

MARY AS BRIDE IN THE OLD HISPANIC OFFICE: LITURGICAL AND THEOLOGICAL TRENDS*

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IN 656, a new feast honouring the Virgin Mary was established at the Tenth Council of Toledo, one of the earliest known celebrations of Mary in the West. Designed to celebrate the Annunciation on 18 December in the run-up to Christmas, the feast was unique among Western traditions and representative of the Old Hispanic rite, a liturgical tradition celebrated only in the Iberian Peninsula from the seventh century to the late eleventh century. The liturgical sources associated with this feast provide some of the oldest surviving evidence for a Marian office, which makes it especially important for uncovering the early history of Marian devotion.¹ The office emphasized the theme of Mary's virginity *ante partum* and *in partu*, using many of the standard tropes present in the commemoration of Mary in other liturgical traditions. But the Old Hispanic office also included lengthy praise of Mary drawn from Psalm 44 (45) and the Song of Songs, the biblical epithalamia. These texts were not traditionally applied to Mary but rather to the Church, as bride of Christ, in the theological texts that most influenced the Old Hispanic liturgy, both by Visigothic authors and their late Antique sources. Some scholars have argued that the tendency to identify Mary as a figure for the Church facilitated

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¹ The importance of the Old Hispanic liturgical tradition more generally in terms of its antiquity relative to other rites is noted by Kenneth Levy, "The Iberian Peninsula and the Formation of Early Western Chant," *Revista de Musicología* 16 (1993): 435–37, and Don M. Randel, "The Old Hispanic Rite as Evidence for the Earliest Forms of the Western Christian Liturgies," *Revista de Musicología* 16 (1993): 491–96. For even earlier trends in Marian devotion (prior to the sixth century), see Stephen J. Shoemaker, *Mary in Early Christian Faith and Devotion* (New Haven, 2016).

this transfer of nuptial imagery from one to the other. This study will show, however, that the vision shaped in the Old Hispanic office of Mary as bride and the Annunciation as her union with God finds an alternative source in contemporary views of consecrated virgins.²

In order to understand how liturgists shaped the celebration of the Annunciation in seventh-century Iberia and why, this study will first explore the origins and themes of the Marian office, revealing the combination of chants and prayers that built an image of Mary through use of Psalm 44 and the Song of Songs. Working subsequently through the Visigothic and late antique theological works that presented the Church as bride of the biblical epithalamia raises the possibility that this exegesis may have influenced the depiction of Mary in the Old Hispanic office. It is also necessary, however, to examine liturgical evidence from Byzantium, Gaul, and Rome for their possible contributions to the Old Hispanic rite. A survey of this material reveals that although Psalm 44 is certainly found in some of the early mass texts for Marian feast days, use of the Song of Songs in other traditions post-dates the Old Hispanic evidence by almost a century.

We find a promising source for the combined use of both nuptial texts in early medieval works connected to consecrated virgins, which this study considers in the final two sections. Late antique scholars such as Ambrose († 397) and Jerome († 420), followed by Leander of Seville († 600/601), relied considerably on Psalm 44 and the Song of Songs in their encouragement of women to take up a life of consecrated virginity, as they presented this lifestyle choice as a marriage union with Christ. Their work chimes with what is thought to have been the early consecration rite for virgins, which featured chants taken from the biblical epithalamia and cast the ceremony as a spiritual wedding on par with its earthly equivalent. Much of this imagery appears also in Old Hispanic liturgies for virgin martyrs and the common of virgins. In this study I argue that these ascetic sources are an important part of the framework which informs the Marian office as it was composed and celebrated in Visigothic Iberia. Recognizing the influence of the ascetic tradition allows us to understand Mary's role in the Old Hispanic liturgy as part of a wider commemoration of virgin saints in line with early medieval discourses on female

² Although the imagery found in the office is also found in the mass, and isolated references will be made to the mass in this article, the focus here will be the office, since Margot E. Fassler has published a study of the mass ("Mary in Seventh-Century Spain: The Mass Liturgy of Dec. 18," in *El canto mozárabe y su entorno. Estudios sobre la música de la liturgia viejo hispánica*, ed. Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, Rosario Álvarez Martínez, and Ana Llorens Martín [Madrid, 2013], 217–36).

virginity. In addition to highlighting the relationship of Old Hispanic traditions to contemporary religious trends, this study of the Old Hispanic Marian office thus helps to uncover an important early phase in the evolution of Mary's saintly identity, as Mary became firmly established in her role as mother and leader of virgins and the ultimate bride of Christ.³

THE OLD HISPANIC MARIAN OFFICE

The decision to celebrate the Virgin Mary with a new feast at Toledo X elevated Mary to a new status in the liturgical tradition of early medieval Iberia.⁴ The first decree of the council expresses a desire to establish the Marian feast, which was actually conceived of as a feast of the Annunciation, on par with the major feasts of the *Temporale*: "If the days of the birth and death of this Incarnate Word are considered fixed and without change, such that they are celebrated without variation in the whole world by the entire Church as one, why should not the feast of his glorious mother be honoured in the same way with one observance on one and the same day in all places?"⁵ This statement could indicate that the legislators sought principally to curb variety in liturgical practice by establishing one Marian feast for all the different churches of the kingdom.⁶ But the decree also mentions the need to celebrate the Annunciation at a fixed interval from Christmas, just like Pentecost always falls the same number of days after Easter (fifty), in order to confer a sacramental quality to the celebration.⁷ This suggests there may already have been

³ For the most recent wide-ranging study of the evolution of Marian devotion in the Middle Ages, see Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London, 2009).

⁴ This particular canon is found in *La colección canónica Hispana*, vol. 5, *Concilios hispanos: segunda parte*, ed. Gonzalo Martínez Díez and Félix Rodríguez (Madrid, 1992), 517–21.

⁵ "Si ergo natiuitatis et mortis incarnati huius Verbi dies absque immutatione ita certus habetur ut absque diuersitate in orbe toto terrarum ab omni concorditer ecclesia celebretur, cur non festiuitas gloriosae matris eius eadem obseruantia uno simul ubique die similique habeatur honore?" (ibid., 518–19).

⁶ On the concern with liturgical uniformity expressed in Visigothic conciliar legislation more generally, although not including the Tenth Council, see Rachel L. Stocking, *Bishops, Councils and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589–633* (Ann Arbor, 2000), particularly 156–67.

⁷ "Hinc est quod paschale festum nisi uno die celebremus et tempore, in Iudaicum decidamus errorem; hinc aduentum Sancti Spiritus post resurrectionem Dei nisi expectemus tempore definito dierum simul et numero, non possumus impleri eiusdem Spiritus

a celebration of the Annunciation in Iberia as a moveable feast during the Advent season, as was the case with Ember Wednesday in Rome and the last Sunday in Advent in Milan; a moveable feast would have fallen on a different date each year, which could equally explain the decree's lament that the feast is "not celebrated on the same date every year."⁸ In seeking to fix the date for the Marian feast, the legislators of Toledo X nevertheless rejected the date that would have been most appropriate—25 March, nine months before Christmas—because celebrating the Annunciation on this date would have meant that the feast often fell during Lent, at which time it was deemed inappropriate to celebrate the saints.⁹ As a result, the decision was made to instate the feast an octave before Christmas on 18 December.¹⁰ All the manuscripts give this feast the title *De sancta Maria* indicating that, although it commem-

dono, quoniam si caret plenitudinis numero, carere potest et mysterii sacramento; hinc natiuitatis Dominicae sacrum, quo euidenter de utero uirginali Verbum prodiit caro factum, absque dubio seruat et temporis cursum repraesentat specialis diei et momentum" (*La colección canónica Hispana* 5:517–18).

⁸ "Inuenitur etenim in multis Spaniae partibus huius sanctae uirginis festum non uno die per omnes annorum circulos agi, quoniam transducti homines diuersitate temporum, dum uarietatem sequuntur, unitatem celebritatis non habere probantur" (ibid, 519). The existence of a moveable celebration of the Annunciation in Iberia was suggested by Jordi M. Pinell, *Liturgia hispánica*, Biblioteca litúrgica 9 (Barcelona, 1998), 130. On the Roman and Milanese traditions, see Martin Jugie, "La première fête mariale en Orient et en Occident, l'Avent primitif," *Échos d'Orient* 22 (1923): 129–52; and Margot E. Fassler, "Sermons, Sacramentaries, and Early Sources for the Office in the Latin West: The Example of Advent," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford, 2000), 15–47.

⁹ "Qua de re, quoniam die qua inuenitur angelus Virgini Verbi conceptum et nuntiasset uerbis et indidisse miraculis, eadem festiuitas non potest celebrari condigne, cum interdum quadragesimae dies uel paschale festum uidetur incumbere, in quibus nihil de sanctorum solemnitatibus, sicut ex antiquitate regulari cautum est, conuenit celebrari; cum etiam et ipsam incarnationem Verbi non conueniat tunc celebritatibus praedicari, quando constat idipsum Verbum post mortem carnis gloria resurrectionis attolli . . ." (*La colección canónica Hispana* 5:519–20). The "ancient rules" to which this refers may be the collection of Eastern statutes compiled by Martin of Braga and attached to the record of the Second Council of Braga in 572, of which canon 48 stipulates that no saints' feasts should be celebrated during Lent (Martin of Braga, *Opera omnia*, ed. Claude W. Barrow [New Haven, 1950], 136).

¹⁰ "Proinde ut de cetero quicquid est dubium, sit remotum, sollemnitas Dominicae matris die quintodecimo kalendarum ianuariarum omnimodo celebretur et natiuitas Filii eius, Saluatoris nostri, die octauo kalendarum earundem, sicut mos est, sollemnis in omnibus habeatur" (*La colección canónica Hispana* 5:521).

orated the moment when Christ became Incarnate at the Annunciation, the liturgy placed Mary at the centre of the celebration.¹¹

The liturgical evidence for the Old Hispanic office of Mary comes close on the heels of the legislation. It appears in six manuscripts, a relatively high number that range in date from the late seventh or early eighth century through to the eleventh century.¹² The full office can be reconstructed through collation and comparison of several manuscripts. The earliest of these is the late seventh-/early eighth-century Verona Orational, which contains the orations—prayers—that followed each of the office antiphons, together with the incipits of their corresponding antiphons; these are especially crucial for understanding why particular biblical texts have been chosen, as the oration

¹¹ Later manuscripts that post-date the change to the Franco-Roman rite in Iberia refer to the feast, where it was maintained, as *Expectatio Virginis Mariae*. It became the feast of the consecration of Toledo Cathedral in the late eleventh century, when the Franco-Roman rite was imposed on a newly conquered Toledo and the mosque was converted into the city's cathedral see Tom Nickson, *Toledo Cathedral: Building Histories in Medieval Castile* (Philadelphia, 2015), 37.

¹² These are the orational, Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. 89, fols. 23r–27v (late seventh/early eighth century), the orational, London, British Library Add. 30852, fols. 11v–15r (late ninth/early tenth century), the *Liber mysticus*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, cód. 30, fols. 86r–99v (tenth century), the *Liber mysticus*, London, British Library Add. 30844, fols. 33r–50v (late ninth/early tenth century), the antiphoner, León, Biblioteca de la Catedral MS 8, fols. 56v–62r (900/905), and the psalter/book of canticles and hymns, London, British Library Add. 30851, fol. 118v (eleventh century). Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia 30 has been edited in Miquel S. Gros i Pujol, “El *liber mysticus* de San Millán de la Cogolla: Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Aemil. 30,” *Miscellànea litúrgica catalana* 3 (1984): 111–224, specifically 152–55 for the Marian office, and León, Catedral MS 8 as *Antifonario visigótico mozárabe de la catedral de León*, ed. Louis Brou and José Vives, Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra: serie litúrgica 5.2 (Barcelona and Madrid, 1953), specifically 26–30 for the Marian office. The most recent comprehensive study of these manuscripts is *Hispania Vetus: Musical-Liturgical Manuscripts from Visigothic Origins to the Franco-Roman Transition (9th–12th Centuries)*, ed. Susana Zapke (Bilbao, 2007), but see also *Corpus de códices visigóticos*, ed. Agustín Millares Carlo et al., 2 vols. (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1999); Jordi Pinell, “Los textos de la antigua liturgia hispánica: Fuentes para su estudio,” in *Estudios sobre la liturgia mozárabe*, ed. J. P. Rivera Recio (Toledo, 1965), 109–64; and Manuel Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos en la monarquía leonesa* (León, 1983), and *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval* (Logroño, 1991). On the significance of these manuscripts, particularly given the early date of their contents, see Louis Brou, “L’Antiphonaire wisigothique et l’Antiphonaire grégorien au début du VIII^e siècle. Essai de Musicologie comparée,” *Anuario Musical* 5 (1950): 3–10.

provides a gloss on the antiphon text, relating it to the occasion.¹³ León Cathedral MS 8 (henceforth L8), from early tenth-century León, is an equally important manuscript, as it contains the chants for the entire year with notation.¹⁴ Comparing these with the other manuscripts reveals remarkable consistency with respect to the Marian office.¹⁵ Except for a slightly different arrangement of the *vesperinus*, the first chant of the day, and some variation in the psalm verses that follow the antiphons of the *matutinum* office, the remaining elements of the office are consistent throughout the manuscripts.¹⁶ This is unusual for the Old Hispanic repertoire, in which variety of practice across regions and institutions seems to have been the norm.¹⁷ There is also a high level of properization in the Marian office, meaning that very few elements are shared with other feasts; we can probably assume from this that

¹³ *Oracional visigótico*, ed. José Vives, Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra: serie litúrgica 1 (Barcelona, 1946). The orations for the Marian feast are on 67–79. On the importance of the orations as commentaries on the antiphon texts, see Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy, *Music and Meaning in Old Hispanic Lenten Chants* (Woodbridge, 2013), 41–42.

¹⁴ I will not be discussing the music of the Marian office in this paper, as this is being undertaken by Rebecca Maloy elsewhere.

¹⁵ This was also noted in Fassler, “Mary in Seventh-Century Spain,” 229. An essential tool for comparing chants in the different Old Hispanic manuscripts is Don M. Randel, *An Index to the Chant of the Mozarabic Rite* (Princeton, 1973).

¹⁶ The *vesperinus* and verses in the tenth-century León Antiphoner are listed in table 1.1 below. The eleventh-century *Liber mysticus* BL Add. 30844 inserts a different verse IV (*Induit te corona iucunditatis et ornabit te* [Judith 10:3]), after which follow the fourth and fifth verses found in the León manuscript, as below. BL Add. 30844 stops there, with six verses, whereas the León manuscript contains an additional three. The alternative psalm verses that appear in some manuscripts are generally still taken from the same psalm, and therefore will not feature here as part of the discussion.

¹⁷ As a point of comparison, the feast of the important saint Emilian/Millan has two different offices (in the early eleventh-century New York, Hispanic Society of America MS B2916 and the tenth-century BL Add. 30845), on which see Susan Boynton, “A Lost Mozarabic Liturgical Manuscript Rediscovered: New York, Hispanic Society of America, B2916, olim Toledo, Biblioteca Capitulare 33.2,” *Traditio* 57 (2002): 189–215, at 195. Three distinct offices for the Assumption feast have been identified by José Janini, “El oficio mozárabe de la Asunción,” *Hispania Sacra* 28 (1975): 5–35. Manuel Garrido claims there were four, as he distinguishes between the so-called Silos office that appears in two different manuscripts but which transmit basically the same office (“Fuentes de la antigua liturgia hispana para el estudio de la Mariología,” in *Doctrina y piedad mariana en España en torno al III Concilio de Toledo*, Estudios Marianos 55, ed. Enrique Llamas [Toledo, 1990], 51–67, at 58–59).

they were designed especially for the occasion.¹⁸ Cross-over with the feast of the Assumption is evident—including one entire *missa* of the *matutinum* office (see below)—but the Assumption feast’s adoption in Iberia only much later, in the ninth or tenth century, means that it must have borrowed from the December liturgy rather than the other way around.¹⁹ All of these features suggest the antiquity and importance of the Marian feast in the Old Hispanic calendar: it appears in the very earliest of sources, remains remarkably stable throughout, and is almost entirely proper.²⁰

Further suggesting the importance of the Marian feast is the very length of the office. It is one of the largest offices in the entire repertoire, in terms of vespers and *matutinum*, the principal offices of the day in both the cathedral and monastic *cursus*.²¹ The first chant of the vespers office, the *vespertinus*, has nine verses in its longest version, four verses more than the next largest example.²² The *matutinum* office also has seven *missae*—the building blocks of the Old Hispanic morning office, each *missa* consisting of two antiphons, an *alleluiaticus* (an alleluia antiphon), and a responsory, with their corresponding psalm verses and orations. The Marian office has more *missae* than any other feast apart from Christmas, which has the same number, and Epiphany, which has one additional *missa*.²³

¹⁸ Shared elements include the hymn *A solis ortus cardine*, which is found for Christmas, Epiphany, Circumcision, Holy Innocents, and Maundy Thursday (ed. José Castro Sánchez, *Hymnodia Hispanica*, CCL 167 [Turnhout, 2010], 308–11), and the canonical antiphon, *Super populum tuum*, which appears for several saints’ feasts. Most canonical antiphons in the tradition are shared, as the number of these antiphons, all based on psalm 3, is limited. Special hymns, however, were composed for other saints; see Justo Pérez de Urbel, “Origen de los himnos mozárabes,” *Bulletin Hispanique* 28 (1926): 113–39, and his update, Justo Pérez de Urbel, “Los himnos mozárabes,” in *Liturgia y Música mozárabes: ponencias y comunicaciones presentadas al I congreso internacional de estudios mozárabes, Toledo, 1975* (Toledo, 1978), 135–62.

¹⁹ The ninth century was suggested by Boynton, “Lost Mozarabic Liturgical Manuscript,” 199, drawing on Janini, “El oficio mozárabe de la Asunción,” 3. Garrido argued for the tenth century (“Fuentes,” 59, 62–63).

²⁰ These features were noted by Fassler, “Mary in Seventh-Century Spain,” 229.

²¹ The two *cursus* shared the same vespers and *matutinum* offices. On the structures of the Old Hispanic liturgy, see Pinell, *Liturgia hispánica*, and “El oficio hispánico visigótico,” *Hispania Sacra* 10 (1957): 385–427.

²² The next longest *vespertinus* is for second vespers of Easter Sunday, *Laudaberunt te Domine*, with five verses.

²³ The feast of the Dedication of the Church in L8 lists seventeen *missae* in its *matutinum* office, but these could constitute a list to be selected from rather than a series to be sung through.

The Marian *matutinum* office was further extended by lengthy readings interspersed between the *missae*.²⁴ These comprised the entire *Liber de virginitate perpetua sanctae Mariae contra tres infideles* by Ildefonsus, bishop of Toledo between 657 and 667, which was divided up into six or seven sections to correspond with each *missa*.²⁵ The work is articulated as a polemical attack in defence of Mary's virginity against two heretics and a Jew, inspired by Jerome's *De perpetua virginitate beatae Mariae adversus Helvidium* and *Adversus Iovinianum libri II*, but also by Isidore of Seville's *De fide catholica contra Iudeos*.²⁶ Although Ildefonsus only became bishop in 657, the year after Toledo X, he was likely closely involved with the feast's establishment and may have written the treatise—or at least adapted it from an earlier version—in its honour.²⁷ There are also considerable echoes between Ildefonsus's treatise and the office liturgy, insofar as the theme of Mary's perpetual virginity—particularly *ante partum* and *in partu*—predominates; both office texts and readings refer to many of the same biblical prophecies as proof texts for this doctrine, including Isaiah 7:14, Ezekiel 44:2, and

²⁴ Pinell, *Liturgia hispánica*, 247, refers to a reading at the end of each *missa* of *matutinum*, with readings drawn from saints' lives, as well as theological works, such as Ildefonsus's treatise for the Marian feast and Augustine's *City of God* for Christmas day.

²⁵ For the divisions in each manuscript, see the manuscript descriptions in Ildefonsus of Toledo, *De virginitate sanctae Mariae; De cognitione baptismi; De itinere deserti*, ed. Valeriano Yarza Urquiola, CCL 114A (Turnhout, 2007), 91–120. On the treatise more generally, see Adeline Rucquoi, "Ildéphonse de Tolède et son traité sur la virginité de Marie," in *La virginité de Marie: Communications présentées à la 53^e session de la Société française d'études mariales*, ed. Jean Longère (Paris, 1998), 105–25; Juana Balleros Mateos, *El tratado 'De virginitate Sanctae Mariae' de San Ildefonso de Toledo. Estudios sobre el estilo sinonímico latino* (Toledo, 1985); Carlos Del Valle Rodríguez, "El Tratado de la virginidad perpetua de Santa Maria de San Ildefonso de Toledo," in *La controversia Judeocristiana en España (Desde los orígenes hasta el siglo XIII)*, ed. Carlos Del Valle Rodríguez (Madrid, 1998), 115–18; and José Maria Canal, "Tradición manuscrita y ediciones de la obra de san Hildefonso, *De virginitate sanctae Mariae*," *Revista española de teología* 28 (1968): 51–75.

²⁶ See Yarza Urquiola's survey of the arguments, in Ildefonsus of Toledo, *De virginitate*, CCL 114A:27–36. For Isidore as source, see 73–80; and on Augustine and Jerome as sources, particularly in Ildefonsus's arguments against the heretics, see 81–85.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 26, and 32–33. For the idea that the feast was instated as a result of Ildefonsus's treatise, see Athanasius Braegelmann, "The Life and Writings of Saint Ildefonsus of Toledo" (Ph.D., Catholic University of America, Washington D.C., 1942), 153.

Psalm 84 (see table 1 for concordances).²⁸ This does not mean that Ildefonsus necessarily composed the office, as some scholars have assumed.²⁹ Because either one could have exercised an influence on the other, it is possible to treat both as products of a unified effort to develop the commemoration of Mary in early medieval Iberia.³⁰

²⁸ The importance of the theme of Mary's perpetual virginity may have derived in part from its first official stipulation at the Lateran Council of 649; see *The Acts of the Lateran Synod of 649*, ed. Richard M. Price, Phil Booth, and Catherine Cubitt, Translated Texts for Historians (Liverpool, 2014), 377. No Iberian bishops, however, were present at this synod, which aimed to deal with the Byzantine conflict between miaphysites and dyophysites. Additionally, we already see support for the doctrine of Mary's perpetual virginity in the works of Isidore of Seville, who died before the council was held, as indicated by Ismael Bengoechea, "San Isidoro de Sevilla, figura señera de la Mariología española," in *Doctrina y piedad mariana*, 107–23, at 115. On Ildefonsus's use of the Bible, see Domingo Muñoz León, "El uso de la Biblia en el tratado 'De virginitate perpetua Sanctae Mariae' de San Ildefonso de Toledo," *ibid.*, 251–85. Many of these same images are reinforced by their use in the mass, including Luke's narrative of the Annunciation for the Gospel reading, Matthew 1:18 for the *praelegendum* (the Old Hispanic equivalent of the Introit), and Micah 4:1–3, 5–8 for the prophetic reading. On these elements, see Fassler, "Mary in Seventh-Century Spain," 234–35; and for the mass propers for saints' feasts, see the catalogue in Jordi Pinell, "Los cantos variables de las misas del proprio de Santos en el rito hispánico," *Ecclesia Orans* 7 (1990): 245–308.

²⁹ Some of these echoes were pointed out by Javier Ibañez and Fernando Mendoza, "Maria Madre de Jesús y Madre de la Iglesia en la perspectiva teológica de la liturgia visigótica," *Scripta theologica: Revista de la Facultad de Teología de la Universidad de Navarra* 3 (1971): 343–421, leading some scholars, including Louis Brou ("Les plus anciennes prières liturgiques adressées à la Vierge en Occident," *Hispania Sacra* 3 (1950): 371–81. Carmen García Rodríguez (*El culto de los santos en la España romana y visigoda* [Madrid, 1966], 130–32) and Garrido ("Fuentes," 58), to argue that Ildefonsus had indeed composed some if not all of the Marian liturgy, but this has been questioned in part by J. A. Aldama, "Valoración teológica de la literatura litúrgica hispana," in *La patrología toledano-visigoda: XXVII semana española de teología, Madrid, 1967* (Madrid, 1970), 137–57, at 142, and more so by Fassler, "Mary in Seventh-Century Spain," 227.

³⁰ This was the approach of Rebecca Maloy, "Old Hispanic Chant and the Early History of Plainsong," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67 (2014): 1–76, articulated at 43.

Table 1.
The chants of the office of the Old Hispanic Marian feast
(from L8, supplemented by London, British Library Add. 30844
and Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia 30).³¹

Chant text	Biblical Source ³²	Correspondence in <i>De virginitate</i> ³³
Vespers		
<i>Vespertinus</i> : Virgo Israhel ornare timphanis tuis et egredere in coro psallentium	Jeremiah 31:4	
I. Beata es regina que prospicis quasi lumen ³⁴	?	
II. Egredere quasi aurora valde rutilans	~Song of Songs 6:9	
III. Adsisit regina in vestito deaurato	Psalm 44:10	
IV. Benedicta es tu filia a domino deo tuo	Judith 13:23	

³¹ The chant text is taken from L8 but supplemented in square brackets with further text when found in London, British Library Add. 30844 (henceforth BL44) and Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia 30 (henceforth RAH30) with reference also to the edition of the latter by Gros i Pujol, “*El liber mysticus*” (henceforth Gros i Pujol). Alternative chants to those in L8 are indicated in the footnotes.

³² The source for most of the psalmic chants is the so-called Mozarabic Psalter; see *Psalterium Visigothicum-Mozarabicum*, ed. T. Ayuso Marazuela, Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia, Series VII, Vetus Latina 21 (Madrid, 1957); and *La Vetus Latina hispana: Origen, dependencia, derivaciones, valor e influjo universal: Reconstrucción, sistematización y análisis de su diversos elementos, coordinación y edición crítica de su texto*, ed. Teófilo Ayuso Marazuela, vol. V.2 (Madrid, 1962), which contains concordances in other biblical sources, including the *Psalterium Hebraicum*. Most non-psalmic chants in the office seem to have been drawn from the Vulgate. On identifying biblical sources, see the methodology set out in Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning*, 25, but also 77 and 100–103 for specific examples, as well as Maloy, “Old Hispanic Chant,” 9–16.

³³ Cited by line number in Ildefonsus of Toledo, *De virginitate*, CCL 114A.

³⁴ Different verses in BL44, fol. 33:

- I. Beata es regina que prospicis quasi lumen (?)
- II. Egredere quasi aurora valde rutilans (~Song of Songs 6:9)
- III. Adsisit regina in vestito deaurato (Psalm 44:10)
- IV. Induit te corona iucunditatis et ornabit te (Judith 10:3)
- V. Benedicta es tu filia a domino deo tuo (Judith 13:23)
- VI. Benedicta tu pre omnibus mulieribus super terram (Judith 13:23)

V. Benedicta tu pre omnibus mulieribus super terram	Judith 13:23	
VI. Tu gloria Iherusalem tu letitia Israhel	Judith 15:10	
VII. Esto filia fortissimi omnis gloria filie regis	~Psalm 44:13	
VIII. Audi filia et vide et inclina aurem tuam	Psalm 44:11	613–15
IX. Propera et veni in salute populorum	~Song of Songs 2:10	
<i>Sono:</i> Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis, alleluia, propterea benedixit te deus in eternum alleluia alleluia alleluia	Psalm 44:3	
II. Eructuabit cor meum verbum bonum, dico ego opera mea regi alleluia	Psalm 44:2	863–64
III. A dextris tuis, Deus, adsistit regina in vestito deaurato circumamicta varietate. Audi filia et vide et inclina aurem tuam et obliuiscere populum tuum et domum patris tui, quia concupibit rex speciem tuam, alleluia	Psalm 44:10–12	613–15
III. Gnati sunt tibi filii constitues eos principes super omnem terram, memores erunt nominis tui Domine in progenie et generatione	Psalm 44:17–18	
<i>Antiphona:</i> Abe Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum, beata es tu inter mulieres et benedictus fructus ventris tui.	Luke 1:28/42	1194–95/ 1076
<i>VR:</i> Audiam quid loquatur [in me Dominus Deus quoniam loquatur pacem in plebem suam et super sanctos suos et in eos qui convertuntur ad ipsum corde. Verumtamen prope timentes eum salutare ipsius.] ³⁵	Psalm 84:9–10	
<i>Antiphona:</i> Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te et virtus altissimi obumbravit tibi propterea quod nascetur ex te sanctum vocabitur filius Dei	Luke 1:35	20–21; 1203–5; 1586–68

³⁵ BL44, fol. 33v.

<i>VR</i> : Veritas de ter[ra orta est et iustitia de caelo prospexit] ³⁶	Psalm 84:12	318–20; 618–21
<i>Alleluaticus</i> : Exultabit spiritus meus in Deo salutari meo quia respexit humilitatem ancille sue. Ecce enim beatam me dicent omnes gentes alleluia, alleluia <i>VR</i> : Lauda anima mea ³⁷	Luke 1:47–48 Psalm 145:2	1036–37
<i>Hymnus</i> : A solis ortu <i>VR</i> : Deus in medio eius non	Sedulius Psalm 45:6	
<i>Psallendum</i> : Ecce tempus, dicit Dominus, in quo parturiens generabit alleluia et erit iste pax in eternum alleluia alleluia alleluia	Micah 2:3/5:3/5:5	
Matutinum <i>De Psalmo 3</i> : Super populum tuum Deus salus tua et benedictio <i>VR</i> : Domine quid	Psalm 3:9 Psalm 3:2	
<i>Missa 1</i> <i>Antiphona</i> : Audite domus David, Dominus dabit vobis signum: Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filinoum et vocabitis nomen eius Emmanuel <i>VR</i> : Audite hec [omnes] ³⁸	Isaiah 7:13–14 Psalm 48:2	875–77
<i>Antiphona</i> : Dabit vobis Dominus signum in terra: virgo in utero accipiet et pariet filium et vocavitis nomen eius Emmanuel, scitote gentes quoniam nobiscum est Deus <i>VR</i> : Omnes gentes [plau] ³⁹	Isaiah 7:14 Psalm 46:2	875–77

³⁶ BL44, fol. 33v.

³⁷ Different verse in BL44, fol. 33v: Lauda Iherusalem domino conlauda deum tuum Syon (Psalm 147:1) II. Lauda anima mea dominum laudabo deum invita mea psallam domino quamdiu ero quia respexit (Psalm 145:2).

³⁸ RAH30, fol. 87r (Gros i Pujol, 152).

³⁹ RAH30, fol. 87v (Gros i Pujol, 152).

<i>Alleluiaticus</i> : Alleluia creabit Dominus nobum super terram, alleluia. Femina circumdabit virum, alleluia alleluia <i>VR</i> : Sit nomen [Domini] ⁴⁰	Jeremiah 31:22 Psalm 112:2	
<i>Responsorium</i> : Missus est a Deo angelus Gabriel ad Mariam virginem dicens: Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu inter mulieres propterea quod nascetur ex te sanctum vocabitur filius Dei <i>VR</i> : Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te et virtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi	Luke 1:26–28/35 Luce 1:35	1191–1205; 1752–53 20–21; 1203–4; 1586–87
<i>Missa 2</i> <i>Antiphona</i> : Missus est Gabriel angelus ad Mariam virginem desponsatam a Ioseph annuntians verbum et expabescit virgo de numine ne timeas Maria, invenisti gratiam aput Dominum. Ecce concipies et paries et vocabitur altissimi filius <i>VR</i> : Dies diei eructuat verbum	Luke 1:26–32 Psalm 18:3	1191–99
<i>Antiphona</i> : Angelus Domini apparuit Ioseph dicens: Noli timere, accipere Mariam quod enim in ea natum est de spiritu sancto est <i>VR</i> : Deus in medio eius	Matthew 1:20 Psalm 45:6	1206–10
<i>Alleluiaticus</i> : Respexit Dominus humilitatem ancille sue, alleluia, fecit mihi magna qui potens est et sanctum nomen eius, alleluia <i>VR</i> : Quoniam Iacob elegit ⁴¹	Luke 1:48–49 Psalm 134:4	1036–37
<i>Responsorium</i> : Angelus Domini venit ad Mariam dicens ei: Alleluia, spiritus	Luke 1:35	20–21; 1191–

⁴⁰ BL44; RAH30, fol. 87v (Gros i Pujol, 153).

⁴¹ Different verse in RAH30, fol. 89r (Gros i Pujol, 153): Quia ego cognovi quod magnus est (Psalm 134:5).

<p>sanctus superveniet in te, alleluia, et virtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi propterea quod nascetur ex te sanctum vocabitur filius Dei, alleluia</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu inter mulieres</p>	Luke 1:28	1205; 1586–88 1194–95
<p><i>Missa 3</i></p> <p><i>Antiphona:</i> Vidi porta in domo Domini clausa et dixit ad me angelus: Porta ista quam vides non aperietur neque aliquis per eam transibit, quoniam Dominus Deus Israhel egredietur per eam et erit clausa</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Tollite portas</p>	Ezechiel 44:2 Psalm 23:7/9	109; 311–15; 623–27
<p><i>Antiphona:</i> Virgo Israhel revertere ad civitates tuas usquequo dolens averteris generabis Dominum salvatorem, oblationem nobam in terram ambulabunt homines in salvatione</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Gloriosa dicta sunt [de te]⁴²</p>	Jeremiah 31:21–22 Psalm 86:3	
<p><i>Alleluaticus:</i> Misericordia et veritas occurrerunt sibi, alleluia, iustitia et pax osculate sunt se, alleluia alleluia alleluia</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Laudate nomen [Domini]⁴³</p>	Psalm 84:11 Psalm 134:1	
<p><i>Responsorium:</i> Filia Syon consecrabis Domino multitudines populorum et tu Bethlem, domus acceptionis, paucissima in milibus Iuda, ex te prodiet principium regni Israhel cuius progressio ab initio seculi propter quod tempus parturientis advenit et paries velociter redemptorem omnium filiorum Israhel</p>	~Micah 4:10/5:2	519–21; 885–88

⁴² RAH30, fol. 90v (Gros i Pujol, 153).

⁴³ RAH30, fol. 90v (Gros i Pujol, 153).

<i>VR:</i> Dabit vobis Dominus signum in terra: Virgo in utero accipiet	Isaiah 7:14	875–76
<i>Missa 4</i> <i>Antiphona:</i> Bethlem domus Eufrata non es minima in principibus Iuda; ex te egredietur rex qui regat populum meum Israhel et egressus eius a diebus eternitatis <i>VR:</i> Ecce audibimus eam [nimis eam] ⁴⁴	Micah 5:2/ Matthew 2:6 Psalm 131:6	519–21; 885–88
<i>Antiphona:</i> Tu turris gregis nebulosa, filia Syon ad te veniet salvator et veniet potestas prima regnum filie Iherusalem <i>VR:</i> Rogate que pacis	Micah 4:8 Psalm 121:6	
<i>Alleluaticus:</i> Tu Bethlem domus Effrata, alleluia, non eris minima in principibus Iuda, orietur enim ex te qui regat populum Israhel, alleluia, alleluia <i>VR:</i> Lauda Iherusalem ⁴⁵	Matthew 2:6 Psalm 147:1	519–21; 885–88
<i>Responsorium:</i> Bethlem, civitas Dei summi, ex te prodiet dominator Israhel et egressus eius sicut a principio dierum eternitatis et pax erit in terram nostram quia veniet <i>VR:</i> Gaudebunt campi et omnia que in eis sunt; tunc exultabunt omnia ligna silvarum	Micah 5:2/5:5 Psalm 95:12	519–21; 885–88
<i>Missa 5</i> <i>Antiphona:</i> Esto filia fortissimi omnis gloria filie regis intrinsecus; virgines sequentur eam, ducentur in letitia et exultatione, ingredientur talamum regis	Psalm 44:14–16	

⁴⁴ RAH30, fol. 91v (Gros i Pujol, 153).

⁴⁵ Different verse in RAH30, fol. 92r (Gros i Pujol, 153): Laudate dominum omnes (Psalm 116:1).

<i>VR:</i> Speciem et [pulchritudinem tuam intende, prospere, procede et regna] ⁴⁶	Psalm 44:5	
<i>Antiphona:</i> Audi filia et vide et inclina aurem tuam quia concupibit rex speciem tuam <i>VR:</i> Diffusa est gratia ⁴⁷	Psalm 44:11-12 Psalm 44:3	613–15
<i>Alleluaticus:</i> Alleluia, ortus conclusus, soror mea, sponsa mea, fons signatus emissiones tue, alleluia, paradisu cum pomorum fructibus, alleluia alleluia <i>VR:</i> Tibi ⁴⁸	Song of Songs 4:12–13 Psalm 104:11	152
<i>Responsorium:</i> Filia Syon, habitabo in medio tui, dicit Dominus, et applicabuntur gentes multe ad Dominum in illa die et scies quia Dominus misit me ad te <i>VR:</i> Lauda et letare filia Syon quia ecce ego veniam	Zechariah 2:10–11 Zechariah 2:10	
<i>Missa 6</i> <i>Antiphona:</i> Ut inhabitet gloria in terram nostram misericordia et veritas occurrerunt sibi, iustitia et pax osculate sunt se <i>VR:</i> Firmetur manus tua [et exultetur ⁴⁹ dextera tua.] ⁵⁰	Psalm 84:10–11 Psalm 88:14	318–19
<i>Antiphona:</i> Iustitia de celo prospexit, etenim Dominus dabit benignitatem et terra nostra dabit fructum suum	Psalm 84:12–13	318–21; 618–22

⁴⁶ BL44, fol. 34r.

⁴⁷ Different verse in BL44, fol. 34r: Quia ipse est Dominus Deus tuus et adorabunt eum filie Tyri in muneribus (Psalm 94:7).

⁴⁸ Different verse in BL44, fol. 34r: Lauda Iherusalem Domino conlauda Deum tuum Syon (Psalm 147:1).

⁴⁹ RAH30, fol. 93r; Gros i Pujol, 154.

⁵⁰ Additional verse in BL44, fol. 35: II. Iustitia et iudicium preparatio sedis tue misericordia et veritas preibunt ante faciem tuam (Psalm 88:15).

<i>VR:</i> Misericordia et veritas [obiaverunt sibi, iustitia et pax se complexerunt.] ⁵¹	Psalm 84:11	318–20; 618–22
<i>Alleluaticus:</i> Terra nostra dabit fructum suum, alleluia, iustitia ante eum ambulavit et ponet in via gressus suos, alleluia alleluia <i>VR:</i> Qui emittit [eloquium suum ⁵² terre velociter currit sermo eius] ⁵³	Psalm 84:13–14 Psalm 147:4	321; 618–21
<i>Responsorium:</i> Nos omnes ambulabimus in nomine Domini Dei in eternum quoniam regnabit Dominus in montem Syon et tu turris gregis nebulosa filia Syon ad te veniet salvator et veniet potestas prima regnum filie Iherusalem <i>VR:</i> Et tu Bethlem, domus Efrata, non eris minima in principibus Iuda	Micah 4:5/4:7/4:8 Matthew 2:6	519–20; 885
<i>Missa 7</i> <i>Antiphona:</i> Haec est que ascendit a deserto, deliciis affluens et incumbens super dilectum suum; pone me sicut signaculum supra cor tuum et quasi munile in bracio tuo quoniam fortis est dilectio <i>VR:</i> Deus in gradibus eius [dinoscetur ⁵⁴ cum suscipiet ea] ⁵⁵	Song of Songs 8:5–6 Psalm 47:4	
<i>Antiphona:</i> Haec est que progreditur a deserto consurgens pulcra ut luna, electa ut sol, terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinate <i>VR:</i> Vultum tuum ⁵⁶	Song of Songs 6:9 Psalm 44:13	

⁵¹ Additional verse in BL44, fol. 35r: II. Veritas de terra orta est et iustitia de celo prospexit (Psalm 84:12); Different verse in RAH30, fol. 93v (Gros i Pujol, 154): Veritas de terra (Psalm 84:12).

⁵² RAH30, fol. 93v (Gros i Pujol, 154).

⁵³ BL44, fol. 35v.

⁵⁴ RAH30, fol. 94v (Gros i Pujol, 154).

⁵⁵ BL44, fol. 36r.

<p><i>Alleluiaticus:</i> Sicut cedrus exaltata sum in Libano, alleluia, et sicut oliba speciosa in campis, alleluia, sicut vitis fructificavi suabitatem odoris, alleluia alleluia alleluia</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Dilexi quoniam exaudibit [Dominus vocem orationis mee.]⁵⁷</p>	<p>Ecclesiasticus 24:17/24:19/24:23</p> <p>Psalm 114:1</p>	
<p><i>Responsorium:</i> Iam adspirat dies et amobebuntur umbre noctis, sola es speciosa, sola es immaculata, veniens a Libano, veniens a Libano, veniens a cubilibus leonum, a montibus pardorum sic nos instruxisti sponsa, sic nos instruxisti sicut pupillam oculi tui</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Speciem et pulcritudinem tuam intende, prospere procede et regna</p>	<p>Song of Songs 4:6–8</p> <p>Proverbs 7:2</p> <p>Psalm 44:5</p>	
<p><i>Antiphona:</i> Fecit michi magna qui potens est et sanctum nomen eius et misericordia eius in omni progenie et generatione</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Magnificat</p>	<p>Luke 1:49–50</p> <p>Luke 1: 46</p>	1036–37
<p><i>Benedictio:</i> Benedictio et honor et gloria et potestas Deo nostro quoniam venerunt nuptie agni, gaudeamus et letemur, alleluia</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Benedictus es</p>	<p>Apocalypse 5:13/19:7</p> <p>Psalm 118:2</p>	1519–20
<p><i>Sono:</i> Apparuit angelus Marie dicens: Ecce concipies et paries filium et vocabis nomen eius Emmanuel alleluia</p> <p>II. Spiritus sanctus veniet in te et virtus excelsi obumbrabit te quod autem nascetur ex te sanctum vocabitur filius Dei</p>	<p>Luke 1:11/1:31–32</p> <p>Luke 1:35</p>	1197–99 20–21; 1203–5; 1586–88

⁵⁶ Different verse in BL44, fol. 36v: Letetur mons Syon et exultent filie Iude propter iudicia tua domine (Psalm 47:12). Different verse in RAH30, fol. 94v (Gros i Pujol, 154): Circumdate Syon (Psalm 47:13).

⁵⁷ BL44, fol. 36v.

<i>Laudes:</i> Laudate Dominum de celis alleluia II. Alleluia III. Alleluia	Psalm 148:1	
<i>Hymnus:</i> A solis ortu <i>VR:</i> Mater Syon ⁵⁸	Sedulius ?	
<i>Psallendum:</i> In Syon firmata sum, in civitate sanctificata, alleluia, potestas mea in parte Dei mei, alleluia, et in plenitudine sanctorum detemptio mea alleluia	Ecclesiasticus 24:15–16	
Second Vespers <i>Vespertinus:</i> Virgo Israhel	Jeremiah 31:4	
<i>Sono:</i> Audi filia et vide [et inclina aurem tuam quia concupivit rex pulcritudinem tuam alleluia II. Ipse est Dominus Deus tuus et adorabunt eum filie tiri in muneribus vultum tuum deprecabuntur omnes divites plevis omnis gloria eius III. Offerentur regi virgines post eum proxime eius adducentur tibi in letitia et exultatione adducentur in templo regis] ⁵⁹	Psalm 44:11 [Psalm 44:13–14] [Psalm 44:15–16]	613
<i>Antiphona:</i> In me est spes omnis vite et virtutis ero mater pulchre dilectionis et rami mei rami hodoris et gratiae <i>VR:</i> Speciem et pulcri ⁶⁰	Ecclesiasticus 24:24–25/24:22 Psalm 44:5	
<i>Antiphona:</i> Beata sum que credidi quoniam inplebuntur omnia que dictum sunt michi a Domino, alleluia, alleluia	~Psalm 121:1 Psalm 114:1	

⁵⁸ Different verse in BL44, fol. 50r: Deus in medio eius non commovebitur adiubavit eum Deus aspectu suo (Psalm 45:6).

⁵⁹ BL44, fol. 50r.

⁶⁰ Different verse in BL44, fol. 50r; RAH30, fol. 99v (Gros i Pujol, 155): Eructuavit cor meum verbum bonum dico ego opera mea regi (Ps. 44:2).

<i>VR</i> : Dilexi quoniam ex [audivit dominus vocem orationis mee] ⁶¹		
<i>Ymnus</i> : A solis ortu <i>VR</i> : Diligit Dominus port	Psalm 86:2	
<i>Psallendum</i> : Virgo Israhel	Jeremiah 31:4	

PSALM 44 AND THE SONG OF SONGS: USE IN THE OLD HISPANIC OFFICE

Following on from this presentation of the manuscripts and their contents, we can note the recurrence of two particular biblical texts throughout the office: Psalm 44 and the Song of Songs. The first chant of the day, the *vespertinus* (*Virgo Israhel*), begins with Jeremiah 31:4 (“O virgin of Israel, you shall be adorned with your timbrels . . .”), followed by several verses from Psalm 44, the Song of Songs, and the book of Judith.⁶² Together, these texts praise the daughter and queen, richly arrayed and blessed by God above all other women. The chant is in the second person singular, comprising verses that not only praise the Virgin of Israel, but call on her to emerge, to become the daughter of the king, to listen, and to come forth for the salvation of her people. Reinforcing this emphasis on the imperative mood used in the chants are the refrains. After every verse, the singers would have repeated the last part of the *vespertinus*, “come forth into the choirs of those who sing,” as if urging the Virgin of Israel to present herself in the present time of the liturgy’s performance.

That Mary was meant to be understood as this Virgin is suggested by the vespers *sono* (*Diffusa est gratia*) which follows immediately after the *vespertinus*. It too makes creative use of Psalm 44.⁶³ Several of the chant’s verses bring to mind the scene of the Annunciation in the Gospel narrative using text from the Psalm. For example, the third verse of the *sono* urges the daughter to “listen, daughter, and bend your ear” (Psalm 44:11), the very ear through which Mary would conceive Christ via Gabriel’s message, as

⁶¹ BL44, fol. 50r.

⁶² *Antifonario*, ed. Vives and Brou, 67. On Judith as example of chastity, see Elena Ciletti and Henrike Lähnemann, “Judith in the Christian Tradition,” in *The Sword of Judith: Judith Studies across the Disciplines*, Kevin R. Brine, Elena Ciletti, and Henrike Lähnemann (Cambridge, 2010), 41–70.

⁶³ *Antifonario*, ed. Vives and Brou, 67–68.

described in an oration of *missa* 2.⁶⁴ The parallel between the Psalm text and the Annunciation is further established by the antiphons that follow the *sono* and share its themes, as illustrated in the table below (table 2). The first verse of the *sono* (Psalm 44:3) praises the daughter for the grace and blessing with which she has been bestowed, in the same way that the first antiphon (*Abe Maria*) voices Gabriel's first address to Mary. The second verse of the *sono* (Psalm 44:2) changes to the first person, stating that "my heart uttered a good word." This echoes Mary's words of acceptance in the *Magnificat*, found in the *alleluiaticus* (*Exultabit spiritus meus*), where she expresses her joy at the blessing she has received. The prophecy of the daughter's illustrious offspring, articulated in the fourth verse of the *sono* ("Sons are born to you, you will make them princes over all the earth"), seems fulfilled by the angel's prophecy to Mary in the second of the vespers antiphons: "the holy spirit will come over you . . . and he who is called son of God will be born of you". Playing with the imagery of hearing, speaking and the giving of consent, the vespers office creates resonances between Psalm 44 and the Annunciation scene, providing the Psalm with an allegorical gloss that relates it to the Gospel account.

Table 2.
Vespers *sono* and antiphons compared

<i>Sono</i> chant text	Antiphon chant text
Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis, alleluia, propterea benedixit te Deus in eternum alleluia alleluia alleluia. [(Psalm 44:3) Grace is poured on your lips, Alleluia, therefore God has blessed you forever, Alleluia Alleluia]	<i>Ant. 1:</i> Abe Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, beata es tu inter mulieres et benedictus fructus ventris tui. [(Luke 1:28/42) Hail Mary, full of grace, the lord is with you; blessed are you among women and blessed is the fruit of your womb]
II. Eructuabit cor meum verbum bonum dico ego opera mea regi alleluia. [(Psalm 44:2) My heart has uttered a good word, I speak my works to the	<i>All.:</i> Exultabit spiritus meus in Deo salutari meo quia respexit humilitatem ancille sue. Ecce enim beatam me dicent omnes gentes alleluia, alleluia. [(Luke 1:47–48) My spirit has rejoiced in the Lord my Saviour, be-

⁶⁴ "Sancta Dei genetrix, quae, salutata ab angelo, aure concepis verbum . . ." (*Oracional*, ed. Vives, 69, no. 209).

king, Alleluia]	cause he has regarded the humility of his handmaid. For behold all nations will call me blessed, alleluia, alleluia]
<p>III: A dextris tuis Deus adsistit regina in vestito deaurato circumamicta varietate. Audi filia et vide et inclina aurem tuam et oblibiscere populum tuum et domum patris tui quia concupibit rex speciem tuam alleluia</p> <p>[(Psalm 44:10–12) The queen stood at your right hand, God, in gilded clothing, surrounded with variety. Listen, daughter, and see and bend your ear and forget your people and the house of your father because the king desired your appearance, alleluia]</p>	<p>[cf. Oration of ant. 1, <i>missa</i> 2]:</p> <p>Sancta Dei genetrix, quae, salutata ab angelo, aure concepis verbum</p> <p>[Holy mother of God, you who, greeted by the angel, conceive the word through your ear]</p>
<p>III. Gnati sunt tibi filii constitues eos principes super omnem terram, memores erunt nominis tui Domine in progenie et generatione</p> <p>[(Psalm 44:17–18) Sons are born to you, you will make them princes over all the earth, they will remember your name in the lord, throughout the generations]</p>	<p><i>Ant. 2:</i> Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te et virtus altissimi obumbravit tibi propterea quod nascetur ex te sanctum vocabitur filius Dei</p> <p>[(Luke 1:35) The Holy Spirit will come over you and the power of the most high will overshadow you, and therefore also the holy one will be born from you and he will be called the son of God]</p>

A selection of verses from Psalm 44 very similar to that used in the vespers office is also found in the fifth *missa* of the *matutinum* office. The orations in this *missa* make it clear that Mary is in fact to be understood as the daughter desired by the king.⁶⁵ Taking up a verse found also in the *vesperinus*, the first antiphon of the *missa* (*Esto filia fortissimi*) modifies the biblical text, beginning with the command to “be the daughter of the most powerful” that draws from the text of Psalm 44:13 in the *Psalterium Hebraicum* (“O filia fortissimi”), and continues on with a description of the internal glory of the king’s daughter.⁶⁶ The oration that follows explains this to mean that Christ

⁶⁵ *Antifonario*, ed. Vives and Brou, 71.

⁶⁶ *Vetus Latina hispana* V:2, 589.

shows to the world that his mother—the daughter of the king—remained a virgin.⁶⁷ The verse accompanying this antiphon, *Speciem et pulchritudinem*, is also taken from Psalm 44 and urges the daughter to reveal her beautiful appearance, suggesting that Mary's beauty lies in her virginity. The second antiphon and verse pairing of *missa 5*, *Audi filia* followed by *Diffusa est gratia*, are again explicitly associated with Mary in the oration.⁶⁸ The oration urges her to “listen, daughter, and see that you deserved to be made the daughter of the son, the servant of the child, the mother of the Lord, the bearer of the highest saviour because the king wanted the grace of your appearance, and pleased to prepare for himself a very clean dwelling place in your land.”⁶⁹ Echoing the chants and orations of the office of vespers, these *matutinum* chants make explicit that Mary is to be understood as the beautiful virgin and daughter of the king from Psalm 44.

Continuing on the same theme, the Old Hispanic office liturgy also makes use of the Song of Songs in relation to Mary and the Annunciation. In addition to supplying verses for the *vespertinus*, the Song of Songs is the source of the *alleluaticus* (*Alleluia ortus conclusus*) of the fifth *missa*.⁷⁰ The chant is a condensed version of Song of Songs 4:12 (“Alleluia, a garden enclosed is my sister, my bride, a fountain sealed; your plants are a paradise with the fruits of the orchard, alleluia, alleluia”) in which we find an unambiguous reference to Mary as bride, for her womb is described as the sealed fountain and enclosed garden in the corresponding oration.⁷¹ Other passages of the Song of Songs provide most of the chants of the seventh *missa*.⁷² Here, we get antiphons and a responsory hailing her as “she who rises from the desert, overflowing with delights and reclining on her beloved” (Song of Songs 8:5), “she who rises from the desert, beautiful as the moon, lovely as the sun, terrible as an army

⁶⁷ “Domine Ihesu Christe qui sancte Marie arcana possidens, sic virginum eam coris istipas, ut omnem gloriam utpote filiae regis in eius intimis manifeste aperias dum et virginitatem in ea dedicas inlibatam, et matrem illam ostendis in publico manifestam . . .” (*Oracional*, ed. Vives, 74, no. 221).

⁶⁸ *Antifonario*, ed. Vives and Brou, 71.

⁶⁹ “Audi, filia, et vide que meruisti effici filia filii, ancilla geniti, mater Domini, gestatrix salvatoris altissimi, quia concupivit rex speciei tuae decorem, et conplacuit ei in terram tuam habitaculum sibimet mundissimum preparare” (*Oracional*, ed. Vives, 74–75, no. 222).

⁷⁰ *Antifonario*, ed. Vives and Brou, 71.

⁷¹ “Deus qui fontem signatum Mariae virginis efficis uterum, in qua ipse sic conclusum hortum matris ingressus regrederis, ut virginitatem non violes geneticis . . .” (*Oracional*, ed. Vives, 75, no. 223).

⁷² *Antifonario*, ed. Vives and Brou, 72–73.

set in array” (6:9), and “she who is alone beautiful, alone stainless, coming from Libanus from the dens of lions and mountains of leopards, just as you taught us, bride” (4:6–8). The biblical text has been particularly altered in these chants. The verses are presented as statements, not as questions, as they appear in their original versions, and they praise their object as she *alone (sola)* beautiful, rather than *entirely (tota)* beautiful.⁷³ Such changes are meaningful because they contribute to the idea of Mary’s uniqueness as a spotless and most deserving bride. The evocative depiction of the love between bride and bridegroom in the Song of Songs is therefore here applied directly to Mary. Because the Song of Songs and Psalm 44 were both epithalamia—wedding hymns sung traditionally in classical culture in praise of the bride and bridegroom on their wedding night—it is striking that both texts are used here with reference to Mary, in the case of the Song of Songs referring directly to Mary as bride.⁷⁴ This nuptial theme is further enhanced by the sung *Benedictio* that concludes the *matutinum* office: “Blessing and honour and glory and power to our God, for the marriage of the Lamb has arrived and we rejoice (Apocalypse 19:7), alleluia.”⁷⁵ As a result of these juxtapositions, the Old Hispanic Marian office carries the underlying notion of the Annunciation as a marriage union between Mary and Christ/God the Father.

PSALM 44 AND THE SONG OF SONGS: THE COMMENTARY TRADITION

The appearance of the biblical epithalamia in a Marian office is striking because Mary was not read as the bride of Psalm 44 and the Song of Songs in the theological works that most obviously shaped the Old Hispanic liturgy,

⁷³ This could have been influenced by the kind of language present in the hymns of Sedulius, whose *A solis ortus cardine* was the hymn for the Old Hispanic feast of Mary. In his *Carmen Paschale*, book 2, Mary is described as *sola sine exemplo* (Coelius Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale*, ed. Johannes Huemer, CSEL 10 [Vienna, 1885, rpt. 2007], 49), v. 69 and recently translated as Sedulius, *The Paschal Song and Hymns*, trans. Carl Springer, *Writings from the Greco-Roman World* 35 (Atlanta, 2013), 196–208, at 48–49.

⁷⁴ On the early Christian continuation of the use of epithalamia, with particular reference to Carmen 25 by Paulinus of Nola (written ca. 405), see *Marriage in the Early Church. Sources of Early Christian Thought*, ed. and trans. David G. Hunter (Minneapolis, 1992), 25.

⁷⁵ *Antifonario*, ed. Vives and Brou, 73. Because there are relatively few *Benedictiones* for *matutinum*, they tend to be shared between feasts. The *Benedictio* for the Marian feast is nevertheless proper.

namely those of Ildefonsus, Isidore, and their late Antique sources.⁷⁶ Taking first the text most closely connected to the office, Ildefonsus's *De virginitate* considered the bride of Psalm 44 to be the Church: "the psalmist says that he [Christ] will emerge a bridegroom from the wedding chamber of the virginal womb, about to take as his wife from all the nations, the universal church. About whom it is said elsewhere, 'Listen, daughter, the voice of your God . . . etc.' (Psalm 44:11)"⁷⁷ Mary, here, is only the wedding chamber, not the bride. Ildefonsus likely had Augustine († 430) as his source. Augustine's interpretation of the psalms, the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, glosses Psalm 44 with the following: "the marriage union [described in Psalm 44] is that of the Word and the flesh, the nuptial chamber of this union is the womb of the virgin, for this flesh was joined to the Word from whence it is said that they are now not two but one flesh (Ephesians 5:31)."⁷⁸ Augustine interpreted the wedding hymn as describing the moment of Christ's Incarnation, i.e., the union of Mary's flesh with the Word at the Annunciation. Although the

⁷⁶ For the influence on the liturgy of Visigothic and late Antique theological works, see Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning*, 25, 41–49.

⁷⁷ "Item iuxta psalmistam ait ut egrediatur sponsus de thalamo uteri uirginalis, adsumpturus illam sponsam ex omnibus nationibus, ecclesiam uniuersam. Cui alio loco dicitur: *Audi filia, uocem Dei tui, et uide misericordiam praeuenientis te Dei, et inclina aurem oboedientiae tuae, et obliuiscere populi tui profanationes et operum prauitates, et ne recorderis patris tui, diaboli uidelicet, siue mundi inlecebras, et temporalium rerum turpes amores caenum maritale decurreret*" (Ildefonsus of Toledo, *De virginitate*, CCL 114A:189).

⁷⁸ "Coniunctio nuptialis, Verbum et caro; huius coniunctionis thalamus, uirginis uterus. Etenim caro ipsa Verbo est coniuncta; unde etiam dicitur: *Iam non duo, sed una caro*" (Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 44.3, ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, CCL 38 [Turnhout, 1956], 495). The same interpretation is applied to Psalm 18:6: "He pitched his tent in the sun and he is like a bridegroom coming forth from his bridal chamber" ("In sole posuit tabernaculum suum . . . et ipse tamquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo," *ibid.* 18.1.6, CCL 38:236). On this, see Pauline Allen, "Augustine's Commentaries on the Old Testament: A Mariological Perspective", in *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron*, ed. Hagit Amirav and Bas ter Haar Romeny (Leuven, 2007), 137–51, at 147–49. The orations of Proclus of Constantinople contain the same analogy in referring to Mary as the "bridal chamber in which the Word was wedded to the flesh" (*Oratio* 1.1; PG 65:681); see Gambero, *Mary and the Fathers of the Church* (San Francisco, 1999), 235; and Tina Beattie, "Mary in Patristic Theology," in *Mary: The Complete Resource*, ed. Sarah Jane Boss (Oxford, 2007), 75–105, at 91. See also book 2 of the *Carmen Paschale* of Sedulius (the author of the hymn *A solis ortus cardine*), which includes the same analogy. Cf. Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale*, CSEL 10:47, v. 51; trans. Springer, 48–49.

Annunciation is therefore framed as the nuptials described in the psalm, Mary is described only as the bridal chamber in which the Incarnation took place. She is never mentioned as the daughter and queen of the psalm in Augustine's interpretation, and it is the Church who is ascribed this role.⁷⁹ It is worth noting in this context that the "Virgin of Israel" (Jeremiah 31:22), mentioned in the *vesperinus* alongside Psalm 44, was read by Jerome in his *Commentary on Jeremiah* as the Church.⁸⁰

We similarly lack a sustained interpretation of Mary as the bride of the Song of Songs in the commentary tradition.⁸¹ In Ildefonsus's treatise, the text is referred to only once. Here, the metaphor of the enclosed garden and sealed fountain in Song of Songs 4:12 is applied to Mary, as it is in the fifth *missa* of the *matutinum* office, although without reference to Mary as the bride.⁸² The same is true for Isidore, who calls Mary *hortus conclusus*, *fons signatus* in a passage of the *De ortu et obitu patrum* describing her life.⁸³ Elsewhere, Isidore's understanding of the Song of Songs does not involve Mary. His *Etymologies* identify the Song of Songs as the work of Solomon, where "[Solomon] sings mystically, in the form of a wedding song, of the union of Christ and the Church."⁸⁴ In his description of the books of the Old Testament, Isidore promoted reading the Song of Songs to encourage contempla-

⁷⁹ This is also the case in Augustine's treatise on virginity, *De sancta uirginitate*; Augustine, *De bono coniugali*; *De sancta uirginitate* 2 (ed. and trans. P. G. Walsh [Oxford, 2001], 66–69). Augustine went so far as to equate Mary with the Synagogue, not the Church, in his *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*; see Allen, "Augustine's Commentaries," 142; and 150, where she argues that Augustine's exegetical works did not privilege Mary, nor her virginity.

⁸⁰ Jerome, *In Hieremiam prophetam* 6.13 (ed. S. Reiter, CCL 74 [Turnhout, 1961], 300).

⁸¹ For surveys of these theologians on Mary, see Brian K. Reynolds, *Gateway to Heaven: Marian Doctrine and Devotion, Image and Typology in the Patristic and Medieval Periods*, 2 vols. (New York, 2012); Luigi Gambero, *Mary and the Fathers of the Church* (San Francisco, 1999); and Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, 2d ed. (Notre Dame, 2009). For their influence on Visigothic writers, see the survey by José Carlos Martín Iglesias, "La biblioteca cristiana de los padres hispano-visigodos (siglos VI–VII)," *Veleia* 30 (2013): 259–88.

⁸² "De conclusionis horto, qui solum uirginitatis insolitae florem produxit, spinarum maritalium vepres afferret, de fonte nascentis uirginali egressione signato" (Ildefonsus of Toledo, *De uirginitate*, CCL 114A:161–62).

⁸³ Isidore of Seville, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, ed. César Chaparo Gómez (Paris, 1985), 191.

⁸⁴ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* VI.ii.20, trans. Stephen A. Barney et al. (Cambridge, 2010), 137.

tion of the union of the Church and Christ, thus moving the soul to join itself to God, all through the metaphor of the bride and bridegroom.⁸⁵ Isidore therefore followed in line with the sixth-century Iberian commentator, Justus of Urgell († ca. 546), who interpreted the Song of Songs as a dialogue between Christ and his Church, as did the influential Pope Gregory I († 604) in his *Super Cantica Canticorum Expositio*.⁸⁶ Leander of Seville, Isidore's brother and friend of Gregory, likewise quoted from Song of Songs 6:8 and 6:2 in his *Sermon in Praise of the Church*, which was delivered at the Third Council of Toledo in 589, to argue that God embraced only one Church to the exclusion of all heresies.⁸⁷ Justus, Isidore, and Leander were heirs to a long tradition of reading the Song of Songs from an ecclesiological perspective, an interpretation that first emerged with the seminal commentary of Origen († 254) on the Canticle, and was developed further by Cyprian († 258), Augustine, and the Iberian, Gregory of Elvira († ca. 392) to support their vision of the Church as impenetrable to the forces of heresy.⁸⁸ It was not until much later, in the

⁸⁵ "In Canticis autem Canticorum supergressus visibilia, atque contemplan ea quae sunt coelestia vel divina, sub specie sponsi et sponsae, Christi Ecclesiae unitatem declarat, atque animam ad amorem coelestium excitans provehendam ad consortium Dei provocat" (Isidore of Seville, *In libros veteris ac novi testamenti prooemia*, PL 83:164–65).

⁸⁶ Justus of Urgell, *Explanatio in Cantica Canticorum*, ed. Rossana E. Gugliemetti and Luigi G. Ricci (Florence, 2001); Gregory the Great, *Magni Expositiones in Canticum Canticorum*, ed. Patrick Verbraken, CCL 144 (Turnhout, 1963). See E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of my Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1990), 92–97.

⁸⁷ "Haereses enim quae respuit catholicae ecclesiae unitatem, eo quod adulterino amore diligit Christum, non uxoris, sed concubinae obtinet locum, quoniam re vera duos dicit scriptura esse in carne una, videlicet Christum et ecclesiam, quo locum meretrix nullum invenit tertia. 'Una est enim, ait Christus, amica mea, una est sponsa mea, una est genetricis suae filia.' (Cant. 6:8). De quo item eadem ecclesia pronuntiat dicens: 'Ego dilecto meo et dilectus meus mihi.' (Cant. 6:2)" (*La colección canónica Hispana* 5:157).

⁸⁸ On Origen, see Matter, *Voice of my Beloved*, 25–31; and Elizabeth A. Clark, "The Uses of the Song of Songs: Origen and the later Latin Fathers," in *Ascetic Piety and Women's Faith: Essays on Late Ancient Christianity*, ed. Elizabeth A. Clark (Lewiston, N.Y., 1986), 386–427, at 386–99. On Augustine, see Karl Shuve, *The Song of Songs and the Fashioning of Identity in Early Latin Christianity* (Oxford, forthcoming), 93–94, 115–33. On Gregory of Elvira, see Gregory of Elvira, *Tractatus de epithalamio (in Canticum Canticorum libri quinque)*, ed. J. Fraipont, CCL 69 (Turnhout, 1967); and Shuve, *Song of Songs*, 148–76.

twelfth century, that Mary came to be identified with the bride of the Song of Songs in biblical commentary.⁸⁹

We might think that the possibility of reading Mary as a figure of the Church could explain the transfer of bridal imagery from the Church to Mary in the Old Hispanic office.⁹⁰ This was the argument of Georges Frénaud, who considered the early Iberian tradition the earliest to establish such an association in the liturgy.⁹¹ Isidore, in his *Allegories*, had in fact stated that “Mary means the Church, who, when wedded to Christ, conceived us from the Holy Spirit as a virgin, and as a virgin, gave birth to us.”⁹² The equivalence between the two is also reflected in several texts of the Old Hispanic rite. The most obvious example is the *Inlatio* for the Christmas mass:

[Christ] promised her [the Church] that he would give her the eternal kingdom. He promised her that she would stand on his right hand as a queen. He conceded to her what he had conceded to his mother: that she be (ful)filled, but not violated; that she would give birth and not be corrupted—the one, once, the other always; that she would sit as a bride in the wedding chamber of beauty and would produce sons in the lap of piety.⁹³

⁸⁹ This occurred in the liturgical gloss of the Assumption liturgy, which is heavily drawn from the Song of Songs, by Honorius Augustodunensis, *Sigillum Beatae Mariae: The Seal of Blessed Mary*, trans. Amelia Carr (Toronto, 1991). Almost simultaneously, we find the same interpretation given by Rupert of Deutz, *Commentaria in Canticum Canticorum (de incarnatione Domini)*, ed. H. Haacke, CCCM 26 (Turnhout, 1974).

⁹⁰ This was questioned by Rachel Fulton, “Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora consurgens?": The Song of Songs as the *Historia* for the Office of the Assumption,” *Mediaeval Studies* 60 (1998): 55–122, at 59–62, in her exploration of a similar question regarding the Song of Songs and Carolingian liturgists, on which see below.

⁹¹ Georges Frénaud, “Marie et l’église d’après les liturgies latines du VII^e au XI^e siècle,” *Bulletin de la société française d’études mariales* 9 (1951): 39–58, at 41–46.

⁹² “Maria autem ecclesiam significat, quae cum sit desponsata Christo, virgo nos de Spiritu sancto concepit, virgo etiam parit” (Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae*, PL 83:117). See Bengoechea, “Isidoro de Sevilla,” 119–20, and L. Díez Merino, “Interpretación Mariológica de citas bíblicas en San Isidoro de Sevilla,” in *Doctrina y piedad mariana*, 125–73, at 135–36.

⁹³ “Promisit ei [Ecclesiae] se illi daturum regnum eternum. Ipsam pollicitus est statuendam in dextere sue parte reginam. Concessit et ipsi quod concessum est Genitrici: impleri, non uiolari; parere, non corrumpi; illi semel, isti semper. Sedere tamquam sponsam in thalamo pulchritudinis, et multiplicare filios gremio pietatis” (Marius Férotin, *Le Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum et les manuscrits mozarabes*, Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica 6 [Paris, 1912], col. 56–57, no. 114).

Here, reference to the queen standing on the king's right (Psalm 44:5) and the bride in the wedding chamber giving birth to sons (Psalm 44:16) seems to apply both to Mary and the Church, crucially with reference to verses that appear in the Marian office. Frénaud noted a series of additional texts in both the office and mass for Mary in which the Church and Mary are brought together, although not as clearly as in the Christmas text. These are the *Post pridie* for the mass, *Nuntiamus, Domine*, and the *matutinum* oration, *Te celestem principem*.⁹⁴ The texts describe the Church giving birth to the Christian faithful while remaining pure and untouched, just as Mary did in bearing Christ.⁹⁵ Although he noted the presence of Psalm 44 and the Song of Songs among the chants of the Marian office, Frénaud conceded that there is never an explicitly formulated equivalence between Mary and the Church in these chants, nor is there in the orations that follow.⁹⁶ It is also worth noting that none of the chants for the feast of the Dedication of the Church in the Old Hispanic sources feature Psalm 44 or the Song of Songs; this liturgy does not frame the Church as bride of Christ.⁹⁷ While the identification between Mary and the Church was certainly available to Iberian liturgists, nuptial themes seem only to have made their way into liturgical commemoration of the former. This points to the need to consider other liturgical traditions in order to assess how unique to the Old Hispanic rite it was to celebrate Mary as the bride of the biblical epithalamia.

⁹⁴ Frénaud, "Marie et l'église," 41–43. The rest of the examples he cites nevertheless do not mention the personified Church (i.e. *Ecclesia*) explicitly, although they urge the Christian faithful to follow Mary's example spiritually.

⁹⁵ "Nuntiamus, Domine, quod credimus, nec tacemus: te totis uisceribus deprecantes, ut qui Genetrici prestitisti ut mater esset et uirgo, tribuas Ecclesiae tue ut sit fide incorrupta et castitate fecunda" (Férotin, *Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum*, col. 53, no. 107); "Te celestem principem, Iesu Domine, adoramus, quem in civitate Betlem vaticinio profetali nasciturum esse cognovimus; etenim ita eam incarnationis tuae misterio premunire prenuntias, ut minimam in principibus Iuda non facias, dum ex ea proditurus ostenderis, et in ea natus apertissime declararis, quum ad nos per virginem veniens, virginitatis portam, nec adiens reserasti, nec prodiens. Proinde totis te visceribus deprecamur, Omnipotens; ut qui genetrici tuae prestitisti, ut esset mater et virgo, eius orationibus ecclesia tua catholica fide sit incorrupta, et caritate fecunda; ut, et in te credentes, copiosa parturiant, et a culparum labe purgata, ad te sine macula et ruga perveniat" (*Oracional*, ed. Vives, 72–73, no. 217).

⁹⁶ Frénaud, "Marie et l'église," 43.

⁹⁷ The liturgy for the dedication of the church bears little similarity to the Marian office, as can be seen from *Antifonario*, ed. Vives and Brou, 431–44.

PSALM 44 AND THE SONG OF SONGS: LITURGICAL PRECEDENTS

Turning to possible liturgical precedents for the Old Hispanic Marian feast, we find that nuptial imagery was applied to Mary early on, both East and West. The fourth-century hymnographer and theologian, Ephrem the Syrian († ca. 373), was perhaps the first to refer to Mary as the bride of Christ in his hymns, using images that echo the Song of Songs.⁹⁸ The earliest Marian feast is thought to have been celebrated in Constantinople around the mid-fifth century, with a feast honouring Mary as Theotokos on 26 December at the church of the Blacherna, and another on 18 December to celebrate the dedication of the Marian church of the Chalkoprateia.⁹⁹ Although the surviving sermons for the first of these occasions, written by Proclus of Constantinople († 446/447), deal extensively with the Annunciation, they never present Mary

⁹⁸ These are Hymns 8 and 16, in Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymns*, trans. Kathleen E. McVey, Classics of Western Spirituality 66 (Mahwah, N.J., 1989), 131–32, at 150. See Gambero, *Mary and the Fathers of the Church*, 117.

⁹⁹ Stephen J. Shoemaker has nevertheless recently argued for much earlier liturgical commemoration, already by the fourth century, in *Mary in Early Christian Faith and Devotion* (New Haven and London, 2016), esp. 178–94. For more, see Margot E. Fassler, “The First Marian Feast in Constantinople and Jerusalem: Chant Texts, Readings and Homiletic Literature,” in *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges, East and West. In Honor of Kenneth Levy*, ed. Peter Jeffery (Woodbridge, 2001), 25–87, esp. at 42–46 for Constantinople, but also, Dirk Krausmüller, “Making the Most of Mary: The Cult of the Virgin in the Chalkoprateia from Late Antiquity to the Tenth Century,” in *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium*, ed. Leslie Brubaker and Mary B. Cunningham (Farnham, 2011), 219–45; Stephen J. Shoemaker, “The Cult of Fashion: The Earliest Life of the Virgin and Constantinople’s Marian Relics,” *Dumbarton Oak Papers* 62 (2008): 53–74, “The Cult of the Virgin in the Fourth Century: A Fresh Look at Some Old and New Sources,” in *The Origins of the Cult of the Virgin Mary*, ed. Chris Maunder (London, 2008), 71–87, and “Marian Liturgies and Devotion in Early Christianity,” in *Mary: The Complete Resource*, ed. Boss, 130–45, at 136–37; Simon Claude Mimouni, “La fête de la Dormition de Marie en Syrie à l’époque byzantine,” in *Les traditions anciennes sur la Dormition et l’Assomption de Marie: Etudes littéraires, historiques et doctrinale* (Leiden, 2011), 229–45; Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, Pa., 2006), 39–51; Nikolas Constanas, “Weaving the Body of God: Proclus of Constantinople, the Theotokos and the Loom of the Flesh,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3 (1995): 169–94; Paul F. Bradshaw and Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Origins of Feasts, Fasts and Seasons in Early Christianity* (Collegeville, Minn., 2011), 196–210; Leena Mari Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn* (Leiden, 2001); and Rina Avner, “The Initial Tradition of the Theotokos at the Kathisma: Earliest Celebrations and the Calendar,” in *Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium*, ed. Brubaker and Cunningham, 9–29.

as a bride with reference to Psalm 44 or the Song of Songs.¹⁰⁰ The Akathistos hymn, recently attributed by Leena Mari Peltomaa to fifth-century Constantinople for the feast of the Theotokos, nevertheless hails Mary as “bride unwedded” among its many epithets of praise for the Virgin.¹⁰¹ Yet another fifth-century source is the Marian homily by Chrysippus of Jerusalem († 479), this time for the earliest Marian feast in Jerusalem celebrated on 15 August.¹⁰² Chrysippus did not focus exclusively on the Annunciation, but he did gloss Psalm 44:11–12 in relation to Mary. By “Listen, daughter, etc.,” he understood that Mary had been told she would become wedded to the high king, and would conceive the Word.¹⁰³ “Behold what an epithalamium David offered to the mother of God, such that as the poet was singing this hymn, the father at the same time was truly rejoicing at the blessedness of such a daughter,” explained Chrysippus.¹⁰⁴ While the first evidence for the celebration of the Annunciation on 25 March, found in the sermons of Abraham of Ephesus († after 542/553), lacks any mention of Mary as bride, the origins of this imagery could well have been in the Eastern sources that then made their way to Iberia.¹⁰⁵ Other evidence for Byzantine influence on the Hispanic liturgy certainly allows for the possibility of liturgical exchange between the two areas.¹⁰⁶ We should note, however, that the extant liturgical sources from

¹⁰⁰ Proclus of Constantinople, *Sermons 1–5*, cf. Nicholas Constatas, *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity: Homilies 1–5, Texts and Translations* (Leiden, 2003), 125–272. See also Fassler, “Marian Feast,” 34–42; 61–62.

¹⁰¹ Peltomaa, *Image of the Virgin Mary*, 5, with 21–22 for a discussion of previous scholarship on the hymn, and 43–49 for her reassessment.

¹⁰² For his biography and works, see Martin Jugie, “Homélie mariales byzantines,” 293–97, and for the text, 336–43.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* 339.

¹⁰⁴ Jugie’s Latin translation: “Animadvertite quale epithalamium David Deiparae obtulerit, ut melodus quidem hymnum decantans, ut pater vero simul congratulans tantae beatitudini filiae” (*ibid.*).

¹⁰⁵ Abraham of Ephesus, *Sermons 1–2*, cf. Jugie, “Homélie mariales byzantines,” 442–54. See also Pauline Allen, “Portrayals of Mary in Greek Homiletic Literature,” in *Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium*, ed. Brubaker and Cunningham, 69–90, esp. 72–78.

¹⁰⁶ See especially Francisco María Fernández Jiménez, “Influencias y contactos entre la liturgia hispana y las liturgias orientales byzantina, alejandrina y antioquena,” in *Bizancio y la Península Ibérica: De la Antigüedad tardía a la edad moderna*, ed. Inmaculada Pérez Martín and Pedro Bádenas de la Peña (Madrid, 2004), 165–76 and Sebastia Janeras, “Elements orientals en la litúrgia visigòtica,” *Miscel·lànea litúrgica catalana* 6 (1995): 93–127, neither of which mention this particular imagery. That Iberian scholars could have been influenced by Byzantine culture with respect to Marian

Constantinople and Jerusalem include neither Psalm 44 nor the Song of Songs among the chants and readings of the Marian feasts celebrated there in this early period, leaving the question of liturgical precedent somewhat unclear.¹⁰⁷

In the West, no doubt as a result of eastern influence, Mary and especially the Annunciation were first commemorated during the Advent season.¹⁰⁸ In the early liturgical traditions of Milan, Ravenna, Gaul, and Rome, a variety of biblical texts and images were used for this commemoration. In Milan, where

devotion is suggested though not shown by Enrique Llamas, “La doctrina mariana,” in *Doctrina y piedad mariana*, 29–50, at 33. The transmission of Ephrem’s hymns into the Latin tradition was not recorded by Albert Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur in der lateinischen Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1949), who nevertheless surveyed Ephrem’s other works, some of which appear as early as the eighth century, although not, apparently, in Iberia (67–71). He did not include Chrysippus of Jerusalem in his study. Neither of these authors appear among the known sources for Visigothic authors identified by Martin Iglesias, “La biblioteca cristiana.” For mutual liturgical influences between Rome, Constantinople and Jerusalem, see Peter Jeffery, “Jerusalem and Rome (and Constantinople): The Heritage of Two Great Cities in the Formation of the Medieval Chant Traditions,” in *Cantus Planus: International Musicological Society Study Group. Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary 3–8 September 1990* (Budapest, 1992), 163–74, and “Rome and Jerusalem: From Oral Tradition to Written Repertory in Two Ancient Liturgical Centers,” in *Essays on Medieval Music: In Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. Graeme M. Boone (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 207–47.

¹⁰⁷ Fassler, “Marian Feast,” 68–87.

¹⁰⁸ On this tradition, see Jugie, “La première fête mariale,” 309–17; and Fassler, “Sermons, Sacramentaries, and Early Sources for the Office” 30, 32. As for the liturgical contents, the mass readings are found listed in the Wurzburg and Murbach lectionaries, both eighth-century manuscripts, but with contents thought to date to the seventh century in the Wurzburg case. They give Isaiah 2:2–5 and 7:11–15 as the epistle for Ember Wednesday, to which Murbach adds the Gospel reading of Luke 1:26. See the synopsis generated by the online tool, ThALES (<http://www.lectionary.eu/thales-database/?li=0&lg=EN&u=synopse-lectionary&lli%5B%5D=27&lli%5B%5D=29&dr=1&ts=Generate+the+synopse>) The Roman *Ordo Romanus* XIII A, dated to 700–750, gives the vigil readings for the entire Advent season as Isaiah (Michel Andrieu, *Les “Ordines Romani” du haut moyen âge*, vol. 2, *Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense* 23 (Leuven, 1961), 485 [henceforth *OR*]), and the same is true for the Gallican version, *OR* XIII B, from 775–800, *ibid.*, 501. On the dating of these traditions, see the lengthy discussion in Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, D. C., 1986), 135–224, 166–67 for *OR* XIII A and 167 for *OR* XIII B. The chants from early graduals can be found in the *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*, ed. René-Jean Hesbert (Rome, 1935), now online courtesy of: http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/ (henceforth *AMS*).

the Annunciation was celebrated on the last Sunday in Advent, there is no nuptial imagery in the surviving texts of the mass and office.¹⁰⁹ There is brief mention of Mary as bride in a sermon for Advent by Peter Chrysologus, the fifth-century bishop of Ravenna († ca. 450), in which he refers to Christ taking Mary as his virgin bride; the corresponding liturgical prayers from the seventh-century Rotulus of Ravenna do not include this image, however.¹¹⁰ In the Gallican tradition, although the main Marian feast was a commemoration of the Assumption on 18 January, a second mass in the eighth-century Bobbio Missal under the rubric *Sanctae Mariae sollemnitate* (fols. 57v–60v) was attributed to Advent by Martin Jugie and does seem to concern Mary's virgin motherhood.¹¹¹ There is nothing, however, to confirm that it was in fact celebrated in Advent, and the two readings for this mass (from the Apocalypse and Luke 2:41–49) are not related to the Annunciation.

Rome presents a more complex picture. The first celebration of the Annunciation here seems to have taken place on Ember Wednesday, and Henri Barré's lengthy lists of office antiphons and responsories for Advent connected to the Roman tradition reveal a number that have the same biblical basis as chants in the Old Hispanic Marian feast, especially from the Gospel narrative of Luke and Isaiah 7:14; none of these use Psalm 44 or the Song of Songs, however.¹¹² Difficulties nevertheless arise when seeking to establish

¹⁰⁹ *Corpus Ambrosiano Liturgicum II: Das Ambrosianische Sakramentar von Biasca. Die Handschrift Mailand Ambrosiana A 24 bis inf*, ed. Odilo Heiming, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 51 (Münster, 1969), 14–16.

¹¹⁰ “Peruolat ad sponsam festinus interpres, ut a Dei sponsa humanae dispensationis arceat et suspendat affectum, neque auferat ab Ioseph uirginem, sed reddat Christo, cui est in utero pignerata cum fieret. Christus ergo suam sponsam recipit, non praeripit alienam; nec separationem facit, quando suam sibi totam iungit in uno corpore creaturam” (Peter Chrysologus, *Sermo* 140. *De Adnuntiatione Domini*, ed. A. Olivar, CCL 24B [Turnhout, 1982]), 846–47; translated in Gambero, *Mary and the Fathers of the Church*, 297). For the relevant prayers in the Ravenna Rotulus, see Suitbert Benz, *Der Rotulus von Ravenna nach seiner Herkunft und seiner Bedeutung für die Liturgiegeschichte kritisch untersucht*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 45 (Münster, 1967), 336–40.

¹¹¹ E.A. Lowe, ed., *The Bobbio Missal: A Gallican Mass-Book (MS. Paris. Lat. 13246)*, notes and studies by André Wilmart, E. A. Lowe and H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society 58 (Woodbridge, 1991), 37–39.

¹¹² Henri Barré, “Antiennes et répons de la Vierge,” *Marianum. Ephemerides Mariologicae* 29 (1967): 153–254. See, for example, the responsory *Missus est Gabriel* (“Missus est Gabriel angelus ad Mariam uirginem dispensatam a Ioseph annuntians uerbum et expabescit uirgo de numine ne timeas Maria inuenisti gratiam apud Dominum. Ecce concipies et paries et uocabitur altissimi filius”) found in a series of early Franco-

the Roman office liturgies as a source for their Old Hispanic equivalent.¹¹³ The earliest surviving manuscript for the office is the Compiègne Antiphoner, which dates from the ninth century and cannot therefore be used as evidence of early practice in Rome, taking into account the changes Carolingian scholars introduced into the Roman books they copied.¹¹⁴ The Antiphoner does not contain an office for the Annunciation, perhaps because it would have used chants from other Marian feasts as well as Christmas and Ember Wednesday for this occasion.¹¹⁵ Looking at the office chants for Ember Wednesday, the focus is indeed on the Annunciation scene described in Luke 1:28–42, with a number of chants that use the same biblical text as those in the Old Hispanic feast, although none of these are based on the biblical epithalamia.¹¹⁶

Where we do find a considerable presence of Psalm 44 is in the mass chants for the Annunciation and other Marian feasts (see tables 3 and 4).¹¹⁷ These feasts—Purification (2 February), Annunciation (25 March), Assumption (15 August) and Nativity (8 September)—were adopted in Rome in or around the time of Pope Sergius I (687–701).¹¹⁸ The introit antiphon for the

Roman manuscripts, as listed by Barré (“Antiennes et répons,” 162 n. 37). The similarities between this responsory and the Old Hispanic antiphon and its oration are indicated by Barré (ibid, 161–62 n. 36). James McKinnon argued that Ember days were being celebrated already by the time of Pope Leo I (440–61). The chants of the Advent Ember week would nevertheless only have been composed in the late seventh century, according to his “Advent Project” theory laid out in James McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley, 2000), 142–46.

¹¹³ Many of these are raised in Fassler, “Sermons, Sacramentaries, and Early Sources for the Office.”

¹¹⁴ On this manuscript, see Ritva Jonsson, “The Antiphoner of Compiègne, Paris BNF lat. 17436,” in *Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. Fassler and Baltzer, 147–78.

¹¹⁵ Barré, “Antiennes et répons,” 242. For an attempt to reconstruct the early office of Advent, including Ember Wednesday, in different traditions, see Fassler, “Sermons, Sacramentaries, and Early Sources for the Office.”

¹¹⁶ These are *Missus est Gabriel* (Luke 1:26; cf. Barré, “Antiennes et répons,” 162, nos. 4 and 5) and *Ioseph filii David* (Matthew 1:20; cf. ibid, 165, no. 18).

¹¹⁷ These can found in the *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/).

¹¹⁸ On the adoption of the Marian feasts, see Antoine Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien (Vaticanus Reginensis 316)*, Bibliothèque de Théologie, série IV, vol. 1 (Tournai, 1958), 375–402; Claire Maitre, “Du culte marial à la célébration des vierges. À propos de la psalmodie de matines,” in *Marie: Le culte de la Vierge dans la société médiévale*, ed. Dominique Iogna-Prat, Éric Palazzo, and Daniel Russo (Paris, 1996), 45–

Annunciation in the earliest mass chant books is *Vultum tuum deprecabuntur*, based on Psalm 44:13, and is common to all four of the Marian feasts, which has been used as an argument for its antiquity.¹¹⁹ The gradual for the Annunciation feast is *Diffusa est gratia* (Ps 44:3).¹²⁰ This text is likewise shared with the gradual and offertory for the mass of the Assumption in the Old Roman manuscripts, which some have argued represent the early liturgy of the papal curia.¹²¹ The gradual for the Assumption in the Franco-Roman manuscripts is rather *Propter veritatem* (Ps 44:5) and its verse, *Audi filia et vide* (Ps 44:11–12).¹²² These biblical texts are also found in the office liturgy (as found in the Compiègne Antiphoner) as antiphons and responsories for the feasts of the Purification and Assumption, and they may have appeared in the

64, at 47; Jeffery, “Rome and Jerusalem,” 217; Éric Palazzo and Ann Katrin Johansson, “Jalons liturgiques pour une histoire du culte de la Vierge dans l’Occident latin (Ve–XIe siècles),” in *Marie: Le culte de la vierge dans la société médiévale*, Dominique Iogna-Prat, Éric Palazzo, and Daniel Russo (Paris, 1996), 15–43, at 17–18; Bradshaw and Johnson, *Origins of Feasts*, 212; and McKinnon, *Advent Project*, 182–85. On the adoption of the Purification, see Alistair MacGregor, “Candlemas: A Festival of Roman Origin,” in *Origins of the Cult of the Virgin Mary*, ed. Chris Maunder (London: Burns and Oates, 2008), 137–53. Scholars have long argued that the first Marian feast was celebrated in Rome on 1 January by ca. 630, including Bernard Botte, “La première fête mariale de la liturgie romaine,” *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 47 (1933), 425–30, Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, 651–56, and since repeated frequently, for example, in Georges Frénaud, “Le culte de Notre Dame dans l’ancienne liturgie latine,” in *Maria: Études sur la Sainte Vierge*, vol. 6, ed. Hubert du Manoir (Paris, 1961), 157–211, Maître, “Du culte marial,” 46, and Palazzo and Johansson, “Jalons liturgiques,” 16. It is thought to have borrowed from the Christmas liturgy, including use of Psalms 2, 18, 44, 47, 71, 84, 88, 95, and 97, in the secular cursus with the added psalms 46, 86, and 96 in the monastic cursus; cf. Maître, “Du culte marial,” 57. This has been challenged by Jacques-Marie Guilmard, who has argued that the January 1 feast was never Marian in nature: “Une antique fête mariale au 1er janvier dans la ville de Rome?” *Ecclesia Orans* 11 (1994): 25–67.

¹¹⁹ On this chant, see Frénaud, “Le culte de Notre Dame,” 176. Barré thought the Purification liturgy was the first to introduce Psalm 44 imagery into a Marian context; see “Antiennes et répons,” 216.

¹²⁰ “Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis, propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum” (“Grace is poured upon your lips, therefore hath God blessed thee forever”).

¹²¹ See McKinnon, *Advent Project*, 125–33 (questioned by Emma Hornby, *Gregorian and Old Roman Eighth-Mode Tracts: A Case Study in the Transmission of Western Chant* [Aldershot, 2002]); and discussed earlier by Frénaud, “Le culte de Notre Dame,” 175–76.

¹²² Barré, “Antiennes et répons,” 222, no. 91. It is not possible to know which of these was used in the seventh-century Assumption mass.

missing Annunciation office; other psalms in these offices are shared with the Old Hispanic office, including Psalms 18, 23, 46, 47, 84, and 86.¹²³ Some of the texts from the Franco-Roman commemoration of Mary even have direct parallels in the Old Hispanic office. *Diffusa est gratia* is drawn from the same verse as the *sono* at Vespers (with added alleluias), and *Audi filia et vide* is an antiphon in the fifth *missa* of *matutinum*; in this latter case, the text is identical to the verse of the gradual, which is significant given that it has been subject to modification, with the omission of a phrase from the original biblical verses.¹²⁴ We should also note that the offertory of the Franco-Roman Annunciation feast, *Ave Maria gratia plena*, is a vespers antiphon as well as a *matutinum* responsory verse in the Old Hispanic feast.¹²⁵ Such echoes point tantalizingly to the possibility of a direct influence of one tradition over the other.¹²⁶

¹²³ Listed as no. 78 (*Vultum tuum*) and no. 79 (*Diffusa est*) in Barré, “Antiennes et répons,” 216–17. For lists of the office psalms, see Maître, “Du culte marial,” 51.

¹²⁴ The chant text in both cases is *Audi, filia, et vide et inclina aurem tuam/ quia concupibit rex speciem tuam*, which omits *et obliviscere populum tuum et domum patris* of the original biblical text. Such alterations were very common in Old Hispanic chants, on which see Maloy, “Old Hispanic Chant,” 9–16.

¹²⁵ There are further links in the use of *Bethlem civitas dei* (“Bethlem civitas dei summi ex te prodiet dominator Israel et egressus eius sicut a principio dierum eternitatis et pax erit in terram nostram quia veniet”), a responsory that combines two non-adjacent verses of Micah (5:2 and 5:5), for the third Sunday in Advent in the Franco-Roman sources and for the fourth *missa* of *matutinum* in the Old Hispanic feast, not to mention the antiphon *Virgo Israhel* (“Virgo Israhel revertere ad civitates tuas usquequo dolens averteris generabis dominum salvatorem oblationem novum in terram ambulabunt homines in salvationem”), which again adapts the biblical text (Jeremiah 31:21–22) in precisely the same way in each tradition. Although there are no common chants in this case, we find reference to Psalm 23 in both the Old Hispanic Marian feast and the office liturgy for the first Sunday of Advent in the Hartker Antiphoner (the verse *Tollite portas, principes*). Barré noted with respect to this last text that it was used as a verse for the responsory *Ave Maria gratia plena*, but was replaced later by the verse *Quomodo* because *Tollite portas* did not seem to pertain to Mary (Barré, “Antiennes et répons,” 161). In the Old Hispanic case, however, it very clearly responds to the antiphon *Vidi portam in domo domini*, which precedes it.

¹²⁶ Additional echoes include the vespers antiphon and *matutinum* responsory verse *Habe Maria*, also an antiphon and responsory verse for the last Sunday in Advent and for various Marian feasts (cf. Barré, “Antiennes et répons,” 161, no. 1; 169, no. 27 and 28; 175, no. 31b and 32; 180, no. 40; 212, no. 69; 230, no. 113; 235, no. 135); the *matutinum* antiphon *Vidi portam*, also an antiphon for the Annunciation (cf. *ibid.*, 243, no. 156); the *matutinum* antiphon verse *Speciem et pulchritudinem*, also (in a slightly different form: *Specie tua et pulchritudine*) as a responsory verse for the Assumption

Table 3.
Mass chants for the Annunciation feast in the earliest manuscripts of the
Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex (ed. Hesbert, no. 33)
shared with the Old Roman manuscripts¹²⁷

Mass Chant	Bible text
<i>In.</i> : Vultum tuum deprecabuntur	Psalm 44:13
<i>Gr.</i> : Diffusa est gratia	Psalm 44:3
<i>Of.</i> : Ave maria gratia plena	Luke 1:26
<i>Co.</i> : Ecce virgo concipiet	Isaiah 7:14

Table 4.
Mass chants for the Assumption feast in the manuscripts of the *AMS*
(ed. Hesbert, no. 140) shared with the Old Roman manuscripts

Mass chant	Bible text
<i>In.</i> : Vultum tuum deprecabuntur	Psalm 44:13
<i>Gr.</i> : Propter veritatem ^a	Psalm 44:5
<i>Of.</i> : Offerentur regi virgines ^b	~Psalm 44:15
<i>Co.</i> : Dilexisti iusticiam ^c	Psalm 44:8

(Different chants in the Old Roman manuscripts:
a—*Diffusa est*; b—*Diffusa est*; c—*In salutare tuo*)¹²⁸

Contrary to Psalm 44, the Song of Songs does not appear with the same consistency in the early sources for the commemoration of Mary in the West. In fact, the Song of Songs is not found at all among the early Marian mass chants preserved in the manuscripts referenced in the *Antiphonale Missarum*

(*ibid.*, 230, no. 108 and 110) and as an antiphon for the Purification (*ibid.*, 217, no. 80); the *matutinum* antiphon *Audi filia*, also (in a different form) a responsory verse for the Assumption (*ibid.*, 222, no. 91); the *matutinum alleluaticus Alleluia ortus conclusus*, also (in a different form, *Hortus conclusus*) as an antiphon for the Assumption (*ibid.*, 232, no. 117); and the *matutinum alleluaticus Sicut cedrus*, also a responsory (in a different form) for the Assumption (*ibid.*, 229, no. 106).

¹²⁷ Listed in McKinnon, *Advent Project*, 182, with discussion 182–85.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* McKinnon lists the Old Roman versions, not the ones in the *AMS* manuscripts.

Sextuplex. Only in the ninth century do we find a large number of chants taken from the Song of Songs in the office of the Assumption in the Compiègne Antiphoner.¹²⁹ Rachel Fulton has explained this by arguing that Carolingian liturgists found the apocryphal basis of the Assumption feast problematic and encouraged instead the use of the Song of Songs for commemoration of the feast when they put together the office.¹³⁰ While Fulton's hypothesis makes sense of the ways in which the Carolingians shaped their liturgical practice in the ninth century, this interpretation excludes the fact that more than a century earlier, the Song of Songs had already become associated with the liturgical celebration of Mary in the Old Hispanic tradition. In fact, the very verse Fulton identified with the account of Mary's assumption into heaven ("who is she who rises . . ." cf. Song of Songs 6:9) appears in the Old Hispanic office.¹³¹ In this latter case, the Song of Songs was deployed with a very different aim, not to describe Mary's Assumption, but rather her role as virgin bride.

LATE ANTIQUE ASCETICISM AND FEMALE VIRGINITY

There is another way to understand the use of the biblical epithalamia with respect to Mary that makes additional sense of the way they are paired in the

¹²⁹ The chants of the office are found in the *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, ed. R.-J. Hesbert, 6 vols. (Rome, 1963–79), online at http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/. On the use of Song of Songs imagery for Mary as a late-seventh/early-eighth century invention (first in sermons), see Barré, "Antiennes et répons," 227–28.

¹³⁰ Fulton focused on the series of antiphons for Lauds (*in evangelio*); "Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora consurgens?" 105–8. There are certain problems with this theory, given that the Compiègne Antiphoner contains many lists of chants that would have been selected from and not sung through (see Jonsson, "Antiphoner of Compiègne," esp. 151). Fulton (103–4) acknowledges this but argues that the list of twenty-nine antiphons given for Lauds of the Assumption feast were designed as a set to be sung or read as private prayers in series.

¹³¹ There is a slight variation in the way the text is used. Fulton cites the antiphon text from the Compiègne Antiphoner as the following: "Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora consurgens, pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol, terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata." This modifies the original biblical verse: "Quae est ista quae progreditur quasi aurora consurgens, pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol, terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata." The Old Hispanic antiphon is different again: "Haec est que progreditur a deserto consurgens pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol, terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinate" (see table 1 above).

Old Hispanic office. As Susan Boynton has remarked, the use of Psalm 44 in the Franco-Roman mass chants for Marian feast days could be linked to the early commemoration of virgins.¹³² The precedent for this was set by late antique authors writing on the ascetic life. Elizabeth Clark, David Hunter, and Karl Shuve have revealed how Jerome and especially Ambrose revolutionized the understanding of Psalm 44 and the Song of Songs by using the wedding imagery to advance the ideal of Christian asceticism: defending virginity as the most perfect form of Christian life, especially for women.¹³³ Paradoxically, the idea of the Church as virgin bride of Christ in earlier interpretations of the Song of Songs had actually opened the way for its erotic imagery to be applied to the consecrated virgin as the human representative of the Christian ideal.¹³⁴ Late antique supporters of asceticism thus frequently cited the Song of Songs and Psalm 44 in describing consecrated virgins as “brides of Christ,” presenting this spiritual union as superior to earthly marriage.¹³⁵

Jerome opened his Letter 22 to his protégée Eustochium by encouraging her to “listen and bend your ear . . .” (Psalm 44:11), such that if she vowed herself to virginity, she would become “she who rises all in white” (Song of

¹³² Specifically the commemoration of virgin saints; see Susan Boynton, “The Bible and the Liturgy,” in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception and Performance in Western Christianity*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York, 2011), 10–33, at 20–21.

¹³³ Clark, “Uses of the Song of Songs”; David G. Hunter, “The Virgin, the Bride and the Church: Reading Psalm 45 in Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine,” *Church History* 69 (2000): 281–303; Shuve, *Song of Songs*. On the importance of virginity for early medieval women in gaining sainthood, see Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, ca. 500–1100* (Chicago, 1998), 127–75.

¹³⁴ On the social phenomenon, see Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 2008), esp. 274–76; Gillian Clark, “Women and Asceticism in Late Antiquity: The Refusal of Status and Gender,” in *Asceticism*, ed. Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis (New York, 1998), 33–48; and Susanna Elm, “*Virgins of God*”: *The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 1994).

¹³⁵ See Clark, “Uses of the Song of Songs,” 401–10 on the important distinction between writers such as Jerome and Ambrose and the earlier reading of Origen. Other authors who included the Song of Songs in their ascetic works include Methodius (*Symposium* 7.1) and Athanasius (*Ep. 2 ad virgines*); see Elizabeth A. Clark, *Reading Renunciation: Asceticism and Scripture in Early Christianity* (Princeton, 1999), 87. Clark nevertheless underlines that Jerome and Ambrose made special use of the text (*ibid.*, 110–40).

Songs 3:6/8:5) and be joined to her bridegroom, Christ.¹³⁶ He also referred to both Psalm 44 and the Song of Songs in his defense of virginity against Jovinian, who countered the ascetic trend by claiming equality between married people and virgins within the Church.¹³⁷ Juxtaposing a series of verses from the Song of Songs, Jerome argued that the canticle was not an ode to marriage, as Jovinian held, but rather an exhortation to virginity.¹³⁸ Jerome claimed the bridegroom was Christ, who calls his virgin bride to arise and come (Song of Songs 2:10); she is the immaculate Church, but she is also an example for human virginity.¹³⁹ In order to support his reading, Jerome introduced Psalm 44, explaining that “they are virgins, about whom is written in Psalm 44, that ‘virgins will be led to the king, they will be offered to you in joy and exultation, and will be led to the temple of the king.’”¹⁴⁰ Jerome’s polemic was a formative influence on Ildefonsus’s *De virginitate*, as mentioned above, making it all the more likely that the Iberian liturgists were familiar with Jerome’s reading of the Song of Songs as a defence of virginity, even if Ildefonsus himself did not make similar use of the text.

¹³⁶ Jerome, Ep. 22, ed. I. Hillberg, CSEL 54 (Vienna, 1910), 143, 145. For a commentary, see Neil Adkin, *Jerome on Virginity: A Commentary on the Libellus de virginitate servanda (Letter 22)* (Cambridge, 2003).

¹³⁷ On the controversy, see David G. Hunter, *Marriage, Celibacy and Heresy in Ancient Christianity: The Jovinianist Controversy* (Oxford, 2007); Gillian Cloke, *This Female Man of God’: Women and Spiritual Power in the Patristic Age, AD 350–450* (London and New York, 1995), 40–46; and Clark, “Uses of the Song of Songs,” 404.

¹³⁸ On Jerome’s ideas about marriage and virginity, see Elizabeth A. Clark, “Ascetic Renunciation and Feminine Advancement: A Paradox of Late Ancient Christianity,” in *Ascetic Piety and Women’s Faith: Essays on Late Ancient Christianity* (Lewiston, N.Y., 1986), 175–208, esp. 183; and Benoît Jeanjean, “La virginité de Marie selon Saint Jérôme, polémiste et exégète,” in *La virginité de Marie: Communications présentées à la 53e session de la Société française d’études mariales*, ed. Jean Longère (1998), 85–103.

¹³⁹ “Ibo, inquit, *ad montem myrrhae* (Song of Songs 4:6): ad eos scilicet qui mortificaverunt corpora sua; *et ad collem Libani*: ad purissimos virginum greges, *et loquar sponsae meae: Tota speciosa es, amica mea, et non est macula in te* (Cant 4:7). Unde et Apostolus: *Ut exhibeat,* inquit, *‘sibi sanctam Ecclesiam, non habentem maculam, neque rugam* (Ephes 5:27)” (Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum libri duo* 1.30, PL 23:253 [264]).

¹⁴⁰ “[*Complebuntur infantibus et puellis ludentibus plateae ejus. Quid enim bonum ejus est, et quid pulchrum ejus: nisi frumentum electorum, et vinum germinans virgines* (Zach 8:5)?] *Istae sunt virgines, de quibus in quadragesimo quarto Psalmo scriptum est: Adducentur regi virgines post eam, proximae ejus afferentur tibi in laetitia, et exultatione. Adducentur in templum regis*” (ibid., 254 [265]).

Ambrose was equally influential as Jerome if not more so in shaping the understanding of virgins and virginity in late antique culture. Kate Cooper has claimed that “it was Ambrose who catapulted the virginal ideal to prominence in the Latin Church, and it was he more than any other who found in virginity a key for interpreting the biblical literary heritage as a rich mine of possible identities for the faithful.”¹⁴¹ Addressing women in his community who were increasingly embracing celibacy in the name of Christianity, Ambrose wrote multiple works on the virtue of virginity: *De virginitate*; *De institutione virginis*; *De virginibus*; *Exhortatio virginitatis admonitio*.¹⁴² In order to legitimize their choice of virginity over marriage, Ambrose described virgins repeatedly as brides of Christ with reference to Psalm 44 and the Song of Songs.¹⁴³ In an extended passage from the *De virginibus*, he addressed the virgin directly with many allusions to these books:

[Citing Psalm 44:9–11: “The daughters of the king are in his train. The queen stood at your right hand in gilded clothing, surrounded by variety,” etc.] Notice how much, according to the testimony of the divine Scripture, the Holy Spirit conferred upon you—a kingdom, gold and beauty: a kingdom both because you are bride of the eternal king and because you manifest an unconquerable soul and are not held captive by seductive pleasures but rule them like a queen; and gold, because just as that material is more precious when it is tried by fire, so the charm of the virginal body acquires an increase of loveliness after having been consecrated to the Divine Spirit. As far as beauty is concerned, who can think of a greater comeliness than that of her who is loved by the king, approved by the judge, dedicated to the Lord and consecrated to God, who is always a bride and always unwedded, so that her love is unending and her chastity unharmed? This is indeed true beauty, which wants for nothing and which alone deserves to hear from the Lord: “You are all beautiful, my beloved, and there is no blemish in you. Come

¹⁴¹ Kate Cooper, *The Virgin and the Bride: Idealized Womanhood in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 78. See also Goulven Madec, “Marie, vierge et mère, selon Saint Ambroise et Saint Augustin,” in *La Virginité de Marie*, ed. Longère, 71–84, at 73–78.

¹⁴² Ambrose, *On Virginity*, trans. Daniel Callam (Toronto, 1996); *De institutione virginis et S. Mariae virginitate perpetua ad Eusebium*, PL 16:305–34 (319–48); *Exhortatio Virginitatis*, PL 16:335–64 (348–80); “On Virgins” in *Ambrose*, trans. Boniface Ramsey, *Early Church Fathers* 3 (London, 1997), 71–116 (cited here as Ambrose, “On Virgins”). Ambrose was especially favourable to the ideal of virginity as “the representation of the sexually ‘unmixed’ and hence unpolluted body of Christ” and hence as a defence against heresy and sin, cf. Elm, “*Virgins of God*,” 381.

¹⁴³ On this, see Clark, “Uses of the Song of Songs,” 404.

hither from Lebanon, my bride, come hither from Lebanon. You shall pass and pass through from the beginning of the faith, from the top of Sanir and Hermon, from the dens of the lions and from the mountains of the leopards” (Song of Songs 4:7–8). In these words is described the perfect and unblemished beauty of the virginal soul, which is consecrated at the divine altar in the midst of the haunts and dens of spiritual beasts, not moved by transient things but intent, through the mysteries of God, upon being worthy of the beloved, whose breasts are full of gladness.¹⁴⁴

Further on in the same work, Ambrose cited Song of Songs 4:12 to urge women to make themselves like the enclosed garden and sealed fountain, committing themselves to an enclosed life of virginity and spiritual marriage with Christ. He then followed with a series of additional verses from the Song of Songs to support this same message (2:3, 3:4, 4:16, 7:12, 8:6, 5:10).¹⁴⁵ Urging the virgin to gird herself for a life of chastity, Ambrose encouraged her to “set [Christ] as a seal upon [her] heart” (5:10).¹⁴⁶ For Ambrose, reading the Song (and Psalm 44) would allow virgins to put themselves in the place of the bride and cultivate the virtue of virginity required of them.¹⁴⁷ Just as for Jerome, the nuptial hymns of the Hebrew Bible provided Ambrose with material to inspire women in maintaining their virginity as spouses of the heavenly bridegroom.

As part of their rhetorical strategy to encourage virgins in their chosen path, late antique writers presented them with an example: the Virgin Mary.¹⁴⁸ Jerome’s responses to Helvidius and Jovinian on the questions of Mary’s virginity *post partum* and *in partu*, respectively, saw Mary elevated to exemplary virginal status, in line with the ascetic ideal.¹⁴⁹ In arguing that she was perpetually a virgin, Jerome made Mary an ideal role model for her human followers, meriting her the title “mother of virgins,” particularly with reference to the bride and sister of Song of Songs 4:12, enclosed and sealed.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁴ Ambrose, “On Virgins,” 83.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 85–86; also found in Ambrose, *On Virginity*, 32, 37; and *De institutione virginis et S. Mariae virginitate perpetua ad Eusebium* 9, PL 16:321 (335–36).

¹⁴⁶ Ambrose, “On Virgins,” 84–85.

¹⁴⁷ It also placed Ambrose in a privileged position as bishop to educate virgins, presenting himself as *paterfamilias*; see Shuve, *Song of Songs*, 206; and Hunter, “Virgin,” 288–90.

¹⁴⁸ See Brown, *Body and Society*, 273.

¹⁴⁹ See Hunter, *Marriage*, 188–92.

¹⁵⁰ “Quod clausum est, atque signatum, similitudinem habet Matris Domini, matris et virginis. . . . haec virgo perpetua multarum est mater virginum” (Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum* 1.30, PL 23: 254 [265]). On the importance of Song of Songs 4:12 for under-

This understanding is also found in Jerome's argument on the proper reading of Isaiah 7:14. Jerome pointed out that the term used in the passage, *alma*, meant virgin rather than simply young girl, as the Jews interpreted it; not just virgin but *hidden virgin*, meaning that she had been kept from the eyes of men, alluding to the contemporary tradition of virgins living shut up in their parents' houses.¹⁵¹ We can see this again in his letter to the virgin Laeta, where Jerome urged her to "imitate Mary whom Gabriel found alone in her chamber," encouraging her to do likewise.¹⁵² Reference to Mary as the enclosed bride thus presented her as exemplary not just by virtue of her virginity, but by her choice to live a life of enclosure that matched late antique ideals for consecrated virgins.

Ambrose went into great detail describing how Mary set an example for the women he was seeking to encourage.¹⁵³ "Mary is extraordinary, she who raised up the sign (*signum*) of sacred virginity and lifted up the pious standard (*vexillum*) of undefiled integrity for Christ . . . all are called to the cult of virginity by the example of holy Mary," he wrote in his *De institutione virginum*.¹⁵⁴ In fact, as David Hunter has underlined, Ambrose became the first great supporter of the doctrine of Mary's virginity *in partu* in order to emphasize God's favour for the virginal status.¹⁵⁵ Like Jerome, Ambrose pre-

standing Mary's virginity *in partu*, developed especially by Jerome, see Clark, "Uses of the Song of Songs," 405; and Shuve, *Song of Songs*, 332. It was subsequently used in sequences throughout the medieval tradition; see Bernadette Jollès, "La formulation de la virginité de Marie dans la poésie latine médiévale," in *La virginité de Marie*, ed. Longère), 137–55, at 147.

¹⁵¹ "Loquatur Isaias spei nostrae fideique mysterium: *Ecce virgo in utero concipiet et pariet filium, et vocabis nomen ejus Emmanuel* (Is 7:14). Scio Judaeos opponere solere, in Hebraeo verbum, non virginem sonare, sed *adolescentulam*. Et revera virgo proprie BETHULA appellatur, adolescentula autem vel puella, non ALMA dicitur, sed NAARA. Quid est igitur quod significat ALMA? Absconditam virginem, id est, non solum virginem, sed cum ἐπιτάσσει virginem; quia non omnis virgo abscondita est, nec ab hominum fortuito separata conspectu" (Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum* 1.32, PL 23:254 [266]). This same image is found in the work of Athanasius of Alexandria, as pointed out by Shoemaker, *Mary in Early Christian Faith*, 169.

¹⁵² Jerome, Ep. 107, CSEL 55:298, with translation by Shuve, *Song of Songs*, 319.

¹⁵³ David Hunter has noted Ambrose's indebtedness to Athanasius in presenting Mary as example; see Hunter, *Marriage*, 187–88.

¹⁵⁴ "Egregia igitur Maria, quae signum sacrae virginitatis extulit, et intemeratae integritatis pium Christo vexillum erexit . . . omnes ad cultum virginitatis sanctae Mariae advocentur exemplo . . ." (*De institutione virginis et S. Mariae virginitate perpetua ad Eusebium*, PL 16:314 [328], and translated in Hunter, *Marriage*, 202).

¹⁵⁵ Hunter, *Marriage*, 197–204.

sented Mary as a perfect example also in her choice of life-style. He described how Mary had kept herself locked away, only leaving her room to go to “church” (i.e., the synagogue) with her parents, showing compassion for the poor, remaining modest at all times in word and gesture, eating and sleeping only as much as was necessary, honouring her kin (i.e., her cousin Elizabeth), devoting herself to the reading of Scripture, and generally conducting herself like the urban ascetics Ambrose advised as bishop of Milan.¹⁵⁶ Ambrose may have been influenced in his portrayal of Mary by the apocryphal narratives of her early life, the *Protevangelium of James*, which, in the words of Hunter, “places a distinctively ascetic emphasis on the virginity of Mary, both prior to and in the process of birth.”¹⁵⁷ “She was a virgin within the home, a companion in service, a mother at the Temple,” wrote Ambrose, laying out the fundamental virtues of the consecrated virgin.¹⁵⁸ He thus introduced Mary as the ultimate model for Christian women to follow:

Let, then, the life of Mary represent virginity for you, set forth as it were in a portrait, from which, as if from a mirror, the beauty of chastity and the shape of virtue will shine out. From this source you may draw patterns of life that show, in the form of examples, clear teachings on upright behavior, what you ought to correct, what to flee from, what to hold onto.¹⁵⁹

Ambrose very clearly set Mary up as the paradigmatic virgin, the bride above all brides of Christ who best embodied what consecrated virgins should be and how they should live.

Clearly inspired by Ambrose, the *De institutione virginum et contemptu mundi* by Leander of Seville brought the ascetic ideal into an Iberian context.¹⁶⁰ In this letter of advice and exhortation, Leander instructed his sister Florentina on the benefits of dedicating her life to Christ, giving her general

¹⁵⁶ Ambrose, “On Virgins,” 92–95.

¹⁵⁷ Hunter, *Marriage*, 177.

¹⁵⁸ Ambrose, “On Virgins,” 95.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 92.

¹⁶⁰ The treatise was edited and translated in Leander of Seville, *Training of Nuns*, trans. Claude Barlow, *The Fathers of the Church, Iberian Fathers 1* (Washington, D.C., 1969), 175–235, and was recently retranslated as Leander of Seville, *A Book on the Teaching of Nuns and a Homily in Praise of the Church*, trans. John R. C. Martyn (Plymouth, 2009). Another book of advice by Severus, bishop of Malaga, for his sister, now lost, is mentioned in Isidore of Seville, *De viris illustribus*, ed. Carmen Codoñer Merino (Salamanca, 1964), 150. On Leander’s life and works, see the summary and bibliography in Carmen Codoñer Merino et al., *La Hispania visigótica y mozárabe. Dos épocas en su literatura* (Salamanca, 2010), 63–68.

guidance for living as an enclosed nun.¹⁶¹ The preface, which precedes twenty-one chapters of instructions, makes an extended case for virginity, citing the dangers of matrimony and childbirth—both moral and mortal. Far better is choosing Christ as a spouse, wrote Leander, “for he is your bridegroom, your brother, your reward, part of your inheritance, your friend, your God and Lord.”¹⁶² The nuptial imagery of the Song of Songs is cited multiple times throughout the work as an expression of the mutual love between nuns and Christ.¹⁶³ Crucially, Mary is presented as “that paragon and example of virginity” (“apex et specimen virginitatis”), who gives birth to virgins on a daily basis by her example (“quae vos exemplo suo genuit . . . parit cottidie sponsas et virgo est”).¹⁶⁴ She is therefore not just the uncorrupted mother of Christ but the “mother and leader of virgins” (“mater et dux virginum”), whose place at the head of the choirs of virgins Leander urged Florentina to consider with the eye of her mind (“coros illos virgineos prosequentes Mariam oculo mentis suspice”).¹⁶⁵ Leander thus cited Psalm 44:10–11 to inspire his sister, just as Jerome and Ambrose had done before him: “Hearken o daughter and consider and incline thine ear.”¹⁶⁶ Written several centuries after the first major apologia for asceticism, Leander’s *De institutione* reflects how

¹⁶¹ Although it has been treated as a monastic rule, the fact that it was addressed solely to Florentina and sought to give her personalized advice rather than address the organization of monastic life places this in doubt. See Neil Allies, “The Monastic Rules of Visigothic Iberia: A Study of their Text and Language” (Ph.D., University of Birmingham, 2009), 14–24. On the tradition of close relationships between prominent clerics and their sisters in the pursuit of a monastic way of life, expressed particularly in letters of advice, see Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their Sex*, 271–86.

¹⁶² Leander of Seville, *Teaching of Nuns*, 66.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* 66, 74.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 72. These terms were highlighted in the stylistic study of the *De institutione virginum* undertaken by Antonio Gómez Cabo, “La Virgen María en Leandro de Sevilla,” *Carthaginensia* 20 (2004): 57–108. He nevertheless does not discuss the biblical texts used in Leander’s work, nor Leander’s possible sources.

¹⁶⁵ Leander of Seville, *Teaching of Nuns*, 75. This image of the nuns as led by Mary and paying service to her is also found in the work of Gregory the Great, whom Leander knew well, and in the advice for virgins written by Caesarius of Arles, also in the sixth century; see Adalbert de Vogüé, “Marie chez les vierges du sixième siècle: Césaire d’Arles et Grégoire le Grand,” *Benedictina* 33 (1986): 79–91. On Mary in Leander’s letter, but with no reference to the biblical or theological sources, and so with limited use, see Gaspar Calvo Moralejo, “Presencia de la Virgen María en la Regla de San Leandro,” in *Doctrina y piedad mariana*, 175–89.

¹⁶⁶ Gómez Cabo, “La Virgen María en Leandro de Sevilla,” 130.

the language of the biblical epithalamia and the example of Mary continued to be meaningful in promoting the ideal of female virginity in Visigothic Iberia.

ASCETIC IDEALS AND LITURGIES FOR VIRGINS

Leander's emphasis on Mary as perfect bride of Christ in his didactic works gains additional meaning when considered with his significant role in developing the liturgical repertoire of late sixth-century Iberia.¹⁶⁷ It is time, then, to consider how the ascetic works of writers like Leander and Ambrose may have gone on to shape the liturgy.¹⁶⁸ After all, many of the same images found in the works of these authors have close parallels in the Old Hispanic Marian office. But the influence of ascetic treatises on the liturgy may have gone much further back. According to the work of Nathalie Henry, the juxtaposition of the Song of Songs and Psalm 44 was present in early rites for the consecration of virgins.¹⁶⁹ Although no liturgical evidence survives, Henry has followed the research of René Metz in placing the origins of the ritual in the fourth century, concluding that it "contributed to the emergence of a new image of female ascetics."¹⁷⁰ She points to the writings of Ambrose and Jerome that may reveal some of the chants sung at this ceremony. Jerome's Letter 130

¹⁶⁷ While it is impossible to know the extent of Leander's contribution to liturgical composition, many chants were attributed to him, particularly by his brother, Isidore of Seville, *De viris illustribus*, 150. Leander's death in 601 means he was not alive when the new Marian feast was instated.

¹⁶⁸ In pointing out the importance of Ambrose on the use of the Song of Songs in the Old Hispanic Assumption liturgy, Jane Huber acknowledged the December feast as an earlier source but did not discuss its liturgy in her thesis; see Jane Elizabeth Huber, "Unfolding Song: The Matins Celebration for the Marian Feast of the Assumption. Early Origins to Medieval Example" (Ph.D. Union Theological Seminary, New York, 2013), 31-35 on Ambrose, and 129-39 on the Assumption liturgy.

¹⁶⁹ Nathalie Henry, "A New Insight Into the Growth of Ascetic Society in the Fourth Century. The Public Consecration of Virgins as a Means of Integration and Promotion of the Female Ascetic Movement," in *Studia Patristica XXXV: Ascetica, Gnostica, Liturgica, Orientalia*, ed. Maurice F. Wiles, Edward Yarnold, and P.M. Parvis (Leuven, 2001), and "The Song of Songs and the Liturgy of the Velatio in the Fourth Century: From Literary Metaphor to Liturgical Reality," in *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship*, ed. R. N. Swanson, Studies in Church History 35 (Woodbridge, 1999), 18-28. See also Hunter, *Marriage*, 224-30, and Shuve, *Song of Songs*, 317-21, for the importance of this ritual especially for Ambrose. See also Metz, *La consécration*, 95-117, for a more detailed exploration of the early history of this ceremony.

¹⁷⁰ Henry, "New Insight," 102.

describes the consecration of a Roman woman, Demetrias, stating that “and at this point the bride rejoices and says: ‘The king brought me into his chamber (Song of Songs. 1:4)’ and the choir of her companions responds: ‘All the glory of the king’s daughter is within (Ps. 44:14).’”¹⁷¹ Henry argues that Jerome was referring here to antiphons that the consecrated virgins sang to each other, indicating further evidence in Ambrose’s *On virgins*, where he states that only the virgins recite Psalm 44:3 (“You are beautiful above the sons of men”) during the ceremony.¹⁷² Contrary to Henry’s arguments, it is unclear that the consecration ceremony pre-dated the ascetic works of Jerome and Ambrose, and it may be that Ambrose helped to craft the *velatio* ceremony himself, modelling it on the Roman marriage ceremony in order to present consecration as a viable alternative to married life.¹⁷³ In so doing, he would have only further cemented the relevance of the Song of Songs and Psalm 44 for the consecrated virgin bride, not only in theory but also in religious practice. This may then explain the prevalence of these texts in the liturgy for the common of virgins, as Henry has shown for the office found in the Compiègne Antiphoner, and in the offices and masses of virgin martyrs.¹⁷⁴

The surviving liturgy for the consecration of virgins from the Visigothic or Mozarabic periods in Iberia is reduced to a series of prayers in the episcopal ordinal, Silos, Archivo monástico 4, under the rubrics *ordo ad benedicendum virginem* and *ordo vel benedictio ad velandas deo votas*; the two seem to be part of one and the same rite.¹⁷⁵ The first of these blessings, said by the

¹⁷¹ Jerome, Ep. 130, CSEL 56:177, translated by Henry, “Song of Songs,” 20.

¹⁷² Henry, “New Insight,” 106.

¹⁷³ This is argued by Karl Shuve, who thinks it more convincing that Ambrose as bishop of Milan, and heavily invested in the pastoral care of virgins, would have helped to fashion the consecration liturgy using the same texts he privileged in his ascetic writings (Shuve, *Song of Songs*, 192).

¹⁷⁴ Henry, “New Insight,” 24–28, for a critical edition of the office from Paris, BnF lat. 17436, fols. 94v–95r. It is also possible that, as James Borders and Claire Maître have indicated, the offices of early female Roman martyr saints Agnes, Lucia, Agatha, and Cecilia, influenced the common of virgins; there is a remarkable prominence of Psalm 44 among their mass propers and the night office readings, including extensive use of the text *Diffusa est gratia* (Psalm 44:3), which is used for all the Marian feasts. On the importance of this psalm for creating an identity for virgin saints, see James Borders, “Gender, Performativity and Allusion in Medieval Services for the Consecration of Virgins,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, ed. Jane F. Fulcher (Oxford, 2011), 17–38, esp. 29, and 30–31 for a list of the mass chants used for these saints. See also Maître, “Du culte marial.”

¹⁷⁵ *Liber ordinum episcopal (Cod. Silos, Arch. monastico, 4)*, ed. José Janini, Studia Silesia [Silos, 1991], 99–100.

presiding bishop over the virgin, does indeed refer to the virgin undergoing consecration as a *sponsa* and urges Christ to take her to his bosom.¹⁷⁶ Although we lack the corresponding chants for this *ordo*, we can look at the liturgies for virgin saints for possible parallels. The liturgies for the common of virgins as well as the popular saints Eulalia, Leocadia, Agatha, Columba, and Justa and Rufina are full of references to the saints as brides of Christ, with repeated use of Psalm 44 and the Song of Songs.¹⁷⁷ The liturgy for Eulalia of Mérida has particularly striking similarities with that of Mary, and because there is some suggestion it was in place by the early seventh century, it may have provided a textual model.¹⁷⁸ Although there are no shared chants between the liturgies for Eulalia and Mary, the Eulalia chants make considerable use of Psalm 44 and especially the Song of Songs, and they address the virgin martyr throughout as *sponsa Christi*, *virgo Christi*, *Filia Syon*, and *filia Jerusalem* (see table 5).¹⁷⁹ Eulalia is praised many times as the beautiful virgin desired by Christ for her “beauty and appearance”, from Psalm 44:5; she is called out by Christ to “come, my bride, come from Libanus to be crowned,” from Song of Songs 4:8; and she is compared to the cedar of Libanus, from Ecclesiasticus 24:17. These and several other biblical verses

¹⁷⁶ “Domine Iesu Christe, unigenite Filius Dei Patris, te supplices deprecamur, ut sacre huius virginis quam in hoc nobili die sponsam tibi offert sanctitas, in gremium tue virginitatis digneris amplectere” (ibid, 99).

¹⁷⁷ On ideas about the liturgical composition of these feasts, see Pedro Rovalo, “Temporal y Santoral en el Adviento visigodo,” *Hispania Sacra* 19 (1966): 243–320, at 278–87.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 278–87, for his analysis. On the earlier evidence for her cult together with discussion of the problem of distinguishing between Eulalia of Mérida and Eulalia of Barcelona, see García Rodríguez, *Culto de los santos*, 284–303. The written *passio* of Eulalia is thought to date to the late seventh century, although the liturgical texts could be much earlier, as is the hymn, *Germine nobilis Eulalia*, by Prudentius († ca. 413). There are no bridal themes in the hymn, which describes her martyrdom in great detail. On the hagiography, thought to have been written on the basis of these liturgical materials, see Ángel Fabrega Grau, *Pasionario Hispánico*, Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra 1 (Madrid and Barcelona, 1955), 78–86.

¹⁷⁹ The Eulalia office in L8 is transcribed in *Antifonario*, ed. Vives and Brou, 55–62. It is found in a considerably expanded form in the eleventh-century *liber mysticus*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia 30 (RAH30), fols. 67–76v, which lacks the beginning of the office as a result of several missing folios; see also Gros i Pujol, “El *liber mysticus*,” 146–48. The chants in this later manuscript nevertheless correspond to the antiphon incipits listed in the Verona Orational (*Oracional*, ed. Vives, 50–61), which dates from the early eighth century, suggesting that L8 represents a shorter version of a longer office that was celebrated in other institutions.

(including Psalm 44:3, 11 and Song of Songs 2:10, 3:6, 6:3, 6:9) are all shared with the Mary office. There is even a reference to Christ taking possession of Eulalia's secrets (*arcana possidens*), a non-biblical turn of phrase that appears also in one of the Marian orations.¹⁸⁰ Appeals to the Song of Songs dominate Eulalia's office and certainly surpass those found in the Marian office. This merely suggests that while Eulalia may have more naturally fit the role of bride of Christ as a virgin martyr, the Marian office drew from the same ascetic tradition to cast Mary as the mother of virgins. Interestingly, in citing Song of Songs 3:6 and 6:9, the Eulalia chants address the saint as *tota formosa*, and ask the question, "who is she who rises from the desert," where Mary is treated as *sola speciosa*, and is addressed as "she who rises from the desert," in the affirmative rather than the interrogative. If the commemoration of virgin saints inspired the liturgists who composed the Marian office, they nevertheless subtly made Mary stand out as unique among them.

Table 5.
Chants for the office of Saint Eulalia (cf. L8 and RAH 30;
chants missing from L8 in shaded part of table)¹⁸¹

Chant text	Biblical Source	Source
Vespers		
<i>Vespertinus</i> : Dominus, inluminatio mea et salus mea, quem timebo	Psalm 26:1	L8
<i>VR</i> : Dominus, defensor vitae meae a quo trepidabo	Psalm 26:1	
II. Benedic anima, Domino, et omnia interiora mea nomini sancto eius	Psalm 102:1	
III. Benedic anima mea, Domino, et noli oblibisci omnes retributionis eius	Psalm 102:2	
III. Qui redimet de interitu vitam tuam qui coronat te in miseratione et misericordia	Psalm 102:4–5	
<i>Sono</i> : Alleluia, ingredere tu in vestigiis gre-	Song of Songs 1:7	L8

¹⁸⁰ The Eulalia Completuria prayer for *matutinum* includes "Domine, Iesu Christe, qui sanctae Eulaliae tuae arcana possidens . . ." (*Oracional*, ed. Vives, 60, no. 182). For the Marian equivalent, see n. 67 above.

¹⁸¹ My sincere thanks to Emma Hornby for allowing me to use her unpublished collation of the Eulalia office from these sources.

<p>gum tuorum virgo filia Syon et pasce agnos tuos, alleluia alleluia</p> <p>II. Alleluia, intra in ortum meum, sponsa mea, filia Iherusalem; flores enim tui germinabunt in terra; cresce iam, dicit Dominus, donec adspiret dies et ambeantur umbre, alleluia</p>	<p>Song of Songs 5:1; 4:6</p>	
<p><i>Antiphona:</i> Columba speciosa perfecta auro et gemis precincta, caput meum plenum est rore celi et crines guttis noctium <i>VR:</i> Adstitit regina</p>	<p>Song of Songs 5:11, 2 Psalm 44:10</p>	L8
<p><i>Alleluiaticus:</i> Inter medios cleros pinne columbe deargentate, alleluia, et supra scapula sua in viriditate auri, alleluia alleluia <i>VR:</i> Quoniam Iacob</p>	<p>Psalm 67:14 Psalm 134:4</p>	L8
<p><i>Hymnus:</i> Germine nobilis <i>VR:</i> Speciem et</p>	<p>Psalm 44:5</p>	L8
<p><i>Psallendum:</i> Alleluia, inveni quem dilexit anima mea, tenebo et non dimittam, alleluia alleluia</p>	<p>Song of Songs 3:4</p>	L8
<p>Matutinum <i>De Psalmo 3:</i> Gloria mea Deus et exultans caput meum</p>	<p>Psalm 3:4</p>	L8
<p><i>Missa 1</i> <i>Antiphona:</i> Veni de Libano, sponsa, veni a Libano, veni coronaberis; ostende mihi faciem tuam et vox tua, in auribus meis vox enim tua dulcis et facies tua decora <i>VR:</i> Dilexisti</p>	<p>Song of Songs 4:8; 2:14 Psalm 44:8/51:5</p>	L8
<p><i>Antiphona:</i> Surge propera, sponsa mea, et veni, iam enim yems transiit et recessit, flores apparuerunt in terram nostram; quam pulchra es amica mea et quam decora; pulciores oculi tui columbarum absque hoc quod intrinsecus latet <i>VR:</i> Audi filia</p>	<p>Song of Songs 2:10–12 Psalm 44:11</p>	L8 *RAH30 starts here on fol. 67r

<p><i>Alleluaticus:</i> Alleluia, gaude filia Syon, letare, exulta in omni corde, filia Iherusalem, quoniam abstulit inimicos tuos, rex Israhel Dominus, alleluia alleluia <i>VR:</i> Lauda Iherusalem</p>	<p>Zephaniah 3:14–15 Psalm 147:12</p>	<p>L8 RAH30</p>
<p><i>Responsorium:</i> Invocabi proximum michi et non audivit me, invenerunt me custodes qui custodiebant civitatem, tenuerunt me, percusserunt me, tulerunt michi palleum meum custodes murorum; adiurabo vos filie Iherusalem in virtutibus et in viribus agri, si inveneritis fratrem meum adnuntiabitis illa quia vulnerata caritatis ego sum <i>VR:</i> Introduxit me in cellam vinariam, ordinabit in me caritatem, fulcite me floribus, stipate me malis II. Per vicus et placeas quesibi et non inveni quem dilexit anima mea</p>	<p>Song of Songs 5:6–8 Song of Songs 2:4–5 Song of Songs 3:2–3</p>	<p>L8 RAH30</p>
<p><i>Missa 2</i> <i>Antiphona:</i> Surge, propera formosa et veni, iam enim yems transiit, imber abiit et recessit, flores apparuerunt in terram <i>VR:</i> Quia ipse est</p>	<p>Song of Songs 2:10–12 Psalm 94:7/44:12</p>	<p>L8 *page missing from RAH30</p>
<p><i>Antiphona:</i> Filia Iherusalem, intra in ortu meo quia flores tui germinaverunt in terram; pasce iam inter lilia, donec adpsiret dies et mobeantur umbre <i>VR:</i> Speciem</p>	<p>Song of Songs 5:1; 2:12, 17 Psalm 44:5</p>	<p>L8</p>
<p><i>Alleluaticus:</i> Rami mei, rami hodoris et gratie, alleluia, et ego quasi vitis fructificabi, alleluia alleluia <i>VR:</i> Quid retribuam Domino</p>	<p>Ecclesiasticus 24:22–23 Psalm 115:12</p>	<p>L8</p>
<p><i>Responsorium:</i> Audi dilecta mea, propera et veni, dicit Dominus, flores enim tui apparuerunt in terra quia tempus advenit, alleluia alleluia <i>VR:</i> Gaude, filia Syon, letare et exulta in omni corde</p>	<p>Song of Songs 2:10,12 Zephaniah 3:14</p>	<p>L8 RAH30</p>

<p><i>Missa 3</i></p> <p><i>Antiphona:</i> Virgo sapiens benedicetur timorem autem Domini ipsa conlaudat date ei de fructibus manum suarum ut laudentur in portis opera eius</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Deus ingradibus eius</p>	<p>Proverbs 31:30–31</p> <p>Psalm 47:4</p>	<p>RAH30</p> <p>Also in L8 for Common of 1 virg.</p>
<p><i>Antiphona:</i> Virgo prudentissima que progredis quasi aurora valde rutilans, filia Syon, tota formosa et suavis es, pulcra ut luna et electa ut sol</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Speciem et pulcri</p>	<p>Song of Songs 6:9</p> <p>Psalm 44:5</p>	<p>RAH30</p> <p>Also in L8 for Common of 1 virg.</p>
<p><i>Alleluaticus:</i> Alleluia, inveni quem dilexit anima mea, tenebo et non dimittam, alleluia alleluia</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Dilixi</p>	<p>Song of Songs 3:4</p> <p>Psalm 114:1</p>	<p>RAH30</p> <p>Also in L8 for Common of 1 virg.</p>
<p><i>Responsorium:</i> Veni sponsa mea quam pulcra facta es et decora valde, surge, accipe oleum sapientie et properare in adventum Domini Dei tui</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Speciem et pulcritudinem tuam intende, prospera, procede et regna</p>	<p>Song of Songs 4:8; 7:6; Matt. 25:4</p> <p>Psalm 44:5</p>	<p>RAH30</p> <p>Also in L8 for Agatha</p>
<p><i>Missa 4</i></p> <p><i>Antiphona:</i> Egressa es in salute populi ut per te salvet Deus quietos terre</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Propter veritatem et man</p>	<p>Habakkuk 3:13; Psalm 75:10</p> <p>Psalm 44:5</p>	<p>RAH30</p> <p>Also in L8 for Agatha</p>
<p><i>Antiphona:</i> Ista speciosa inter filias Iherusalem plena caritate dilectionis in orto aromato et deambulatio eius inter lilia convallium</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Lex Dei eius in corde</p>	<p>unknown</p> <p>Psalm 36:31</p>	<p>RAH30</p> <p>Also in L8 for Agatha</p>
<p><i>Alleluaticus:</i> Speciem et pulcritudinem tuam intende prospere procede et regna, alleluia alleluia alleluia</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Lauda Iherusalem Dominum</p>	<p>Psalm 44:5</p> <p>Psalm 147:12</p>	<p>RAH30</p> <p>Also in L8 for Agatha</p>

<p><i>Responsorium:</i> Gaude filia Syon, quoniam veniet tibi rex tuus cum iocunditate et tu filia Iherusalem letare in adventum Domini Dei tui</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Apparebit tibi Dominus quia in caritate perpetua dilexi te</p>	<p>Zechariah 9:9</p> <p>Jeremiah 31:3</p>	<p>RAH30</p> <p>Also in L8 for Common of 1 virg.</p>
<p><i>Missa 5</i></p> <p><i>Antiphona:</i> Exulta satis filia Syon, iubila tu valde Israhel; Ecce rex tuus venit tibi mitis et salvator</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Fiat pax in</p>	<p>Zechariah 9:9</p> <p>Psalm 121:7</p>	<p>RAH30</p> <p>Also in L8 for Common of 1 Virg.</p>
<p><i>Antiphona:</i> Gaude et letare in omni corde filia Syon; Ecce Dominus in medio tui fortis exultabit super te in laude</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Quia ipse est Dominus Deus</p>	<p>Zephaniah 3:14, 17</p> <p>Psalm 44:12/94:7</p>	<p>RAH30</p> <p>Also in L8 for Common of 1 virg.</p>
<p><i>Alleluaticus:</i> Induta es vestimentis glorie et ornata es ornamentis sanctis et facta es speciosa invocata a Domino, alleluia alleluia alleluia</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Qui posuit fines tuos pacem</p>	<p>Psalm 147:12</p> <p>Psalm 147:14</p>	<p>RAH30</p> <p>Also in L8 for Common of 1 virg.</p>
<p><i>Responsorium:</i> Filie Iherusalem audite me, que est ista que ascendit a deserto quasi virgultum fumi ex aromatibus mirre? suabis es et decora, terribilis et casorum acies ordinate viderunt eam filie Iherusalem et beatissimam declaraverunt</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Quam pulcra es amica mea et quam suabis decora ut Iherusalem</p>	<p>Song of Songs 3:6; 6:3, 8</p> <p>Song of Songs 6:3</p>	<p>RAH30</p> <p>Also in L8 for Eulalia of Barcelona</p>
<p><i>Missa 6</i></p> <p><i>Antiphona:</i> Sicut cedrus exaltata sum in Libano et quasi cipressus in montem Syon; quasi plantatio rose in Gerico, sicut oliva speciosa in campis et sicut cinnamomum aromatizans odorem dedi</p> <p><i>VR:</i> Benedicam domino in omni</p>	<p>Ecclesiasticus 24:17–20</p> <p>Psalm 33:2</p>	<p>RAH30</p> <p>Also in L8 for Common of 1 virg.</p>

<i>Antiphona:</i> Facies tua tanquam aqua munda inluminabitur vultus autem tuus sicut Lucifer orietur a meridiana parte ger- minavit tibi vita <i>VR:</i> Diffusa est gratia	unknown Psalm 44:3	RAH30 Also in L8 for Common of 1 virg.
<i>Alleluaticus:</i> Speciosa facta es et suavis in deliciis tuis, alleluia, pulcritudo tua similis est palme indesinentis in pleni- tudine claritatis, alleluia alleluia alleluia <i>VR:</i> Lauda Iherusalem	Song of Songs 7:6–7 Psalm 147:12	RAH30 Also in L8 for Common of 1 virg.
<i>Responsorium:</i> Ecce, dilectus meus venit di- cens michi: Surge, electa mea, et veni quia flores tui apparuerunt in terra, vox enim tua dulcis et facies tua decora; viderunt te filie Iherusalem et beatis- simam declaraverunt <i>VR:</i> Egredere quasi aurora consurgens pul- cra ut luna	Song of Songs 2:10, 12, 14 Song of Songs 6:9	RAH30 Also in L8 for Common of 1 virg.
<i>De Psalmo 50:</i> Libera me de viri sanguinum Deus salutis me	Psalm 50	L8 RAH30
<i>Grece:</i> Riseme apoandro nematon o theos tisoterias mu		L8 RAH30
<i>Antiphona:</i> Gaudens gaude	Isaiah 61:10	L8
<i>Benedictio:</i> Liberabit me Dominus	Daniel 3:88	L8
<i>Sono:</i> Audi filia et vide	Psalm 44:11	L8
<i>Laudes.</i> Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius alleluia II. Alleluia III. Alleluia, alleluia	Psalm 150:1	L8
<i>Hymnus:</i> Germine nobilis Eulalia <i>VR:</i> Speciem et	Psalm 44:5	RAH30 (for L8 see ves- pers)

Mary's special status among virgins was given further weight by the orations that presented her as the paradigmatic example of virginity in the very office of her feast day. References to Mary as leader of virgins appear

throughout the Old Hispanic office, casting her as a figure of intercession and support for those struggling with a life of chastity.¹⁸² The first antiphon of the fifth *missa* states that, “virgins shall follow her, they shall be brought with gladness and rejoicing: they shall be brought into the wedding chamber (Psalm 44:14–16).”¹⁸³ The oration that follows the responsory of *missa* 2 asks that the penitent’s heart bear fruit in chastity and that, like Mary, it not refuse God’s orders to submit to him.¹⁸⁴ The *alleluiaticus* of *missa* 3 (*Misericordia et veritas*) is followed by an oration that pleads with God to allow “no foul concupiscence to prevail in our flesh” and the oration for the first antiphon of *missa* 6 asks that Christ “spare us, we beseech you, with her [Mary’s] help, although we are unworthy, that we might deserve to receive the gift of chastity and the triumph of beatitude.”¹⁸⁵ Finally, the blessings that conclude *matutinum* and second vespers are also pleas for help in maintaining virginity, done this time on behalf of the congregation by the officiant. The *matutinum* blessing asks Christ to “mortify the impulses of lust in your flesh,” and the one for second vespers pleads that “the Word who made the mother, such that she remained a virgin, might charge you with the task/duty of virginity.”¹⁸⁶

Together with the constant emphasis on Mary’s perpetual virginity as the source of her favoured status with God, the Marian office prayers present chastity as a general virtue to be imitated. It may be that consecrated virginity was especially praiseworthy for women in Iberia, as scholars have argued from evidence that they had a more prominent position in their congregations compared to other parts of the former Roman Empire, at least in Late

¹⁸² The idea of Mary’s service and service to Mary was explored by A. Molino Prieto, “La fórmula Ildefonsiana del servicio a Maria: Síntesis, precisiones, valor y actualidad,” in *Doctrina y piedad mariana*, ed. Llamas, 287–308, particularly with reference to Ildefonsus’s treatise, but also its potential influence on the orations in the liturgy.

¹⁸³ “Esto filia fortissimo omnis gloria filie regis intrinsecus virgines sequentur eam ducentur in letitia et exultatione ingredientur talamum regis” (*Antifonario*, ed. Vives and Brou, 71).

¹⁸⁴ “. . . concede supplici familie tuae; ut ad instar eius cor nostrum castitate fructificet . . .” (*Oracional*, ed. Vives, 70, no. 212).

¹⁸⁵ “. . . nichil in carne nostra prevaleat turpis concupiscentia . . .” (*ibid.*, 71, no. 215); “. . . parce, quesumus, nobis, ut, eadem suffragante, quamlibet simus indigni, et castitatis donum et beatitudinis mereamur obtinere triumphum . . .” (*ibid.*, 76, no. 225).

¹⁸⁶ “[Quique pro nobis homo fieri in virginis utero voluit], incentiva libidinum in carne vestra mortificet” (*ibid.*, 79, no. 234); “Verbum quod matrem fecit, ut virgo maneret, vobis adtribuat virginitatis opem” (*ibid.* 79, no. 236).

Antiquity.¹⁸⁷ The Marian prayers were nevertheless not just intended for women; none of the formulations is expressed in the feminine form. Rather, they could reflect the monastic or clerical character of the singers who would have composed and performed the liturgy, or the continued presence of household ascetics in Visigothic culture.¹⁸⁸ But because these exhortations are found also in the cathedral liturgy for a feast at which many lay people would have been present, it also suggests that monastic values were promoted more universally, to be shared by the urban congregations listening to the clerics singing and praying.¹⁸⁹ Already towards the end of the fourth century, evidence of Mary serving as an ascetic model for married women is evident in a letter written by one married Iberian woman to another with encouragement to refrain from sexual relations.¹⁹⁰ Roger Reynolds has additionally pointed to an unusual admonition to sexual purity in the marriage *ordo* found in a *liber ordinum* for a local priest (Silos 3).¹⁹¹ In line with the ascetic writings, the Old

¹⁸⁷ See Elm, “*Virgins of God*,” 28; and Brown, *Body and Society*, 279–80.

¹⁸⁸ On monastic life in Visigothic Iberia, see Allies, “Monastic Rules,” especially 24–51, and 49–50 on women. For household ascetics, see Roger Collins, *Visigothic Spain, 409–711* (Malden, Mass., 2004), 153, and for their ongoing presence in the tenth century, especially aristocratic widows, Wendy Davies, *Acts of Giving: Individual, Community, and Church in Tenth-century Christian Spain* (Oxford, 2007), 179–80. For the trend of lay households living a monastic life, see Antonio Linage Conde, “El Monacato Visigótico, hacia la Benedictinización,” *Antigüedad y Cristianismo* 3 (1986): 235–59, at 242; Davies, *Acts of Giving*, 46–47, 107–8, 177; Pablo C. Díaz, “Monasticism and Liturgy in Visigothic Spain,” in *The Visigoths: Studies in Culture and Society*, ed. Alberto Ferreiro (Leiden, 1999), 169–99, at 185–86. See also the articles in Charles Julian Bishko, *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History, 600–1300* (London, 1984); and *Monjes y monasterios hispanos en la alta edad media*, ed. J. A. G. De Cortazar, R. de Aguirre, and R. T. Casuso (Palencia, 2006).

¹⁸⁹ On gendered participation in liturgical rites in Merovingian Gaul as a comparison, see Gisela Muschiol, “Men, women and liturgical practice in the early medieval West,” in *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300–900*, ed. Leslie Brubaker and Julia M. H. Smith (Cambridge, 2004), 198–216. The Iberian Marian feast is among the main days when everyone (including baptised Jews) was legislated to be in church. Cf. *Leges visigothorum antiquiores*, ed. Karolus Zeumer, *Fontes juris Germanici in usum scholarum ex monumentis Germaniae historicis separatim edidit*, I (Hanover, 1894), 434–35.

¹⁹⁰ See Shoemaker, *Mary in Early Christian Faith*, 170–171, based on G. Morin, “Pages inédites de deux Pseudo-Jérômes des environs de l’an 400,” *Revue Bénédictine* 40 (1928): 289–318.

¹⁹¹ “. . . admonens eos, ut pro sancta communione a pollutione in ea nocte se custodiant” (*Liber Ordinum Sacerdotal (Cod. Silos, Arch. monastico, 3)*), ed. José Janini, *Studia Silensia* 7 [Silos, 1981], 89); see Roger E. Reynolds, “The Visigothic Liturgy in

Hispanic office presented Mary as a figurehead for the generalized virtue of chastity and as a universal role model whom everyone, not just virgins, should follow.

CONCLUSION

The variety of sources discussed in this article suggests something of the rich theological and liturgical traditions that helped shape the Old Hispanic commemoration of Mary, the first complete surviving office liturgy that celebrates the Virgin. In choosing biblical passages to describe Mary at the moment of the Annunciation, the seventh-century Iberian liturgists presented one of the earliest known extended applications of nuptial imagery to the liturgical celebration of Mary, which they assimilated from a variety of potential theological and liturgical influences. The interchangeability of Mary and the Church, as expressed in contemporary writings, could explain the use of the biblical epithalamia—traditionally applied to the Church—in the celebration of Mary, although we do not find this same nuptial theme in the liturgies for church dedications. The evidence for other early liturgical traditions, some of which may have emerged prior to or in tandem with the Old Hispanic rite, certainly reveal considerable use of Psalm 44 but not the Song of Songs in relation to Mary. For use of both biblical texts in combination we must look to the works of late antique ascetic writers. In letters and treatises by Ambrose and Jerome, Mary was imagined as the ideal virgin, an inspiration to the fourth- and fifth-century women they exhorted to adopt a life of union with Christ in the image of the epithalamia. Leander of Seville represents a bridge between the late antique and Visigothic contexts, although so too might the liturgies for the consecration of virgins and the celebration of early virgin martyr saints, like Eulalia, which make use of these same texts in styling their subjects as brides of Christ. Contrary to what other scholars have argued, this suggests that an ascetic rather than a strictly ecclesiological interpretation of the biblical epithalamia underpinned the

the Realm of Charlemagne,” in *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794: Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur*, ed. Rainer Berndt (1997), 927. On its use by a local priest, see Wendy Davies, “Local Priests in northern Iberia,” in *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Stephen Patzold and Catherine van van Rhijn (Berlin and Boston, 2016), 125–44. On the unusual nature of this ritual and its legacy, see Michel Gros, “Les Wisigoths et les liturgies occidentales,” in *L’Europe héritière de l’Espagne wisigothique*, ed. Jacques Fontaine and Christine Pellistrandi, Collection de la Casa de Velázquez 35 (Madrid, 1992), 125–35, at 130–31.

picture of Mary created in this earliest of surviving Marian offices, one fashioned according to early medieval religious ideals for women.¹⁹²

The study of the Old Hispanic Marian office has important implications not just for the history of Marian devotion but also for the evolution of liturgical traditions.¹⁹³ There is considerable evidence that the abundant mass and office formularies produced in the Visigothic kingdom penetrated into liturgical practice north of the Pyrenees, infusing these traditions with their unique language and themes.¹⁹⁴ In terms of the Marian liturgy, the use of the Song of Songs in the Old Hispanic office preceded the Carolingian use of the text by more than a century and has been neglected as a potential source for later Franco-Roman Marian commemoration; this is especially the case given the shared combination of the Song of Songs with Psalm 44, Ecclesiasticus 24, and Luke found in the responsories of the Compiègne Antiphoner for the Assumption, all present in the Old Hispanic Marian office.¹⁹⁵ The treatise of Ildelfonsus also spread throughout Europe to become one of the most popular

¹⁹² Frénaud, “Marie et l’église,” 41–46. Following on another study by Frénaud, “Le culte de Notre Dame,” Claire Maître has argued that the Christmas office, and not the offices of virgin saints, was the main source for the Marian offices in the Franco-Roman tradition from her examination of their matins psalmodies (Maître, “Du culte mariale”) The present study suggests an alternative possibility based on the Old Hispanic evidence, where the Christmas office bears little resemblance to the Marian office (despite the appearance in both of chants drawn from Psalm 44), but where the resonances between the Marian office and the offices of virgin saints are clear.

¹⁹³ This is being done by liturgical historians such as Yitzhak Hen for the Gallican rite (“Liturgy of the Bobbio Missal,” in *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, ed. Yitzhak Hen and Rob Meens [Cambridge, 2004], 140–53, and *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul: AD 481–751* [Leiden, 1995]), but with particular emphasis on the Old Hispanic rite by José Janini (“Roma y Toledo. Nueva problemática de la liturgia visigótica,” in *Estudios sobre la liturgia mozárabe*, ed. J. P. Rivera Recio [Toledo, 1965], 33–53); Kenneth Levy (“Toledo, Rome and the legacy of Gaul,” *Early Music History* 4 [1984]: 49–99, and “Old-Hispanic Chant in Its European Context,” in *España en la Musica de Occidente: actas del congreso internacional celebrado en Salamanca 29 de octubre–5 noviembre de 1985*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio, Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta and José López-Calo (Madrid, 1987), 3–14) and most recently Hornby and Maloy (Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning*, and Maloy, “Old Hispanic Chant”).

¹⁹⁴ The influence of the Old Hispanic tradition on other Western traditions was noted by Edmund Bishop, “Spanish Symptoms,” in *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church*, ed. Edmund Bishop (Oxford, 1918), 165–202, but also more recently by Reynolds, “Visigothic Liturgy in the Realm of Charlemagne,” and Gros, “Les Wisigoths et les liturgies occidentales,” esp. 133–35.

¹⁹⁵ Barré, “Antiennes et répons,” 229–30.

works on Mary in the Middle Ages, and the Old Hispanic feast day appears as far away as East Anglia in the twelfth century, but also at Benevento by the eighth century.¹⁹⁶ This suggests the need and importance of incorporating the Old Hispanic traditions into wider narratives about the development of Christian belief and practice in Western Europe, not merely as an exceptional example but as potentially formative. The creative use of biblical texts, unique liturgical structures, and the original forms in which the Old Hispanic rite interacted with and mediated theology, created its own brand of exegesis.¹⁹⁷ This urges us to integrate the Old Hispanic traditions into the history of the liturgy and of Marian devotion, reconsidering the Iberian evidence not as peripheral but as an important window onto how Mary and her litugies came to be celebrated in the West.

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¹⁹⁶ Bury St Edmunds, an important East Anglian Benedictine monastery, began celebrating the Old Hispanic Marian feast between 1121 and 1148, according to the Cartulary of the house; see *The Customary of the Benedictine Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk*, ed. Antonia Gransden (London, 1973), 122. The feast is additionally found in an East Anglian calendar, London, BL Cotton Cleo. B. iii, fol. 42v, on which see Antonia Gransden, “The Cult of St Mary at Beodericisworth and then in Bury St Edmunds Abbey to c. 1150,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 55 (2004): 627–53 n. 100, 647; and Antonia Gransden, *A History of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds, 1182–1256* (Woodbridge, 2007), 108. Henri Barré identified a Marian sermon that was delivered by David, bishop of Benevento, in 781/2 on the occasion of his consecration of the cathedral in her honour on 18 December (“La fête mariale du 18 décembre à Benevent au VII^e siècle,” *Marianum. Ephemerides Mariologicae* 6 [1956], 451–61).

¹⁹⁷ The scope for creativity was remarked upon by Manuel Díaz y Díaz, who wrote: “The sections of the Hispanic liturgy were far less brief than those of the Roman liturgy, and they gave, to a much greater extent than did the Gallican liturgy, a free rein to the creative talents of the author of each office: there were practically no norms or conventions to limit him” (Manuel Díaz y Díaz, “Literary aspects of the Visigothic Liturgy,” in *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, ed. J. N. Hillgarth [New York, 1980], 61–76, at 62).

