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Processional liturgy in the urban space of seventh-century Tarragona*

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ABSTRACT

The Verona Orational, copied in Tarragona in the early eighth century, contains processional rubrics hinting at liturgical movement between churches on Carnes Tollendas Sunday at the beginning of Lent. The rubrics mention three places: Holy Jerusalem, Saint Fructuosus's and Saint Peter's. This essay examines the processional rubrics in tandem with the urban architecture of Visigothic Tarragona to place these processions as nearly as possible in their topographical context. We also consider the likely character of the chants sung during the processions, drawing both on the Verona Orational texts and the processional chants for Carnes Tollendas Sunday preserved in later manuscripts. This unique sonic and spatial experience signalled the beginning of Lent to the entire city, Christianizing the urban space.

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Liturgical manuscripts from early medieval Iberia present us with a paradox. While liturgical worship was shaped by visual and tactile experiences specific to the spaces in which it took place, the manuscripts associated with the Old Hispanic rite contain little information that is location- or site-specific, and thus provide scant evidence about these aspects of the liturgical experience. For the Visigothic period, the challenges are even greater: only a single Iberian liturgical manuscript survives from before the late ninth century; and scholars disagree about whether any churches remain from the Visigothic period at all.¹

The Verona Orational (hereafter OV) is known not only as the earliest witness to the Old Hispanic rite, but also as one of the earliest extant liturgical books from western Europe, dating from before 732.² The handful of place-specific rubrics in this office

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¹For a recent critical summary of scholarly debates about the dating of early Iberian churches, with detailed bibliography, see Carrero Santamaría, "Visigoths, Asturians and Mossarabs."

²Verona, Cathedral, Biblioteca capitolare, codex LXXXIX. Edited in Vives, *Oracional visigótico*. On the dating of the manuscript, see Díaz y Díaz, "La fecha de implantación," and "Consideraciones sobre el oracional visigótico de Verona." The

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prayer book indicate movement between churches on Carnes Tollendas Sunday (“when meat is removed”),³ six weeks before Easter. Such rubrics hint at cultural practices that helped to Christianize urban space through sight and sound, yielding insights into the sensory dimension of the liturgy. These processional rubrics, however, have not been accurately examined in the light of what we now know about the urban space of late antique Tarragona and the specific structures of the Old Hispanic rite.⁴ In the present article, we consider the arrangement of ecclesiastical space in Tarragona and in other late antique Iberian cities and cathedrals to present a new reading of the rubrics. In so doing, we shift our appreciation of early medieval liturgical practice from a purely textual approach – a dry reading of arcane words on a 1300-year-old page – to an understanding of communal ritual movement. When the OV rubrics are read in dialogue with late antique archaeology in Tarragona and the Old Hispanic liturgical structures, we gain a new understanding of how the transition into the Lenten season was underlined by ritual movement within the city and integrated with text-led devotion, within and beyond the consecrated buildings.

It is a challenge to imagine the original architecture of any Early Christian or early medieval Iberian church. We are faced with a bewildering panorama of architectural remains without historical documentation, and of historical documents without corresponding archeological evidence. Several examples can illustrate the nature of the extant evidence of Visigothic churches. Even in a case with documented archeological evidence, such the exceptional grouping of churches at Egara (Terrassa, Barcelona), the lack of liturgical documentation makes it difficult to ascertain the functional relationship between the three churches, their baptistry, the bishop’s residence, and the other devotional spaces that have been sketched out in the excavation and restoration of the complex (Figure 1).⁵ Conversely, we lack architectural evidence of the Toledan churches; they can only be studied through written documents. Councils were held at the church of Holy Jerusalem, along with churches dedicated to Saint Leocadia, the Apostles Peter and Paul and the Holy Virgin Mary.⁶ Councils were also held in the cathedrals at Seville, Barcelona and Mérida. Texts such as Prudentius’s *Peristephanon* or the *Lives of the Holy Fathers of Mérida* provide hints about the architecture in cities such as Calahorra or Mérida, but no archaeological remains survive.⁷ An epigraphic poem may allude to a cathedral baptistry and an atrium in Seville, which may relate to surviving remains of a baptistry that have been found in the Patio de Banderas. Because these remains were outside the walls of the Roman city, it is doubtful that they were originally part of the cathedral

book contains prayers for the public services of vespers and matutinum; each day had its own prayers. The OV contains the two closing prayers of vespers (completuria and benedictio) and matutinum (completuria and benedictio). It also contains the prayers associated with the matutinum missas. These prayers provide considerable information about the thematic and biblical focus of each liturgical day in late-seventh century Tarragona.

³For this nomenclature, see León Cathedral cod. 8 (hereafter L8), ff. 2, 15v–19v and 105r; the liber hymnorum in London, British Library, Add. MS 30851, f. 129v; the fragmentary antiphoner in Zaragoza, Library of the Faculty of Law, MS M-418, f. 8r; and the sacramentary in Toledo Cathedral, MS 35-3, f. 73r.

⁴For earlier scholarship on the rubrics see, for example, Porter, “Studies;” Janini, “Cuaresma visigoda;” Arbeloa i Rigau, “Per una nova interpretació;” Serra Abellà, “La litúrgia;” most recently, Gros i Pujol, “Sant Fructuós.”

⁵García Linares, Moro García, and Tuset Bertran, *La seu episcopal d’Ègara*.

⁶Godoy Fernández, “El escenario de la celebración,” 767–86.

⁷Mateos Cruz, “Augusta Emerita;” Sastre de Diego, Cordero Ruiz and Mateos Cruz, “Territorio y monacato emeritense;” Godoy Fernández, “*Calagurris*, centro del culto.”

itself, and they lack a larger archaeological setting.⁸ In Barcelona, we have the remains of the baptistry that was at the foot of the cathedral. An arcaded walkway or space made up of three naves extends from the north-eastern wall of this baptistry, perhaps related to the veneration of holy water.⁹ The archaeological remains underneath the church of Saint Justus in Barcelona have recently been interpreted as fragments of a second baptistry, belonging to the Arian cathedral.¹⁰ There are other examples of cathedrals with good archaeological remains but no liturgical evidence, including the Valencia cathedral complex (basilica, baptistry, martyrial church of Saint Vincent); Segóbriga cathedral; the complex of Tolmo de Minateda; and the remains of the Cordoban church of Saint Vincent.¹¹ In the following discussion, we therefore focus on one city where Visigothic liturgy and sacred topography can be investigated in tandem: Tarragona. We explore the possible location of the Visigothic cathedral, and then explore the OV rubrics in light of the late-antique topography of Tarragona.

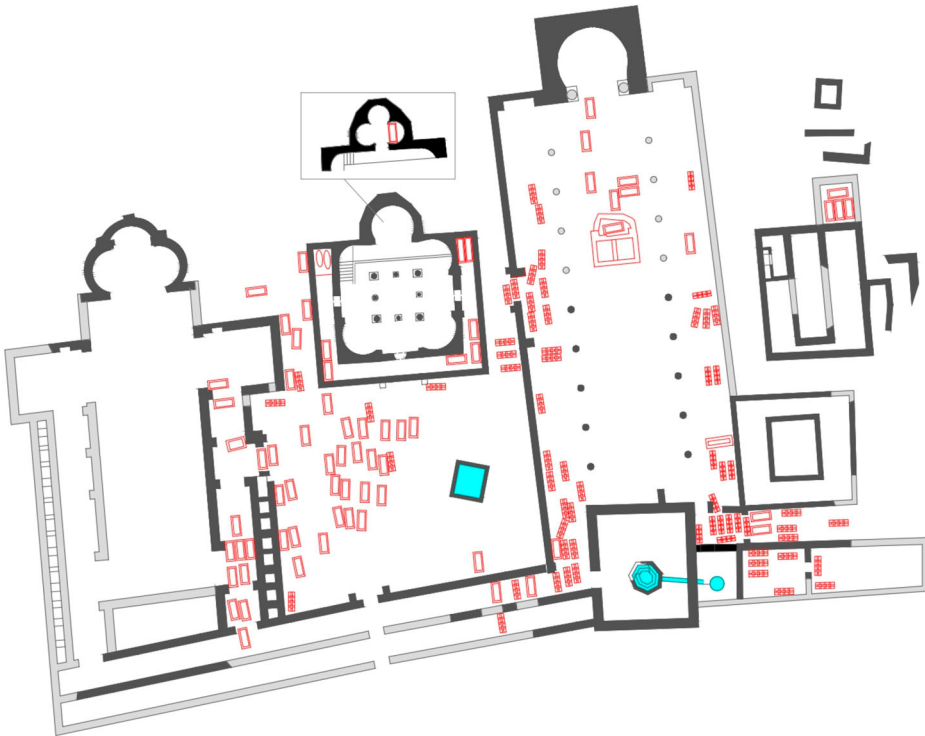


Figure 1. Cathedral complex of Egara (Terrassa, Barcelona) ©Museu de Terrassa / Gemma Garcia Linares. Reproduced with permission.

⁸Rico, "Arquitectura y epigrafía;" Sánchez Ramos, "Arquitectura sacra de época tardía."

⁹Godoy Fernández and Gurt, "Un itinerario de peregrinaje."

¹⁰Beltrán de Heredia, "Los nuevos hallazgos arqueológicos."

¹¹Sánchez Ramos, "Sobre el grupo episcopal de *Corduba*;" Ribera and Rosselló, "Valentia: ciudad episcopal;" Abad Casal, Gutiérrez Lloret, and Gamo Parras, "La basílica y el baptisterio del Tolmo de Minateda;" Gutiérrez Lloret, "El Tolmo de Minateda."

Identifying the cathedral of Tarragona

The cathedral of Tarragona

Few cities in Hispania have such abundant and fascinating documentary evidence about their Christian origins as Tarragona. Despite uncertainties about its context or the intentions behind its composition, the *Passio* of Fructuosus, Augurius, and Eulogius attests to an organized Christian community in third-century Tarragona, with a bishop and deacons. The *Passio* is thought to date from the end of that century, and it has thus been inferred that Tarragona's Christian community composed a *Passio* of their martyred bishop less than fifty years after the event.¹² Although we do not know the names of the bishops between Fructuosus (259) and Himerio (385), the election of bishops in Tarragona seems to have followed a stable tradition. Various sources describe the growing adoption of Christianity by the city's elites during the fourth century, and its definitive consolidation in the fifth century.¹³

Where did these bishops live, and where was their cathedral? Focusing on the architectural remains found in the city and trying to match them directly with documentation has led scholars to overlook the clear existence of an architectural framework dateable to this early period of Tarragona's Christian history. Meritxell Pérez Martínez assumes that the architectural origins of Tarragonese Christianity can be located around a *domus ecclesiae*, as was commonly documented across Christendom. But the cathedral seems likely to have been more than just a simple *domus ecclesie*. Rather, it is likely to have been a cathedral complex with related buildings, as suggested by the ample documentation of the episcopal seat in the third and fourth centuries and the existence of archaeological remains with Christian origins, such as the late fourth-century mausoleum of Centcelles near Tarragona.¹⁴ Tellingly, Consentius's letter to Augustine about Priscillianism in Tarragona (419) explicitly refers to the existence of a church and a sacristy for episcopal ceremonies: "[Astirius] ad ecclesiam venit et mox secretarium in quo episcopi residebant."¹⁵ Although there are no direct documented references to a cathedral before this, we can be sure that there was a cathedral complex already in place by the beginning of the fifth century. The next piece of evidence for the existence of Tarragona Cathedral is the rubric in OV alluding to "Holy Jerusalem" (see Table 1 and discussion below).¹⁶ Visigothic cathedrals were typically conceived as being Holy Jerusalem. As Marius Ferotin pointed out, in Hispania "Holy Jerusalem" was used to designate the *Ecclesia Principalis* at various cathedral sites. There are references to "Holy Jerusalem" in the first and second councils of Seville (590 and 619), *sacrosantae Ierusalem Spalensis ecclesiae* in the council of Mérida (666) and similar council records in Toledo, as well as *Sanctae Ierusalem ecclesiae*

¹²Fábrega Grau, *Pasionario Hispánico*, I:86–92; Pérez Martínez, *Tarraco en al Antigüedad Tardía*, 316. There is also a hymn in honour of these saints by the late fourth-century poet Prudentius. See Prudentius' *Crown of Martyrs/ Liber Peristephanon*, 89–94; Prudentius, *Crowns of Martyrdom*.

¹³Pérez Martínez, *Tarraco en al Antigüedad Tardía*, 96–105, 135–91.

¹⁴The villa and mausoleum of Centcelles is seven km from Tarragona. There has been lively debate about the interpretation of the late fourth-century Christian mosaics that decorate its dome. See Arce and Ripoll, "De nuevo sobre Centcelles," 431–42.

¹⁵"[Astirius] came to the church and then to the sacristy in which the bishops were staying," Amengual Batle, "Manifestaciones del monacato," 341–60.

¹⁶Vives, *Oracional visigótico*.

in the Lives of the Holy Fathers of Mérida.¹⁷ Given the early eighth-century dating of OV, however, it is doubtful that this was the same edifice as had existed in the fifth and sixth century.

Following common convention in the reconstruction of sacred spaces, all evidence points to the probability that the area of Tarragona's Roman temple was the ideal spot for the cathedral of such an important late antique and Visigothic archdiocese. Tarragona as a city was characterised by significant differences in ground level and was made up of terraces running on a north-east to south-west axis. The temple area was at the city's highest point. It was neighboured, along its southern edge, by a lower, intermediate, terrace containing the city's circus and, then, on a yet lower terrace – between the coast and the mouth of the Francolí river – there was the city's theatre, port, and one of the most important cemeteries. To the south-east of the complex, outside the city walls, was an amphitheatre where – according to the *vita* – Saint Fructuosus and his companions were executed (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Remains of Christian Tarraco on the contemporary city plan, after Jordi López. 1. Temple area. 2. Francolí Basilicae. 3. Basilica in the Amphitheatre. From Jordi López Vilar, *Les basíliques paleocristianes del suburbi occidental de Tarraco. El temple septentrional i el complex martirial de Sant Fructuós*, 2 vols., Tarragona: Institut Català d'Arqueologia Clàssica, 2006, I:19. Reproduced with permission.

The set of churches in the necropolis next to the Francolí river and in the amphitheatre

Previous scholars have underestimated the possibility that Tarragona cathedral was located in the temple area from the outset, as was certainly the case after the late

¹⁷Ferotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, c. 57, n. 2. More recently, Arbeloa i Rigau, "Per una nova interpretació," with reference on 128 to Puertas Tricas, *Iglesias hispánicas*, 55, 58–59, and to Pinell, *Domus - Civitas*, 167–96, for the concept of the cathedral as a sign of Jerusalem in salvation history.

eleventh-century Christian conquest of the city from the Muslims. Instead, it was proposed that the original cathedral was located outside the city walls, north-west of the intramural complex, in the cemetery near the Francolí river. The first scholar to reject the possibility of the cathedral being in the area of the Roman temple was Josep Puig i Cadafalch, who identified the archaeological remains of a church excavated in the cemetery as the cathedral.¹⁸ Some time later, the historian Sanç Capdevila argued that the Visigothic cathedral had not been in the temple area. He based this on the testimony of the twelfth-century chronicler Orderic Vitalis as well as on medieval documentary references to the cathedral.¹⁹ Neither the cathedral documentation nor the text by Orderic Vitalis are reliable beyond doubt, however. Orderic Vitalis affirmed in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* that, following the Christian conquest of the city, they found the remains of an episcopal church: "In Episcopali quippe Basilica quercus et fagi, aliaeque procere arbores jam creverant spaciumque interius intra urbis a priscis temporibus occupaverant, habitatoribus, per immonitatem Sarracenorum peremptis seu fugatis qui eam dudum incoluerant."²⁰ Joan Serra Vilaró used these words to argue that the highest zone of the city had been practically abandoned and forgotten in the Visigothic period and during Muslim rule of the city, and for the Islamic period, there is little wrong with this theory.²¹ In fact, Muslim presence in the city has been put in doubt in light of the importance during the taifa period of nearby Tortosa, only eighty kilometers away.²² But we cannot extrapolate from this that the site was also abandoned in the Visigothic period. From a material perspective, the only reason to imagine that the cathedral was *not* in the temple area is that the sole fifth-century remains found here are a large number of ceramic fragments. Because the site has yet to be extensively excavated, however, we cannot rule out the possibility of future finds of one or more places of worship within this larger area.²³

The churches of the Francolí necropolis, which Puig i Cadafalch identified as being the cathedral,²⁴ were part of a monumental suburban complex that included two churches, built a few decades apart, and with a strong funerary character (Figure 3). The first, located to the south, was excavated by Serra Vilaró at the beginning of the twentieth century, while the excavation of the second, headed by Jordi López Vilar, was done only a few decades ago and has led to a reinterpretation of the entire complex.²⁵ Unfortunately, during the construction of the modern city, the remains of both churches were destroyed; we now have only documentation of the findings. Because this southern basilica is the sole fifth-century Christian building discovered in Tarragona to date, scholars have accepted it as being the city's original cathedral space.²⁶ It is true that the

¹⁸Puig i Cadafalch, *La basílica de Tarragona*, 18.

¹⁹Capdevila, *La Seu de Tarragona*, 4–9.

²⁰"For in the Episcopal Basilica oaks and beeches and other tall trees had already grown up and had occupied the interior space within the city from ancient times, the inhabitants having been killed or driven away by the impunity of the Muslims who had inhabited it a long time ago." Vitalis's testimony had already been highlighted by Flórez, *España Sagrada*, XXV:116; Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 104–05.

²¹Serra Vilaró, *Santa Tecla la Vieja*, 48–50.

²²Gonzalo Arango, "La integración de Tarrakuna."

²³The state of the question is summarised in Pérez Martínez, *Tarraco en la Antigüedad Tardía*, 64–165.

²⁴Puig i Cadafalch, *La basílica de Tarragona*, 19–22.

²⁵Serra Vilaró, *Excavaciones en la necrópolis romano-cristiana* (1928–1935); López Vilar, *Les basíliques paleocristianes*.

²⁶There is a historiographic summary in López Vilar, *Les basíliques paleocristianes*, I:243–78. See also Arbeiter, "Topografía cristiana en Tarragona;" López Vilar and Puche Fontanilles, "Arquitectura paleocristiana de Tarragona;" López Vilar, Macías, and Muñoz Melgar, "El cementiri i la basílica de Tarragona," 429–46; Serrano Coll and Menchón Bes, "Piedras y espacios sagrados," 125–35.

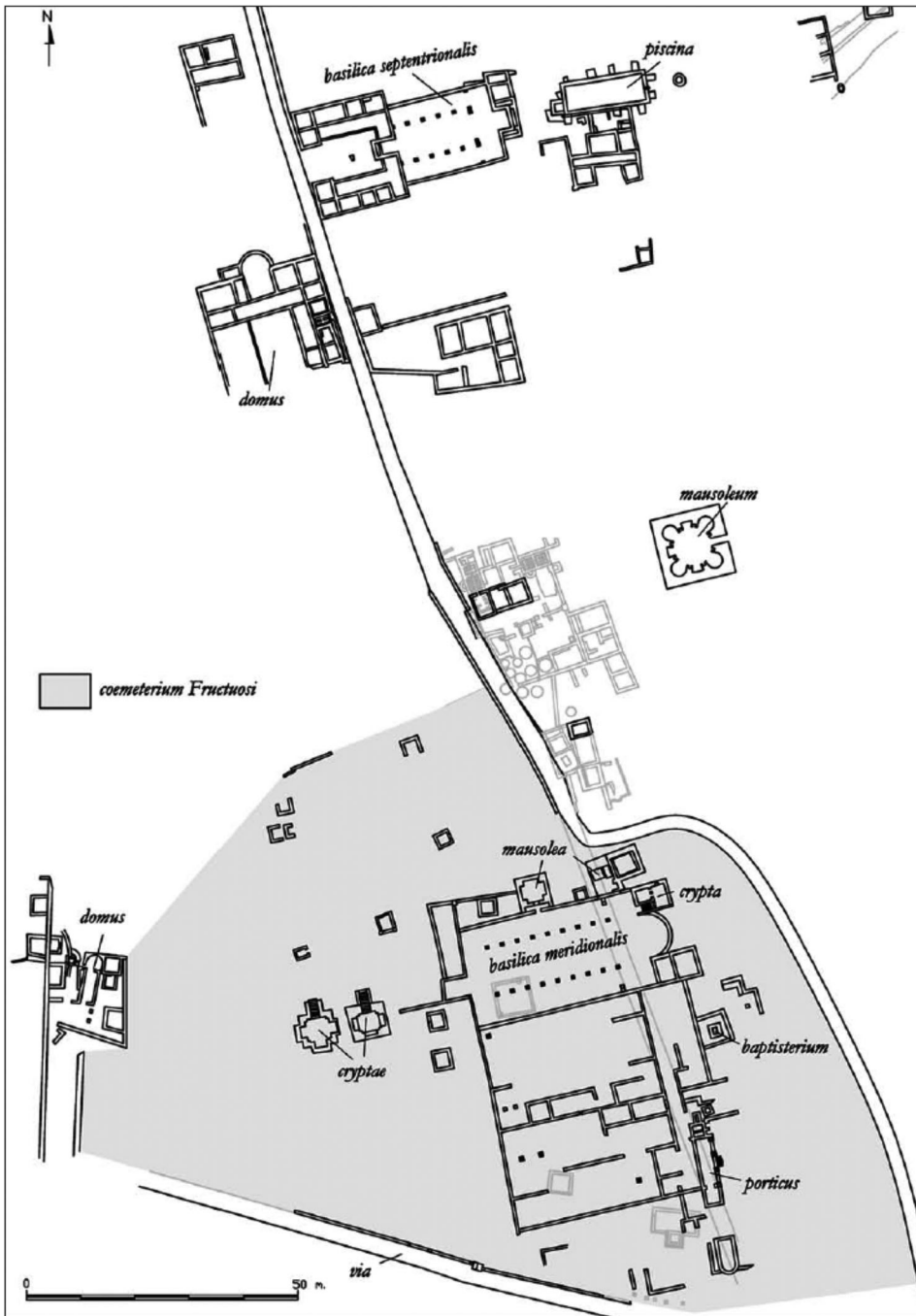


Figure 3. Basilica complex in the necropolis by the Francolí river, after Josep Maria Puche. From Jordi López Vilar, *Les basíliques paleocristianes del suburbi occidental de Tarraco. El temple septentrional i el complex martirià de Sant Fructuós*, 2 vols., Tarragona: Institut Català d'Arqueologia Clàssica, 2006, I:230. Reproduced with permission.

architectural impact of the complex is remarkable. In fact, the southern church has been proposed as a possible location for the tomb of Saint Fructuosus and his companions. In this hypothesis, they were buried here after their martyrdom in the amphitheatre, leading, eventually, to the construction of a martyr's basilica.²⁷ Two factors support this hypothesis. The first is epigraphic: "CTVOSI A" can be read on a surviving fragment of a stone slab. This may have been the *ara*, or slab for covering the relic niche, of an altar. This fragmentary inscription has been interpreted as part of the phrase "[FRV]CTVOSI A[VGVRRI ET EVLOGII]."²⁸ The second reason is topographical, relating to the burials and mausoleums that surround and open onto the naves of the basilica. All these elements are architecturally remarkable. They indicate that the basilica and its surroundings were constructed with a funerary intention, perhaps reflecting the desire to be buried close to the remains of Fructuosus and his companions, as a sort of premeditated burial *ad sanctos*.

In front of the south facade of the church there was a small baptistery, whose location here is perfectly understandable within the tradition of being baptised near saints' tombs.²⁹ Of greater interest than the baptistery itself is its position within the wider liturgical and architectural environment. The baptistery is slightly separated from the basilica, which implies that there was processional movement between them, whose route was defined by the patio found during excavations. The series of annexed structures around the patio may tell us something about the religious community linked to, or responsible for, the cult of Fructuosus. Monasticism is documented in the city from the start of the fifth century, as evidenced in Consentius' Epistle 11, which refers to a *monasterium* founded by Fronton.³⁰ In the sixth century, an epigraphic poem from Tarragona speaks of Sergium, who rebuilt a church outside the city with the intention of turning it into a monastery.³¹ Although we do not have any evidence that he is referring to the churches of the Francolí necropolis, the text attests to a dynamic monastic life around the city. Some decades later, on the north side of the complex, a second church with three naves was built and given a three-sided narthex, clearly dedicated to funerary purposes, as demonstrated by its internal organisation around numerous tombs.³²

As some authors have argued, the cathedral-like nature of the ensemble of churches of the Francolí necropolis is uncertain.³³ In fact, the martyrial model of a church outside the walls is well known in the rest of Hispania, as evidenced by those of Saint Eulalia (Mérida) and Saints Emeterius and Celedonius (Calahorra), a continuation of the

²⁷In this theory, the tomb at Francolí is identified with the marble tomb which – in poetic and rhetorical terms – was described by Prudentius in his hymn dedicated to Fructuosus and his companion martyrs in the *Peristephanon*.

²⁸Gorostidi Pi, "L'epigrafia paleocristiana de Tarraco," 43–67.

²⁹López Vilar, *Les basíliques paleocristianes*, I:205–09. On baptisms at saints' tombs, see Jensen, *Living Water*, 237–47. There is a relevant letter from Pope Siricius (r. 384–399) to Himerius of Tarragona that refers to "festivals of the martyrs" as occasion for baptism at Tarragona: *Epistulae romanorum pontificum*, Siricius, Ep. 1, c. 3; translated in Shotwell and Loomis, *The See of Peter*, 700. Our thanks to Jamie Wood for this reference.

³⁰The importance of this reference is underlined by Amengual Batle, "Manifestaciones del monacato balear," 341–60; Pérez Martínez, *Tarraco en la Antigüedad Tardía*, 156. A monastic community was similarly in charge of the martyrial space of Saint Eulalia in Mérida, see Sastre de Diego, Cordero Rúa, and Mateos Cruz, "Territorio y monacato emeritense." For a caveat that this may have referred to a hermit's cell, see Chadwick, "New Letters of Saint Augustine," 435.

³¹López Vilar, *Les basíliques paleocristianes*, I:253.

³²López Vilar, *Les basíliques paleocristianes*, I:109–201. In the years when both basilicas coexisted, we can assume that there was some kind of liturgical link through processions between the two.

³³López Vilar, *Les basíliques paleocristianes*, I:256–58.

Roman custom of extra-mural burial. In Mérida, the intramural cathedral maintained a martyrial reference point in the suburban cemetery basilica where the remains of the saint were kept.³⁴ In Calahorra, there were probably sacred spaces related to the saints both within and outside the city walls: one marking the location of the remains of Eme-terius and Celedonius, and the other marking the place of their martyrdom.³⁵

In Tarragona, the two buildings dedicated to the memory of the saints were both located outside the city: the southern church of the Francolí complex, and a basilica in the arena of the Roman amphitheatre, which had been constructed by the sixth century to mark the martyrdom of Fructuosus and his companions. The amphitheatre church created a second suburban footprint for these saints, complementing the martyrial basilica with its relics in the necropolis. The memorial in the arena where they were executed also featured a baptistery, added to its north façade somewhat later.³⁶ At some point in their history, the southern basilica of the Francolí complex and the amphitheatre were both in use. There is material evidence that the Francolí complex was in active use until the seventh century, although use of the cemetery complex had declined from the sixth century. This has led scholars to argue that the relics were translated to another place, possibly to the present-day intramural cathedral.³⁷

There are further reasons for doubting that the set of churches of the Francolí necropolis were the cathedral. While there was a generalised custom of locating martyrs' sites outside the city walls, they very rarely achieved cathedral status; such extra-mural cathedrals (as in the case of Calahorra) are a topographical singularity.³⁸ In fact, the idea that cathedrals were constructed outside city walls only became commonplace from the sixteenth century onwards, at a time when the clandestine nature of early Christianity was lamented.³⁹ In sum, the theory that the Visigothic cathedral of Tarragona was extramural is not supported by archaeological evidence beyond some isolated exceptions.

The temple area

Because the Francolí cemetery churches were partially abandoned in the sixth century, many scholars now agree that the cathedral could have been located on the site of the temple in the upper part of the city and accept that some archaeological remains from the period may support this theory.⁴⁰ The archaeologist Serra Vilaró had maintained that the cathedral was in the temple area, close to the current cathedral, relating it to the

³⁴Mateos Cruz, "El complejo cultural," 399–401.

³⁵Godoy Fernández, "Calagurris." It was much later that the Christian community of Calahorra shifted its focus to the extramural space near the Cidacos River, perhaps during Muslim rule of the city. This culminated in the construction of a cathedral there after the Christian conquest of the city in 1045, which bestowed episcopal dignity on that site.

³⁶Ciurana, Macías, Muñoz, Teixell, and Toldrà, *Amphiteatrum*; Muñoz Melgar, "La memòria de Sant Fructuós," 381–96, and "La basílica visigòtica del anfiteatro;" Bonde, "The Afterlife of the Amphitheater;" Godoy Fernández and Muñoz Melgar, "La basílica del anfiteatro," 65–74; Godoy Fernández, "Los ritos bautismales."

³⁷López Vilar, *Les basíliques paleocristianes*, I:218, 250–54.

³⁸The problem has been explained by Testini, *Archaeologia cristiana*, 93; Arbeiter, "¿Primitivas sedes episcopales?;" Charvarría, "Suburbio, iglesias y obispos."

³⁹This is the case of the ancient Roman see of Astorga, where the existence of a cathedral outside the walls, in the monastery of San Dictino, is a commonplace in traditional historiography. On the see of Astorga, Quintana Prieto, *El obispado de Astorga*, 253.

⁴⁰There is much bibliography on excavations in the temple area: Macías, Menchón Bes, Muñoz, and Teixell, "Excavaciones arqueológicas," "Excavaciones en la catedral de Tarragona," "La arqueología de la catedral de Tarragona," and "Contextos cerámicos;" Macías, Muñoz, and Teixell, "Arqueología de la nau central;" Muñoz Melgar, Teixell Navarro, Menchón Bes, and Macías Solé, "Intervencions arqueològiques."

funerary chapel of Santa Tecla la Vella in the cemetery at the eastern end of the twelfth-century cathedral.⁴¹ Decades later, Theodor Hauschild, Salvador Ramon i Vinyes and Andreu Muñoz each reaffirmed this view, emphasising the reuse of Roman architectural structures throughout the temple complex and relating it to the Visigothic archaeological material found during Muñoz's first and last excavations.⁴² At present, then, there is a certain scholarly consensus about the probable location of the cathedral on the site of the Roman temple and the Christianisation of its structure, similar to other parts of Europe. This opinion is embraced by Simon Keay and Javier Arce and, curiously, had already been proposed by the city's historian and bishop, Emilio Morera Llauredó, in the nineteenth century.⁴³ Under the rule of Constantine II (r. 337–361) it became customary to replace temples with churches, although this was not a universal practice. From the year 407, anyone, whether private citizen, emperor or municipality, was allowed to claim ownership of the ancient temples within cities, consistent with the wary imperial relationship with the previous religion. The slow transformation of religious urban topographies, in which temples were substituted by or transformed into churches, became common practice through two routes: imperial and municipal donations.⁴⁴ As in Toledo, the location of the Visigothic Tarragona cathedral within the medieval complex that is still preserved today is speculative, but it is also logical. If we accept that the cathedral was located in the temple area from an early date, partially reusing the temple's architecture and built environment (as occurred also when the late-Romanesque cathedral was constructed), we are still left with uncertainty about the nature of the cathedral complex.

In the area adjacent to the southern façade of the current medieval cathedral, there are some underappreciated remains among the buildings erected later.⁴⁵ Scholars have attempted to link these to the church of Saint Peter alluded to in OV (on which more below). There are alternative possibilities, however. Wherever the cathedral was located, there must have been an episcopal atrium, a complex space that encompassed a porticoed structure or the bishop's palace, together with spaces surrounding the cathedral in which these buildings were arranged. This hypothesis is supported by sources such as the *Lives of the Holy Fathers of Mérida* and in individual documents from other institutions.⁴⁶ It is possible that the cathedral church of Holy Jerusalem and the separate, nearby structure of which only four columns survive – along with further unidentified sacred spaces – were part of the same cathedral complex of churches, in the manner of the complex of buildings preserved at Egara/Terrassa. Certainly, ensembles of churches were a constant in the European cathedral and monastic landscape until the eleventh century.⁴⁷

⁴¹Serra Vilaró, *Santa Tecla la Vieja*. The funerary chapel has been given widely differing dates by scholars.

⁴²Hauschild, "Hallazgos de la época visigoda," and "Bronzefunde aus einem westgoten zeitlichen Grab;" Ramon i Vinyes, "Nova opinió;" Muñoz Melgar, "La qüestió arqueològica."

⁴³Morera, *Tarragona Cristiana*; Keay, "Tarraco in Late Antiquity;" Arce, "Fana, Templo." Godoy Fernández, "L'arquitectura cristiana," more cautiously avoids pronouncing on the subject by evoking the possible existence of other unknown churches in the topography of the city, which may appear in a future excavation.

⁴⁴In the East, Theodosius II's *Constitutio* of 435 determined that sanctuaries were to be replaced by churches, which was not necessary in the West. See Buenacasa Pérez, "La decadencia y cristianización;" Arce, "Fana, Templo."

⁴⁵Fortuny Mendo and Macías Solé, "¿Cuatro columnas hacen una basílica?"

⁴⁶Carrero Santamaría, *Las catedrales de Galicia*, 18–20.

⁴⁷Anglès, *La música a Catalunya*, II:21; Puig i Cadafalch, *La basílica de Tarragona*, 22; Carrero Santamaría, "La arquitectura al servicio." As documented by conciliar acts and the *Lives of the Holy Fathers*, Tarragona must also have had an Arian cathedral until the end of the sixth century.

Table 1. Carnes Tollendas Sunday rubrics in OV.

Liturgical position	Rubric	Translation
After the closing prayers of matutinum, the dawn service	ITEM COMPLETURIA POST EXPLICITAS LAUDES QUAS PSALLENDU UADUNT / USQUE AD SANCTA IHERUSALEM QUE IN SANCTO FRUCTUOSO DICENDA EST	Another completuria to be said in Saint Fructuosus after they have gone, singing the laudes, all the way to Holy Jerusalem.
After the closing prayers of second vespers, at the end of Carnes Tollendas Sunday	COMPLETURIA AD SANCTO PETRO	A completuria at Saint Peter

Holy Jerusalem and Sancto Fructuoso in the OV rubrics

How do the processional rubrics in OV illuminate our understanding of the ecclesiastical topography of Tarragona? On Carnes Tollendas Sunday, the day before the Lenten fast, two rubrics refer to movement between churches within the city of Tarragona (Table 1). Six weeks before Easter, Carnes Tollendas Sunday included an elaborate farewell to the alleluia⁴⁸ with multiple iterations of the word “alleluia,”⁴⁹ a practice evidenced both in the OV prayers and in later liturgical manuscripts. On the day when almost every chant and prayer alludes to the alleluia, these processions represented the Christianisation of the urban space: the public jubilation of the processions signaled the approaching Lenten fast to the entire city, not just to the faithful gathered in church.

Table 2. The completuria after the first Carnes Tollendas Sunday rubric in OV.

<i>Completuria</i> Laetare Iherusalem, quoniam filii tui collecti numerosae collectionis tibi personant laudes; quaesumus proinde, Deus, ut in huius sanctae Matris gremio constituti, perpetuum tibi alleluia et spiritu et mente psallamus: sicque, quod nunc in peractione matutini officii per multiplicationem laudum devote consummantes persolvimus, post nostrum obitum cum sanctis tuis omnibus tibi uberius decantemus.	<i>Completuria</i> Rejoice, O Jerusalem since your gathered sons shout out the plentiful laudes of our gathering. We beseech thee, therefore, O God, that, we who are here present in the lap of this holy Mother may sing to you an everlasting alleluia, both in spirit and in mind; and thus we render what is now devoutly finished in the performance of the morning service [matutinum] by the multiplication of laudes, after our death, let us chant to you with more gusto, with all your saints.
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Taken together, the rubrics and prayers present problems of interpretation. The first rubric refers to the singing of alleluias (“laudes”) during movement “all the way to Holy Jerusalem.” Scholars have plausibly interpreted “Holy Jerusalem” as a reference to the cathedral.⁵⁰ Consistent with this interpretation, the completuria (closing prayer, Table 2) refers to Jerusalem and to the faithful being “in the bosom of the holy mother.”⁵¹ Because cathedrals were often dedicated to the Virgin, this phrase is consistent with the rubric’s instruction to go to Holy Jerusalem (i.e., the cathedral) before the prayer, as observed by Juan Arbeloa i Rigau.⁵² If the cathedral was situated in the temple area, as seems likely (see discussion above), the procession – wherever its starting point – will have wound through the city streets to the top of the hill.

The difficulties of interpretation, however, arise with the rubric’s instruction that the completuria should be said “in Sancto Fructuoso,” once the liturgical participants have

⁴⁸The prohibition against chanting “alleluia” during Lent is attested in seventh-century Iberia. See, e.g., Fourth Council of Toledo, canon 11, *Colección canónica*, V, 199–200.

⁴⁹The parallel event in the Roman liturgy takes place three weeks earlier. On Septuagesima Sunday as the “farewell to the alleluia” (before 1969), see Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 10, 23; Pfisterer, “Italian and Gallican.”

⁵⁰On the association of cathedrals with Holy Jerusalem, see discussion above, n17.

⁵¹We thank Henry Howard for detailed discussion of the Latin of this prayer and the preceding rubric.

⁵²Arbeloa i Rigau, “Per una nova interpretació.”

Table 3. The OV completuria after the end of second vespers on Carnes Tollendas Sunday.

Completuria ad sancto petro Multimoda in laudum consummatione, tua Christe hodierni diei sollempnia peragentes, quaesumus, ut in ore nostro perfecta laus tua sine intermissione fructificet, et cum effectu mentium nostro se dilatet in pectore: ut quam nunc concinendo peregrimus, ad gloriosum resurrectionis tuae festum devotis cordibus concinamus.

Benedictio: Deus, in cuius laudibus haec sollempnia peregristis, gloriosos vos efficiat dono suae laudationis; laus quoque eius in ore nostro semper speciosa appareat, cuius gloriosa laudum hodierni festi peregristis officia: ut laus, quae nunc in consummatione officii in vestris vocibus declarata est dulcis, suavior resultet in vestris cordibus tempore resurrectionis.

Completuria at Saint Peter's: In accomplishing your many kinds of laudes, we beseech you that your praise may be perfected in our mouths, O Christ of today. Let it bear fruit without ceasing, and enlarge itself in the breast with the effect of our minds, so that, with devout hearts, we may sing together with devout hearts, for the glorious feast of Thy Resurrection, which we have now done in singing.

Benedictio: May God, in whose praise you have performed these solemnities, make you glorious by the gift of his praise; His praise also may appear in our mouths always beautiful, whose glorious praises you have performed at the present-day festival; so that the praise, which has now been declared sweet in your voice at the end of your service, will result in your hearts more sweet at the time of the Resurrection.

gone “all the way to Holy Jerusalem.”⁵³ Modern scholars have offered multiple explanations. Jordi Pinell concluded that perhaps “usque ad” was a mistake, and the scribe intended to communicate that the procession left the cathedral to go to the amphitheatre church of Saint Fructuosus outside the walls on the eastern side of the city.⁵⁴ Similarly, Miquel dels Sants Gros i Pujol suggests that the original instruction was to process to the cathedral, but that later a warning was added to the rubric, clarifying that the prayer should in fact be said at the amphitheatre church of Saint Fructuosus, where the procession would end. After this, he suggests, Mass was said (since there is no benedictio here to dismiss the faithful after the procession) and then, perhaps, they continued to the cathedral.⁵⁵ Topographically, these are both tempting hypotheses, since the amphitheatre is only about ten minutes walk downhill from the temple area. Both scholars’ conclusions, however, rely on the belief that the OV’s scribe made an uncorrected error. These arguments would also mean that the completuria after the procession, beginning “Rejoice, O Jerusalem” and continuing “we are present in the lap of the holy Mother” was not in fact said in the cathedral.

Others have read the rubric at face value, concluding that it refers to just one building, the cathedral, which must, in this interpretation, have been dedicated also to Saint Fructuosus since the prayer was to be said “in Sancto Fructuoso.”⁵⁶ Because the Francolí complex had fallen out of use well before the early eighth century, it is reasonable to hypothesise that the saint’s tomb had been moved to the cathedral by this point, and the prayer could have been said beside it.⁵⁷ It is doubtful, however, that the rubric refers to an altar dedicated to the saint, since it specifies “in” rather than “ad Sancto Fructuoso.” Could the cathedral have been dedicated to the patron saint, and therefore “in Sancto Fructuoso” referred to the cathedral itself? This would be unusual, and there is

⁵³On the positioning of this rubric at the end of matutinum, see Porter, “Studies in the Mozarabic Office,” 276; Serra Abellà, “La litúrgia de la Domenica,” 116.

⁵⁴Pinell, *Liturgia Hispánica*, 244–45.

⁵⁵Gros i Pujol, “Sant Fructuós,” 525.

⁵⁶Arbeloa i Rigau, “Per una nova interpretació,” 128. A similar interpretation is given by Serra Abellà, “La litúrgia,” 120. In the 1740s, Bianchini understood the rubric as referring to both a church of Saint Fructuosus and a church of Holy Jerusalem (quoted in Janini, “Cuaresma visigoda,” 22). Much of the rest of Bianchini’s interpretation reflects his – quite understandable – lack of comprehension of the liturgical structures to which the rubrics point. Janini, “Cuaresma visigoda,” 23, interpreted “Holy Jerusalem” as a Toledan idiom, localised to the Tarragona context through the “Sancto Fructuoso” specification.

⁵⁷Serra Abellà, “La litúrgia,” 122; Pinell, *Liturgia Hispánica*, 244–45.

no evidence of such a dedication in Tarragona. Thus, this interpretation of the rubric as alluding only to the cathedral is difficult to reconcile with the evidence.

Comparison with other late antique urban layouts allows us to offer an alternative reading of the rubric. As in other cities, there may have been a separate shrine or chapel housing the relics within the cathedral complex. If this was the case, then the procession led up to the cathedral complex (referred to as “Holy Jerusalem” and “the Holy Mother”), and ended at the chapel or shrine of Saint Fructuosus within that complex of buildings, where the prayer was said. In this scenario, the procession did not end in the amphitheatre church, nor in the main cathedral basilica, but in a smaller structure in the temple area that was still understood as being within the “Holy Jerusalem” cathedral complex.

The prayer that follows the procession after matutinum (see [Table 2](#)) provides information about the liturgical experience beyond helping to establish the procession’s destination. Referring concretely to the liturgical present, it invokes both “laudes,” multiplied at the end of the dawn service (matutinum), and alleluias. There are two different registers of praise here: shouting out (laudes) and singing (alleluias). The prayer refers to the “gathered sons,” collected together in Saint Fructuosus. If this were in the cathedral complex (Holy Jerusalem), then Christians gathered there after matutinum on Carnes Tollendas Sunday, perhaps processing from multiple other churches in the city. As they came, they shouted praises and sang alleluias. They may have arrived in a single procession, but it is also possible that multiple liturgical communities processed through the city in praise, gathering at the site of the saint’s relics in the cathedral complex for the closing prayers of the ritual.

The OV prayer “Ad sancto petro”

At second vespers on Carnes Tollendas Sunday, an OV rubric alludes to an additional church, whose identity has been the subject of considerable debate. The OV provides the usual second vespers completuria and benedictio, followed by a rubric pointing to a church or chapel of Saint Peter, where two extra prayers were said: “COMPLETURIA AD SANCTO PETRO” ([Table 3](#)). The reference to “AD SANCTO PETRO” strongly suggests a procession to a different church after the completion of second vespers on Carnes Tollendas Sunday. W.S. Porter and José Janini both interpreted these materials in conjunction with the closing of the baptismal font on Carnes Tollendas Sunday, an action mandated in the seventeenth Council of Toledo, canon 2.⁵⁸ The argument turns on a rather limited verbal parallel. The council canon mandates that the baptismal font be sealed “cum laudum consummatione.”⁵⁹ The extra prayers similarly refer to “in laudum consummatione” and “nunc in consummatione officii.” Thus, argue Porter and Janini, the prayers following second vespers, to be said “ad sancto petro,” must have followed the sealing of the baptistery. Because the textual similarity is limited and generic, we remain unconvinced by this argument.⁶⁰

We cannot be certain, in fact, whether or not a pre-Lenten episcopal sealing of the baptistery was adopted in Tarragona. Although Ildefonsus claimed that such pre-

⁵⁸Janini, “Cuaresma visigoda,” 23; Porter, “Studies,” 273.

⁵⁹Toledo XVII, canon 2. Vives, *Concilios visigóticos*, 528–29; translation in McConnell, “Baptism in Visigothic Spain,” 158–59.

⁶⁰See also the completuria following the first processional rubric on Carnes Tollendas Sunday, discussed above, where the “laudum” has also been completed, referring there to the praises (“laudum”) both within matutinum, and in the procession that follows it.

Lenten sealing was “everywhere customary,”⁶¹ the second canon of Toledo XVII – presided over by Ildefonsus himself – has been read by scholars as an aspirational mandate for bishops to seal fonts, rather than evidence that it was always done.⁶² One piece of later evidence points towards the sealing of the baptistery, at least in some locations. The tenth-century antiphoner L8 has evidence for this ritual at the end of second vespers on Carnes Tollendas Sunday (109r).⁶³ The usual psallendo (closing chant) is followed, uniquely, by a list of four antiphons without verses; antiphons without verses and psallendi are both typically processional genres.⁶⁴ All five of these chants include the word alleluia – resonating with the primary focus of Carnes Tollendas Sunday – and all five refer to journeys in various ways:

“may the Lord direct your ways”

“may I return with salvation”

“you will walk in your way”

“May God bring you ... go in peace”

“You will go, alleluia, you will have a prosperous journey, alleluia and you will return to us again, alleluia, alleluia”

Despite the lack in L8 of processional rubric at this point, the textual topics suggest that there was a procession at the end of second vespers. The five chants were followed by an unrubricated chant (109v) referring to “a sealed fountain,” with multiple water-related verses,⁶⁵ and a final alleluaticus in which “it is sealed in my treasury.”⁶⁶ As has long been recognised, these materials in L8 very likely pertain to a procession connected to the sealing of the baptistery.⁶⁷ In various ways, L8 seems to preserve archaic elements of a Toledo-specific liturgy, and these chants may be a remnant or descendant of the practice mandated and described by Ildefonsus.⁶⁸ This does not directly speak to the rite as preserved in the OV, however, which presents no direct evidence about the sealing of the font. The rubric does not refer explicitly to a baptistery,⁶⁹ and the prayers following the rubric consummate the day’s farewell to the alleluia, rather than referring to the sealing of the font.⁷⁰ Since OV preserves the closing prayers for the processions after both

⁶¹Ildefonsus, *De cognitione baptismi*; for quotations, translations and discussion, see McConnell, “Baptism in Visigothic Spain,” 98–100.

⁶²Quasten, “Die Versiegelung des Baptisteriums nach Ildefons von Toledo,” 167–73; Akeley, *Christian Initiation*, 89; McConnell, “Baptism in Visigothic Spain,” 99–100.

⁶³The texts of L8 are edited in Brou and Vives, *Antifonario visigótico mozárabe*. The older edition (*Antiphonarium mozarabicum*) omits the designations of the biblical books from which the chants are taken that appear in the margins of the manuscript, as well as the numerous corrections that were made over the course of the centuries, particularly to the psalm verses that follow many antiphons; these are included in the Brou and Vives edition. Color digital images of the manuscript are available at <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=449895>.

⁶⁴See Hornby, Andrés, Gutiérrez, and Scullin, “Processional Melodies;” Porter, “Studies,” 279.

⁶⁵Fons signatus, alleluia, paradisus plenus fructuum pomorum, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia. *VR* Vox Domini super aquas (Ps. 28:3). *VR* Sicut cervus (Ps. 41. 2). *VR* Sitivit anima (Ps. 41. 3). *VR* Flumen Dei repletum (Ps. 64. 10). *VR* Qui percussit petram (Ps. 77. 20). *VR* Qui emittit fontes (Ps. 103:10). *VR* Qui convertit petram (Ps. 113:8).

⁶⁶Alleluia, haec dicit Dominus: signata est in thesauris meis alleluia, in illa die restituum vobis alleluia, alleluia. Gloria et honor. *VR* Laudate Dominum omnes. (“Alleluia, thus saith the Lord: it is sealed in my treasury alleluia, in that day I will restore to you alleluia, alleluia. Glory and honor.”)

⁶⁷See Porter, “Studies,” 276; Gros i Pujol, “Sant Fructuós,” 526.

⁶⁸On archaic Toledo elements in L8 and the procession to the tomb of Leocadia, see Iñat, “Singing to the Tomb” (in this issue). Note also in L8 the addition by a later hand of an antiphon AD PUGNAM, for the ritual when a king departs for war. This ritual is fully preserved in Santo Domingo de Silos, MS 4; Collins, “Continuity and Loss,” has argued that it reflects a seventh-century Toledan practice.

⁶⁹In any case, it would be more usual for a baptistery to be dedicated to Saint John the Baptist rather than to Saint Peter.

⁷⁰Porter, “Studies,” 277–78, conflates the chants at the end of second vespers in L8 with the two extra prayers AD SANCTO PETRO in OV, claiming that “there can be little doubt that these prayers of OV belong, if not to the actual rite in AL, at least

matutinum and second vespers, one might expect it also to have contained prayers for the closing of the baptistery, if such a ceremony were in use in Tarragona.⁷¹ OV is thus silent on the question of whether the sealing of the baptistery occurred in Visigothic Tarragona; we summarise the possibilities in Figure 4.

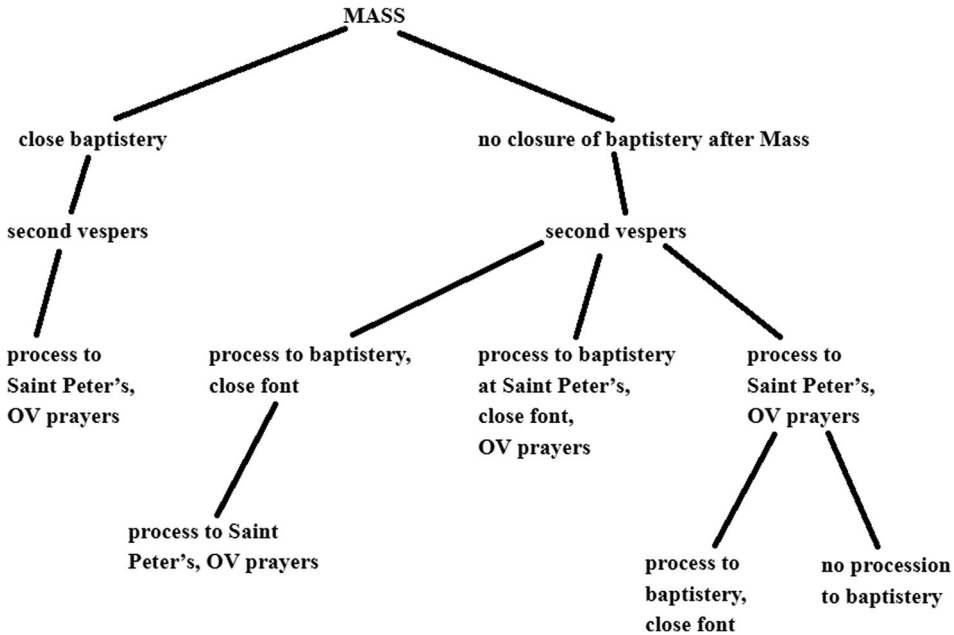


Figure 4. Possible orders of events after the Mass on Carnes Tollendas Sunday in Visigothic Tarragona.

The prayer following the procession to Saint Peter's looks forward to the return of "alleluia" at Easter, asking that on that day "we may sing together that which we have now done in singing." This prayer addresses singers, and their praises (laudum) on Carnes Tollendas Sunday are identified as collective, vocal ("in our mouths," "in your voice(s)"), and sweet ("dulcis"). The prayer thus appears to be spoken on behalf of singers at the end of the day, almost like a vestry prayer.

The mention of Saint Peter's in the rubric for second vespers has led scholars to hypothesize about the location of Saint Peter's and what sort of institution it might have been. As noted above, some have linked the name to some columns in the temple area, while others have seen it as being the baptistery associated with the cathedral.⁷² Arbeloa i Rigau argues that the rubric must point to the concluding location of the Carnes Tollendas Sunday liturgy and, as such, Saint Peter's was the home institution for OV, either a monastery

to some very similar rite, and that this was already in use before 694, the year of the seventeenth Council of Toledo." Serra Abellà, "La litúrgia," 121, acknowledges that there is no mention of the baptistery in the rubric or the prayer, but says that there can be no other explanation of its presence. Yet he also observes that the closing of the baptistery happened the previous Sunday, following Janeras, "Elements orientals," 122. Gros i Pujol, "Sant Fructuós," 525, invokes OV as evidence that the ceremony for closing the baptistery must have been in place in Tarragona by ca. 700.

⁷¹As a point of comparison, OV includes prayers for various Holy Week ceremonies that are not part of the regular office, for example, the orations after the Good Friday indulgences (items 836–837); blessing of the candle on Holy Saturday (items 842–844); and orations and collects around the Easter Vigil readings (items 845–866).

⁷²Porter, "Studies," 279.

or an urban church.⁷³ Gros i Pujol, by contrast, has interpreted the rubric as pertaining to a station on the processional route, with the procession then continuing on to the baptistry and then to the (unnamed) home institution.⁷⁴ In Toledo, the church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul was closely associated with royalty. It is at least possible that Tarragona imitated this, and that Saint Peter's was the church of the highest ranking city official.⁷⁵

One untapped piece of evidence sheds some light on the type of institution for which the OV was written. It seems implausible that it was made for the cathedral, since the procession at the end of matutinum on Carnes Tollendas Sunday took the liturgical participants all the way up to the cathedral complex (presumably not having started there), and the procession at the end of second vespers took them to Saint Peter's. As noted, Arbeloa i Rigau considers Saint Peter's to have been the home church, and Gros i Pujol thinks that a further (unnamed) church was the OV's home institution. If it is true that the OV was written for an institution other than the cathedral, then we can infer some aspects of that institution's character. The OV contains a set of rubrics that specify liturgical movement within the church at the Easter Vigil. This sequence of rubrics signals liturgical movement first to the sacristy, and then to the space in front of the altar.⁷⁶ It is already clear that OV was written for a church that had a full public liturgy requiring clerics and perhaps monks as well; from these Easter Vigil rubrics, we can also confirm that the church had formally separated liturgical spaces, and that it was an institution in which the paschal candle was blessed and lit.⁷⁷ This tells us that in addition to the cathedral, Tarragona had at least one other church that was a fully developed ecclesiastical institution, not just a devotional or martyrial shrine.

Although the OV does not allow for firm conclusions about the nature of Saint Peter's, it does provide evidence for the veneration of Saint Peter in Visigothic Tarragona. In addition to a combined feast for Saints Peter and Paul (29 June), OV is one of the early witnesses to the 22 February feast of Saint Peter's Chair, in which the saint is characterized as the foundation of the Roman church, the rock and the holder of the keys. This feast is much less common in early Franco-Roman manuscripts,⁷⁸ although it does appear in some early manuscripts preserving Gallican liturgies.⁷⁹ Early western liturgical traditions tended to have separate feasts for Saint Peter and Saint Paul,⁸⁰ with the combined 29 June feast emerging only later. Much of OV's combined feast for the two saints is lost in a lacuna. The closing matutinum completuria

⁷³Arbeloa i Rigau, "Per una nova interpretació," 130.

⁷⁴Gros i Pujol, "Sant Fructuós," 526.

⁷⁵Toledo had three major churches: the cathedral (Holy Jerusalem, dedicated to the Virgin Mary), the palatine church of Saints Peter and Paul, and the martyrial church of Saint Leocadia. A Byzantine model for the Toledan three-church arrangement has been suggested by Palol i Salellas, "Resultados de las excavaciones," 787–832; Velázquez and Ripoll López, "Toletum, la construcción de una urbs regia," 559. For an alternative interpretation of the Toledan layout as following a Roman model, see Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir*, 233–35.

⁷⁶"ad benedicendam lucernam in sacratio dicitur" (f. 96v; Vives, *Oracional visigótico*, item 839); "ad benedicendum cereum in sacratio similiter dicitur" (f. 96v; Vives, *Oracional visigótico*, item 841); "post lumen levatum ante altare dicitur" (f. 97r; Vives, *Oracional visigótico*, item 842); "post benedictionem lucerne ante altare similiter dicitur" (f. 97r; Vives, *Oracional visigótico*, item 843); "post benedictionem cerei ante altare dicitur" (f. 97v; Vives, *Oracional visigótico*, item 844).

⁷⁷For the suggestion with which we do not agree, that there may have been a church dedicated to Saint Hippolytus in Visigothic Tarragona based on a letter from Eugenius II of Toledo to Protasius, bishop of Tarragona (637–646), which concerned the provision of liturgical materials for the feast of Saint Hippolytus, see Godoy Fernández and Gros i Pujol, "L'Oracional de Verona;" Gros i Pujol, "Sant Fructuós." Office prayers for Hippolytus do indeed survive in OV (122v–123r).

⁷⁸It is not present in the early Franco-Roman mass chant books or the first layer of sources of the Hadrianum/Gregorian sacramentary tradition, although it is present in the eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries, and the so-called "mixed" sacramentaries. Our thanks to Daniel DiCenso for his advice on this question.

⁷⁹The *Missale Gothicum*, dated 690–710. See the recent translation in Rose, *The Gothic Missal*, 16. There are also materials for this saint in the Luxeuil lectionary and Bobbio Missal. See Lowe, *The Bobbio Missal*, 35–37; Salmon, *Le lectionnaire de Luxeuil*.

⁸⁰As, for example, in the early Franco-Roman mass chant books and the eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries.

and *benedictio* describe Peter as a preacher, a crucified martyr and victorious over Simon Magus. The single preserved OV matutinum missa prayer is followed by four extra “*alia*” prayers for Saint Peter and five for Saint Paul.⁸¹ These may be the remnants of matutinum missa prayers for separate feasts for each saint. As with the Chair of Saint Peter, the individual Saint Peter *alia* prayers focus on his role as leader of the western church: the rock, the keys, and the binding and loosing of sins.⁸² Thus, while we cannot precisely locate the church of Saint Peter in Visigothic Tarragona, we can confirm the thematic focus of his cult, which sought to connect Visigothic Iberia with Rome as the foundation of western Christendom.⁸³

Processional chants on *Carnes Tollendas* Sunday in Visigothic Tarragona

The OV rubrics and their prayers offer hints about the musical content of the *Carnes Tollendas* Sunday processions. Two key words require exploration here: “*psallendo*” and “*laudes*.” A “*psallendo*” can be an Old Hispanic chant genre sung at the end of vespers or matutinum, and at first sight it is tempting to think that the first rubric might refer to this genre.⁸⁴ The rubric’s grammar, however, does not permit this interpretation, because “*quas psallendo*” must mean “which they sing.” The word “*laudes*” recurs several times in the prayers as well as in the first rubric, mostly implying singing, although there is one reference to *laudes* being shouted out. While some have interpreted the reference to “*laudes*” as the morning office of lauds, this Roman terminology is inconsistent with Old Hispanic terminology. The Old Hispanic liturgy did not have an office called “*laudes*,” and Visigothic authors never refer to its nearest Old Hispanic equivalent, matutinum, as “*laudes*.”⁸⁵ Rather, “*laudes*” is used by Isidore to refer to general praise, to “*alleluia*,” or to praise beyond words.⁸⁶ In the later Old Hispanic liturgical manuscripts, “*laudes*” refers either to a sung “*alleluia*,” or to certain chant genres that incorporate “*alleluia*.”⁸⁷

There are four kinds of “*laudes*” in the OV rubrics, which may have different interpretations. Matutinum on *Carnes Tollendas* Sunday included the multiplication of *laudes* (see Table 2). The procession at the end of matutinum included *laudes*, both sung (see Table 1) and shouted (see Table 2). Finally, after second vespers, the prayers confirm that many kinds of *laudes* had been completed (see Table 3). In what follows,

⁸¹ A missa comprises antiphon+prayer, antiphon+prayer, alleluaticus+prayer and a responsory (sometimes followed by a prayer). There are added incipits for many of these chant texts in the OV. The chants and prayers are very often closely linked textually and thematically. Thus, when the chant incipits are not present, it is still almost always possible to surmise which chant was used, by comparison with later chant manuscripts.

⁸² The rest of the Peter and Paul liturgy, lost in a lacuna in OV, refers to Peter as leader, martyr (by the cross), preacher, miracle worker, teacher, first of the apostles. Our thanks to Isaac Johnson, who has investigated the Old Hispanic Saints Peter and Paul liturgy. As Johnson, “Iberian Prayer and Roman Power,” suggested, the “*alia*” prayers for Peter are more Roman in character than those for the combined feast, suggesting possible links to Rome for this earlier layer of the liturgy. Johnson, “Iberian Prayer and Roman Power: Text and Melody in the Old Hispanic Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul,” unpublished paper presented at the 2022 meeting of the American Musicological Society, New Orleans.

⁸³ On the relationship between Rome and Visigothic Iberia, see Deswarte, *Une Chrétienté romaine sans pape*.

⁸⁴ “*Psallendo*” is interpreted as referring to the liturgical genre in Serra Abellà, “La litúrgia,” 119.

⁸⁵ This Roman terminology is conflated with the OV rubric in Arbeloa i Rigau, “Per una nova interpretació,” 129.

⁸⁶ Isidore, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, 1.XIII.1. “‘*Laudes*,’ that is, the *alleluia*.” On the connection between “*laudes*,” *alleluias* and *jubilatio*, see Hornby, “Musical Values and Practice,” 627–28.

⁸⁷ On these genres, see Hornby, Ihnat, Maloy, and Rojo Carrillo, *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*. Most Old Hispanic liturgical manuscripts belong to a branch known as Tradition A. Three manuscripts from thirteenth- to fourteenth-century Toledo preserve a distinct liturgical tradition, labelled Tradition B by modern scholars. There are differences in liturgical genres and placement, the precise texts chosen for particular occasions, and significant differences in their melodies. These are the manuscripts that refer to chants at the end of matutinum and vespers as “*laudes*,” where the earlier manuscripts refer to “*psallendi*.” For a detailed examination of the relationship between the traditions among certain Lenten genres, see Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning*.

we explore the likeliest interpretations of each of these “laudes” in the OV rubric and prayers, and their possible parallels in later manuscripts.

Matutinum on Carnes Tollendas Sunday

The OV indicates that some “laudes” were sung during the procession after matutinum. Either these chants belong to the “laudes” genre that is preserved in later manuscripts, or the rubric refers more generally to alleluiaic processional chants that are no longer extant. We explore two direct parallels in later manuscripts, although neither can be adduced with certainty as descending from the practice of seventh-century Tarragona.

Gros i Pujol has recently suggested that the processional “laudes” signaled by the OV rubric after matutinum on Carnes Tollendas Sunday are related to some chants preserved in L8 (107r-v). Near the end of Carnes Tollendas Sunday matutinum, L8 has an intriguing set of six alleluiaic chants (rubricated “laudes”), each with two or more sections (Figure 5(a,b)).⁸⁸ Gros i Pujol has proposed that these are processional chants, and that they may have been the chants sung during the procession at the end of matutinum on Carnes Tollendas Sunday to which OV points. He acknowledges that OV does not specify the chants to be sung, that L8 has no rubric showing that these chants were sung processionally, and that we cannot tell what sort of primitive Toledan archetype – if any – might be a shared ancestor of both.

Indeed, the potential connection between these L8 chants and the OV rubric does not bear closer scrutiny. The L8 materials must instead be interpreted in the context of the matutinum service, where a chant called the laudes was routinely sung near the end of matutinum, consisting of some or all of psalms 148–150.⁸⁹ The musical and textual characteristics of the laudes vary widely. In some cases, a single antiphon is drawn from the opening verse of one of the three psalms, together with cues signaling repetitions after the verses and doxology. At the other extreme, an antiphon is followed by an entire psalm, written out for recitation. Sometimes the matutinum laudes have a responsorial structure with elaborate melismatic melodies, and this is the form that we find on Carnes Tollendas Sunday. L8, in fact, preserves the first four verses of Psalm 148 divided into five segments, each followed by one or more alleluias. After a new decorated capital, L8 then has the first verse of Psalm 149, again followed by an alleluia. There are no verses here (they would be rubricated V). Instead, the alleluias are sections of solo chants (rubricated II and II, like the sections of *soni* and *sacrificia*).⁹⁰ Thus, these are not six processional laudes antiphons with verses, as Gros i Pujol has characterised them. Instead, they are a particularly elaborate version of the matutinum laudes, expanding the daily worship of psalms 148–150 with multiple outbursts of alleluiaic praise, on the day that celebrates the alleluia. As such, they were followed by the hymn and *completuria-pater-benedictio* set that ended matutinum; they were not themselves part of a procession after matutinum.⁹¹ Thus, the OV processional rubric after matutinum is a red herring

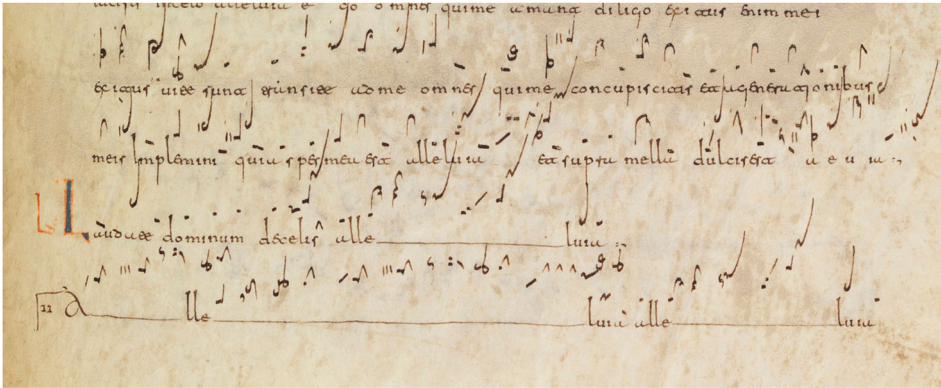
⁸⁸Gros i Pujol, “Sant Fructuós,” 525.

⁸⁹This part of matutinum mirrors the Roman lauds service.

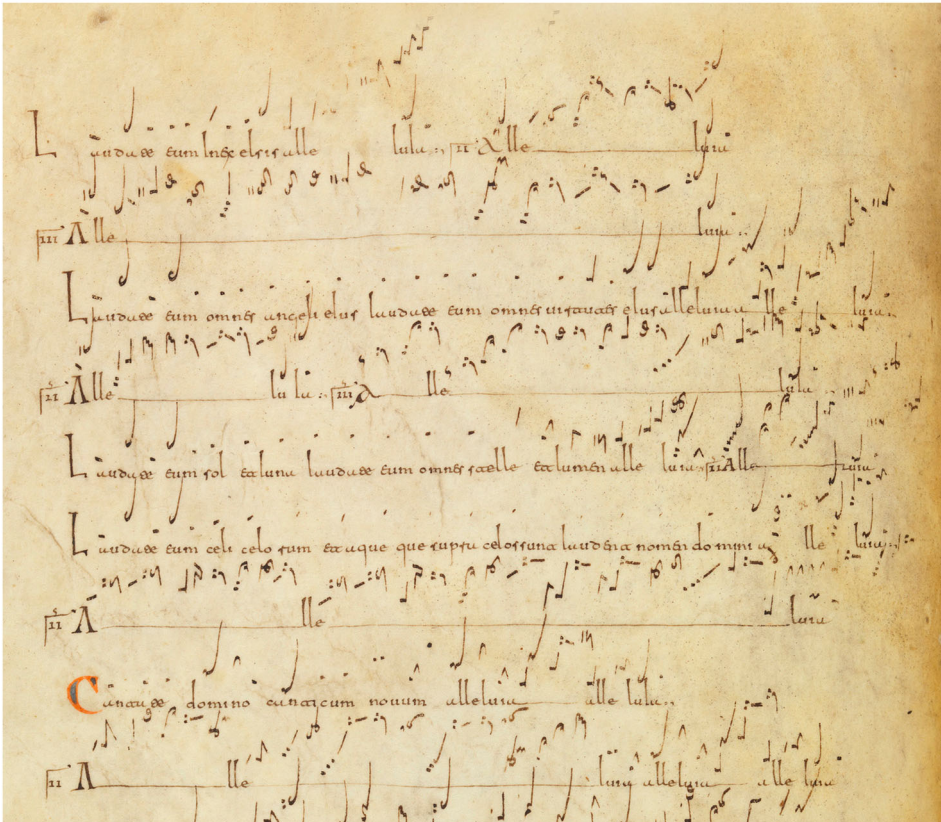
⁹⁰For detailed discussion of different types of matutinum laudes, see Hornby, Ilnat, Maloy, and Rojo Carillo, *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, 98–104, on *soni* 117–19. On *sacrificia* formal structures, see Maloy, *Songs of Sacrifice*, 105–07.

⁹¹The hymn is not explicitly present in L8 at this point; this is not unusual, since the vespers hymn was often repeated at matutinum. The *completuria-pater-benedictio* set never appears in L8 because the manuscript is an antiphoner, and does not usually include prayers.

when we try to understand these chants in L8. They might, however, be a tenth-century reflection of the “multiplication of laudes” within matutinum, alluded to in the OV prayer that followed the procession after matutinum in eighth-century Tarragona.



(a)



(b)

Figure 5. (a) Beginning of matutinum laudes chants for Carnes Tollendas Sunday in León cathedral, MS 8 (L8), 107r. Reproduced with permission. (b) End of matutinum laudes chants for Carnes Tollendas Sunday in León cathedral MS 8 (L8), 107v. Reproduced with permission.

The OV's processional laudes after matutinum on Carnes Tollendas Sunday may have a descendant in a different body of Old Hispanic evidence. The Old Hispanic Tradition B (preserved, as noted above, only in thirteenth- to fourteenth-century Toledan manuscripts) ends vespers and matutinum with a chant genre called "laudes," which probably functioned recessionally.⁹² The OV's Carnes Tollendas processional rubric may allude to chants of this genre. In fact, there is an intriguing parallel in Toledo Cathedral. MS 35-5 (hereafter T5), a thirteenth-century Tradition B manuscript. T5 and OV have the same Carnes Tollendas Sunday matutinum completuria (just before the processional rubric in OV). In T5, this completuria is followed by a short incipit for a laudes, *Ibis alleluia*, in exactly the same liturgical position as the (unnamed) processional laudes in OV (Figure 6). Might this be the kind of chant sung in seventh-century Tarragona, or even the same chant itself? Perhaps, but we would caution against drawing any direct parallel. While the shared completuria establishes some level of equivalence between the liturgical practices, Tradition B has different liturgical structures from the OV and often has different texts for chants and prayers.⁹³ There is no processional rubric in T5, unlike OV, and T5 lacks the prayers that follow OV's rubric. Further, only the first two words of *Ibis alleluia* are given in T5, with just ten notes across six syllables. It would be unwise to extrapolate from this incipit to make hypotheses about the precise musical or textual characteristics of processional chants in a city in a different region of Iberia, almost six hundred years earlier.⁹⁴ In general, Old Hispanic processional chants vary widely in their text lengths and degree of musical elaboration.⁹⁵ The chants used in Tarragona may have been on a completely different scale from *Ibis alleluia*. We thus cannot extrapolate further information about the textual or musical characteristics of the OV laudes from the terminological parallel in Tradition B, or from an abstract idea of some standard format and length of Old Hispanic processional chants.

Second vespers on Carnes Tollendas Sunday

As noted above, the OV prayer at the end of second vespers refers to "many kinds of laudes" that have been accomplished ("Multimoda in laudum consummatione"). This may refer generally to the prominent singing of alleluia across all of Carnes Tollendas Sunday, rather than specifically to laudes chants sung immediately before the prayer. Once again, though, T5 offers a possible descendant of this precise liturgical moment (Figure 7).⁹⁶ T5 and OV share the same completuria and benedictio at the end of

⁹²This is the Tradition B equivalent to the psallendo of Tradition A.

⁹³T5 belongs to liturgical Tradition B, while OV belongs to liturgical Tradition A. The most noticeable structural difference here is that Tradition B manuscripts lack a benedictio prayer at the end of matutinum. On such structural differences between Traditions A and B, see Hornby, Ilnat, Maloy, and Rojo Carillo, *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, Chapter 5. The shared prayer is *Alleluia nomen quod* (T5, 2r).

⁹⁴L8 has a possibly processional chant at the end of second vespers on Carnes Tollendas Sunday, with the text "Ibis alleluia, prosperum iter habebis alleluia, et iterum revertaris ad nos, alleluia, alleluia" ("You will go, alleluia, you will have a prosperous journey, alleluia, and you will return to us again, alleluia, alleluia"). While this shares an incipit with the T5 chant, the T5 and L8 melodies are entirely different, and the chants are placed in different liturgical contexts. There is no shared tradition here from which one can extrapolate to a putative seventh-century Tarragonese practice.

⁹⁵See Hornby, Andrés, Gutiérrez, and Scullin, "Processional Melodies."

⁹⁶As discussed above, L8 has processional chants for the closing of the baptistery at the end of this second vespers, although the lack of evidence in OV for such a ritual prevents us from drawing a direct parallel.

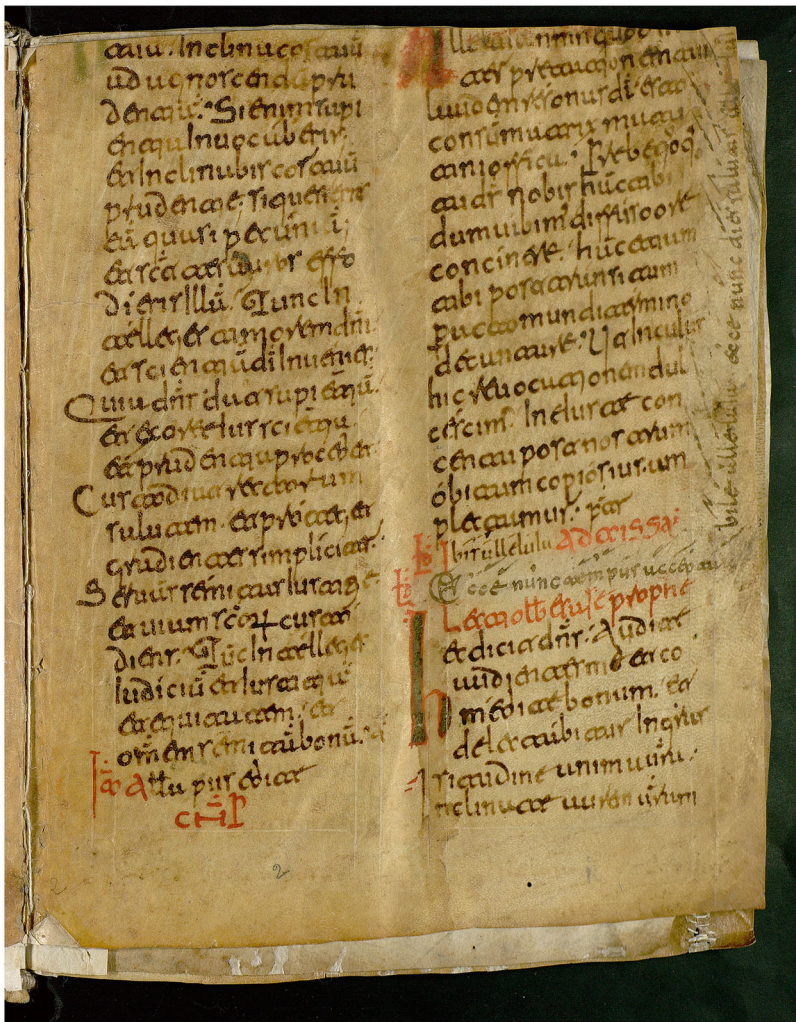


Figure 6. Toledo Cathedral, MS 35-5 (T5), 2r, including matutinum closing laudes *Ibis alleluia* for Carnes Tollendas Sunday. Reproduced with permission.

second vespers (in OV, just before the “completuria ad sancto petro” rubric).⁹⁷ Although T5 lacks a processional rubric after the benedictio, it does follow the benedictio with two chants: a laudes with a travel-related text,⁹⁸ and a preces that asks the Lord for mercy, blessings and peace.⁹⁹ Preces chants often have memorable abecedary texts (as here) and simple refrains that may have been sung congregationally.¹⁰⁰ The preces is followed

⁹⁷T5, 5r-v.

⁹⁸“Angelus Domini bonus comitetur tecum, alleluia, et omnia bona preparat itineri tuo, et iterum cum gaudio revertaris ad nos alleluia.” (“The good angel of God doth accompany you, alleluia and doth prepare all things well for your journey, and you shall travel with joy, returning to us alleluia.”) The Tradition B laudes is the equivalent of a Tradition A psallendo.

⁹⁹“Averte domine iram tuam a nobis. Adsit nobis potentia tua domine. Benedic domine hereditatem tuam. Concede pacem eglesie tue domine. Averte ...” (“Turn away, O Lord, your wrath from us. May your power be present with us, Lord. Bless, Lord, your heritage. Grant peace to your church, Lord. Turn away ...”)

¹⁰⁰On the popular tone of the genre, see Gutiérrez, “Avatares de un repertorio marginal.”

by the incipit for a prayer “Exaudi orationem,” with a similar function to the prayers “ad sancto petro” in OV. Although we would not claim that either of these specific chants were used on Carnes Tollendas Sunday in Visigothic Tarragona, they give us a flavour of possible chant types for this liturgical moment: not only chants sung by specialist

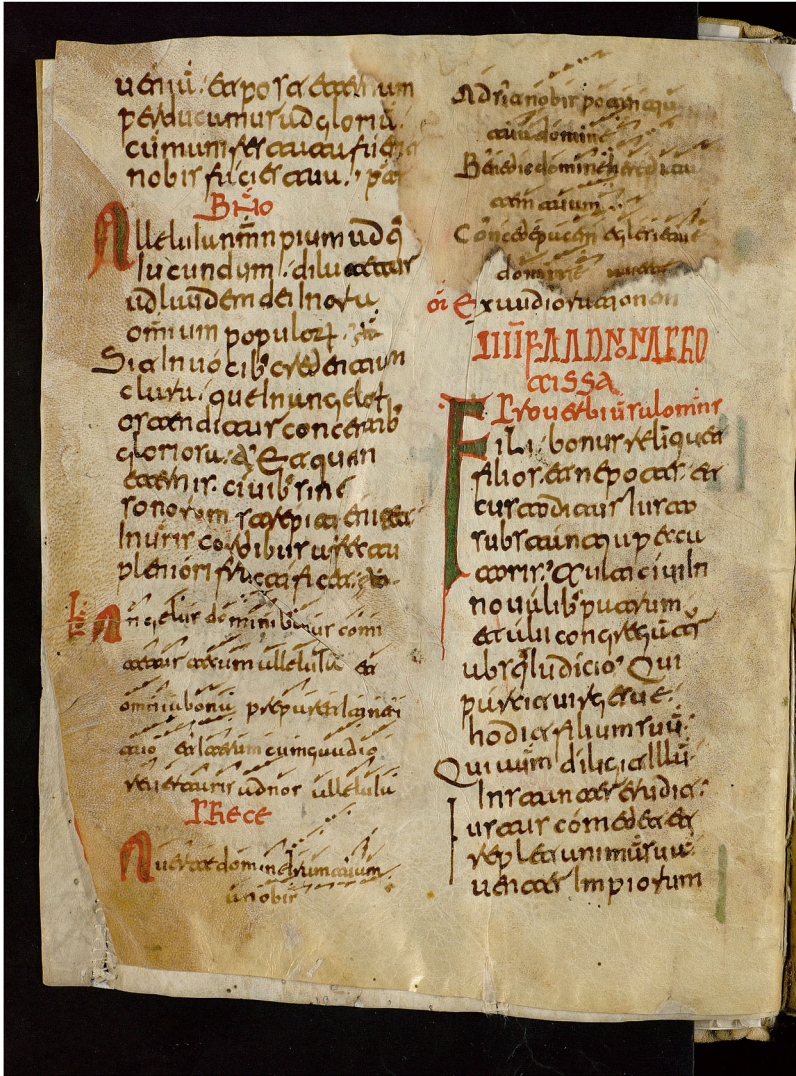


Figure 7. Toledo Cathedral, MS 35-5 (T5), 5v, closing elements of second vespers on Carnes Tollendas Sunday, benedictio, laudes and preces. Reproduced with permission.

singers but also chants with a congregational element.¹⁰¹

To summarize, the OV gives no clear indications of what was sung during the Carnes Tollendas Sunday processions. The preserved materials in later manuscripts may be

¹⁰¹On palaeographic evidence suggesting that the psallendo may have been a solo genre, at least by the eleventh century, see Hornby, Jones and Wride, “Scribal Identity and Scribal Roles.”

descendants of the practice reflected in the OV, or equivalent repertoire in the same liturgical positions. It is certainly intriguing that the later manuscripts preserve both simple congregational chants (perhaps with shouts of praise?) and more complex chants sung by specialist singers. Yet we cannot be sure that there was any direct line of descent in the processional chants sung at these liturgical moments.

Limitations of the research

The rubrics in the OV preserve only a partial record of a complex liturgical celebration whose limited allusions to the architectural context were intended to be read by people who already knew the buildings, institutions, musical practices and topography. Thus, dangers of over-interpretation and mis-interpretation remain. The first rubric, for example, indicates that Saint Fructuosus and Holy Jerusalem were in some way identified, but they do not tell us that the cathedral was in the suburban Francolí complex, nor that it was dedicated to Fructuosus. Instead, Saint Fructuosus may well have been a chapel or shrine within a larger cathedral complex of buildings in the temple area. The second rubric identifies Saint Peter's as a Tarragona church, but does not speak to whether Saint Peter's was the baptistery, or even to whether the cathedral baptistery was closed on Carnes Tollendas Sunday in Visigothic Tarragona. Saint Peter's may indeed have been the home institution of the OV but, if so, we do not know whether it also was part of the cathedral complex or whether it was located elsewhere in Tarragona. The liturgical clues themselves are best interpreted using detailed knowledge of the sequence of liturgical items in Old Hispanic matinum and vespers. For example, the "laudes" referred to in the OV may be alleluia-tic chants, general praises, or even chants belonging to specific genres, but they are certainly not a service of "lauds." These laudes may relate to the chants preserved in the same liturgical position in the later L8 and T5, but we cannot be certain that there was continuity in these liturgical texts and/or melodies over hundreds of years and a dispersed geography. The rubrics themselves, moreover, do not provide information beyond the words on the page, nor do they speak to the size and demographics of Tarragona's Christian community. They do not specify who was processing, whether monks, clerics, or laity, nor do they explicitly confirm whether the laity normally worshipped in the cathedral or at a different church. What the rubrics do offer is a spatial context in which to envision how liturgy ushered in the beginning of Lent for at least some of Tarragona's residents. Albeit partial and ambiguous, such information is so rare that it is worth interrogating closely enough to glean its full implications.

Conclusion

The OV, copied two hundred years before any other Old Hispanic manuscript, is typically studied without reference to its Tarragonese origin, with its great age giving it an almost mythical and universal status as a witness to the Old Hispanic rite. Our work, however, signals the value of approaching the OV as a specifically Tarragonese manuscript. It was important to the compilers of the OV to place certain ceremonies squarely in the urban space of Tarragona. Although liturgical and textual continuities

between the OV and later Old Hispanic manuscripts are well understood, it may be fruitful to re-interpret further OV texts within the cultural context of late antique Tarragona.

The rubrics of the OV, among the earliest surviving processional rubrics in the western liturgies, furnish us with tantalizing information about early medieval liturgical practice, attesting to the visible and audible Christianisation of a late antique city. On Carnes Tollendas Sunday, the community that used the OV processed to the cathedral complex, almost certainly located at the temple site on the hill, singing alleluias and shouting laudes. After second vespers, they processed (back?) to Saint Peter's for prayers concluding the Carnes Tollendas Sunday farewell to the alleluia. These rubrics in the OV provide an illustrative example of public Christian activities, beyond ecclesiastical buildings, in a ritual that signaled the start of Lent to the broader community. Our revisiting of the OV's processional rubrics exemplifies how scholars can use archeological and liturgical evidence in tandem to better understand liturgical experience in a late antique city. Although the uncertainties surrounding the topography of early Christian Tarragona prevent us from securely overlaying the OV liturgy onto a ground plan of the Visigothic city and its churches, these rubrics offer a rare witness to the sonic and spatial experience of pre-Lenten celebrations in a Visigothic urban environment. Such activities must have been echoed in other Visigothic cities, adapted to local topography and circumstances.

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