such presentations guided liturgical practitioners. A deeper understanding of the *Commune sanctorum* opens a window onto one of the foundational devotional experiences of Western Christendom.

Keywords: Chant; liturgy; Common of Saints; medieval Iberia; Old Hispanic

Introduction

In medieval Christian practice, the veneration of a saint was the primary ritual focus on many days of the year. On these days, the liturgical texts channelled the devotion of the gathered faithful in particular directions. These texts could adduce characteristics of the saint as a model for Christians in the medieval present and could draw parallels with biblical figures. Some texts dwelt on aspects of the saint's life: the saint's role as intercessor could be invoked, and the saint's potential as a conduit for the miraculous could be emphasized. The chants, readings, and prayers for some saints' feasts were all (or almost all) composed especially in honour of that saint. Many saints' feasts had a few uniquely assigned ('proper') items while most of their texts were thematically general and shared between two or more saints' feasts. Other saints had few or no established liturgical texts associated with them. On such saints'

This article was equally co-researched and co-authored. The research was co-funded by AHRC Standard Grant AH/S006060/1 (Doctrine, devotion and cultural expression in the cults of medieval Iberian Saints – Hornby, PI), NWO grant VI.Vidi.195.091 (Making a martyr in medieval Iberia (589–1080) – Shaffer, postdoctoral researcher), and the South, West and Wales Doctoral Training Partnership AHRC Studentship 2445305 (Ph.D. funding – Jones). For advice and feedback, we are grateful to our colleagues on the AHRC and NWO projects, to students and colleagues in our weekly reading group, and to the members of the University of Bristol Department of Music Writing Group.

© The Author(s), 2024. Published by Cambridge University Press on behalf of the Royal Musical Association. This is an Open Access article, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution licence (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/), which permits unrestricted re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

days, certainly by the ninth century, liturgical practitioners drew on a repertoire of suitable chants, prayers, and readings for each saintly type (e.g., martyr/confessor, male/female, single/plural). We refer to this repertoire in general as the *Commune sanctorum*, with separate names for the materials associated with each type of saint: Common of a Confessor, Common of a Virgin, etc.[1] Each medieval European Christian rite has a *Commune sanctorum* but – to our knowledge – their development and organization have never been studied in detail.[2] The *Commune sanctorum* permeated the liturgical year, interspersed in the routine flow of the temporale and proper saints' liturgies on which so much liturgical scholarship concentrates. Through an exhaustive survey of the Old Hispanic *Commune sanctorum* materials from the eighth to eleventh centuries, we position the *Commune sanctorum* as an important site of localized liturgical creativity and reveal some of the possibilities and constraints that guided liturgical compilers.

The veneration of saints in the medieval West has provided fertile ground for scholarly exploration of societal values. The scholarship on the cult of saints is vast, and it is impossible to give an exhaustive representation of its scope or contributors here. Key topics include the conceptual and historical foundations of the cult of saints, following the foundational work of Peter Brown,[3] and the compilation, transmission, and function of hagiography in medieval society.[4] The intersection between the cults of saints and local identity has inspired many interdisciplinary studies, integrating multiple aspects of medieval cultural production – textual, musical, liturgical, and material.[5] Questions of cultural transmission and value systems often underlie work on relics and relic cults.[6] In the Iberian context, Carmen Garcia Rodríguez and Pedro Castillo Maldonado have summarized the extant evidence for saints' cults, both material and textual,[7] while others have undertaken close readings of

[1]For consistency, we use *Commune sanctorum* to refer to this general category of material gathered together for the veneration of saints of all types. We use Latin terms to refer to the materials collected together for individual saintly categories. For a definition of the *Commune sanctorum*, see Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (University of Toronto Press, 1982), 45–47, 237–38. The early sacramentary evidence for the *Commune sanctorum* in the Roman rite is outlined briefly by Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, rev. and trans. William G. Storey and Niels Rasmussen (Pastoral Press, 1986), 61–106, *passim.*

[2]The *Commune sanctorum* is mentioned only in passing, if at all, in standard liturgical text books, including Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West* (Liturgical Press, 1986); Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*; *Geschichte der Liturgie in den Kirchen des Westens*, eds. Jürgen Bärsch and Benedikt Kranemann (Aschendorff, 2018); David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Clarendon Press, 1991). Eric Palazzo mentions the position in liturgical manuscripts of the *Commune sanctorum* in *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century* (Liturgical Press, 1998), 101.

[3]See, especially, Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (University of Chicago Press, 1981). On the intellectual foundations of the cult of saints, and its contested nature in late antiquity, see (inter alia) Matthew Dal Santo, *Debating the Saints' Cult in the Age of Gregory the Great* (Oxford University Press, 2012); Peter Sarris, Matthew Dal Santo, and Phil Booth, eds., *An Age of Saints: Power, Conflict and Dissent in Early Medieval Christianity* (Brill, 2011).

[4]Foundational work was undertaken in Hyppolite Delehaye, *Sanctus, Essai sur la culte des saints dans l'antiquité* (Société des bollandistes, 1927). For more recent contributions, see, for example, James T. Palmer, *Early Medieval Hagiography* (Arc Humanities Press, 2018); Jamie Kreiner, *The Social Life of Hagiography in the Merovingian Kingdoms* (Cambridge University Press, 2014); W. S. van Egmond, *Conversing with the Saints: Communication in Pre-Carolingian Hagiography from Auxerre* (Brepols, 2006).

[5]These include Margot E. Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts* (Yale University Press, 2010); David Hiley, 'Plainchant Offices for the Saints', in *Music and Liturgy in Medieval Britain and Ireland*, ed. Ann Buckley and Lisa Colton (Cambridge University Press, 2021), 105–21; Antón Alvar Nuño, 'From Stories to Artefacts: The Cult of Martyrs in Hispania and Their Meta-historical Value', *Pallas* [En ligne], 116 (2021). For a close focus on material culture, see, for example, Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (University of California Press, 2001); Mark A. Handley, *Death, Society and Culture: Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Gaul and Spain AD 300–750* (Oxford University Press, 2003).

[6]For example, Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, rev. edn (Princeton University Press, 1990); Patrick Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Cornell University Press, 1994), 9–29; Julia Smith, 'Old Saints, New Cults: Roman Relics in Carolingian Francia', in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. Julia Smith (Brill, 2000), 317–39.

[7]Carmen García Rodríguez, *El culto de los santos en la España romana y visigoda* (CSIC Instituto Enrique Flórez', 1966); Pedro Castillo Maldonado, *Los mártires hispanorromanos y su culto en la Hispania de la Antigüedad Tardía* (University of

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

individual cults.[8] Almost all of the scholarship we have encountered centres on the cults of particular saints, or medieval devotion to saints more broadly, as a cultural phenomenon.

In studying the *Commune sanctorum*, by contrast, we study not a particular saint or cult, but a more general liturgical and devotional practice that by definition cannot have a cult. As alluring as proper liturgies are to scholars, an exclusive focus on them is disproportionate to the evidence. By the tenth century in medieval Iberia, up to sixty saints—whose feasts were celebrated each year—lacked proper liturgical materials, while only around fifty saints were celebrated using at least some proper liturgical materials.[9] By the eleventh century, there had been a significant increase in the number of saints appearing in liturgical calendars. In one extant calendar, for example, there are 101 saints who do not appear with proper materials in liturgical manuscripts – accounting for almost one day in three of the liturgical year.[10] Therefore the *Commune sanctorum* materials were used far more often than the proper saints' liturgies were. The proportion of time that medieval worshippers spent engaged with the *Commune sanctorum* liturgies, and the impact of this on their overall impression of the cult of saints, is not reflected in modern scholarship. Here we respond to this medieval emphasis on *Commune sanctorum* materials by foregrounding them in our study.

We interrogate the processes of composition, compilation, and transmission of the *Commune sanctorum*, a routine element of medieval Christian devotional practice that has hitherto scarcely been explored. There have been two main interpretations of how the *Commune sanctorum* came about, almost always only alluded to in passing rather than directly addressed. Some scholars have supposed that individual saints' feasts belong to early layers of liturgical composition, and that some of their materials were later used to make the *Commune sanctorum.*[11] Others instead assume that saints' liturgies initially drew on a *Commune sanctorum* and were only properized later.[12] Certain chants may have been widely

Granada, 1999). See also Ángel Fábrega Grau, ed. *Pasionario Hispánico (Siglos VII–XI)* (CSIC Instituto P. Enrique Flórez', 1953) and Pilar Riesco Chueca, *Pasionario hispánico* (Universidad de Sevilla, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1995).

[8]To take just one Iberian saint – Leocadia – as an example, see Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, 'Cuestiones en torno al culto de Santa Leocadia', in *Saints and Their Authors: Studies in Medieval Hispanic Hagiography in Honour of John K. Walsh*, ed. Jane Connolly, Alan Deyermond, and Brian Dutton (University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 47–54; J. M. Ferrer Grenesche, *Contribución al estudio del oficio festivo de los santos en el rito hispánico: el 'Corpus Leocadiae' del oficio catedral hispánico* (Estudio Teológico de San Ildefonso, 1993); Kati Ihnat, 'Singing to the Tomb of Leocadia: A Unique Saint's Procession in the Old Hispanic Rite', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 15.2 (2023), 300–20; Sabine Panzram, 'Mérida contra Toledo, Eulalia contra Leocadia: Listados "falsificados" de obispos como medio de autorepresentación municipal', in *Espacios urbanos en el occidente mediterraneo (s. VI–VIII)*, ed. A. García and others (Toledo Visigodo, 2010), 123–30.

[9]Here we assume that saints named in calendars were venerated liturgically. In the tenth-century calendar preserved in L8, fifty-one of the one hundred and nine listed saints have individual feasts in the main body of the manuscript. The remaining fifty-eight, presumably, exclusively used materials from the *Commune sanctorum.* In the much smaller calendars in Esc D-I-1 and Esc D-I-2, only twenty-four saints lack proper materials in any extant Old Hispanic manuscript. On Old Hispanic calendars, see *Le Liber ordinum en usage dans l'Eglise wisigothique et mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle avec une introduction, des notes, une étude sur neuf calendriers mozarabes*, ed. Marius Férotin (Firmin-Didot, 1904), 449–97; José Vives and Ángel Fábrega Grau, 'Calendarios hispánicos anteriores al siglo XIII', *Hispania Sacra*, 2 (1949), 339–80; and Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, 'Brief Note on the Calendars of the Old Hispanic Liturgy', in *Calculemus et Cantemus: Towards a Reconstruction of Mozarabic Chant*, ed. Geert Maessen (Gregoriana Amsterdam, 2015), 15–28. For sigla of the Old Hispanic manuscripts referred to in this article, with summary details of dating and origin, see Appendix 1.

[10]This eleventh-century calendar is preserved in the liber *ordinum* Silos 4.

[11]See, for example, Luisa Nardini on the Beneventan Commune, *Chants, Hypertext, and Prosulas: Re-Texting the Proper of the Mass in Beneventan Manuscripts* (Oxford University Press, 2021), 224 and Jordi Pinell, ed., *Liber orationum psalmographus: colectas de Salmos del Antiguo Rito Hispánico* (Institute Énrique Flórez, 1972), 232.

[12]James McKinnon presents the development of the Roman *sanctorale* in this way, pointing to the scarcity of saints' feasts in the Würzburg Epistle list, and suggesting that most feasts 'made use of the Common epistles that appeared in the book under rubrics such as 'IN NATALE SANCTORUM'. See *The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (University of California Press, 2000), 158 and chapter 7 more generally, in which McKinnon argues for a seventh-century properization of the Roman sanctorale. For a similar approach, see Terrence Bailey, 'The Development of the Chronology of the Ambrosian Sanctorale: The Evidence of the Antiphon Texts', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer and Margot E. Fassler (Oxford University Press, 2000), 257–77. For an alternative chronology, allowing for earlier liturgical compilation, see Andreas

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

used before the *Commune sanctorum* was explicitly compiled: *commonly used* chants for saints, thought to be appropriate on many occasions, are not necessarily synonymous with the *Commune sanctorum*. Much liturgical scholarship conflates such *commonly used* chants for saints with the idea of the *Commune sanctorum*, leading to an assumption that material was often assigned to the *Commune sanctorum* before it was assigned to proper liturgies. In our study, we disentangle these different types of chant, emphasizing that the material in the *Commune sanctorum* was intentionally compiled through a variety of processes. As we show, the act of compiling lists of materials and fixed liturgies – named with rubrics – for certain categories of saint is what makes it the *Commune sanctorum*, not simply the widely shared use of certain liturgical materials on individual saints' feasts. A study of the *Commune sanctorum* across medieval Europe would lie beyond the scope of a single article; we therefore focus on the Old Hispanic rite, practised widely on the Iberian Peninsula between the eighth century and the end of the eleventh century.[13]

Our approach has been guided by the necessity of first outlining the foundational elements of the *Commune sanctorum* in the Old Hispanic rite: where is it preserved, what are its contents, how are the materials arranged in the manuscripts, and what type of usage does such arrangement encourage or suggest? The extant sources preserving the Old Hispanic *Commune sanctorum* were copied between the early eighth century and the eleventh century (see Appendices 1 and 2), allowing us to trace aspects of how the *Commune sanctorum* was compiled across a four-hundred-year period. We first collated the evidence from all extant liturgical manuscripts containing relevant material: antiphoners, commici, sacramentaries, libri hymnorum, libri canticorum, orationals and mistici.[14] Where available, we compared multiple versions of each liturgy to assess the level of variation between manuscripts. In some cases we were able to identify layers of accretion or a distillation of the options into fixed liturgies in some manuscripts. These foundations enabled us to explore processes of liturgical composition in the Old Hispanic *Commune sanctorum*.

In medieval devotion, each saint was conceptualized as belonging to a particular sub-category of sanctity, and the Commons of Saints were arranged and compiled in the context of such sub-categories. We therefore begin by outlining those sub-categories in the Old Hispanic *Commune sanctorum*, anchoring our discussion by reference to the more familiar sub-categorizations used in the Roman rite in a similar period. We then outline the variety of strategies used to generate the Old Hispanic *Commune sanctorum* materials in the extant manuscripts. Some of these materials are shared with other western European rites, and we discuss evidence of liturgical exchange between Iberia and areas using the Gallican or Roman rites. Next we consider the small corpus of material found only within the *Commune sanctorum* in the Old Hispanic rite – shared neither with other traditions nor within the Old Hispanic tradition itself. Finally, we discuss material from the Old Hispanic *Commune sanctorum* that is also assigned to other liturgical occasions within the Old Hispanic rite. As we show, such material could be presented or accessed in a variety of ways: appropriated from specific saints' feasts on an ad hoc basis, presented in lists of suitable materials for particular kinds of saints,[15] or crystallized into fixed liturgies for the *Commune sanctorum*. In several instances, we are able to propose the likeliest origin of these shared materials, whether in the *Commune sanctorum* or in proper liturgies.[16] Through this detailed analysis, we discern the different compilation strategies and transmission processes in the *Commune sanctorum*.

Pfisterer, *Cantilena Romana: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des gregorianischen Chorals* (Schöningh, 2002); Rebecca Maloy, *Inside the Offertory: Aspects of Chronology and Transmission* (Oxford University Press, 2010), chapter 5. There is a succinct summary of the debate in Rebecca Maloy, 'Old Hispanic Chant and the Early History of Plainsong', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **67** (2014), 1–79 (pp. 2–3).

[13]For a recent introduction to the history and contents of the Old Hispanic rite, see Emma Hornby and others, *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office* (Cambridge University Press, 2022).

[14]On these manuscript types, see Hornby and others, *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, chapter 2.

[15]On the presence of lists of *Commune sanctorum* in Roman rite sources, see Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 154–55.

[16]In this layer of inquiry we were greatly aided by Don M. Randel, *An Index to the Chant of the Mozarabic Rite* (Princeton University Press, 1969), which summarizes chant concordances across the repertory.

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Sub-Categories of Saint in the *Commune sanctorum*

Although Roman liturgical practice is often taken as paradigmatic, the Old Hispanic and Roman traditions, in fact, have different categories of saint. We outline the primary categories here as a corrective to the Roman-centric narrative that is usually summarized in the scholarship. The earliest traces of the *Commune sanctorum* date from the seventh and eighth centuries in both the Roman and the Old Hispanic traditions. In each case, the earliest layers offer limited information. For the Roman rite, the Old Gelasian sacramentary was compiled before 715.[17] It includes eight sets of mass prayers 'IN NAT. PLURIMORUM SANCTORUM.'[18] There are general references in the first set to 'saints', in the third set to 'martyrs' and 'confessors' (i.e., non-martyrs), and in all the other sets to 'martyrs'.[19] There is no formal subdivision between types of saint in these prayer sets, and there seems to be no provision for prayers relating to a single saint. The Gallican lectionaries give further evidence about the seventh-century understanding of saintly categories in northwestern Europe. The Luxeuil lectionary has Commons for a martyr, martyrs, a confessor, and confessors. In the Bobbio Missal, the categories of saint are a martyr, martyrs, a confessor, and virgins.[20] This differs from the Roman provision for martyrs and confessors in a similar time period. In the Old Hispanic rite, the earliest extant manuscript, the eighth-century Verona Orational (OV), includes two office prayers for *de sanctis* (i.e., a group of saints) and six prayers for *de unius justi* (a just man, a martyr)[21] copied near the end of the manuscript.[22] As can be seen in Appendix 3, seven of these prayers have textual parallels with psalm verses from Psalm 3 or Psalm 50.[23] Psalms 3 and 50 were always recited at matutinum (the dawn office) on saints' days, preceded by an antiphon and followed by a prayer. The seven OV prayers are all associated with this liturgical position in later manuscripts (Appendix 3).[24] Thus, these Old Hispanic office prayers make liturgical provision for saints venerated both alone and in groups, although the Gallican and Roman confessor/confessors category is not present, nor is the Bobbio missal category of a group of virgins.

Subsequent layers of Roman liturgy include provision for more types of saint. Here, we give two illustrative examples from the sacramentaries. The 'Frankish-Gelasian' or 'eighth-century Gelasian' sacramentary lists mass prayers for many categories of saint in the *Commune sanctorum*.[25] These categories are a

[17]The Old Gelasian sacramentary is preserved only in a single manuscript, Vatican, reg. Lat. 316. Images are available at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.316. See also Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 64–70.

[18]fols 162^{v}–165^{v}.

[19]Almost all of these prayer sets are shared with proper liturgies for particular saints' days, as noted in *The Gelasian Sacramentary: Liber sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae*, ed. Henry Austin Wilson (Clarendon Press, 1894), 209–14. Below, we discuss similar shared assignments within the Old Hispanic manuscripts.

[20]We found readings for the *Commune sanctorum* in the following Gallican lectionaries:

Luxeuil lectionary, late seventh or early eighth century: Paris BN lat. 9427, fol. 220^{r} ff., edited in *Le lectionnaire de Luxeuil*, ed. Pierre Salmon, Collectanea biblica latina 7 and 9 (Abbaye St-Jerôme, 1944 and 1953). Images at https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_19999/?st=gallery.

Sélestat Lectionary, ca. 700: Sélestat, France, Bibliothèque de la Ville, codex 1 (olim 1093), fol. 65^{r}. edited in *Études, textes, découvertes* 1, ed. Germain Morin (Abbaye de Maredsous, 1913), 440–56. This manuscript contains an Old Testament reading 'In sanctorum ubi uolueris lictio hieremiae prophetae' (Is. 61:10–62:3). Images at https://bhnumerique.ville-selestat.fr/bhnum/player/index.html?id=MS01A&v=161&p=1.

Bobbio missal, eighth century: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 13246, fol. 166^{v} ff., edited in *The Bobbio Missal: A Gallican Mass-Book*, ed. Elias Avery Lowe and John Wickham Legg, Henry Bradshaw Society 58 (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1920). Images at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b550103970.

[21]By the time of the tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts, the identity of an Old Hispanic 'Just' is explicitly associated with martyrdom, as is made clear in many of the prayers included in the Common of a Just liturgies.

[22]fol. 125^{v}. This closing section of the manuscript is an appendix, in a sense. Two prayers for canonical litanies (in early November) are followed by these saints' prayers, and finally the feast of Saint Martin.

[23]The remaining prayer connects closely with Psalm 6:3; it is not clear to us why this prayer was included here. Pinell included most of these prayers in his edition (albeit he associated OV item 1184 with the wrong psalm), and he summarized the connections between most of these prayers and the psalms in a table. See Pinell, *Liber orationum psalmographus*, 233.

[24]On these 'canonical' psalms, see Hornby and others, *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, 85–89, with further bibliography.

[25]We have taken these from the early-ninth-century St Gall Stiftsbibliothek, *codex* 348, 351–60; *Das fränkische Sacramentarium in alamannischer Überlieferung*, ed. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen 1–2 (Münster, 1918; reprint 1967). Images of the manuscript are available at https://e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0348/258. See also Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 70–78.

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

martyr, martyrs, a confessor, a virgin martyr, and saints (in a group). The Gregorian sacramentary has a similar list of categories in the *Commune sanctorum*, with the addition of a Common for more than one Apostle.[26] In later medieval books of the Roman rite, according to Andrew Hughes, the *Commune sanctorum* is conventionally presented in the following order:

> Apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors (including doctors, abbots), and virgins. Each may be subdivided, and apostles are frequently provided with a Common for the Vigil. Each class is normally subdivided into the Common for a single saint, followed by the Common for several saints of that kind: beyond this, virgins are usually classed as martyrs or non-martyrs. Confessors and martyrs are often qualified as bishops.[27]

Sub-categories of saint had similarly crystallized in Iberia by the tenth century, although the terminology is not the same as in the Roman rite, nor are the categories identical. Iberian liturgical books usually present the *Commune sanctorum* in this order (see Appendix 2): *de sanctis* (a pair or group of saints); *de unius justi* (a just man, a martyr); *de uno confessore* (a non-martyr holy man); *de virginibus* (a pair or group of virgins); and *de una virgine* (a virgin).[28] The tenth-century León antiphoner L8 additionally has *unius virginis confessoris* (a virgin confessor) at the end of the list. This is a shorter set of categories than those listed by Hughes for later manuscripts containing the Roman rite, and is much more similar to the earlier Frankish-Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries. The Old Hispanic manuscripts do not have Commons for apostles or for groups of martyrs (although groups of martyrs are included within the *de sanctis* category), and the Roman sacramentaries do not have *de virginibus* or *unius virginis confessoris*.[29] Both rites, however, have *de sanctis*, *de uno confessore*, and *de uno virgine*, as well as a Common for a male martyr (albeit with different terminology in each rite).

Commune sanctorum Materials Shared between Rites

Like the saintly categories, some Old Hispanic *Commune sanctorum* materials are also found in other rites, although most remain exclusive to the Old Hispanic rite. There are many hymns and readings shared across one or more rites. Most Old Hispanic *Commune sanctorum* hymns are also present in the Frankish Hymnal (Table 1), Helmut Gneuss's name for the hymn repertory found in a group of six eighth- and ninth-century western European manuscripts.[30] This shared repertory was used across western Europe for saints lacking proper hymns. Whilst we cannot pinpoint the origin of these hymns or the direction of their transmission, we can confirm that they were indeed shared across traditions. They point to broader networks of liturgical exchange in the early Middle Ages.[31]

[26]We have drawn our list from Paris BNF lat. 9429, fols 115^{v}–117^{r}: apostles (plural), a martyr, martyrs (plural), a confessor, confessors (plural), virgins. Images of the manuscript are available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105421959/f1.item. See also Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 79–102.

[27]Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 155–56.

[28]In Silos 3 and BL51 (hymnorum) *de una virgine* precedes *de virginibus.*

[29]On this type of saint, see forthcoming work on Saint Leocadia by Emma Hornby, Kati Ihnat and Rebecca Maloy (in preparation).

[30]Helmut Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen im englischen Mittelalter: Studien zur Überlieferung, Glossierung und Übersetzung lateinischer Hymnen in England*, Buchreihe der Anglia, 12 (Niemeyer, 1968). For a full summary and repertoire list for each type of early medieval hymnal, see Susan Boynton, 'Medieval Hymns and Hymnals', in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. J. R. Watson and Emma Hornby (Canterbury Press, 2013), <http://www.hymnology.co.uk/m/medieval-hymns-and-hymnals> (accessed 26 March 2024). On Iberian hymns, Carmen Julia Gutiérrez has made important contributions. See 'La himnodia medieval en España' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oviedo, 1995); 'Spanish Hymnody: Early and Medieval', in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. Watson and Hornby; 'The Hymnodic Tradition in Spain', in *Der lateinische Hymnus im Mittelalter. Überlieferung – Ästhetik – Ausstrahlung*, ed. Andreas Haug, Christoph März, and Lorenz Welker (Bärenreiter, 2004), 215–43.

[31]On connections between Old Hispanic, Roman, and Gallican responsories, see Rebecca Maloy and others, 'Revisiting "Toledo, Rome, and the Legacy of Gaul": New Evidence from the Divine Office', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 31 (2022), 1–35. There is a large literature on connections between sacrificia/offertory chants in different rites. See, most recently, Rebecca Maloy, *Songs of Sacrifice: Chant, Identity, and Christian Formation in Early Medieval Iberia* (Oxford University Press, 2020).

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 1. Hymns for the *Commune sanctorum*

	Hymn	BN01 (hymnorum)	BL51 (hymnorum)	BL51 (misticus)	Silos 3	Silos 6	Other assignments (Old Hispanic)	Frankish Hymnal
de unius justi	Deus tuorum militum	✓	✓		✓	✓	n/a	✓ (martyrs)
	Deus inmensa trinitas unita	✓	✓				n/a	
	Martir dei	✓	✓	✓			✓ (T3, a Just, terce)	✓(martyrs)
de uno confessore	Summe confessor	✓	✓	✓		(lacuna)	n/a	✓(St Gregory)
	Deus immensa trinitas corona	✓						
	Confessor hic			✓	✓		n/a	
	Ihesu redemtor omnium			✓			n/a	✓(confessors)
de una virgine	Virgines proles	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	n/a	✓ (virgins or a virgin)
de virginibus	Jesu corona virginum	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓ (virgins)
de sanctis	Rex gloriose	✓	✓		✓			✓ (martyrs)
	Sanctorum meritis	✓	✓		✓	(lacuna)	Acisclus in L8, 29v	✓(martyrs)

Old Hispanic hymns for saints typically detail elements of the life and passion of the saint in question. The specificity of these hymns prevents them from being shared between different saints' feasts, or between a saints' feast and the *Commune sanctorum*. Instead, the *Commune sanctorum* hymns – largely shared between the Roman and the Old Hispanic traditions – have generic texts, suitable for use on multiple occasions. For example, the hymn *Rex gloriose* discusses the crowning and triumphs of the martyr and beseeches the saint for mercy and forgiveness. The lack of specifics about the individual saint's characteristics or life story made such hymns suitable for borrowing across the Roman and the Old Hispanic traditions, despite these rites having different sets of saints and different liturgical emphases for saints, even those who were venerated in both traditions.

Similarly, we were able to identify concordances between some Old Hispanic *Commune sanctorum* mass readings and other liturgical traditions. The Old Hispanic rite had three mass readings (Old Testament, Epistle, and Gospel) compared with the Roman lectionary's two. The Gallican rite shared many features with the Old Hispanic rite, including its use of three mass readings.[32] Here we compare readings for the Old Hispanic *de sanctis*, and the closest Gallican equivalent, the Common of Martyrs (i.e., a group of martyrs).[33] The Old Hispanic commicus manuscripts have six sets of readings for *de sanctis*.[34] One of the gospel readings in one Old Hispanic commicus (PB71) is Luke 21, also found in the Gallican Luxeuil lectionary for the Common of Martyrs, but the other two Luxeuil readings for this Common are not included in the Old Hispanic *de sanctis* mass readings. There is somewhat more overlap with the Bobbio Missal. The Epistle (Hebrews 11:33–34) is used for Martyrs in the Bobbio Missal and for the Old Hispanic *de sanctis*.[35] The Gospel reading (Matthew 5:1–12) is also found in both traditions.[36] However, in all of these cases, the shared reading is one item among many sets of readings in the Old Hispanic rite, while the Gallican manuscripts preserve only one set of readings for each category of Common. We cannot be certain about the relationship between the Old Hispanic and Gallican *Commune sanctorum* readings, partly because there are so many Old Hispanic readings without extant Gallican cognates. Possibly there was borrowing or sharing of mass readings between the rites, but it is also possible that the liturgical compilers independently selected the same biblical texts as suitable for the *Commune sanctorum*.

Materials Preserved Only in the Old Hispanic *Commune sanctorum*

While some Old Hispanic *Commune sanctorum* hymns and readings have cognates in *Commune sanctorum* liturgies outside Iberia, other materials are uniquely preserved in the Old Hispanic *Commune sanctorum*. These include some hymns (those without Frankish hymnal cognates in Table 1), the vast majority of mass readings, and several canticles. Here we discuss the materials that are found in the OH *Commune sanctorum* and nowhere else in OH liturgical manuscripts. We cannot know whether these materials were truly unique to the *Commune sanctorum* due to the poor survival rates of medieval books produced on the Iberian Peninsula. However, the lack of assignment of these liturgical materials to any other occasion in the extant Old Hispanic manuscripts encourages us to explore them as compositions specifically for the *Commune sanctorum*, offering a new perspective on

[32]By the time the Roman lectionary was adopted in Gaul in the seventh and eighth centuries, the Roman norm was to have two mass readings, and the Roman rite readings vary widely between manuscripts. Although the Milanese/Ambrosian Mass also had three readings, we have been unable to explore the Milanese materials within the research for the present article. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 303–04 (on systems of mass readings); 349–54 (on the variability of the Roman lectionary).

[33]See fn 21, above.

[34]One of these sets is also found in Silos 3. Silos 3 has a further set of readings for *de sanctis*, using readings that are found in various of the commicus sets for *de sanctis*. The commici are edited in *Liber commicus*, ed. Justo Pérez de Urbel and Atilano González y Ruiz-Zorrilla, 2 vols. (Escuela de Estudios Medievales, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1950).

[35]Set 5 in PB71; set 6 in A22 and L2.

[36]Commicus set 1.

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

its use and compilation. Whereas new proper liturgies are often seen as the locus of liturgical creativity, this evidence indicates that the *Commune sanctorum* could also provide such creative opportunities.

Some materials uniquely assigned to the *Commune sanctorum* were not widely transmitted, and the lack of verses or melodies for some of them may indicate that they were rarely used. L8 and the ninth-century orational BL52 both preserve examples of such materials. Towards the end of BL52, a vespers prayer set for *de sanctis* is followed by six matutinum missa prayers.[37] A missa comprised an antiphon followed by a prayer, a second antiphon followed by a prayer, an alleluiaticus followed by a prayer, and a responsory, sometimes followed by a prayer. BL52 was laid out to include only prayers, but later hands intervened to add incipits for many matutinum chants.[38] There are no chant incipits, however, with BL52's *de sanctis* missa prayers. Those who added chant incipits either did not know which chants should accompany these prayers, or did not use this *de sanctis* liturgy. The ephemeral nature of BL52's liturgy for *de sanctis* is further illustrated by the fact that none of the eight prayer texts are found elsewhere in the corpus. Either they were not widely known, or they had fallen out of use by the time the other extant manuscripts were copied.

The repertory of unique *Commune sanctorum* materials in L8 may have been similarly fleeting, even while showing an interest in new composition or compilation for the *Commune sanctorum*. L8 preserves lists of *Commune sanctorum* matutinum missa chants. The lists for *de sanctis*, *de unius justi*, and *de una virgine* include many uniquely assigned chants. Several of these sets form thematic units, suggesting that the lists were not simply repositories but were also created as coherent, meaningful liturgies.[39] There are questions about the extent to which they were used, however. In L8, *de unius justi* includes five sets of matutinum missa chants, arranged as a list of five groups of antiphon + antiphon + alleluiaticus, followed by a list of five responsories.[40] Fourteen of the twenty chants are uniquely assigned to this Common in this manuscript and, of the remaining six chants, only one is preserved in other manuscripts for *de unius justi*:[41] apparently this repertory did not circulate widely. Some of these chants may not even have been in use in León. Five of the fifteen antiphons/alleluiatici – four of them unica – lack verses.[42] The verse was a crucial part of a missa chant, carefully selected to complement the antiphon, alleluiaticus, or responsory text.[43] These five chants were incomplete without verses. If they were in use, one might expect a manuscript user to add the verse text and, in fact, this is exactly what seems to have happened with the last set of antiphon + antiphon + alleluiaticus for *de unius justi* in L8. Here, the verse texts, omitted by the original scribe, were added by a later hand

[37]The folio is misbound as fol. 18$^{r–v}$. It originally came at the end of the surviving folios of BL52: fol. 18^{r} begins with the closing prayers for Saint Martin (November 11), at the end of the liturgical year. In later Old Hispanic manuscripts, *de sanctis* is invariably the first Common to be presented; in BL52, *de sanctis* may have originally been followed by *de unius justi*, *de una virgine*, and so on. Vives concurs that these prayers are indeed for *de sanctis* rather than for the 1 November feast of All Saints, which is not attested in Old Hispanic liturgical manuscripts until the 1052 calendar in Silos 4. José Vives, 'El oracional mozárabe de Silos. British Museum, ms. Addit. 30852', *Analecta sacra tarraconensia* 18 (1945), 1–25 (p. 9). For the texts, see Vives, 'El oracional', 23–24. The presentation in *Oracional Visigótico*, ed. José Vives (CSIC, Escuela de Estudios Medievales, Sección de Barcelona, and Biblioteca Balmes, 1946) can be confusing; although Hornby and Rojo Carrillo read these materials as present in OV, they are in fact only in BL52. See Emma Hornby and Raquel Rojo Carrillo, 'The Liturgical Year in the Old Hispanic Rite', in *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, ed. Hornby and others, 39.

[38]All of the missa chants for Saint Martin, copied immediately before *de sanctis*, were signalled in this way in BL52, for example (fols 16^{v}–18^{r}).

[39]In several *de unius justi* sets, for example, the first two antiphon incipits are textually linked: set 1 (Beatus/Beatum), set 2 (Iste/Iste), set 5 (Ornamentum/Ornabit).

[40]Starting on fol. 250^{r}.

[41]The first of the five responsories is assigned to: *de unius justi* (matutinum) in BL51 and Silos 3; *de unius justi* (prime) in Silos 7; *de unius justi* (terce) in T3; and Saint Cucuphas and Saint Pelagius in BL45.

[42]Two unica *de sanctis* alleluiatici in L8 similarly lack verses, and one responsory is a unicum incipit that the manuscript users presumably could not have used to generate the entire responsory. Similarly, three unica *de una virgine* chants L8 lack verses.

[43]Jordi Pinell, 'Las missae, grupos de cantos y oraciones en el oficio de la antigua liturgia hispana', *Archivos Leoneses, Revista del Centro de Estudios e Investigación de 'San Isidoro'*, 15–16 (1954), 145–85.

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

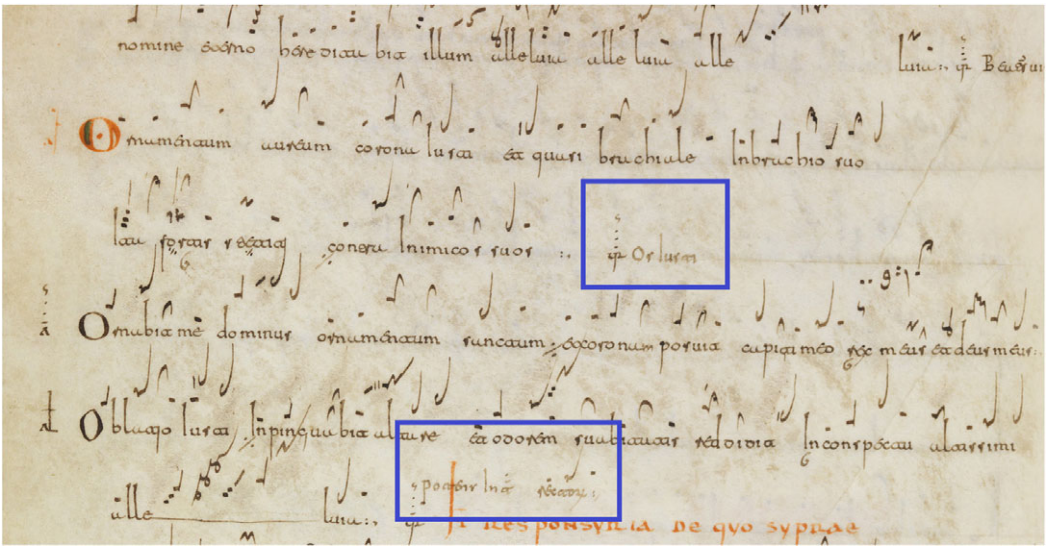


Figure 1. Matutinum missa chants with added verses in L8, f.251^{r}.

(marked with boxes in Figure 1).[44] The chants with added verse texts are more likely to have been used than the L8 *de unius justi* chants that lack verses entirely. As with the BL52 *de sanctis* prayers, the L8 chants assigned only to the *Commune sanctorum* may have been composed specifically for the Commons. Both BL52 and L8 illustrate the phenomenon of localized liturgical creativity associated with the *Commune sanctorum*.

Commune sanctorum Materials Shared with Other Old Hispanic Feasts and Their Origins

Many Old Hispanic *Commune sanctorum* materials are unique to Old Hispanic practice, but are also assigned to other liturgical occasions. We examine how this repertory is cued or organized in the extant manuscripts and what the original assignments may have been. The evidence is preserved in the manuscripts in the form of lists, fixed liturgies, or sometimes simply rubrics instructing practitioners to find materials in other saints' feasts. Examining both *ordinatio* and *compilatio* allows us to imagine something of the liturgical creation process.[45]

Ad hoc Selection of Chants for Saints, with and without Rubrics

Underlying the fully developed *Commune sanctorum* is the fundamental principle that liturgical materials can be shared between multiple saints' feasts to provide a complete liturgical observance for saints without a fully compiled liturgy. This principle is evident as early as the Verona Orational, where manuscript users were instructed to draw four chants for Saints Justus and Pastor from the feast of the

[44]These three chants were known in other contexts. They were added to the opening folios of a separate antiphoner later bound with L8. See Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy, 'Notated Chant in the Opening Folios of the León Antiphoner', in *Les folios introductifs de l'Antiphonaire de León (Archivo de la Catedral de León, ms. 8, fol. 1–27). Étude et édition*, ed. Thomas Deswarte (Brepols, 2023), 149–79. They were also used in the mid-eleventh century matutinum for Saint Aemilian in NY16, confirming they saw some level of transmission.

[45]Malcolm Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of Ordinatio and Compilatio on the Development of the Book', in *Scribes, Scripts, and Readers* (Hambeldon Press, 1991), 35–70.

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Holy Innocents.[46] Thus we know that, by the end of the Visigothic period, materials could be shared between similar saints' feasts. We can infer that a similar practice was in place for some other saints. For example, OV includes concluding vespers and matutinum prayers for four saints' feasts that lack matutinum missa prayers.[47] Since the missa was an essential component of matutinum, liturgical practitioners presumably used a missa from the liturgy of another suitable saint, in the way that was explicitly instructed for Saints Justus and Pastor. We cannot know which liturgical materials were used in such cases, but these partially properized saints' feasts imply that chants and prayers could be pressed into service across more than one saints' feast as needed, anticipating the practice of sharing materials across multiple feasts that was later made explicit and codified in the extant *Commune sanctorum* liturgies.

The practice of borrowing from saints' feasts to provide materials for the *Commune sanctorum* is explicitly signalled in L8. Here, *de unius justi* begins with a rubric instructing manuscript users to look at the feasts of martyrs earlier in the manuscript to supply the vespers chants.[48] Similar to OV's missing matutinum missa prayers, entire parts of the liturgical day are sometimes missing from an L8 Common liturgy, without explanation.[49] In such cases, manuscript users probably drew chants from similar feasts, as is instructed in L8's *de unius justi.* While OV preserves a specific instance, L8 provides direct evidence of the general case: on a saints' day that lacked proper chants, sometimes the cantor should select suitable chants from feasts of similar saints. It was thus understood that the *Commune sanctorum* could be generated by drawing materials from suitable saints' liturgies.

Lists of Shared Chants in the Commune sanctorum

As noted, materials for the *Commune sanctorum* are often presented in lists.[50] These materials are frequently also assigned to specific saints' feasts. The *libri canticorum* present canticles in lists for each type of saint in turn (Table 2); many of these canticles are assigned to specific saints in other manuscripts. Similarly, several L8 Common liturgies comprise lists of chants – multiple options for each genre – that are also assigned to specific saints elsewhere in the manuscript. L8's *de sanctis*, for example, includes substantial lists of vespers and matutinum chants. The vespers lists are almost entirely drawn from liturgies of groups of saints earlier in the manuscript, presented in liturgical year order: the first sono is shared with the feast of Saint Acisclus and companions (17 November); the second sono with the feast of Saint Romanus and companions (18 November); the third sono with the feast of Saint Cecilia and companions (22 November); etc. The compiler of this Common was as comprehensive as possible, offering all the suitable options in one place. Because the choices made for these lists follow the liturgical order of the *Sanctorale*, the list's creator likely thought through or paged through specific saints' feasts, in turn, rather than simply remembering generic saintly chants that happen to be from these distinct liturgies, and happened to come to mind in liturgical order. When using such lists, liturgical practitioners retained the element of choice that we have also encountered in the *ad hoc* selection of materials for the *Commune sanctorum*, although in this case their choices were constrained by the lists' compilers.

[46]OV, fol. 121^{r}. 'CETERE TAMEN ORATIONES DE MATUTINO, DE ANTIFONIS, IDEST: "*SINITE PARVULOS*" ET "*SAPIENTIA APERUIT OS MUTORUM*" SIVE DE ALLELUIATICO: "*EX ORE INFANTIUM*" VEL DE RESPONSORIO, QUI IN ORDINE SEQUITUS, SUPERIUS IN MISSA QUARTA DE INFANTUM FACTE SUNT, QUAE IN ISTO DIE DICENDE SUNT.' For these chants in the feast of the Holy Innocents, see OV, fol. 54^{r}. BL52, fol. 35^{v} similarly signals on the feast of Holy Innocents that these four matutinum chants were also to be used for Saints Justus and Pastor. On BL52, see Vives, 'El oracional'.

[47]Saint Eugenia (item 337; fol. 41^{r}), Saint Julian [and Basilissa] (item 420; fol. 51^{v}), Saint Cucufatis (item 1123; fol. 118^{v}), and Saint Cyprian (item 1160; fol. 123^{r}). OV usually includes one or more sets of missa prayers for each feast, often including a marginal chant incipit with each prayer.

[48]fol. 250^{r}, 'VESPERTINOS, SONOS, ANTIPHONAS ET PSALLENDOS SURSUM QUERE PER FESTAS MARTIRUM'.

[49]For example, there is no Mass in L8 for *de sanctis* or *de unius justi.*

[50]Hughes notes this as a common feature of the *Commune sanctorum.* See *Medieval Manuscripts*, 154.

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 2. chants shared between the Old Hispanic *Commune sanctorum* and proper saints' feasts

	L8	Silos 3	Silos 6	BL51	Libri hymnorum (Sal, Sant, BL51)	Commici (A22, L2, PB71)	Libri canticorum (Sal, Sant, BL51)
de sanctis	Chants shared with other feasts for plural saints (L8)	Chants shared with other feasts for plural saints and *de sanctis* (L8)	(not present)	Chants shared with other feasts for plural saints and *de sanctis* (L8)	*Sanctorum meritis* shared with Acisclus (L8)	Six sets; seven readings are shared with other feasts for plural saints	Chants shared with other feasts for plural saints and *de sanctis* (L8)
de una virgine	Chants shared with a limited set of virgin feasts (L8): Eulalia, Leocadia, Columba, Agatha, Mary	Vespers and end–of–matutinum chants shared with Eulalia and Columba (L8); matutinum missa shared with *de una virgine* (L8); mass shared with Eulalia (L8)	Vespers and end of matutinum chants shared with Eulalia and Columba (L8); vespers, missa and sono shared with L8 *de una virgine*	Chants shared with Eulalia and Agatha (L8)	n/a	One Old Testament reading shared with Leocadia Two commici have rubric pointing to Eulalia	Chants shared with Leocadia, Columba, and *de una virgine* (L8)
de virginibus	Chants shared with Justa and Rufina (L8)	Chants shared with Justa and Rufina (L8)	Chants shared with Justa and Rufina (L8)	Chants shared with Justa and Rufina (L8)	n/a	All commicus manuscripts have rubrics pointing at Justa and Rufina	Chant shared with Justa and Rufina (L8)
de unius justi	Chants shared with other feasts (L8)	Chants shared with other feasts (L8) and other manuscripts	Chants shared with other feasts (L8) and other manuscripts	Chants shared with other feasts (L8) and other manuscripts	n/a	Five sets; three readings are shared with Justa and Rufina, one with John the Apostle and one with Leocadia	Some chants shared with other feasts of Just saints and *de unius justi* (L8)

Table 2 *Continued*

	L8	Silos 3	Silos 6	BL51	Libri hymnorum (Sal, Sant, BL51)	Commici (A22, L2, PB71)	Libri canticorum (Sal, Sant, BL51)
de uno confessore	(fol. 252^{r}) Chants shared with Aemilian, Martin and Leocadia (L8)	Most chants shared with Leocadia or Martin in L8 Occasional chants shared with Saturninus, Peter's chair, Aemilian (L8)	Most chants shared with Martin and Leocadia (L8) Almost identical to the BL45 Aemilian liturgy	Chants shared with Martin, Leocadia and Aemilian (L8)	n/a	Six readings, three are shared with Martin and one with Leocadia	Chant shared with Martin and *de unius justi* (L8)
de unius virginis confessoris	(fol. 255r) Chants shared with Leocadia (L8)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Origins of Chants: Shared Chants in Lists or Ad Hoc Selection

Sometimes we can be certain that materials shared between the Old Hispanic *Commune sanctorum* and specific feasts (summarized in Table 2) originated in a liturgy for a specific saint, based on the liturgical assignment of chants in the Visigothic period (preserved in OV) and the use of saint-specific language. In OV, liturgical texts for feasts lacking proper materials were shared on an ad hoc basis, as outlined earlier; there is no evidence for fully formed Old Hispanic *Commune sanctorum* liturgies in the early eighth century. Thus, when prayers are assigned to a saint in the eighth-century OV and to a Common in a later manuscript, we consider that it almost certainly originated in the properized saints' liturgy. For example, the *de uno confessore* matutinum missa prayers in BL51 are also present in the OV liturgy for Saint Martin. Such *Commune sanctorum* items were created first for the proper liturgies with which they were associated in the Visigothic OV.

In chants preserved only in manuscripts from the tenth century onwards, we assert that a chant originated in a saint's proper liturgy rather than in the *Commune sanctorum* when it is assigned only to that saint and to the Common, or when the topic or scripture source connects closely with the saint's *passio* or *vita.* The soni provide several examples of this phenomenon.[51] For example, the L8 *de unius justi* sono *Alleluia, iudicium datum*, shared with the feast of Saint Michael, has a verse beginning *Ecce Michael*, indicating that the chant was originally assigned to this saint, despite its assignment also to *de sanctis* and to Saints Adrian and Natalie.[52] Similarly, the sono *Alleluia, caeli enarrant gloriam Dei* is assigned in L8 to *de sanctis* and also to Saint Torquatus and companions. The text describes 'those going down to the sea in ships', resonating with the vita of Saint Torquatus and companions who arrived by ship to evangelize Iberia, thus making it likely that this sono was originally assigned to Saint Torquatus, and it was subsequently taken into the Common. A third sono, *Lex domini inmaculata*, is assigned in L8 to *de sanctis* vespers and also to Saints Justus and Pastor. The chant refers to the 'wisdom of the boys', a phrase that is ubiquitous in the chants for Justus and Pastor. Further, the sono reuses and mirrors language from the preceding vespertinus, a chant assigned uniquely to these boy saints.[53] Thus, *Lex domini inmaculata* was almost certainly first assigned to the boy saints Justus and Pastor, and drawn from their liturgy for use in *de sanctis.* Beyond the soni, a paired vespers antiphon and alleluiaticus for Saints Fructuosus, Augurius, and Eulogius is also present in L8's *de sanctis* lists. The main topic of these chants is fire, certainly applicable to Fructuosus and his companions whose *passio* and liturgy mirror the biblical story of the three young men in the fiery furnace (Daniel 3).[54] We are confident that these chants originated in the Fructuosus liturgy rather than in *de sanctis.* These soni and the Fructuosus chants are the most striking examples in the repertoire where the chant texts are strongly connected to the saint's vita. In all such cases, the direction of travel is most likely from the proper saints' feast to the *Commune sanctorum.*[55]

In contrast, some chants may have been composed first for the *Commune sanctorum.* When *Commune sanctorum* chants are also assigned to multiple saints' liturgies, with texts generic enough to have no obvious origin, it may suggest that they were not drawn from a specific saints' liturgy. The sono *Quis deus magnus*, for example, is assigned to twenty-two saints' liturgies across the Old Hispanic manuscripts.[56] Its verse text opens 'you are honourable in the saints'. The appropriateness of this text for

[51]This chant genre was sung during vespers and matutinum. Its melodies are among the most complex and soloistic of the repertoire. For an introduction, see Hornby and others, *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, 117–19.

[52]See Randel, *Index*, 308.

[53]On the vespertinus genre, see Hornby and others, *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, 119–21 and Raquel Rojo Carrillo, *Text, Liturgy, and Music in the Hispanic Rite: The Vespertinus Genre* (Oxford University Press, 2021).

[54]As noted by Melanie Shaffer, the only other assignment of these chants is to Saints Faustus, Januarius, and Martialis. Their liturgy is definitively later than that of Fructuosus and companions, from which it derives, and is found only in BL45 – 'Three Men in the Fire (x3): Interreligious Anxiety in the Liturgy for Saints Faustus, Januarius, and Martialis in Medieval Iberia', *Journal of Musicology*, 41, no. 2 (Spring 2024): 221–261.

[55]Rebecca Maloy makes a similar argument about the origins of quotidian material in L8 in 'Old Hispanic Chant', 43–52 (p. 49).

[56]Randel, *An Index*, 321.

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

saints' days is self-evident, but it is not specific to any particular saint. Similarly, the vespertinus *Exortum est* was assigned to fifteen saints' liturgies in the extant sources and has no specific textual references that might pinpoint the origin of the chant in a proper liturgy.[57] There are dozens of similar examples and, in each case, the multitude of assignments to saints' feasts and the lack of language alluding to any particular saint led us to hypothesize that these chants originated in the *Commune sanctorum* or were *commonly used chants*,[58] never uniquely assigned to one proper liturgy.

Shared Chants Crystalized into Fixed Liturgies and Their Origins

The *liber mistici* BL51, Silos 3, and Silos 6 – books containing all the materials for the public services of vespers, matutinum, and the mass – exemplify a third option of manuscript presentation of the *Commune sanctorum.* In these books, rather than rubrics signalling ad hoc selection or offering lists of chants, there are complete, fixed liturgies for each Common. Additionally, L8 has fixed, but incomplete, *de virginibus*, *de unius virginis confessoris*, and *de uno confessore* liturgies. These fixed Common liturgies share materials with saints' feasts that appear in the same or other manuscripts; they are related but not identical across manuscripts. In other words, while there is evidence of sharing in these fixed liturgies, no one authoritative liturgy was used across multiple institutions.

On closer inspection, it becomes clear that the materials chosen for the fixed Common liturgies are derived from the liturgies of specific saints – as we have already seen – or from the sets of materials already collected in lists for use in the *Commune sanctorum.* Sometimes a whole Common liturgy is derived from a specific saints' feast. L8's *de virginibus* is derived (except the *sacrificium* chant) from the liturgy for Saints Justa and Rufina.[59] L8's matutinum missas for Justa and Rufina are also found in OV, showing the Visigothic association of these chants with this virgin martyr pair. We can thus claim with confidence that the compilers of the L8 *de virginibus* modelled their liturgy on the specific saints' feast. Sometimes, even if a full liturgy is not taken over from a specific saint into the common, large blocks of material, such as an entire matutinum missa, are shared elsewhere in the rite with only one or two saints. L8's *de una virgine*, for instance, draws all its chants from Saint Columba and from Saint Eulalia. Once again, the compilers must have had these saints in mind as the source of their material.

A striking parallel between Silos 6's *de uno confessore* and BL45's Saint Aemilian feast illustrates how liturgical compilers could generate *Commune sanctorum* materials directly from specific saints' feasts. Twenty items for Saint Aemilian in BL45 are also present in Silos 6's *de uno confessore.*[60] Silos 6 has two additional prayers for this Common: a completuria and a benedictio. These prayers specifically refer to venerating the bones of the saint, and they most likely originated in the Saint Aemilian liturgy at the saint's home institution of San Millán de la Cogolla, where there was a great emphasis on venerating Saint Aemilian's relics.[61] If this is the case, then the whole BL45 Aemilian liturgy – itself a creative balancing of materials from the liturgies for Saints Martin and Leocadia – was subsequently recycled in Silos 6 as a fixed liturgy *de uno confessore.* Regardless of the varied origins of BL45's Aemilian materials, the compilers of Silos 6 understood themselves to be creating their *de uno confessore* liturgy from the feast of one model confessor saint, a rare type of saint in the Old Hispanic liturgy: Saint Aemilian, as preserved in BL45. As these examples illustrate, individual feasts had an important role in shaping the *Commune sanctorum.*

[57]There are brief comments on this text and the assignment of the chant to multiple feasts and *Commune sanctorum* in Rojo Carrillo, *Text, Liturgy, and Music*, 113, 147, and 189.

[58]See earlier, page 4.

[59]The *de virginibus* liturgies are very similar in Silos 3, Silos 6, and BL51.

[60]Just one of these twenty items – the mass psalmus – is missing in a lacuna in Silos 6's *de uno confessore.* Beyond the twenty items, the hymn and mass prayers are specific to Saint Aemilian, and are not present in Silos 6's *de uno confessore.*

[61]For an argument to this effect, see forthcoming work on the veneration of Saint Aemilian in BL45 by Emma Hornby and Marcus Jones. Jones explored the origins of BL45 in 'Old Hispanic Notation and the Early Written Transmission of Chant: A Study of British Library, Add. MS 30845' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bristol, 2023).

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 3. *De sanctis* vespers, BL51

Chant	Sanctorale cognates in L8
VPR: *Lux orta est iustis et rectis corde*	Eugenia, fol. 74^{v}; Allisio infantum, fol. 90^{v}; Torquatus, fol. 195^{r}; Peter and Paul, fol. 216^{r}; Acisclus, fol. 29^{r} (different verse)
SONO: *Gaudete iusti in domino*	Babylas fol. 9^{v}; Romanus fol. 31^{r} (different verse)
ANT: *Dabo sanctis meis*	Romanus, fol. 31^{r}
ALL: *Dabo vos nominatos in gloria*	Romanus, fol. 31^{r}; Peter and Paul fol. 217;
HYMN: *Rex gloriose martirum*	n/a

Generally, however, the fixed Common liturgies in the *mistici* seem to draw from lists of *Commune sanctorum* materials – lists that must have been similar to those in L8 – rather than chants being selected directly from proper saints' liturgies. Each chant in vespers (say) might have a cognate in a different saint's feast, but most of the selected chants are present in L8's list of *Commune sanctorum* chants for that category of saint. Vespers for *de sanctis* in BL51, for example, has chants that are shared with many L8 saints' feasts: Saint Eugenia, Saints Peter and Paul, Saint Acisclus, Saint Romanus, etc. The shared factor across all of these chants, though, is cognates with L8's *de sanctis* lists (Table 3). We can also discern the direction of transmission in the Common *de una virgine* in Silos 3 and BL51. In both manuscripts, every matutinum missa chant has a cognate in L8's *de una virgine* list of seven complete missas, but each chant comes from a different missa or is arranged in a different order from L8. Although each of these chants also has cognates in various other saints' feasts in one or more manuscripts, every one of them has a cognate in L8's *de una virgine* lists. This correlation means that the likeliest source for these versions of the Common *de una virgine* is L8's lists, or lists similar to those preserved in L8. The concluding prayers in BL51's *de sanctis* vespers are shared with the Common *de unius justi* in BL51 and Silos 3, further supporting this line of argument: some aspects of the fixed Common liturgies were compiled from materials already designated for use in the *Commune sanctorum.* The compilers of the liturgies preserved in these mistici seem to have viewed particular categories of Common (e.g., *de sanctis*, *de una virgine*) just as earlier compilers viewed individual proper saints' liturgies as models from which to draw material. Rather than selecting material from any and all material in the rite, the compilers of some of these fixed Common liturgies confined themselves to materials already gathered together into the *Commune sanctorum.* The liturgical veneration of a generic virgin or a group of martyrs (say) was created first in proper liturgies, taken into the *Commune sanctorum* where it was reified and solidified, and then distilled into single fixed Common liturgies. While the compilers of each fixed liturgy had an element of creative choice themselves, their fixing of the liturgies controlled which materials were used within liturgical observance.

Summary

The Old Hispanic *Commune sanctorum* is preserved in several different formats in different manuscripts: with instructions for, or the implication of, an ad hoc selection of suitable materials; as lists of suitable materials; or as compiled fixed liturgies. We encounter only the first two of these formats in the eighth-century OV; the ad hoc selection in OV is still present in the tenth-century L8. All three formats are present in the tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts, with different levels of reliance on each format in different manuscripts. We encounter lists of materials in L8, in the *libri hymnorum*, *libri canticorum*, *commici*, sacramentaries, and to a lesser extent in Silos 3. Fixed liturgies are found in both L8 (*de virginibus*) and in the *mistici* Silos 3, Silos 6, and BL51. Even in these fixed liturgies, an interest in options is still present, evident in the two complete, fixed choices for *de unius justi* masses in Silos 3, and two *de sanctis* vespers and matutinum options in BL51. We are wary of drawing any chronological inference from this evidence, because there are so few manuscripts.

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Although the origins of many of the liturgical texts are uncertain, we have been able to pinpoint three separate processes by which materials arrived in the *Commune sanctorum*: materials could originate in a particular saints' feast before being appropriated for use in the *Commune sanctorum*; materials may have been shared across a group of saints' feasts before being collected for more general use in the *Commune sanctorum*; and materials were apparently drawn from *Commune sanctorum* lists in order to compile fixed Common liturgies. A further repertory of liturgical materials originated in the *Commune sanctorum* and were subsequently assigned to particular saints' feasts as well. It is sometimes possible to ascertain which of these processes was most likely in play, but it is necessary to proceed on a case-by-case basis. There is no single answer for the whole of the repertory.

Conclusions

As we have shown, liturgical compilers sought and used a variety of strategies to generate, and sometimes fix, materials to supply the liturgical veneration of many saints. In our study of the Old Hispanic materials, we have found that these different strategies do not belong to clearly differentiated chronological strata, rather, the evidence points to different processes in operation simultaneously and to layers of accretion. While we avoid proposing an overarching chronology of which came first, the *Commune sanctorum* or proper saints' liturgies, we have been able to determine several convincing cases of material originating in the *Commune sanctorum* as new compositions, and conversely, of material preserved in the *Commune sanctorum* that originated in proper saints' liturgies. Further, our evidence suggests that compilers of the Common liturgies preserved in later manuscripts themselves drew from materials already associated with the *Commune sanctorum.* As exciting as it is to tease out the origins of some of the chants, readings, and prayers, perhaps what is even more significant is the insight such study offers into the needs, motivations and preferences of liturgical compilers and practitioners. If our interpretation is correct, the compilers creating fixed Common liturgies in later *mistici* preferred chants already associated with the *Commune sanctorum.* We have also seen that compilers desired variety, evidenced by the compilation strategy of listing, while ensuring that their choices fitted within a range of acceptable options.

The *Commune sanctorum* was an integral part of medieval Christian devotion, and as we have demonstrated, there was some liturgical exchange in the *Commune sanctorum* materials across rites. Our preliminary exploration suggests that, along with examples of parallel repertoire, there may have been parallel compilation processes in play in different rites that have yet to be explored. The complexity of the extant evidence, however, admonishes us to proceed step by step, analysing the development of the *Commune sanctorum* in each rite separately before drawing more global conclusions.

Across the European rites though, present even in some of our earliest liturgical sources, we witness liturgical practitioners' need for material that could be used on a variety of occasions in the *sanctorale*, evidenced by the compilation of the *Commune sanctorum.* Providing source material for liturgical practice on a significant proportion of days in each liturgical year, the *Commune sanctorum* was of crucial importance. The *Commune sanctorum* is an act of compilation and composition deserving of study in and of itself, offering us greater understanding of medieval Christians' creative responses to liturgical needs.

Appendix 1: Old Hispanic Manuscript Sigla

Our manuscript sigla are largely derived from Randel, *Index.* Exceptions are: L8 rather than his 'AL' (we have chosen a siglum which combines the manuscript's location with its shelfmark); and Z418 (thought, when Randel made his index, to have been copied at the monastery of San Juan de la Peña, hence his siglum SJP). All British Library manuscripts have been labelled BL rather than Randel's BM, since they have been moved from the British Museum to the British Library. For summary notes on the notated chant manuscripts, with bibliography, see Hornby and others, *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, Appendix 1. See also http://musicahispanica.eu/.

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Manuscript sigla	Shelfmark	Manuscript type	Date	Origin	Online images (where available; all accessed March 2023)
A22	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, Cod. 22	Commicus	11th century, before 1073	San Millán de la Cogolla	https://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/es/consulta/registro.do?id=67
A30	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, MS Aemil. 30	Misticus	10th or 11th century	Probably San Millán de la Cogolla	http://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=66
A64 bis	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, MS Aemil. 64	Liber psalmorum, liber canticorum	10th century	San Millán de la Cogolla	https://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/es/consulta/registro.do?id=115
BL44	London, British Library, Add. MS 30844	Misticus, liber canticorum (fragment: fols 173^{r}–177^{v})	10th or 11th century	Uncertain	http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_30844
BL45	London, British Library, Add. MS 30845	Misticus	mid–10th century	Probably San Millán de la Cogolla	http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_30845
BL51	London, British Library, Add. MS 30851	Liber psalmorum, liber canticorum, liber hymnorum, liber horarum, misticus	11th century	Uncertain	http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_30851
BL52	London, British Library, Add. MS 30852	Orational	Late 9th century or first half of tenth century	Uncertain	
BN01	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 10001	Liber psalmorum, liber canticorum, liber hymnorum	*c.* 1100 or somewhat later	Preserved in Toledo, and has palaeographic and musical connections to that city	http://bdh–rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?pid=d–2781010
BN10	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 10110	Misticus	Second half of 13th century	Copied by Ferdinandum Iohannes, priest of the parish church of Santas Justa y Rufina, Toledo (colophon on 12^{v}); tradition B	http://bdh–rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?pid=d–2699020

Manuscript sigla	Shelfmark	Manuscript type	Date	Origin	Online images (where available; all accessed March 2023)
Esc D–I–1	El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo MS D–I–1	Calendar (manuscript also includes legislative material alongside writings by Isidore of Seville)	994	San Millán de la Cogolla	https://rbdigital.realbiblioteca.es/s/rbme/item/13263#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=–305%2C1800%2C2642%2C3887
Esc D–I–2	El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo MS D–I–2	Calendar	976	Albelda, copied by Vigila, Sarracino and Garsea	https://rbdigital.realbiblioteca.es/s/rbme/item/13432#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=–1894%2C–1%2C6004%2C3379
L2	Léon, Cathedral Archive, MS 2	Commicus	Donated to the church in Léon 1071	Copied for Pelagio, bishop of Léon 1065–1073	
L8	León Cathedral Archive, MS 8	Calendar, antiphoner	Mid–10th century	'East of León' or the monastery of San Isidoro in León	https://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/registro.do?id=449895
NY16	New York, Hispanic Society of America, MS B.2916 (previously Toledo 33–2)	Misticus	Mid–11th century	Probably San Millán de la Cogolla	
OV	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. LXXXIX	Orational	*c.* 700; before 734	Tarragona	
PB71	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 2171	Calendar, commicus	Before 1067	Santo Domingo de Silos	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8457362r
PBsl2–1	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Smith–Lesouëf 2	Liber psalmorum, liber canticorum	11th century	Uncertain	ark:/12148/btv1b84559233

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Manuscript sigla	Shelfmark	Manuscript type	Date	Origin	Online images (where available; all accessed March 2023)
PBsl2–2	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Smith–Lesouëf 2	Liber psalmorum, liber canticorum	11th century	Uncertain	ark:/12148/btv1b84559233
Sal	Biblioteca Histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca MS 2668	Liber psalmorum, liber canticorum, liber horarum	1059	Copied by Christophorus for Queen Sancha of León	https://gredos.usal.es/handle/10366/55563
Sant	Biblioteca de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela MS 609	Calendar, liber psalmorum, liber canticorum, liber horarum	1055	Copied by Pedro, with the illuminator Fructuoso (fol. 208^{v}), for King Ferdinand I of León, at the instigation of his wife Sancha	https://minerva.usc.es/xmlui/handle/10347/9014
Silos 3	Santo Domingo de Silos, Biblioteca del Monasterio MS 3	Calendar, liber ordinum minor, misticus	Calendar dated before 1064; liber ordinum dated 1039; misticus is late 11th century	Uncertain; intended for parish rather than monastic use. Liber ordinum was copied by Iohanne presbitero scriptore (fol. 177^{r})	
Silos 4	Santo Domingo de Silos, Biblioteca del Monasterio MS 4	Calendar, horologium (4^{r}, indicating daily psalms at monastic services), liber ordinum maior	1052	Copied by the priest Bartholomew by order of Abbot Domingo of the monastery of San Prudencio de Laturce, and paid for by Sancho Garceiz and his wife Bizinnina. The place of copying is not certain	
Silos 6	Santo Domingo de Silos, Biblioteca del Monasterio MS 6	Paper misticus; parchment misticus	Late 10th or 11th century	Uncertain	
Silos 7	Santo Domingo de Silos, Biblioteca del Monasterio MS 7	Misticus, liber horarum	11th century	Uncertain; monastic	

Manuscript sigla	Shelfmark	Manuscript type	Date	Origin	Online images (where available; all accessed March 2023)
T3	Toledo, Biblioteca Capitolare MS 33–3	Liber horarum	Late 12th century	Probably Toledo; monastic. One of the scribes is signed as 'Elenus abba' (67v)	
T4	Toledo, Biblioteca Capitolare MS 35–4	Misticus; orational (fragment, fols 172$^{r–v}$); commicus (fragment, fols 176^{r}–178^{v}).	1192–1208	Probably Toledo	
T7	Toledo, Biblioteca Capitolare MS 35–7	Misticus, liber ordinum (fols 44^{r}–45^{v})	*c.* 1100 or somewhat later	Copied by Sebastianus scriptor (54^{r}). Probably Toledo	

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

https://doi.org/10.1017/rtc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Appendix 2: Preservation of the *Commune sanctorum* in the Old Hispanic Manuscripts, with Initial Folio Number for Each Sub-Category

OV	BL52	L8	Silos 6	Silos 3	BL51 (misticus)	BL51 (Hymnorum)	Commicus[a]	BN01 (Hymnorum)	Liber canticorum[b]
De sanctis (fol. 125$^{v)}$	De sanctis (fol. 18^{r})	De sanctis generalibus (fol. 246^{v})	De Sanctis (fol. 1^{r}. Lacuna, we only have mass prayers)	De sanctis (fol. 107^{r})	De sanctis (fol. 182^{r})	De Sanctis (fol. 152^{v}); De Sanctis sive apostolorum (fol. 153^{r})	De sanctis (A22, f. 131^{v}; PB71, p. 364)	De sanctis (fol. 153^{r})	De sanctis (A64bis, fol. 116^{r}; PBsl2–2, fol. 104^{r}; Sant, fol. 162^{r}; Sal, fol. 66^{v}; BN01, fol. 94^{r})
De unius justi (fol. 125^{v})		De uno justo (fol. 250^{r})	De uno justo (fol. 4^{v})	De uno justo (fol. 119^{v})	Unius iusti (fol. 184^{v})	Unius iusti (fol. 153^{v})	De uno justo (A22, fol. 135^{r}; PB71, p. 374)	De uno iusto (fol. 154^{r})	Unius iusti (A64bis, fol. 117^{v}; Benedictus vir is first; PBsl2–2, fol. 105^{v}; Sant fol. 164^{v}; Sal fol. 63^{r}; BL51, fol. 101^{r}; BN01, fol. 95^{r})
		Unius virginis confessoris [actually for a male confessor] (fol. 252^{r})	De uno confessore (fol. 16^{r})	De confessores (fol. 129^{r}) [actually for a single confessor, confirmed by the rubric 'missa de uno confessore' on fol. 133^{r}]	Unius confessoris (fol. 186^{r})	Unius confessoris (fol. 154^{r})	Uno confessore (A22, fol. 138^{r}; PB71, p. 383)	Unius confessoris (fol. 154^{v})	
		De virginibus (fol. 252^{v})	De virginibus (fol. 25^{r})		De virginibus (fol. 186^{v})		De virginibus (A22, fol. 139^{r}; PB71, p. 385)	De virginibus (fol. 155^{r})	De virginibus (A64bis, f fol. 122^{r}; PBsl2–2, fol. 108^{r}; Sant, fol. 168^{r} (no rubric); Sal, fol. 71^{r} (no rubric); BN01, fol. 96^{v})

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

OV	BL52	L8	Silos 6	Silos 3	BL51 (misticus)	BL51 (Hymnorum)	Commicus[a]	BN01 (Hymnorum)	Liber canticorum[b]
		De una virgine (fol. 252^{v})	De una virgine (fol. 36^{v})	De una virgine (fol. 135^{r})	De una virgine (fol. 187^{v})	Unius virginis (fol. 155^{r})	De una virgine (A22, fol. 139^{v}; PB71, p.386)	De una virgine (fol. 155^{r})	De una virgine A64bis, fol. 122^{r}; PBsl2–2, fol. 108^{v}; Sant, fol. 168^{r} (no rubric); Sal, fol. 72^{r} (no rubric; has a rubric on fol. 73^{v}); BL51, fol. 102^{v})
				De virginibus (fol. 140^{v})		De virginibus (fol. 155^{r})			
		Unius virginis confessoris (for a female confessor) (fol. 255^{r})							

[a]We have been unable to consult the manuscript L2, but the presentation in Justo Pérez de Urbel and Atilano González y Ruiz-Zorrilla, eds, *Liber Commicus* (Escuela de Estudios Medievales. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1950) suggests that it is in the same order.

[b]Although the folio numbers of Sal suggest a different order than in other manuscripts, in fact, the folios are misbound and the canticles are all numbered, confirming that they were originally in the same order. See Lucy Pick, 'Liturgical Renewal in Two Eleventh-Century Royal Spanish Prayerbooks', *Traditio*, 66 (2011): 27–66.

Appendix 3: *Commune sanctorum* Prayers in the Eighth-Century OV

Oration[a]	Psalm verse(s) in Mozarabic psalter to which the oration relates[b]	OV folio and Vives edition item number	Pinell *Liber psalmographus* item number[c]	Manuscript cognates
		De sanctis		
Edifica, Domine, muros Iherusalem non in structura lapidum, sed ornamento virtutum; neque ut auro vel gemmis compta resplendeat, sed sanctitate prefulgeat; ut, qui aulam tuam pro confitendis delictis, et sacrificio laudis, iustitiaeque deferendo ingredimur, ab omni purgati contagio vitiorum, te adnuente, consortes effici mereamur omnium beatorum.	Psalm 50:20 Benigne fac, Domine, in bona voluntate tua Sion * ut aedificentur muri Jerusalem.	fol. 125^{v}, item 1182	Item 370 (Psalm 50 oration)	BL51, fol. 15^{r}, Psalm 50 oration for Advent
Secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum dele iniquitates nostras, Domine; ut, quia iste nos adgravant, ille nos erigant; cor contritum et humiliatum ne spernas in nobis, sed per ineffabilem potentiam Trinitatis habitet in nobis Spiritus sanctus; innovet Spiritus rectus, confirmet Spiritus paraclitus; atque unitatis testimonium sit virtus; ut confirmatos nos per patrem, et innovatos per filium custoditos nos esse gaudeamus per Spiritum sanctum.	Psalm 50:3 Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam * et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum dele iniquitates meas. 50:19 Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus * cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernet	fol. 125^{v}, item 1183	Item 518 (Psalm 50 oration)	BL51, fol. 13^{v} and Silos 3, fol. 169^{v}: Psalm 50 oration for feria III (Tuesday)
		De unius iusti		
Libera nos, Domine, de viris sanguinum et a telis hostium defende clipeo tuo; ut, ad tuum venientes altare, veniae percipiamus remedium; mitte nobis de caelo magnum auxilium, et eripe nos a conculcatione inimicorum; ut, amotum a nobis turpissimum somnum, labia nostra tibi castissime persolvantur in iubilo.	Psalm 50:16 Libera me de sanguinibus, Deus, Deus salutis meae * laudabit lingua mea iustitias tuas.	fol. 125^{v}, item 1184	Item 374 (Psalm 56 [*sic*])	BL51, fol. 15^{v}: Psalm 50 oration for *de unius justi* BL44, fol. 74^{v}: Psalm 50 oration for Stephen
Domine, qui pro nobis soporem mortis ideo suscepisti, ne nos amplius obdormiremur in morte: dona nobis; ut, qui te moriente renascimur, te etiam resuscitante atque vivificante, a peccatorum lecto surgamus, nec ultra iam subruamur pena peccati, qui redemtos nos congaudemus pretio sacri sanguinis tui.	Psalm 3:6 Ego dormibi, et quiebi, et resurrexi * quoniam Dominus suscitabit me.	fol. 125^{v}, item 1185	Not included	T4, fol. 6^{v}: Psalm 3 oration for Eastertide ferias
Exurge, Domine, Deus, noster in auxilium humilium et in	Psalm 3:7 Non timebo millia	fol. 125^{v}, item 1186	Item 209 (Psalm 3 oration)	BN10, fol. 50^{r}: Psalm 3 oration for

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Oration[a]	Psalm verse(s) in Mozarabic psalter to which the oration relates[b]	OV folio and Vives edition item number	Pinell *Liber psalmographus* item number[c]	Manuscript cognates
exterminium persequentium; contere adversarios nostros, qui nos a preceptis tuis dolosis promissionibus, apertisque terroribus, avertere moliuntur, in nullo enim eorum proficient insidiae, si tuo muniamur adiutorio gratiae.	populi * circumdantis me: Exurge Domine * salbum me fac Deus meus.			Monday of Lent week 4
Miserere nobis, Domine, miserere nobis, et ne nobis peccatorum infirmitas sempiternam afferat mortem, sana nos, Domine; ut anima turbata per culpa, sit tranquilla per gratia; infunde medicinam egrotis, veniam prestando delictis.	Psalm 6:3 Miserere mei, Domine, quoniam infirmus sum * sana me, Domine.	fol. 126^{r}, item 1187	Item 7 (Psalm 6 oration) [*sic*]	BL51, fol. 177^{v}: collect after miserationes for Friday ad nocturnos
Gloria nostra, Deus noster, da nobis, ut in te sine fine gloriemur; quosque fecisti de capitis exaltatione sublimes: quesumus; ut efficias de totius corporis consummata salute securos; elevet abiectionem nostram tua magnifica celsitudo; ut, qui humilitate tua a terrenis erigimur, exaltatione quoque tua ad celestia provehi mereamur.	Psalm 3:4 Tu autem, Domine, susceptor meus es * gloria mea, et exaltans caput meum.	fol. 126^{r}, item 1188	Item 321 (Psalm 3 oration)	BN10 fol. 5^{r}: Psalm 3 oration for Tuesday of first week of Lent Silos 3, fol. 119b and Silos 6, fol. 6(1)^{v}: Psalm 3 oration for *de uno justo* T7, fol. 73: Psalm 3 oration for Stephen
Tu es, Domine, salus, et tua est salus; hanc gaudemus nobis largitam, hanc etiam usque in finem a te petimus largiendam: effunde, quesumus, super populum tuum benedictionem tuam; ut privetur maledictio penae, et ditescat in nobis fructus iustitiae.	Psalm 3:9 Domini est salus * et super populum tuum benedictio tua.	fol. 126^{r}, item 1189	Item 208 (Psalm 3 oration)	A30, fol. 2^{r}: Psalm 3 oration for Acisclus BL51, fol. 182^{v}: Psalm 3 oration for *de sanctis* (incipit only) OV item 757: Psalm 3 oration for Palm Sunday

[a]These texts follow the edition of OV in *Oracional visigótico*, ed. José Vives and palaeographical study by Jerónimo Claveras (CSIC, Escuela de Estudios Medievales, Sección de Barcelona, and Biblioteca Balmes, 1946).
[b]These texts are taken from the edition of BN01 in *Patrologia Latin 83*: Sanctus Isidorus Hispalensis Episcopus, *Opera Omnia, Tomus Quintus*, ed. Faustino Arévalo (1862), in *Patrologiae cursus completus: sive biblioteca universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica, omnium SS. Patrum, doctorum scriptorumque eccelesiasticorum qui ab aevo apostolico ad usque Innocentii III tempora floruerunt*… ed. Jacques Paul Migne (Paris: Garnier, 1844–64).
[c]Jordi Pinell, *Liber orationum psalmographus. Colectas de salmos del antiguo rito hispánico* (Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, serie litúrgica 9; CSIC, 1972).

Cite this article: Hornby, E., Jones, M. and Shaffer, M. 2023. Creating and Using Liturgies for the *Commune sanctorum* in Medieval Iberia. *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle,* 54, 94–118. https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3

https://doi.org/10.1017/rrc.2024.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press