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Continuity and change in medieval Iberian processional practices

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ABSTRACT

In this article, we explore the Palm Sunday palms procession in León across the Middle Ages. How might the experience of a tenth-century citizen of León compare with that of his/her descendant 400 years later? Did the palms procession still have the same devotional goals, reached in similar ways? We focus on questions of continuity and change, with the palms procession as our focus. Some processional elements continued without change after the Old Hispanic rite was replaced by the Roman rite. Some elements were still present, but took a different form in the Roman rite. Other elements were lost entirely. This case study introduces the present critical cluster, which provides multiple examples of how scholars can interrogate the evidence - often preserved piecemeal across sources, or providing only partial information - in order to provide a rich picture of medieval ritual practice and its contemporary meanings.

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It is early on Sunday afternoon, one week before Easter in the late 980s. One by one, or in family groups, the townsfolk gather in one of León's smaller churches.¹ Their eyes take a few moments to adjust to the dim light, in comparison to the bright spring sunshine of the street outside. A hush falls over the crowd as the bishop enters the church. A flurry of movement follows. Deacons carry armfuls of freshly-cut olive and willow branches to the altar, piling them onto the holy table. Moments later, the fresh, lively aroma hits the congregation. The bishop intones prayers blessing the foliage and those who will carry the

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¹Our speculative reconstruction here is largely taken from the mid-tenth century León antiphoner, León Cathedral, MS 8 (hereafter L8), 153v-154r. For the full Latin text of this ceremony, compared across Old Hispanic manuscripts, see Appendix 2. On the multiplication of new churches in León in the tenth century, see Sánchez Albornoz, *Estampas de la vida*, 34; Mancebo González, "La representación documental."

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branches.² The people crowd forward, approaching the bishop as he hands out olive and willow stems.³ Direct physical contact with such a godly man is a rare privilege, and it affects each person in different ways. One seamstress recognises her own handiwork in his fine embroidered robes; a cobbler notices that the bishop is wearing the sandals he mended last Advent; an elderly widow reaches eagerly towards the holy touch of the bishop's hands; a mother comes forward, babe in arms, carrying him towards the next stage of his initiation into the Christian community. As the last willow branch is handed out, the bishop cries out "Thanks be to God! Thanks be to God! Thanks be to God!" The townsfolk start to respond by rote, three times "Thanks be to God! Thanks be to ..." and a clear voice - the archdeacon's - rings out above their chorus, soon joined by the cathedral choir, singing "When the crowd that was to come to the festival day heard that Jesus Christ was coming, they took palm branches, and went out to meet him and cried: 'Hosanna, blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord'." A frisson runs through the townsfolk. Standing ready with their freshly-cut foliage, seamstress, cobbler, widow, mother, babe and all have become that biblical crowd and, just as the song instructs, they go out into the streets, with their bishop and all his clerics, to meet their Lord. As they walk through the narrow streets, the singing continues, echoing off the ancient city walls and silencing those few who stand on the edge watching rather than processing. The choir sings of the donkey on which Jesus Christ entered Jerusalem, and again and again they sing "Hosanna! Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord." The townsfolk reach the top of a small rise, seeing the towering mass of the cathedral across the plaza. This is the goal of their procession, their Holy Jerusalem. Now the mood changes as the choir begins a chant about Mary Magdalene anointing Jesus's body for his burial. There is sorrow here, amid the joy: Christ's entry to Jerusalem will lead to triumph only through his humiliation and death. The following chant uses a psalm text to articulate the solemnity of the day on which foliage is carried to the altar, an Old Testament text that foreshadows the Palm Sunday narrative of the New Testament and of their own present day. The singers complete the chant by articulating again "blessed is he who comes." Now all are massing by the cathedral door, and the singers burst into a new song, sounding just like the angel choir at Christmastime: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of goodwill." As everyone files inside, a baby bawls at the new smells and the change of temperature, but is swiftly hushed by its mother (an old hand, she is nursing on the move). The choir's angelic voices turn to the now-familiar text: "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord" before the routine recitation of praise "Glory and honour to the Father, Son and Holy Spirit for ever" and, as the singers solemnly move up into the choir, they repeat this whole chant again "Glory to God in the highest ..." The bishop says a prayer whose sense is lost in the ecclesiastical shuffling, and a deacon instructs everyone to arise. Mass has begun.

²The prayers are not given in L8, which is a chant book; however, six prayers for this moment are preserved in the late-ninth century orational BL52, eight prayers in the eleventh-century *liber ordinum* S4 (two are shared with BL52, but not in the same sequence), and the first two S4 prayers are also present (but no other prayers for this moment) in the late thirteenth-century *liber mysticus*, T5. (For all manuscript sigla, see Appendix 1.) T5 preserves a distinct branch of the Old Hispanic liturgical tradition, labelled Tradition B by modern scholars, which differs from L8 (Tradition A) in liturgical genres and placement, the texts used on particular occasions, and their melodies. On the relationship between the traditions among certain Lenten genres, see Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning*.

³Only S4 specifies that the bishop handed out the palms.

This imagined description is based on the Palm Sunday rubrics of one manuscript,⁴ the mid tenth-century antiphoner (hereafter L8) that has been owned by the cathedral of León since the tenth century, and whose layers of annotation and correction attest to its authority through a long period of use.⁵ The number of manuscripts preserving Old Hispanic liturgy is so small, and their placing and dating often so contested, that we have tended to focus on each liturgical rubric individually, and explore its implications in the cultural milieu implied by its manuscript witness(es).⁶ At the same time, there is value in extrapolating to speculate about liturgical practice across a longer time or wider space, when the evidence permits it. In what follows we explore the possibilities for taking just such a longer view in our understanding of the Palm Sunday palms procession in medieval León. How might the experience of a tenth-century citizen of León compare with, say, that of his/her descendant 400 years later? Some elements of the Palm Sunday palms procession are, and have been, universal in Christian practice. However, specific aspects of this procession changed at different times and in different places. These changes can sometimes give the procession a different theological emphasis. In this article we focus on questions of continuity and change, with the palms procession as our focus. Some processional elements continued without change after the Old Hispanic rite was replaced by the Roman rite. Some elements were still present, but took a different form in the Roman rite. Other elements were lost entirely.⁷

There are few Spanish institutions for which one can compare liturgical practice between the early and late Middle Ages. León Cathedral is one of the exceptions, preserving several manuscripts from before 1080, and many more from the later period. L8 contains the most detailed extant information about Old Hispanic chant in its liturgical context, with both extensive rubrics and notated chants, and scholars agree that it was used at the cathedral of León.⁸ Furthermore, the León Cathedral archive preserves several liturgical books with processional information, including two customaries from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁹ The processional repertory for Palm Sunday, including the blessing of the palms, is transmitted in a late fourteenth-century epistolary (L23, 62r-77r), and in a fifteenth-century ritual (L67, 15r-27r). A mid fifteenth-century missal from the cathedral also attests to the same repertory (L44, 21ff) (see [Table 1](#) for a summary comparison of the Palm Sunday processional

⁴On Palm Sunday in the Old Hispanic rite, see Pinell, *Liturgia hispánica*, 290–99, with the palms procession described on 293–95. In making our phenomenological description, we have been inspired by the archaeological perspective that Dianne Scullin has brought to our research network.

⁵On the dating of L8, see most recently Gutiérrez González, “«Librum de auratum conspice pinctum.»” In a forthcoming publication, Thomas Deswarte also places the León antiphoner in the mid tenth century. See Deswarte, *Les folios introductifs*. On the corrections, see Boudeau and De Luca, “Erreur, variante et correction.”

⁶There are several examples of this approach in the present critical cluster. Individual rubrics are explored in detail in Ilnat, “Singing to the Tomb of Leocadia;” Carrero Santamaría, Hornby, and Maloy, “Processional Liturgy;” Hornby and Maloy, “Old Hispanic Pre-baptism Initiation.” The wider Visigothic context for ceremonial movement in urban spaces, drawn from literary sources, is explored in Wood, “Narrating Processions.”

⁷In this three-fold approach, we were inspired by Nettle, *Western Impact*.

⁸See Appendix 2 for comparisons with the less complete information preserved in the other Old Hispanic manuscripts.

⁹These are L1 and L21, “libros de constituciones” from the fourteenth century, with information about processions, including Palm Sunday (L1, 15v), and the use of capes and the obligation of attendance for the parish church rectors in León (L21, 29r, 13r, respectively). For the complete list of manuscripts in León Cathedral, see García Villada, *Catálogo de los códices*, 33–70; Janini Cuesta, *Manuscritos litúrgicos*, 119–31. There is previous catalogue information in Beer and Díaz Jiménez, *Noticias bibliográficas*. The other institution preserving liturgical books from medieval León is the collegiate church of San Isidoro, but until 2023 this archive had been closed for several years and we have not been able to access their manuscripts. Their manuscripts are listed in Pérez Llamazares, *Catálogo de los códices*; Janini, *Manuscritos litúrgicos*, 132–44.

Table 1. Palm Sunday chant assignation in León.

mid 15 th -c. missal (L44, 21ff)	15 th -c. ritual (L67, 15r-27v)	16 th -c. processional (L77, 119v-139v)
After Terce, where they sing Pueri hebreorum*	After Terce, blessing of the water, palms in the choir's corner or other accustomed place	
Blessing	Blessing	Blessing as in the Missal, with sprinkling palms with water and thurible
O. Hec tibi domine	O. Hec tibi domine	
Preface	Preface (with music)	
O. Deus cuius filius	O. Deus cuius filius	
O. Domine Deus	O. Domine Deus	
O. Auge fidem	O. Auge fidem	
O. Domine sancte	O. Domine sancte	
O. Audivimos majestatis	O. Audivimos majestatis	
O. Domine Jesu Christe	O. Domine Jesu Christe	
Distribution	Distribution	Distribution
A. Palme fuerunt , thrice	A. Palme fuerunt* and others as in the processional book	A. Palme fuerunt , thrice
A. Occurrunt turbae , thrice		A. Occurrunt turbae , thrice
A. Cum audisset populus , thrice		
Procession		Procession
Station with reading Cum appropinquaret and sermon		R. Fratres mei / V. Derelinquerunt R. Attende domine / V. Recordare R. Dominus mecum / V. Vidisti
A. Cum appropinquaret dominus		A. Cum appropinquaret dominus
On the wall (ad portam civitatis)		On the wall (or at the church door)
VS. Gloria laus	[VS. Gloria laus in Cod. 23, 63r-64v]	VS. Gloria laus
Entering the city		[later addition, with no rubric, liturgical position unclear]
R. Ingrediente domino		R. Ingrediente domino
V. Cum audisset		V. Cum audisset (later addition) (without rubric)
	At the church door (dialogue)	A. Cum audisset populus
	Atollite portas (complete)	A. Cum appropinquasset ... Bethphage
	Entering the church	A. Ave rex noster
	R. Ingrediente domino* as in the processional book	At the church door (dialogue)
		Atollite portas (incomplete)

* = the chant is presented in the MS as an incipit

Boldface is used to show concordances across the three manuscripts.

materials in L67 and L44). L44 and L67 have the same prayers, clearly reflecting the same tradition. L23 is a fourteenth-century notated epistolary with readings for several occasions. For the purposes of the present article, we are concerned only with a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century booklet inserted after f. 62v. This booklet contains the two principal Holy Week versus chants sung in the Roman liturgy: the Palm Sunday versus *Gloria laus*, followed by the versus *O redemptor summe carmen*, sung during the triduum paschale. L77 is a sixteenth-century processional book from León Cathedral. It may be a copy of a previous processional belonging to the cathedral, since L67 has a rubric referring to a processional book that was in use when L67 was written.¹⁰ L77 is unfortunately incomplete and many folios are disordered.¹¹ L67 mostly has incipits rather than complete chants. L44 has complete

¹⁰L67, 26r: "Interim cantentur in choro antiphonae sequentes, Antiphona Palme fuerunt, Cum aliis vt in processionario continetur."

¹¹There are two fragments (128 and 129) in the archive that were originally part of L77. Both include chants for Palm Sunday, and we have included them in our analysis. Additional fragments in the archive also once belonged to this same manuscript, but we do not discuss them further here. See Rubio Álvarez, *Catálogo*, I, fragments section.

chant texts without musical notation. L77 has therefore been useful to us, despite its late date and incomplete status, because most of the Palm Sunday chants it preserves are both complete and notated. The preservation of such a rich body of material in the León Cathedral archive permits us to draw direct comparisons between this cathedral's tenth-century Old Hispanic liturgy and the Roman rite liturgical practices at the same institution later in the Middle Ages.

Continuity

Some aspects of the Palm Sunday procession of the palms did not change at all when the Old Hispanic rite was replaced by the Roman rite.¹² There was no immediate change to the urban and architectural surroundings,¹³ and we imagine that the same population processed through the same streets, from and to the same churches, carrying branches (olives in Iberia, presumably, rather than palms). The procession itself still involved people singing, and probably much the same people - or at least the same classes of people - as before. At this level, the experience was (and is) fundamentally the same across hundreds of years.

While the physical details of the processional experience are unique to each urban context, the palms procession always places the laity symbolically in the position of the crowds who welcomed Jesus to Jerusalem. As early as Egeria's fourth-century description of Palm Sunday, the Jerusalem procession involved palm and olive branches, and articulation of the biblical acclamation "blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord."¹⁴ As O.B. Hardison notes, this biblical event continued to be commemorated one week before Easter when the Palm Sunday procession was adopted in the west, "but the space necessarily became symbolic."¹⁵

Structurally, too, the palms procession had the same liturgical structure right across western Europe.¹⁶ As articulated in the post-950 *Ordo Romanus L*, the ceremony comprised blessing, distribution, and procession of the palms.¹⁷ The ritual blessing of palms or olive branches took place in the morning after Terce, usually outside the main church;

¹²The rule-of-thumb dating of this transition to the Council of Burgos in 1080 has been contested and nuanced in recent years. See, for example, Rubio Sadía, *La transición al rito romano*; Vones, "The Substitution of the Hispanic Liturgy." Many scholars have engaged in detail with aspects of the Palm Sunday processions in the Roman rite. See De Santi, "La Domenica delle Palme;" Gräf, *Palmenweihe und Palmenprozession*; Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum*, 166-71; Roederer, "Eleventh-Century Aquitanian Chant," 164-91; Davison, "So Which Way Round Did They Go?;" Powell, "Spatial Considerations;" Erler, "Palm Sunday Prophets;" Wright, "The Palm Sunday Procession;" Lovato, "The Procession in Ramis Palmarum."

¹³Little is known of the architectural history of León Cathedral in this period. See Bango Torviso, "Catedral de León;" Boto Varela, *La memoria perdida*.

¹⁴Translation of Egeria's description in Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 132-33, and schema on 266.

¹⁵Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama*, 86-87; Martimort, *The Church at Prayer*, IV, 70-72. Isidore of Seville's seventh-century descriptions of Palm Sunday are the earliest evidence of its practice in the west. In *Etymologies* 6.VIII.13, he described Christ's entry into Jerusalem and, in *De ecclesiasticis officiis* chapter 28, he outlined the theological significance of the palms that were carried. In *OV* (89r), dated before 732, the day was called Palm Sunday ("die dominico in ramos palmarum"), but this manuscript lacks any reference to the blessing of the palms or the palms procession. The prayers for the blessing of the palms in Vives, *Oracional visigótico*, 246-48 [items 767-71] are taken from BL52, not *OV*.

¹⁶On Milan, see Bailey, "Processions and Their Chants," 40-42. On the Roman liturgy across different areas of western Europe, see Irving, "Processions at the Cross-Roads," 49; Parkes, *The Making of Liturgy*, 77-78, 96; Borders, *Early Medieval Chants*, xiii-xiv.

¹⁷Andrieu, *Les «Ordines Romani»*. V. *Les textes*, 162-83, 385-88. His earliest manuscripts of *Ordo L* are eleventh century (*Les «Ordines Romani»*, 1:26-27, 34); the post-950 date of this *ordo* is also asserted in Westwell, "The Dissemination and Reception," 159.

palms were distributed among the people; and then they processed to the main church door, where (in the León version of the Roman rite) the *[A]tollite portas* dialogue was performed. After the liturgical participants entered the church, Mass began. In its fundamental structure, this ceremony parallels that of the Old Hispanic ceremony described above.

These elements of the Palm Sunday palms procession remained stable through the Middle Ages, regardless of the shift from the Old Hispanic to the Roman rite in Iberia.¹⁸ If scholars such as Gisèle Clément, Alejandro Olivar, and Michel Huglo are correct that the western versions of this procession originated in Visigothic Iberia, such points of continuity are hardly surprising.¹⁹ Indeed, at this level, the palms procession continues unchanged into present Roman Catholic practice, integrating the laity as participants in the biblical narrative as it is brought into the liturgical present.²⁰

Adaptation

As noted above, in the Old Hispanic annual re-enactment of the biblical palms procession, the cathedral stands symbolically for Jerusalem. This was particularly pointed in early medieval Iberia since, as argued elsewhere in this critical cluster, Visigothic cathedrals were often conceptualised as “Holy Jerusalem.”²¹ If, at this time, the cathedral was always considered “Holy Jerusalem,” we cannot be sure when the idea faded and its identification as “Holy Jerusalem” became a characteristic of Palm Sunday alone. A further shift is evident in the Roman rite procession as preserved in L44. While the triumphant entry of Jesus into Jerusalem is implied in many of the processional chant texts, it is spelled out explicitly only in the responsory *Ingrediente domino*: “Ingrediente Domino in sancta civitatem hebreorum” (“The Lord entered the holy city of the Hebrews”). In L44’s palms procession, this responsory was sung during the entry into the city. This emphasised the whole *intra muros* city of León as Jerusalem, where previously the cathedral had had that role. In this way, the symbolic presence of Jerusalem within the León palms procession was adapted over time.

An attentive processional participant before and after the transition to the Roman rite would notice that while several of the chant topics remained familiar,²² there were both textual and musical changes.²³ In both rites, the procession celebrates Jesus riding the

¹⁸We should acknowledge here that the ceremony was not standardised in the Roman rite. There is much diversity in the precise directions for the palms ceremony in tenth-century Roman rite manuscripts, and also in the choice of chant texts and melodies. Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 1:90–98.

¹⁹Clément, *Le Processionnal en Aquitaine*, 129–31, following Olivar, “Survivances wisigothiques,” 162–63; Huglo, “Source hagiopolite.” Palms were not present in Roman liturgical sources until the eighth-century Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries. There are rubrics in the sacramentaries in Mohlberg, *Liber sacramentorum*, 52; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, 1:167. The earliest western mention of the palms outside Iberia is by St Aldhelm (d. 709), *De Laudibus Virginitatis* (PL 89, 128).

²⁰On the idea of the liturgical present, see Fassler, “The Liturgical Framework of Time.”

²¹Carrero Santamaría, Hornby and Maloy, “Processional Liturgy.” Since this symbolic identity is expressed in some Old Hispanic prayers, it may have continued, at least to some degree, until the rite was suppressed.

²²For a brief summary of the idea that the primary topic of the day remained unchanged while the chant repertory could vary between places, even within the Roman rite, see Albiero, *Repertorium Antiphonarum Processionalium*, 18, table with chant repertories on 146–47. In the Roman rite palms procession, three chants are very often present: *Cum appropinquaret* (CAO 1976), *Collegerunt* (CAO 1852) and the versus *Gloria laus*. Other chants were selected, perhaps according to local tastes, as Clément, *Le Processionnal*, CD, 144–45 and Table 6, suggests for Aquitaine. The Roman and other principal variants of the Palm Sunday liturgy can be seen in Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 1:90–98. For the post-Trent assignment, see the *Missale Romanum, Editio Princeps*, 208–21 (fols. 153ff).

²³In what follows, we base our discussion on the repertoire preserved in L44, acknowledging that this is an individual snapshot of the repertorial possibilities within the Roman rite.

donkey into Jerusalem, using a combination of free biblical paraphrases and texts that are closer to their biblical sources.²⁴ Three Old Hispanic chants and three Romano-Frankish chants are not directly related textually.²⁵ At first sight, we might think that *Cum audisset populus* and *Quum audisset turba* are cognates across the two rites. On close inspection, however, they are not closely related.²⁶ The similarity of the first part of the text is misleading; only thirty-six syllables are in fact related between the two chants; that is, over half of the sixty-three Old Hispanic syllables, but only 19% of the Romano-Frankish syllables (Figure 1). In the parts with similar text, there is no discernible relationship between the text pacing; different syllables are lengthened in the two traditions (Figure 2). The detail of the melody itself is also worth comparing between the two versions. Here, we draw on a quantitative method developed for comparing different versions of Old Hispanic chant, which results in a “relationship ratio” between two melodies. Because the Old Hispanic melody is preserved without pitch, we cannot securely define how closely related it is to the Romano-Frankish melody; however, we can say, for each syllable, how many of the Romano-Frankish notes are compatible in their melodic contour with the Old Hispanic notes for the same syllable, and thus we derive the relationship ratio from this.²⁷ For *Quum audisset turba* and *Cum audisset populus*, the relationship ratio between the two melodies (only including the syllables in bold in Figure 1) is 0.55;²⁸ this can be observed more informally by comparing the melodic contours in Figure 3. In other words, these melodies are no more related than one would expect to occur by chance. Thus, four processional antiphons in the Old Hispanic rite and three in the Roman rite shared the topic of Christ’s triumphant entry into Jerusalem, but were not directly related across the traditions.

The Romano-Frankish Palm Sunday processional antiphon, *Quum adpropinquaret*, does share most of its text with the first Old Hispanic processional antiphon.²⁹ This text

²⁴The episode of Jesus entering Jerusalem on a donkey is described in Matthew 21:7-9; Mark 11:7-10; John 12:12-13 and, with a different text, in Luke 19:36-38. It is anticipated in Psalm 117:26-27 (Vulgate numbering).

²⁵Compare the Old Hispanic *Osanna benedictus* and *Constituite* (close to the Bible) and *Quum introires* (free paraphrase from John 12, Luke 19, Matt 21) with the Romano-Frankish *Palme fuerunt* (freely paraphrased from Revelation 7:10, 7:9 and 5:13), *Occurrunt turbe*, and *Ingrediente domino* (freely paraphrased from John 12:12-13). The Old Hispanic *Quum introires* (*Ingrediente te domine* in T5) has previously been compared in detail with the Aquitanian antiphon *Intro-eunte/Ingrediente te Domine*. Huglo, “Source hagiopolite,” 367–74, argued that the text was composed in seventh-century Jerusalem, was translated into Latin for the Old Hispanic liturgy ca. 700, and was later transmitted from Iberia to Aquitaine; he identified different melodies in each of these traditions (and two melodies in Aquitaine). The Aquitanian chant was also studied by Brockett, “Osanna! New Light,” 122–27, who spotted some similarities in the L8 musical outline for the cognate text.

²⁶The Franco-Roman version of this chant was probably adopted in Iberia from Aquitaine, where it was well known. It is preserved in F-Pn lat 1240, 23r, F-Pn lat 1121, 145v, F-Pn lat 909 (G3), 169r, F-Pn lat. 776, 54v, F-Pn lat 903, 59r, F-Pn lat 1136, 102v, GB-Lb h. 4951, 194v, F-Pn lat 780, 53r, F-Pn lat 2819, 81r, B-Br II/3823, 136r, F-Pn lat 1086, 7r, and F-Mn 136, 18v. Spanish manuscripts include E-VI 117, 36v (with a different function), and E-BAR 95, 24r, B-Br IV/473, 24v, E-Zs 41-117, A46r, among others. (For all manuscript sigla, see Appendix 1.) It can be difficult to pin down relationships between Old Hispanic chants and possible cognates in other western liturgical traditions. For a comparison of the Saint Andrew chants in the Old Hispanic and other western traditions, see Haggh-Huglo, “The Chant for St. Andrew.” On Old Hispanic and Gregorian responsory cognates, see Maloy et al., “Revisiting ‘Toledo, Rome and the Legacy of Gaul.’”

²⁷If the text underlay is different between two versions of a melody, our method will underestimate their relationship. The relationship ratio is calculated thus: Number of compatible notes = A Total number of notes in first manuscript = B Total number of notes in second manuscript = C Relationship ratio = 2A/(B+C) Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning*, 20-21, differentiate between melodies with a ratio of 0.9 (very closely related); 0.75 (related but not closely); and 0.5 (not related).

²⁸One hundred notes in L8; seventy-five notes in L77; forty-eight compatible notes.

²⁹The Romano-Frankish version was probably imported into Hispania from Aquitaine. It is preserved in F-Al 44, 48r, F-Pn lat 1121, 145r, F-Pn lat 909 (G3), 169r, F-Pn lat. 776, 54v, F-Pn lat 903, 59v, F-Pn l. 1136, 102r, GB-Lb h. 4951, 194r, F-Pn l. 780, 53v, F-Pn lat 2819, 81r, B-Br II/3823, 135v, F-Pn lat 1086, 6v, and F-MOv 20, 44v. The Spanish witnesses include E-VI 117, 44v, E-BAR 95, 22r, B-Br IV/473, 22v, E-Zs 41-117, A44v, among many others. The list from the Aquitanian chants,

Old Hispanic: **Quum audisset turba que venerat ad diem festum, quia venit Ihesus Christus, acceperunt ramos palmarum, et exierunt obiam ei et clamabant:** Osanna, benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini

Romano-Frankish: **Cum audisset populus quia Ihesus venit Iherosolimam, acceperunt ramos palmarum et exierunt ei obviam, et clamabant** pueri dicentes: Hic est qui venturus est ad salutem gentium, hic est salus nostra et redemptio Israhel. Quantus est iste cui throni et dominationes occurrunt. Hic est rex israhel et Hemanuhel genus David et mundi salvator; noli timere filia Syon, ecce rex tuus venit tibi sedens super pullum asine sicut scriptum est. Salve rex fabricator mundi qui venisti redimere nos.

Figure 1. Comparison of texts of Old Hispanic *Cum audisset turba* and Romano-Frankish *Cum audisset populus*.

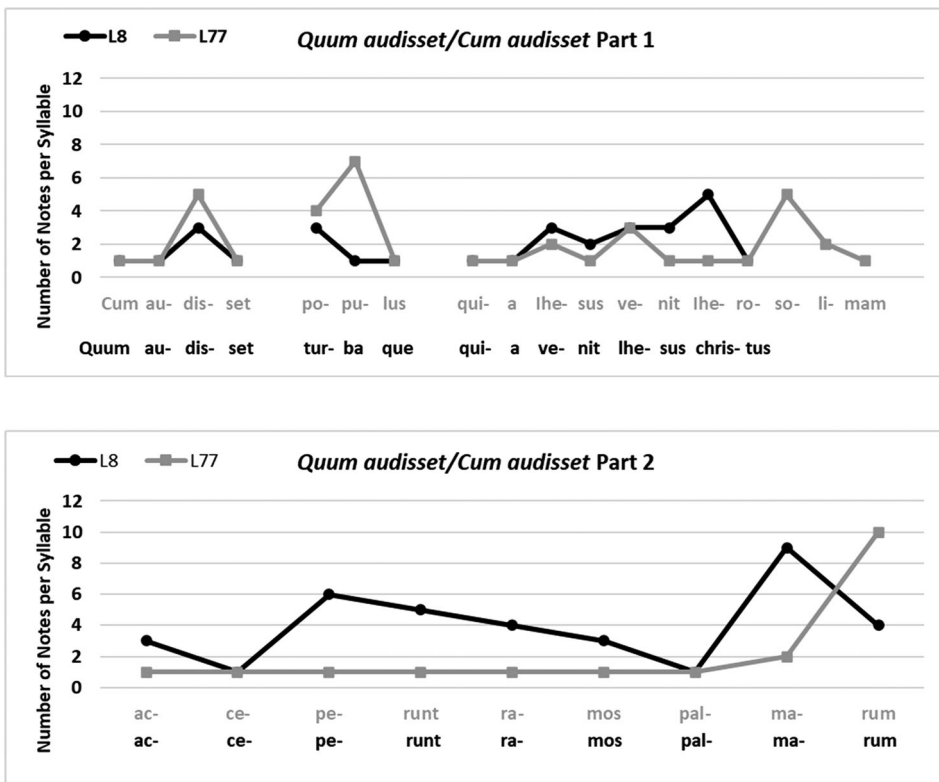


Figure 2. Number of notes per syllable in Old Hispanic *Cum audisset turba* and Romano-Frankish *Cum audisset populus*.

as in the previous antiphon, is taken from Clément, *Le Processional*, and the ones from Hispania from the project Corpus Processionalium Hispanarum (CPH), led by David Andrés Fernández, available at <https://www.ucm.es/cph/>. CPH indexes processional chant at the Spanish Early Music Manuscript (SEMM) database, led by Carmen Julia Gutiérrez, <https://musicahispanica.eu/>.

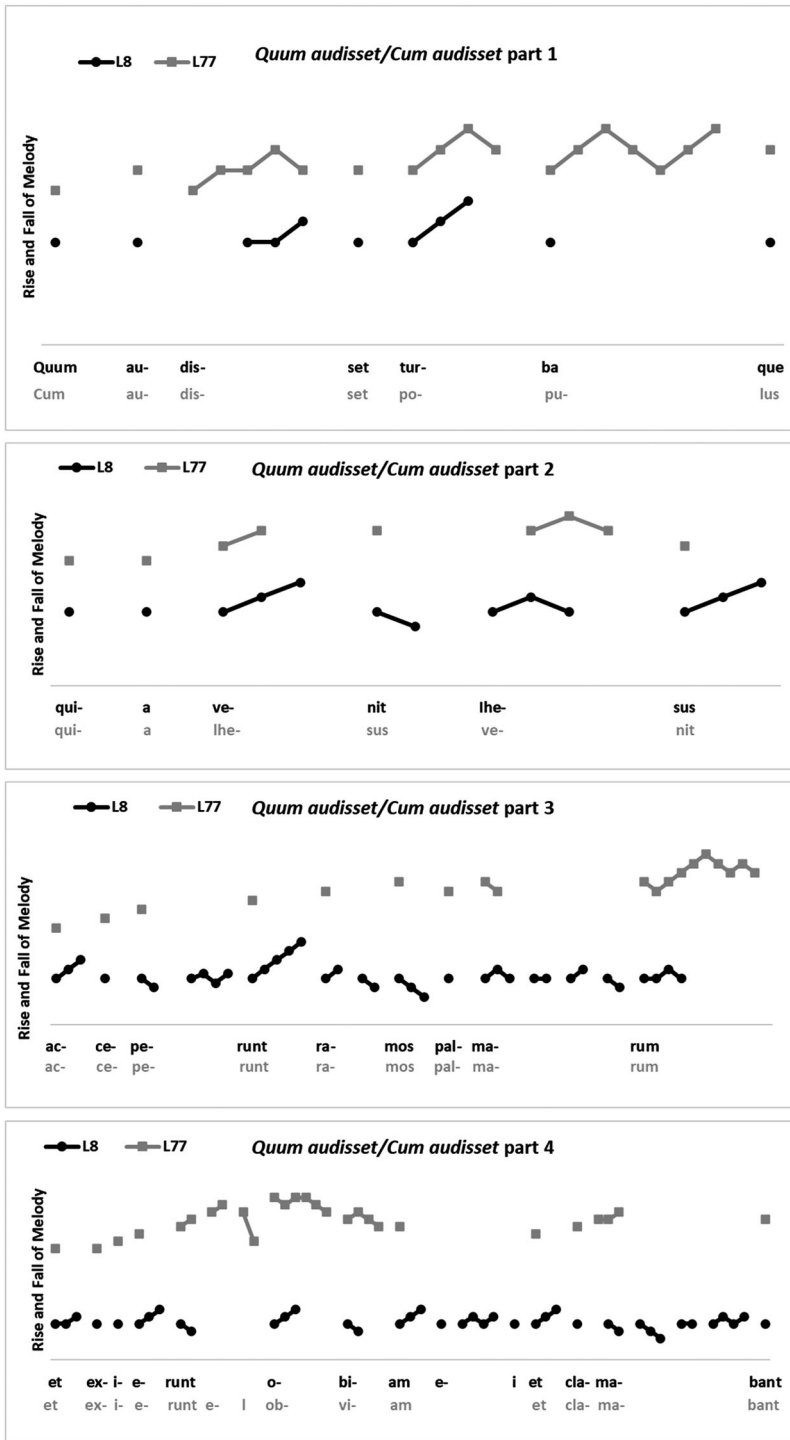


Figure 3. Rise and fall of melody: comparison between Old Hispanic *Cum audisset turba* and Romano-Frankish *Cum audisset populus*.

would have been directly familiar to listeners straight after the transition to the Roman rite. In fact, aspects of the melodic delivery of the text would also have been familiar.³⁰ As can be seen in Appendix 3, *Quum adpropinquaret* has almost the same text length in the two traditions, and the texts were broken up in very similar ways, with most phrases comprising two to four words. We cannot directly compare the beginnings of the chants, since the Romano-Frankish León version in L77 has a lacuna at the beginning, and the first clause of the preserved text does not parallel the Old Hispanic text. We begin our comparison at “Solventes,” from which point the two traditions have the same text. The proportions of the chant are similar in the two traditions as well, with the Franco-Roman chant (186 notes in the comparison) being somewhat less prolix than the Old Hispanic one (229 notes in the comparison). The pacing of text delivery is also similar (Figure 4). Some syllables have a melisma in one version and not the other (e.g., on the final “[Da]vid” in L8 but not in L77; “[imposuerunt] illi” in L77 but not in L8), but in the main, each syllable has a comparable melodic density across the two chants. The listener experience of the textual flow was extremely similar in the two different versions.

At a detailed level, the Old Hispanic and Romano-Frankish versions of *Quum adpropinquaret* are distant cousins. We can recognise some kinship between their contours (Figure 5), but they could not be described as closely related: their relationship ratio is 0.70.³¹ Attentive listeners around the transition will certainly have noticed the difference between the Old Hispanic version and the Romano-Frankish version that replaced it.

One chant in each procession anticipates the darker events of Holy Week, but in very different ways. The Old Hispanic antiphon *Amen dico* uses the story of Mary Magdalene anointing Jesus with oil “for his burial.” The Roman rite León ceremony instead has the *Atollite portas* dialogue. This dialogue was understood in medieval times as representing Christ’s descent to hell.³² The precise narrative choice was different in the Roman and Old Hispanic palms processions, but both had the effect of pointing forward towards Christ’s death.³³

The last Old Hispanic processional chant was sung at the church door. This shares textual components with the Romano-Frankish chant sung on the city wall, during the procession (ad portam civitatis ... super muram).³⁴ As noted above, the Old Hispanic antiphon combines the Christmas angel song “Gloria in excelsis deo” with the text “Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini” that permeates the Palm Sunday procession. The closest textual equivalent in the León version of the Roman rite is instead an abbreviated

³⁰We concentrate exclusively on L8 in our analysis here, maintaining our focus on León. One other manuscript contains melodies for the Palm Sunday procession, the Toledan Tradition B manuscript T5. Analytical comparisons of the palms procession antiphons between T5 and L8 may be found at <http://plainsong.org.uk/publications/hornby-andres-gutierrez-and-scullin-processional-melodies-in-the-old-hispanic-rite-appendices/>

³¹145 compatible notes; 229 notes in L8; 186 notes in L77. $2 \times 145 / (229 + 186)$. For a point of comparison, we calculate the relationship between the Old Hispanic *Quum introires* and its cognate Aquitanian antiphon *Introeunte/Ingrediente te Domine* at 0.85, based on the transcriptions by Brockett, “Osanna! New Light,” 123–25. This will have been much more recognisable as “the same” melody in a different version.

³²There is a very helpful summary of the text sources and narrative implications of the *Atollite portas* dialogue in Brockett, “Scenarios.”

³³This was an unstable element of Palm Sunday processions; in some traditions, this narrative anticipation of Holy Week was provided by the antiphon *Collegerunt*. It is drawn from John 11:47–50, where the chief priests and the Pharisees debate what to do about Jesus the miracle worker.

³⁴L44, 28r: “Cum autem peruenerint ad portam ciuitatis: dicant pueri super murum;” L77, 130r: “Cum autem peruenerit ad portam ciuitatis vel ecclesia clausis ianuis: clerici vel cantores cantent super murum vel intra ecclesiam.”

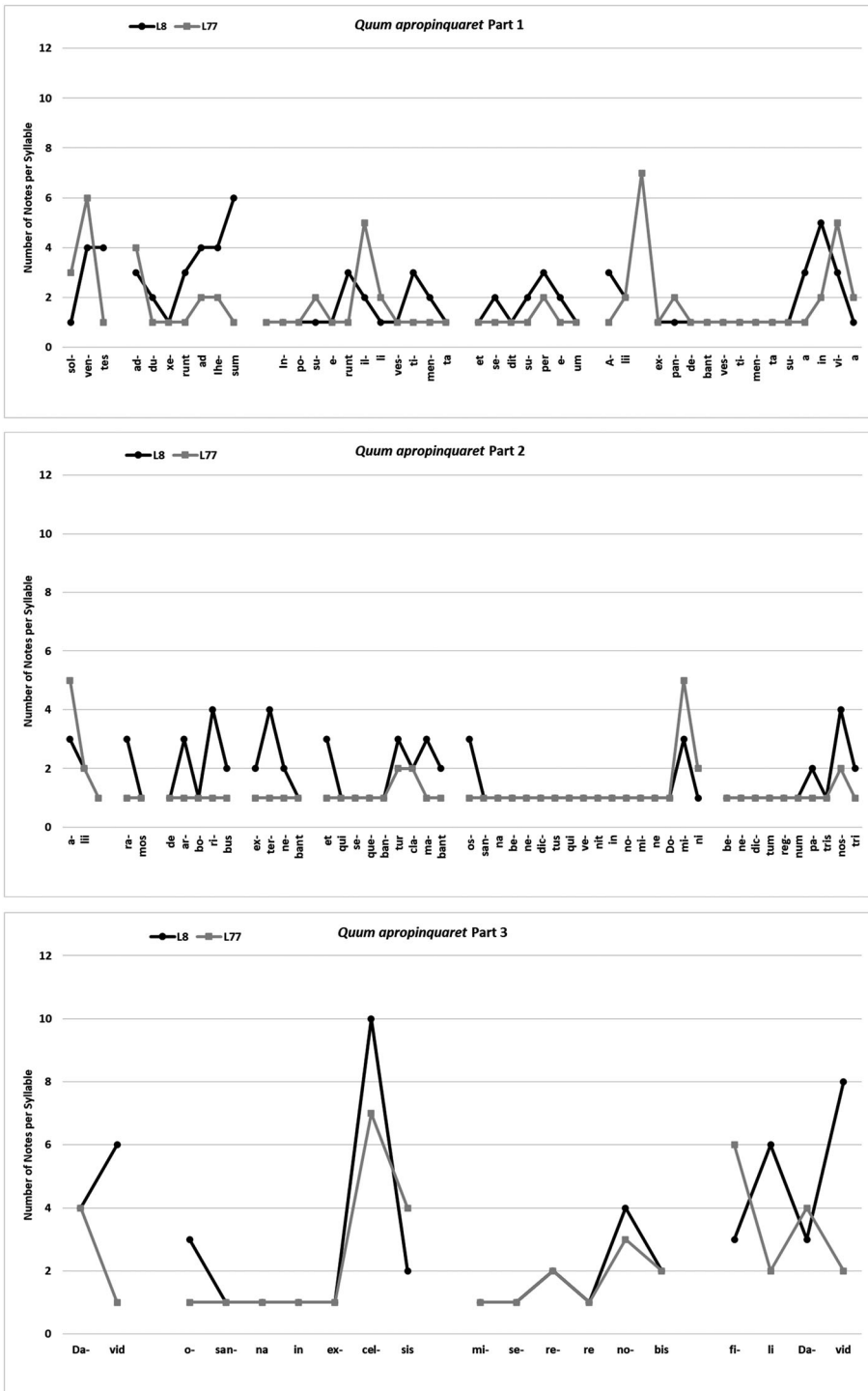


Figure 4. Number of notes per syllable in Old Hispanic and Romano-Frankish *Quum adpropinquaret*.

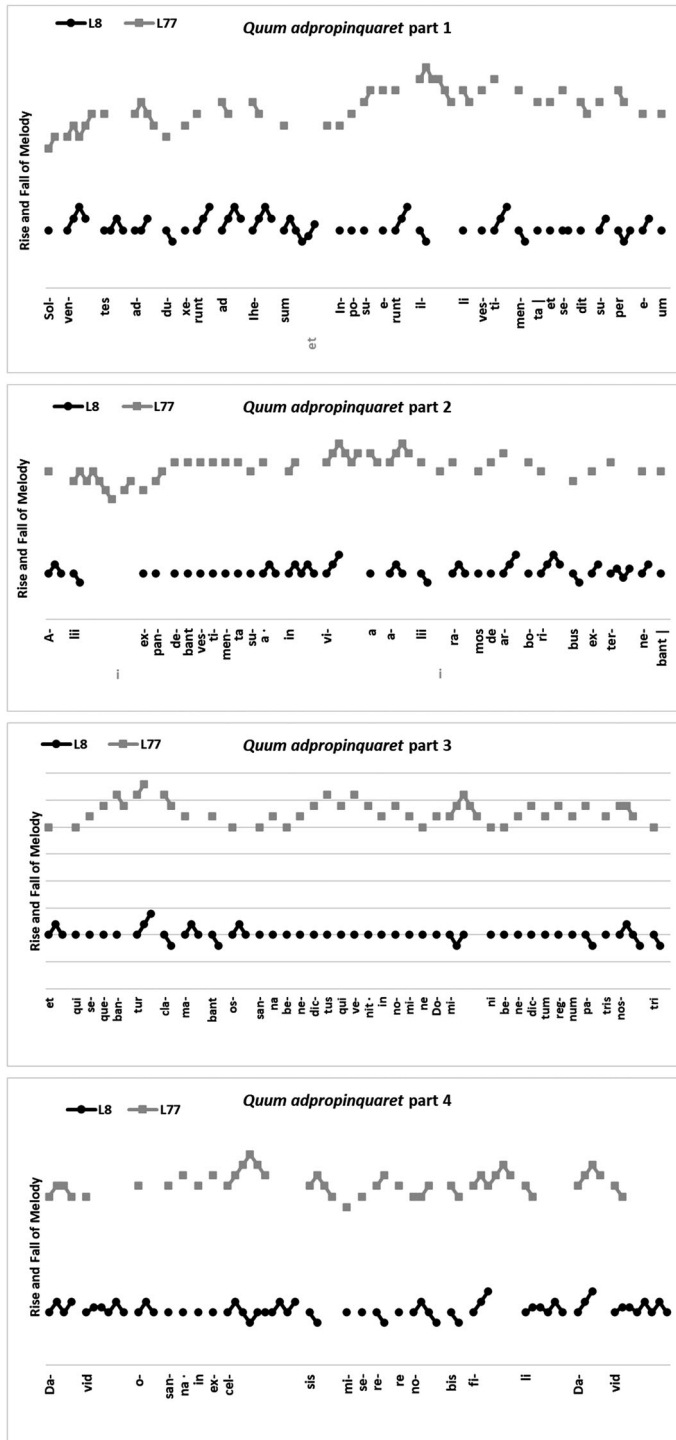


Figure 5. Rise and fall of melody: comparison between Old Hispanic and Romano-Frankish *Quum adpropinquaret*.

version of a hymn by Theodulf of Orleans (d. 821), *Gloria, laus et honor*.³⁵ This non-biblical text alludes to the palms carried by the Hebrews and - in the third person - to Christ being the blessed one who comes in the name of the Lord (“et inclyta proles nomine qui in domini rex benedictae venis”).³⁶

The size of the procession increased after the transition to the Roman rite, in several ways. Across the Old Hispanic chants for the palms procession, there are 591 syllables and 1439 notes. It is not possible to calculate the size of the Romano-Frankish chants with such exactness. The León manuscripts do not preserve complete melodies for *Cum appropinquaret* or *Cum audisset*. We have supplied those notes, speculatively, from E-Mn 1361, a fourteenth-century manuscript whose melodies are very closely related to those of L77. In the sixteenth-century L77, *Palme fuerunt*, *Occurrent turbe* and *Cum audisset* all end with a differentia: the word “seculorum,” with six notes above, to provide the melodic formula for the end of the doxology “seculorum amen.” This implies that in these three chants, and possibly in *Cum appropinquaret* as well (where the end of the antiphon is lost in a lacuna), there was a psalm and doxology, with antiphon repeat. There are no differentia indications at the ends of the antiphons in the unnotated fifteenth-century missal L44. We cannot tell whether there were in fact psalms, doxologies and repeats in the performance practice of these antiphons in late-medieval León, but there is at least a possibility of it.³⁷ Without the possible psalms, doxologies and antiphon repeats, the Romano-Frankish chants have 1264 syllables and 2003 notes. For participants in the Roman rite palms procession in León, there was thus more than twice the amount of text for singers to learn and listeners to digest than there had been in the Old Hispanic procession. Assuming a roughly equivalent performance speed, in terms of numbers of notes per minute the palms procession in the León Roman rite lasted more than one-third again as long as the earlier Old Hispanic procession; if there were psalms, doxologies and antiphon repeats within the procession, the Roman rite procession was even longer than this estimate.

For non-singers, a musical kinship of the Romano-Frankish and Old Hispanic *Quum adpropinquaret* might have been recognised by an attentive listener in the years immediately after the transition. For other palms procession antiphons, the familiarity was textual, or more generally topical. At this level, and for these liturgical participants, there was a significant level of continuity in this aspect of the rite. More text was delivered in the Roman rite version of the palms procession in León, and many more musical notes, probably reflecting an increased length of the procession.³⁸

Rupture

In the Old Hispanic rite, Palm Sunday primarily had an initiation function. The Palm Sunday ceremonies associated with initiation have been explored by several scholars,

³⁵Van der Werf, “De hymne «Gloria laus.»” For a brief introduction to the history of this hymn, see Wulstan, “Gloria, laus et honor.”

³⁶The hymn is translated and discussed in Malone, “Architecture as Evidence.”

³⁷For the use of psalms in processional antiphons, see Andrés Fernández, “«Differentiae» in Processional Antiphons.”

³⁸The increasing length and complexity of the palms procession repertoire is visible in the sixteenth-century L77, where there are three responsories not anticipated in the earlier León manuscripts (R. *Fratres mei* / V. *Derelinquerunt*, R. *Attende domine* / V. *Recordare* and R. *Dominus mecum* / V. *Vidisti*) and two antiphons (A. *Cum appropinquasset* ... *Bethphage* and A. *Ave rex noster*). For a similar phenomenon, where the processional repertoire increases in the sixteenth century, see Andrés Fernández, *Mapping Processions*, 127-36.

sometimes from an archaeological perspective,³⁹ sometimes in dialogue with Visigothic theology,⁴⁰ and, in the present critical cluster, from a musicological perspective.⁴¹ These ceremonies included processions, many initiation-specific texts, and an elaborate exorcism ceremony. This aspect of Palm Sunday was not present in the Roman rite. Such a significant shift of emphasis on Palm Sunday is best described as a “rupture.” Other aspects of the Roman palms procession in comparison to the Old Hispanic procession that preceded it will similarly have been perceived as a rupture in the practice. Some of these aspects are topographical, some are textual, and some are musical. We introduce each in turn.

The L8 rubrics outline the tenth-century processional topography. They instruct that five of the antiphons should be sung en route to the cathedral, and the final antiphon, *Gloria in excelsis*, should be sung at the church door. Because L8’s Palm Sunday rubrics are very detailed, we consider that other stations on this procession would have been signalled if they were present. In the León Roman rite (as reflected in the fifteenth-century Missal, L44) the series of processional antiphons was interrupted by a station, at which there was a reading and sermon. At a second station, the hymn *Gloria laus* was sung not at the church door (like the closest Old Hispanic equivalent), but at the city gate, on the wall.⁴² In the missal, this is followed by the responsory *Ingrediente domino*, sung while entering the city. According to the fifteenth-century ritual, L67, the dialogue *Atollite portas* was recited at the church door (see above, Table 1).⁴³ Topographically, the stations for the reading and at the city gate will have had a significant impact on the experience of all participants, punctuating the processional movement with periods of standing still, without direct precedent in the Old Hispanic procession.

The Roman procession had new textual elements. Although the themes of *Gloria laus*, *Atollite portas*, and *Ingrediente domino* were anticipated in different ways in the Old Hispanic procession, the text structures have no cognates in the Old Hispanic procession of the palms, where almost all the antiphons comprise a single section without verses or repeats.⁴⁴ *Gloria laus* is a strophic hymn with a repeat of the first strophe after each subsequent strophe in L44 (28r-v).⁴⁵ This was probably performed as an alternation between soloist(s) (most likely boys as attested in L44), and the whole choir, with the latter singing the refrain strophe.⁴⁶ *Atollite portas* has a dramatic repeat structure. The door was struck three times and the presbyter intoned three times (in an increasingly loud voice) “Lift up the gates ...” Each time he was answered from within: “Who is this king of Glory?” He (once) or a “sacerdos” (twice) responded, identifying Christ, the first time as “the strong and powerful Lord,” the second time as “the Lord, mighty in battle” and finally as “the Lord of hosts: he is the king of glory.” Finally, the doors of the cathedral were opened and the procession entered. There is no equivalent to this

³⁹Quevedo Chigas, “Early Medieval Iberian Architecture.”

⁴⁰Ramis Miquel, *La iniciación cristiana*; Akeley, *Christian Initiation in Spain*; Hormaeche Basauri, *La pastoral de la iniciación cristiana*; Pijuan, *La liturgia bautismal*; McConnell, “Baptism in Visigothic Spain.”

⁴¹Hornby and Maloy, “Old Hispanic Pre-baptism Initiation.”

⁴²See note 35, above. On the performance of *Gloria laus* from within the west wall of the cathedral in various medieval English cathedrals, see Malone, “Architecture as Evidence.”

⁴³In this ritual, the responsory *Ingrediente domino* was sung while entering the church. The sixteenth-century processional L77 does not confirm which of these was in fact practised, since it has *Ingrediente domino* as a later addition, without a rubric; the usual liturgical position of this responsory is therefore unclear.

⁴⁴The one exception is *Gloria in excelsis deo*, where the structure is antiphon-doxology-antiphon repeat.

⁴⁵The late fourteenth-century epistolary L23, 64v, has a repeat of the first strophe signalled only after the last strophe.

⁴⁶Haggh-Huglo, “Review,” 182.

dramatic dialogue and entrance in the Old Hispanic palms procession. The responsorial form of *Ingrediente domino* is not anticipated in the Old Hispanic procession either. In this chant, an abbreviated version of the last part of the text (“cum ramis palmarum osana in excelsis”) is repeated after the verse.⁴⁷ This emphasises one of the key Palm Sunday texts.

For the singers in the choir, the change from the Old Hispanic to the Roman palms procession was significant and immediate: they had a whole new repertory to learn. As we have shown above, the Romano-Frankish antiphon *Cum appropinquaret* may be distantly related to its Old Hispanic counterpart, but this would hardly have been helpful to the singers charged with learning and performing the chant. For these specialist liturgical performers, there was an undoubted rupture when the practice changed from the Old Hispanic to the Roman rite.

On processions in medieval Iberia: the present critical cluster and next steps

As we have shown, the procession of the palms on Palm Sunday in León conserved some elements across hundreds of years while other aspects changed, reflecting different devotional, ceremonial and musical priorities. Both before and after the transition to the Roman rite, the triumphant entry of Jesus into Jerusalem was brought into the liturgical present by the laity carrying foliage and processing through the streets while the choir sang chants about this biblical event. The precise expression of this fundamental concept changed over time, both musically and ritually. A ritually active observer will have been acutely aware of such shifts, since texts, melodies and ritual actions changed in their details, albeit not in their general purpose. Even in the one case where the chant text is the same - or very similar - we have shown that the melodies changed considerably.

This critical cluster provides multiple examples of how scholars can interrogate the evidence - often preserved piecemeal across sources, or with only partial information - in order to provide a rich picture of medieval ritual practice and its contemporary meanings. In her article on the veneration of Saint Leocadia in León, Kati Ihnat takes as her starting point the two-word processional rubric in L8: “Ad sepulcrum.”⁴⁸ Present near the end of the Mass on the feast of Leocadia, the patron saint of Toledo, this rubric relates to the saint’s tomb. What does this mean in the ritual context of León, a city that did not host the saint’s remains? Ihnat draws out the implications of this processional rubric in the light of what is known about the history of Leocadia’s relics and of stationary liturgies. In contrast to the two-word Leocadia rubric, the L8 Mid-Lent Sunday and Palm Sunday rubrics provide considerably more information about Old Hispanic initiation ceremonies in tenth-century León, and these are discussed by Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy.⁴⁹ Such ceremonies occurred daily for the fortnight before Palm Sunday, with further initiation ceremonies on Palm Sunday itself. At the same time as being an intensive period of Lenten penitence and fasting, these two weeks

⁴⁷Repetition “per latera.” On this phenomenon, usually with the word “presa” in the Aquitanian and Spanish repertories, see Huglo, “D’Hélisachar à Abbon de Fleury,” Appendice I. The closest structural equivalent in the Old Hispanic palms procession is the antiphon *Gloria in excelsis deo*, where the entire antiphon is repeated after the doxology.

⁴⁸Ihnat, “Singing to the Tomb of Leocadia.”

⁴⁹Hornby and Maloy, “Old Hispanic Pre-baptism Initiation.”

were also punctuated by daily exorcisms of those to be baptised at the Easter Vigil. These were surrounded by processions. Indeed, on Palm Sunday itself, despite the headline palms procession we have discussed in the present article, the main focus of the feast was an explicit, day-long, welcoming of the “new shoots” of the next generation to the sheepfold of the Christian church, where they were to be taught the love of God. At matutinum, inside the cathedral, this welcome included ritual movement whose complexity and solemnity rivals that of the Palm Sunday palms procession.

L8 is a comprehensive manuscript, containing chants for almost the whole calendar year together with multiple explanatory rubrics, some detailed (like those for Mid-Lent Sunday and Palm Sunday discussed by Hornby and Maloy) and some gnomic (like the Leocadia rubric discussed by Ihnat). L8 has been the focus of the vast majority of scholarship on Old Hispanic chant because of its early date, its high production values, its excellent state of preservation, and the amount of material it contains. We offer a balance to that concentration in this critical cluster, with a close look at Visigothic Tarragona in the contribution by Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, Emma Hornby, and Rebecca Maloy.⁵⁰ This was a major urban centre in the Visigothic period, and is thought to have been the origin of the earliest extant Old Hispanic liturgical book, the Verona Orational (dated before 732).⁵¹ In OV, there are rubrics on Carnes Tollendas Sunday, six weeks before Easter, that mention different churches. The implications of the rubrics are most clearly understood - together with their limitations for modern scholars attempting to reconstruct the Visigothic urban topography - when we consider the wider liturgical context and the likely practicalities of the processions to which they refer. As these articles illustrate, each Old Hispanic processional rubric invites close and detailed study, integrating the possible architectural and urban context into the discussion.⁵²

There is evidence pertaining to early medieval Iberian processions beyond the liturgical books. In his contribution, Jamie Wood maps out the wider Visigothic context for ceremonial movement in and beyond urban spaces.⁵³ He draws primarily on hagiographical sources, showing different ways in which collective movement - “religious,” “secular” or a mixture of both - could display, underline and undermine contemporary power structures. Among the sources, a saint’s passion was usually read at matutinum in the Old Hispanic rite on his/her feast day. As Wood shows, several passions articulate the role and potential of processions for constructing sainthood. For liturgical participants, the public liturgical reading of each passion helped to develop and sustain their understanding of processions, which they then enacted practically in the liturgical processions in which they participated on days such as Carnes Tollendas Sunday, Mid-Lent Sunday, Palm Sunday, or on special occasions such as a king’s departure to war.

⁵⁰Carrero Santamaría, Hornby, and Maloy, “Processional Liturgy in the Urban Space of Seventh-century Tarragona.” The dating of medieval Iberian churches is a contested subject, as explored in a companion article to the present cluster: Carrero Santamaría, “Visigoths, Asturians and Mossarabs” (forthcoming).

⁵¹Verona, Cathedral, Biblioteca capitolare, cod. LXXXIX; Vives, *Oracional visigótico*. On the dating of the manuscript, see Díaz y Díaz, “La fecha de implantación,” and “Consideraciones sobre el oracional.”

⁵²A recent attempt to place an Old Hispanic procession in an imagined architectural context is in Hornby et al., “Processional Melodies,” which includes discussion of the Good Friday Adoration of the Cross. For brief introductions to all of the processional rubrics in extant Old Hispanic manuscripts, see Andrés Fernández et al., “Processions and Their Chants;” Andrés Fernández et al., “Las procesiones y su canto.”

⁵³Wood, “Narrating Processions.”

The research collaboration represented in this cluster has brought together scholars from multiple countries and disciplines. We shared data, offered each other iterative feedback, and each contributed our disciplinary-specific insights to a growing understanding of the role and characteristics of processions in the early Middle Ages. In fluid co-writing combinations, we brought together a range of evidence bases and different disciplinary perspectives. The result, in the current issue, is a substantial body of work that provides multiple snapshots of medieval Iberian culture and religious life. In future, it will be possible for scholars to draw on this body of work when thinking about the functional topography of late antique and early medieval cities. Some Old Hispanic liturgical genres are potentially processional but lack explicit rubrics. Our body of work provides a departure point for exploration of such genres. Finally, as we have illustrated in this introductory article, we are now in a position to draw comparisons between the Old Hispanic processions and their cousins in other liturgical traditions, identifying points of continuity, adaptation and rupture.

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Appendix 1. Manuscript sigla.

- BL52 - London, British Library, Add MS 30852 (late-ninth-century orational; Old Hispanic rite).
 E-Mn 1361 (notated gradual from Toledo Cathedral, fourteenth century; Roman rite).
 L1 - León, Archivo Catedralicio de León, MS 1 (fourteenth-century “libro de constituciones” from León, Roman rite).
 L8 - León Cathedral, MS 8 (mid tenth-century antiphoner from León; Old Hispanic rite).
 L21 - León, Archivo Catedralicio de León, MS 1 (fourteenth-century “libro de constituciones” from León, Roman rite).
 L23 - León, Archivo Catedralicio de León, MS 23 (fourteenth-century epistolary from León Cathedral, with added late fourteenth- or fifteenth-century booklet containing two notated chants; Roman rite).
 L44 (mid fifteenth-century unnotated missal from León Cathedral; Roman rite).
 L67 (fifteenth-century notated ritual from León Cathedral; Roman rite).
 L77 (sixteenth-century notated processional from León Cathedral; Roman rite. This manuscript originally included León, Archivo Catedralicio de León, Fragmentos 128 and 129).
 OV - Verona, Biblioteca capitolare, cod. LXXXIX (dated before 732; Old Hispanic rite).
 S4 - Santo Domingo de Silos, MS 4 (eleventh-century Liber Ordinum; Old Hispanic rite).
 T5 - Toledo, Biblioteca Capitolare MS 35–5 (thirteenth-century liber mysticus; Old Hispanic rite).

Appendix 2. Elements of the Old Hispanic procession of the palms in the extant manuscripts.

L8, c. 960, 153v-154r <small>(151v)</small>	S4, 1052, 131v-137v <small>(131v)</small>	BL52, late 9th c., 67r-68v <small>(66r)</small>	T5, late 13th c., 112v-115r <small>(109r)</small>
ORDO PSALLENDI IN RAMOS PALMARVM [...] <small>(153v)</small>	ORDO IN RAMOS PALMARVM AD MISSAM	CONPLETURIA AD MATUTINUM [...]	IN RAMIS PALMARVM [...]
ITEM EODEM DIE AD MISSAM Ambulat omnis populus ad eclesiam unde palme lebantur, et sic psallendo ad aliam eclesiam ueniunt ubi missa completur. Accedens primum episcopus, benedicit ramos palmarum;	Ambulat omnis populus ad eclesiam unde palme lebantur, et psallendo ad aliam ubi et missa conplebitur peraccedunt: Dum uero omnis populus adgregati fuerint unde palme ramique lebantur, tunc ingrediens episcopus aut sacerdos in eclesiam, et ponuntur palma ramique super altare et benedict eos ita:	<small>(67r)</small>	<small>(112v)</small>
	ORATIONES AD BENEDICENDAS PALMAS. Oremus. Domine sancte pater eterne omnipotens deus ...	ITEM BENEDICTIO IN RAMOS PALMARUM Christus dominus, qui salutis sue signo humano generi dat salutem, det vobis cum his ...	ITEM ORATIO AD BENEDICENDOS RAMOS PALMARUM.
	ALIA ORATIO. Oremus. Alme pater, omnipotens rex, omnium creator et domine cuius super ethera sedis est ...	ORATIO PRO PALMAS. Domine ihesu christe qui ante mundi principium cum deo patre et spiritu sancto regnas ...	Domine ihesu christe, qui ante mundi principium cum deo patre et spiritu sancto regnas ...
	ALIA ORATIO. Oremus. Domine deus omnipotens	BENEDICTIO. Dominus ihesus christus qui per	BENEDICTIO. Dominus ihesus christus, qui per

(Continued)

Continued.

L8, c. 960, 153v-154r	S4, 1052, 131v-137v	BL52, late 9th c., 67r-68v	T5, late 13th c., 112v-115r
	qui cuncta regis, continens et disponis ...	legem et prophetas ueniens adsumpsit formam hominis ...	legem et prophetas ueniens adsumpsit ...
	ALIA ORATIO. Oremus. Domine deus pater omnipotens qui ueteris legis ad moysen famulum tuum promulgans precepta ...	ITEM ALIA DE RAMOS BENEDICTIONE. Domine deus pater omnipotens qui veteris legis ad Moysen ...	
	ALIA ORATIO. Oremus. Christe iesu redemptor humani generis qui uerbum caro factum in mundo appare dignatus es ...	BENEDICTIO. Benedic, domine, populum tuum qui hunc misterium uidere desiderant. Ut, qui deportant folias palmarum ...	
	Deinde dicit diaconus, qui ipso die ad missam ministrat hanc precem: Oremus. Ut hos ramos palmarum, salicum uel olibarum dextera diuinitatis sue propitius sanctificare dignetur. Presta. K(irie), K(irie), K(irie). Colligitur ab episcopo hec oratio. ORATIO. Domine iesu christe qui ante mundi principium cum deo patre ...	ORATIO DE ANTIFONIS. Tibi in exelsis gloria ab angelis decantatur, tibi in hace celebritate fidelis turba laus interris cum exultatione depromitur ...	
	BENEDICTIO. Benedicat uobis dominus iesus christus, qui ad redimendum genus humanum ...		
et quum date ab episcopo fuerint palme ad populum, statim imponit episcopus: DEO GRATIAS, usque in tertia uice et dum ter repeti ab omni populo, inponit arcediaconus uoce clara [h]anc antifona	Salutante episcopo, complet diaconus dicens:		Deo gratias. tribus uicibus.
A. Quum audisset turba ...	[missing folio, but an inner margin remains]		A. Ingrediente te domine ...
A. Quum adpropinquaret ...	A. [?]		II. Quum audissent turbe ...
A. Quum introires domine ...	A. [?]		
A. Osanna, benedictus qui ...	A. [?]		
A. Amen dico uobis ...			
A.			

(Continued)

Continued.

L8, c. 960, 153v-154r	S4, 1052, 131v-137v	BL52, late 9th c., 67r-68v	T5, late 13th c., 112v-115r
Constituite diem sollempnem ...			
Et dum adpropinquaberit ad ostium eçlesie, sic imponunt hanc antifonam Gloria in excelsis deo ...			III. Gloria in excelsis deo ...
Gloria dicitur. Quumque ipsius antifone caput repetierint et explicaberint, non dicitur kirieleison sed statim colligit episcopus orationem, et post collecta oratione, dicit diaconus: Erigite uos	[end of a prayer] [...] humilitatis nostre ascendenti obuam cum ramis olearum, salicum atque palmarum digne osanna clamare uoluisti ...		ORATIO. Alme pater omnipotens, rerum omnium creator domine, cuius super etheram sedis est ...
Et precedentes omnes diacones a episcopo ascendunt in pulpito. Salutante autem episcopo, legitur lectio Exodi: Suscepi uos tanquam.	Post hec legitur lectio exodi: Suscepi uos.		Eclesiastici salomonis. Iudicium patris audite filii ...
			Lectio libri deutoronomii. In illis diebus, Locutus est dominus ad moysen dicens: Loquere filiis ...
Qua finia dicitur psalmus: Uenite, uenite fili II. In domino laudabitur III. Magnificate dominum IIII. Accedite ad V. Redimet dominus VI. Gustate et uidete	Deinde PSLM: Uenite filii.		PSLM. Uenite uenite filii audite me timorem VR. In domino laudabitur VR. Magnificate uenite.
[...]	[...]		[...]

Appendix 3. Analytical data for the palms procession chants.

Old Hispanic analytical data

	OH Quum audisset	OH Quum adpropinquaret	OH Quum introires	OH Osanna benedictus	OH Amen dico	OH Constituite	OH Gloria
Text length in syllables (whole chant)	63	203	92	42	45	29	117
Text length in syllables (antiphon)	63	203	92	42	45	29	45
Text length in syllables (verse(s))	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Text length in syllables (antiphon repeat)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Text length in syllables (doxology)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	27
Text length in syllables (final repeat)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	45

(Continued)

Continued.

	OH Quum audisset	OH Quum adpropinquaret	OH Quum introires	OH Osanna benedictus	OH Amen dico	OH Constituite	OH Gloria
Number of notes (whole chant)	172	428	228	124	148	102	237
Number of notes in antiphon	172	428	228	124	148	102	105
Number of notes (verse(s))	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	(ca. 27 in doxology)
Number of phrases	9 phrases	27	12	6	7	4	6 (antiphon)
Number of words per phrase	2–4 words x 8 5 words x 1	1 word x 3 2–4 words x 21 5 words x 1 6 words x 1 7 words x 1	2–4 words x 11 5 words x 1	2–4 words x 5 5 words x 1	2–4 words x 7	2–4 words x 4	1 word x 1 1–4 words x 4 6 words x 1
Topic	John 12. Crowd carries palms and cries “hosanna, blessed is he who comes”	Matt 21, Mark 11, Matt 20: crowd instructed to bring the ass. Jesus rode it; they strewed palms and cried “Hosanna, blessed is he who comes”	John 12, Luke 19, Matt 21. Jesus rode into Jerusalem to fulfil law and prophets, hebrew children carried palms and sang “Hosanna”	Mark 11. “Hosanna, blessed is he who comes”	Matt 26: Mary anoints Christ	Psalm 117 Solemn day, foliage, altar, Blessed is he who comes	Luke 2, Luke 19 Glory to God, “Hosanna, blessed is he who comes”

Romano-Frankish analytical data (León manuscripts)

	L77 Ant. <i>Palme fuerunt</i> (Sung three times)	L77 Ant. <i>Occurrunt turbe</i> (Sung three times)	L77 Ant. <i>Cum audisset</i>	L77 Ant. <i>Cum appropinquaret</i>	L67 Dialogue <i>Atollite portas</i>	L77 Responsory <i>Ingrediente</i>	L23 Versus <i>Gloria laus</i>
Text length in syllables (whole chant)	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	149	90	333
Text length in syllables (antiphon)	37	62	191	204	n/a	51	31
Text length in syllables (verse(s))	unknown.	unknown.	unknown.	unknown.	n/a	27	30, 28, 29, 30
Text length in syllables (antiphon repeat)	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	n/a	12	31
Text length in syllables (doxology)	41	41	41	unknown (end of antiphon missing in León 77)	n/a	n/a	n/a
Text length in syllables (final repeat)	unknown	unknown	unknown.	unknown.	n/a	n/a	n/a
Number of notes (whole chant)	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	152	156	417
Number of notes in antiphon	69	90	417 approx (missing notes supplied from E-Mn 1361)	384 approx (missing notes supplied from E-Mn 1361)	n/a	81	54

(Continued)

Continued.

	L77 Ant. <i>Palme fuerunt</i> (Sung three times)	L77 Ant. <i>Occurrunt turbe</i> (Sung three times)	L77 Ant. <i>Cum audisset</i>	L77 Ant. <i>Cum appropinquaret</i>	L67 Dialogue <i>Atollite portas</i>	L77 Responsory <i>Ingrediente</i>	L23 Versus <i>Gloria laus</i>
Number of notes (verse(s))	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	60	55, 49, 48, 49
Number of phrases	7 (plus psalm and repeats and doxology)	10 (plus psalm and repeats and doxology)	23 (plus psalm and repeats and doxology)	31	n/a	9	24
Number of words per phrase	1 word x 1 2-4 words x 5 5 words x 1	1 word x 1 2-4 words x 9	1 word x 2 2-4 words x 20 5 words x 1	1 word x 4 2-4 words x 22 5 words x 4 6 words x 1	n/a	2-4 words x 9	2-4 words x 24
Topic	Revelation 7:10, 7:9 and 5:13 (free paraphrase) Saints holding palms and praising the lamb	Crowd carrying palms greet the Redeemer, and praise him "Hosanna"	John 12. Crowd carries palms and recognises Jesus's status, and that that he rides on a donkey to fulfil scriptures	Matt 21, Mark 11, Matt 20: crowd instructed to bring the ass. Jesus rode it; they strewed palms and cried "Hosanna"	Christ descends to hell and is identified at the gates	John 12. Christ enters the holy city, welcomed by people waving palms and coming out to meet him, crying Hosanna	Theodulf hymn: praise for Christ as king of Israel, with allusions to the "Benedictus qui venit" and the palms carried by the Hebrews



L77, 120v-122r;





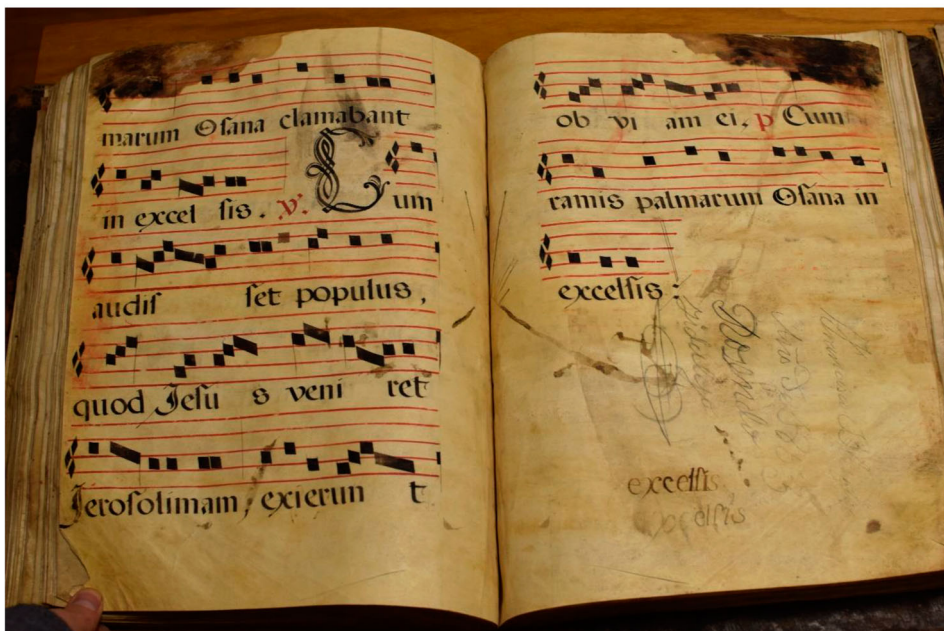
L77, 128r-129v







no folio number for *Ingrediente*



L67, 26r-27v

