

X.—The Mozarabic Hymnal

RUTH ELLIS MESSENGER

HUNTER COLLEGE

This study offers a description and analysis of the Latin hymns used in medieval Spain before 1085. Characteristic usage is emphasized and the reflection of contemporary literary traditions and religious interests is shown in order to bring the Hymnal into its historical perspective. The study is based upon *Hymnodia Gotica, Die Mozarabischen Hymnen des alt-spanischen Ritus*, edited by Clemens Blume, S.J. in the 27th volume of the *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* (Leipzig, 1897).

"Spain," says a noted historian of the Spanish Church, "the land of bees and candles, is also the land of hymns."¹ Yet little attention has been given to this field by scholars, lay or clerical. The larger and more important aspects of the Mozarabic Rite have claimed their interest while the hymnody has been neglected, except for editorial comment. It would be presumptuous and quite unnecessary to discuss these larger questions here or to introduce the subject of the Mozarabic liturgy of the mass which lies entirely without the scope of this paper.²

Mozarabic is a term applied to the Christian inhabitants of Spain under Moslem rule and also to the rites of the Christian Church prevailing throughout the Visigothic and Moslem periods to the year 1089 when the Roman Rite finally replaced them.

In the sixteenth century after 400 years of obscurity the Mozarabic service books were brought to light and published under the editorship of Alphonzo Ortiz by command of Cardinal Ximenes, the mighty reformer and distinguished humanist of the Spanish Church.³ Papal sanction was given to this enterprise which resulted in the restoration of the services in the Mozarabic Chapel of the Cathedral of Toledo. Again, in the eighteenth century

¹ Dom P. B. Gams, *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien* (Regensburg, 1862-1879, 5 vols. in 3) 2^a.192. "Wie Spanien das Land der Bienen und der Kerzen, so ist es auch das Land der Hymnen."

² Comprehensive articles on this subject with bibliographies are available as follows: H. Jenner, "Mozarabic Rite," *Cath. Enc.* 9.611-623; F. Cabrol, "Mozarabe (Liturgie)," *Dict. de Théol. Cath.* 10.2518-2543; F. Cabrol, "Mozarabe (La Liturgie)," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et la Liturgie* 12^a.390-491.

³ Alphonzo Ortiz, *Missale mixtum etc.* (Toledo, 1500); *Breviarium etc.* (Toledo, 1502).

with papal approval new editions appeared, namely Alexander Lesley's *Missale mixtum* and Lorenzana's *Missa Gothicum* and *Breviarium Gothicum*, later reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*.⁴ Other scholars, especially of the Benedictine Order, were active in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and in the present century the work has been successfully continued.⁵

A closer examination of Mozarabic hymn sources must supplement this hasty sketch of the more inclusive editions of the service books. In the introduction of the 27th volume of the *Analecta Hymnica* Blume reviews the progress made in editing the Mozarabic hymns from the time of Ortiz to his own. Setting aside previous research, he went back to original hymn sources, seeking in the extant manuscripts from Madrid, Toledo, Silos, and elsewhere hymn texts for collation. The total number of hymns in all sources was found to be 312, which Blume listed by manuscripts and alphabetically as a whole. Of these he has edited 210 hymns which he names Mozarabic. Twenty-five hymns are edited for the first time.⁶ It becomes apparent that Blume's edition supersedes all previous ones and remains the standard today. The Spanish scholar, Dom J. Perez de Urbel, has since published a series of articles on Mozarabic hymns devoted chiefly to problems of history, dating, and authorship. He has commented briefly on some seventy-five hymns with very original suggestions based upon internal evidence.⁷

The collection as a whole is made up of two parts, (1) hymns written expressly for liturgical purposes by Mozarabic authors and (2) hymns derived from the works of Prudentius or borrowed from some other source, and those written for festivals established after 1089. The presence of the second group of borrowed hymns in the

⁴ A. Lesley, S.J., *Missale mixtum* (Rome, 1775) = *Liturgica mozarabica secundum regulam beati Isidori, pars prior*, Migne, PL 85 (Paris, 1850); A. Lorenzana, *Breviarium gothicum* (Madrid, 1775) = *Liturgica mozarabica, pars posterior*, Migne, PL 86 (Paris, 1850).

⁵ Among others, Dom G. Morin, *Liber comicus* in *Anecdota Maredsolana* 1 (Maredsous, 1893); J. Bianchini, *Orationale Gothicum* in J. Pinius, *Liturgica antiqua Hispanica* 2 (Rome, 1746); Dom M. Férotin, *Liber ordinum* and *Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum* in *Monumenta ecclesiae liturgica* 5, 6 (Paris, 1904, 1912); *Antiphonarium mozarabicum de la catedral de Leon, editado por los Padres benedictines de Silos* (Leon, 1928).

⁶ G. Dreves receives the credit for unearthing these, *A.H.* 27, Introd., 20.

⁷ "Origen de los himnos mozárabes," *Bulletin hispanique* 28 (Bordeaux, 1926) 5-21, 113-39, 209-45, 305-20; "Los himnos mozárabes," *Revista ecles. Silos* 58 (1927) 56-61, reviewed in full in *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 7 (1927) 316.

actual manuscripts should be kept in mind if one is to understand fully the contents of the Hymnal. All hymnody of the early medieval centuries derived its inspiration chiefly from Ambrose (340-397). His authentic hymns were widely diffused and freely imitated. Twelve appear in the Spanish Hymnal.⁸ Hymns produced by the Spanish-born poet Prudentius (348-405?) were not only a source of supply but a tradition for a host of subsequent imitators. Thirty-seven hymns were drawn from the poetic stores of his *Cathemerinon* and *Peristephanon*. The acrostic poem of Sedulius (fifth century), *A solis ortus cardine* was broken up into six parts for as many hymns. Fortunatus is represented by his *Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis*. In addition to those by known authors many anonymous hymns occur, produced directly for the rites—hymns which convey, so to speak, the flavor of Spanish hymnody. Dom Cabrol speaks somewhat disparagingly of these writers, regarding their work as rather mediocre in comparison with that which was adopted from elsewhere.⁹ The validity of this opinion may be tested by what follows, although only a small number of representative hymns can be selected for consideration in this paper.

Variety of arrangement in the manuscripts made it necessary to print the hymns in some definite order. Blume therefore adopted the familiar classifications *Proprium de tempore*, *Commune de tempore*, *Proprium de sanctis*, and *Commune sanctorum*, adding the final group, *In variis occasionibus*. As an introduction to the whole he selected the *Prologus hymnorum* which serves a similar purpose in a tenth-century manuscript of Toledo.

Prologus hymnorum

Miracula primaeva hymnorum modula clara
 Angelica prompserunt nascente Domino ora,
 Uidelicet paucis infusa caelitus dona
 Resumeret terrestris pastorum acies visa. (A.H. 27.61)¹⁰

With this opening stanza the poet introduces his theme, the history and meaning of Christian hymnology. The song of the angels heard by shepherds at the birth of Jesus is to be echoed by

⁸ Blume accepts Biraghi's list of authentic Ambrosian hymns: L. Biraghi, *Inni sinceri e carmi di Sant'Ambrogio* (Milano, 1862).

⁹ Cabrol, *DACL* (see note 2) 12¹.412.

¹⁰ *Analecta Hymnica* 27.61. All hymns cited from this volume hereafter will be similarly identified.

men. In the old order the three Hebrew youths in the fiery furnace voiced the praise of God by all creation.¹¹ The Redeemer with his disciples had sung the Passover hymn. Paul had exhorted his followers to holy song. Hilary and Ambrose augmented his teachings. In hymns the worshipper sets forth the glory of God, the triumphs of the martyrs, the praise of the Trinity, and the beauty of the church, and, finally, pays his vows in purity of devotion. The acrostic, *Mauricus obtante Veraniano edidit*, which emerges in the first stanza may or may not reveal the authorship. In any case, the poet has well expressed the spirit and intention of the liturgists who were responsible for the hymnology of the church in Spain.

*Proprium de tempore*¹²

Turning to the hymns in this section, one is impressed by their obvious antiquity. It should be recalled that manuscripts containing hymn cycles used in monastic worship are the chief source of information concerning early Latin medieval hymns. Two groups emerge from the collation of the lists, the old cycle prior to the ninth century and the ninth-century cycle.¹³ The full debt of the Mozarabic Hymnal to this source will appear later. In the section now being considered, the former cycle has contributed three hymns, and the latter, one. A. S. Walpole, whose edition of *Early Latin Hymns* is based upon the most careful scholarship, has published eleven others dating from the seventh century which appear in the Mozarabic Breviary.¹⁴ With the addition of thirty-four hymns by known authors from the fourth to the sixth century, we have in the *Proprium de tempore* a total of forty-nine which originated in the early part of the Middle Ages. Of the remaining thirty-three, thirteen appear for the first time in the Ortiz edition of 1502 and in no other source, a fact which by no means precludes their prior composition, for accurate dating by manuscripts is impossible. The others must be dated tentatively by their appearance in tenth- or eleventh-century sources. The same general

¹¹ The *Canticle of the Three Holy Children*, *Benedicite omnia opera*, is an addition to Daniel 3:23. See R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1913) 1.627-29.

¹² Blume edits forty-three hymns from a total of eighty-one.

¹³ For the hymn cycles, see *Anal. Hymn.* 51, *Intro.*, xx-xxi; R. Messenger, "Whence the Ninth Century Hymnal?," *TAPhA* 69 (1938) 446-64.

¹⁴ A. S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns* (Cambridge, Eng., 1922).

method of dating Mozarabic hymns holds good for the other sections of the Hymnal and will be omitted hereafter except for specific points.

The season of Advent, which opens the church year, had six Sundays in the Mozarabic rites so that the feast of St. Aciscus and his companions on November 17th might conflict with the early offices of the season. The festival hymn begins thus:

Gaudete, flores martyrum,
Salvete, plebes gentium,
Visum per astra mittite,
Sperate signum gloriae. (A.H. 27.63)

The poet makes no specific mention of the martyrs but develops the Advent theme with concepts familiar to the season, especially the star of Bethlehem. The hymn is interesting, however, as an illustration of the pervading influence of Prudentius in Spanish hymnody. The opening line is reminiscent of *Salvete flores martyrum*, a cento from *Cathemerinon xii* in which Prudentius mourns the tragic fate of the Holy Innocents.¹⁵

The Feast of the Circumcision inspired the following hymn.

Sacer octavarum dies
hodiernum rutilat,
Quo secundum carnem Christus
circumciscus traditur,
Patri, non adoptione,
coaeternus genere. (A.H. 27.67)

It corresponds closely to the thought of the feast and may be identified as a Mozarabic hymn because it is interwoven with the text of the rite. To those interested in the history of the Spanish Church, the fifth and sixth lines are significant as a definite repudiation of the adoptionist heresy which menaced the church in Spain in the eighth century.¹⁶

Interpolated stanzas of Mozarabic origin are often found in borrowed hymns. This is the case with *O lux, beata trinitas* (A.H. 27.72), a vesper hymn from the ninth-century cycle, sometimes attributed to Ambrose. Three stanzas are placed between the two original ones to form an Epiphany hymn, the line *Iam noctis*

¹⁵ Walpole, *ibid.* 127.

¹⁶ Gams, *op. cit.* (see note 1) 22.261-98. Elipandus, Archbishop of Toledo (782-783), was a prominent leader of the Adoptionists.

tempus advenit opening the second stanza. As an imitation of the style of Ambrose, it illustrates the great influence exerted in Spain by the Father of Latin hymns.

The hymn for the first Sunday in Lent, *Alleluia piis edite laudibus* (A.H. 27.74), is not only authentic but widely used in hymnals of the tenth and later centuries outside of Spain. It was the custom in the Mozarabic rites to discontinue the use of the *Alleluia* during Lent after the first Sunday, so that the hymn marks the final *Alleluia* at the entrance to the season of fasting.¹⁷ The thought is inspiring and the smooth and swift-flowing Sapphic verses produce an effect of eagerness and joy.

Two vesper hymns, also for the Lenten season, are conspicuous for their clear and realistic versions of Biblical narratives. The first, *Auctor luminis, filius virginis* (A.H. 27.79), recounts the miraculous healing of the man born blind, and the second, *Christe immense, dominator sancte* (A.H. 27.80), the raising of Lazarus. Many similarities point to a common author who seems to share the ability of the most ancient hymn-writers to reproduce with extraordinary fidelity the Gospel account in verse.

Not only Biblical narratives but the lives of saints and martyrs are treated by the Spanish poets in the same objective fashion, as later illustrations will make clear. Were it not for the fact that early Latin hymns in general exhibit only the rarest instances of mystic devotion but are almost uniformly of the objective type, it would be tempting to see in many poets of the Hymnal forerunners of the literary realist in Spain. With this caution, it may be permissible to assume that this treatment of poetical themes was congenial to the mind of Spanish hymn writers.

A Palm Sunday hymn, *Vocaris ad vitam, sacrum Dei genus* (A.H. 27.85), is cast in the form of a divine appeal to men. There is no mention of the events commemorated by the feast, but the poet may have had in mind the prophecy, "Behold thy King cometh unto thee," which is quoted in the Gospel narrative (Matthew 21:5). The Mozarabic collection does not contain a processional hymn for the occasion, although the Palm Sunday procession and blessing of palms were observed from the seventh century in Spain, which was perhaps the first country in western Europe to adopt these ceremonies.¹⁸

¹⁷ A.H. 27.76, note.

¹⁸ Férotin, *Liber ordinum* (see note 5) 178-187.

One of the most interesting hymns edited for the first time by Blume, *Dulce carmen lingua promat, dulce melos personet* (A.H. 27.90-96), celebrates the Day of the Holy Cross. It is found in two Spanish manuscripts, and twice elsewhere in one version. Blume offers a reconstructed text of twenty-two stanzas which recounts the legend of the discovery of the true cross by St. Helena. Similar in subject and treatment to the narratives of saints and martyrs in the *Proprium de sanctis*, it is better appreciated if considered in connection with such hymns.

The hymn-writers of Spain with their gift for realism were capable of producing effects of great splendor, richness, and color. This is true of an Ascension hymn which pictures the Risen Lord reigning in the midst of apocalyptic majesty, *Te centies mille legionum angeli* (A.H. 27.88). The poet is indebted especially to the fourth chapter of the Revelation of St. John, but he handles the text with skill and power.

As a final selection from the *Proprium de tempore*, a fine hymn of nine stanzas for Pentecost should be mentioned, *Sacrate veni spiritus* (A.H. 27.98). True to the spirit of the Hymnal, it is totally lacking in that subjective beauty which distinguishes the favorite medieval hymns on this theme. It is rather a narrative of the events which took place on the Day of Pentecost, as found in the Acts of the Apostles.

Looking back upon a cycle of seasonal hymns such as the Mozarabic, one must recall that the Church Year as it is known today was still in the process of evolution. The relative simplicity of the annual course is but a fresh evidence of the age of the Hymnal.

Commune de tempore ¹⁹

The English liturgist, Edmund Bishop, held the opinion that the Mozarabic Breviary contained sources from which the early Christian secular services of morning and evening worship might be reconstructed.²⁰ If this is the case, evidence from hymnology should support his view. Only through the veil of monastic practice are the most ancient hymns discerned, hymns which were adopted by the pioneers and founders of western monasticism for the offices of the canonical hours. So, in the section before us,

¹⁹ Blume edits thirty-seven hymns from a total of fifty-eight.

²⁰ E. Bishop, *The Mozarabic and Ambrosian Rites* (London, 1924) 57-60.

six were enjoined by Caesarius of Arles (d. 542), namely, *Mediae noctis tempus est*, *Aeterne rerum conditor* (Ambrose), *Fulgentis auctor aetheris*, *Deus qui certis legibus*, *Christe, qui lux est et dies*, and *Christe precamur adnue*. Aurelian of Arles (d. 551) recommended *Splendor paternae gloriae* (Ambrose) and *Aeterne lucis conditor*.²¹ Three more are contained in the old Benedictine cycle, *Certum tenentes ordinem*, *Dicamus laudes Domino*, and *Perfectum trinum numerum*. The addition of *Cultor dei memento* from *Cathemerinon vi* of Prudentius and three authentic Ambrosian hymns not included in the old cycle, makes a total of fifteen of the oldest Latin hymns known today. Insofar as these represent secular usage prior to the establishment of monastic rules, they may be regarded as echoes of ancient morning and evening services and, taken in connection with other parts of the breviary offices, may serve to strengthen Bishop's thesis.

The later, or ninth-century, hymn cycle is also represented in the Mozarabic Breviary, or, to put it the other way, Mozarabic sources throw light upon the nature of the ninth-century cycle. In fact, it contains all but six of the hymns used in the entire cycle, distributed as follows: *Proprium de tempore*, one;²² *Commune de tempore*, twenty-two; *Commune sanctorum*, seven.²³ Thus the Hymnal is constructed, at least in part, from the practice common to western monasticism. As to the place of origin, Blume claims, although tentatively, a Mozarabic source for the three hymns from the old cycle, cited above. The third varies from the original in the opening line alone, which reads *Perfecto trino numero*. From the ninth-century cycle he claims *Mediae noctis tempore*, the Mozarabic original perhaps of *Mediae noctis tempus est*. Aside from the change in the opening line, eight of the thirteen stanzas are identical in the two versions and two other stanzas are only slightly altered.

One of the most interesting problems arising in connection with the later hymn cycle affects the six vesper hymns which commemorate the work of creation described in the book of Genesis: *Lucis creator optime*, *Immense caeli conditor*, *Telluris ingens conditor*, *Caeli Deus sanctissime*, *Magnae Deus potentiae*, and *Plasmator hominis Deus*. They appear in the Mozarabic collection with the additional hymn, *Rerum Deus fons omnium* (A.H. 27.101), for the

²¹ For these lists see A.H. 51, Introd., xx.

²² See p. 106.

²³ See p. 119.

seventh day of rest. It is impossible to determine whether this circumstance indicates the Mozarabic origin of the other six, or whether the seventh was dropped for some reason from the usual series. Blume prefers the solution that some Spanish poet added the seventh to complete the borrowed cycle in a similar verse form.²⁴

Turning from the hymn cycles to another possible source of Mozarabic hymns for the daily course, one must view somewhat more closely the history of early monasticism in Spain which was linked directly to the orient quite as much as to western models, primarily through the Rule of Basilus (331-379), which was observed in Spain. Later the monastic centers in proximity to the northern border of Spain, Lerin, Marseilles, and Arles, influenced the monasticism of the peninsula.²⁵ Benedictine influence was first active in the early seventh century but did not dominate the country until the monks of Cluny entered from France. So far as the Hymnal is concerned, the Benedictine cycles, as the manuscripts prove, were in use before the Cluniac revival.²⁶

The canons affecting the monastic life which were promulgated by the various synods in Spain from that of Elvira (*ca.* 300) to the close of the Moslem period, seem to indicate that monastic rules of the greatest variety prevailed. To some unknown founder must be ascribed the provision for a series of twelve daily offices with appropriate hymns beginning with dawn. The symbolism of the more familiar hymns for the seven canonical hours, especially the third, sixth, and ninth, is well-known and illustrated in those drawn from the old hymn cycle. At the fourth hour the Evangelists are remembered in *Qui amne nunc quadrifluo* (*A.H.* 27.103). The hymn for the fifth hour, *Qui tot libris per Moysen* (*A.H.* 27.103), recalls the Pentateuch. At the seventh hour the gifts of the Holy Spirit are celebrated in *Auctor perennis gloriae* (*A.H.* 27.104). The eighth hour suggested a strange connotation pertaining to the Day of Judgment, perhaps by association with a theory of six ages of human history to be followed by the end of the world. The hymn opens thus: *Octavus horae circulus* (*A.H.* 27.105). The ten com-

²⁴ *A.H.* 27.44.

²⁵ M. Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche*, 3 vols. (Paderborn, 1907) 1.121-5, 173, 175-6, 203; H. Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne* (Paris, 1906) 209-10.

²⁶ Heimbucher, *ibid.*, 233. The Abbey of Silos under Benedictine rule was famous in the eleventh century and thereafter. See M. Férotin, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Silos* (Paris, 1897) 18.

mandments form the theme for the hymn for the tenth hour, *Iam dena nos praeceptio* (A.H. 27.105). The parable of the laborers in the vineyard is used in a hymn for the eleventh hour, *Horis peractis undecim* (A. H. 27.106).

As the hymns for daily use are placed together with those for the seasons, the growth and evolution of the Hymnal begins to emerge more clearly, and a body of hymns is observed in the process of formation by gradual accretions.

Proprium de sanctis ²⁷

Supreme in prestige among the saints stands the Virgin Mother. Seven hymns devoted to her praise reflect admirably the extent to which this theme is represented in early medieval hymnology. In keeping with the general practice everywhere Nativity hymns were first used for this purpose and, in the Mozarabic offices, sung not only at Advent but in celebration of the Annunciation. As the Virgin feasts were differentiated, the occasional hymns were multiplied and adapted or written expressly for the Purification and Assumption.²⁸ Beginning with the use of the five opening stanzas of *A solis ortus cardine* (A.H. 27.117) for the Annunciation, the evolution of the festival hymns continued with *Sacer puritatum dies* (A.H. 27.117), *O decus sacrum virginum* (A.H. 27.120), and *Hymnum Mariae virginis* (A.H. 27.120). During the eleventh century *Ave maris stella* had been introduced into Spain for the Assumption, and a new hymn, *En, pater gloriae, rutilum gaudium*, had appeared, the first illustration of a Mozarabic hymn written expressly for the same feast. While not distinguished, it is an important addition to the group of hymns in praise of the Virgin known to have been written during the first half of the Middle Ages. The second stanza is quoted to show the meter and imagery, foreshadowing the concept of the Queen of Heaven so familiar in later hymns.

Haec virgo genetrix, verba altissimi
Thalamum regium, prolis perpetui
Assistens regiae dexteræ unci,
Amictus renidens regina aurei. (A.H. 27.121)

Those interested in the origin and history of festivals honoring the Virgin, particularly their appearance in western Europe, will

²⁷ Blume edits ninety-nine hymns from a total of 129.

²⁸ R. Messenger, *Praise of the Virgin in Early Latin Hymns*, *Papers of the Hymn Society of America* 3 (N. Y., 1932, 1944).

find a most significant correspondence between the evolution of this poetry and the observance of the three feasts just mentioned. In the case of the Annunciation, the feast had been celebrated for a long time in Spain and a uniform date, December 18th, had been set for it by the Tenth Council of Toledo as early as 656.²⁹ In general it may be said that the small number of hymns in the Mozarabic Hymnal celebrating the Virgin theme, is indicative, not of lack of interest in the subject, but of the earlier aspects of the festival rites.

The names of saints honored in the Mozarabic Church are known from calendars in various liturgical sources, of which the *Orationale Gothicum* of the seventh century is the oldest.³⁰ With the calendar as a guide, the significance of hymns for saints is better understood both in their liturgical and historical connections. For clarity of presentation, Spanish saints and non-Spanish saints will be grouped separately, and from the hymns used at their festivals a few will be selected, although each one merits separate treatment.

Our concept of ecclesiastical Spain at the opening of her church history must be broadened to include the Roman provincial limits of Gallia Narbonensis and a section of northern Africa as far east as Carthage. Apart from legend, the events surrounding the establishment of the Christian Church in Spain are unknown. It has never been determined, for instance, whether St. Paul made the projected journey to Spain which he mentions in his Epistle to the Romans.³¹ Following the legendary account we learn that seven disciples trained by St. Paul and St. Peter in Rome and there consecrated as bishops, became the first missionaries to Hesperia. The hymn for St. Torquatius, their leader, opens thus:

Urbis Romuleae iam toga candida,
Septem pontificum destina, promicat,
Missos Hesperiae quos ab apostolis
Assignat fidei prisca relatio. (A.H. 27.253)

According to the hymn, on their arrival they proceeded to Acci. The townspeople who were engaged in pagan worship met the protests of the Christians with resentment and attacked them.

²⁹ J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum . . . Collectio* 11.33-34, Canon 1. For the Assumption see Gordillo, S.J., *La Asunción de Maria en la Iglesia española* (Madrid, 1922), reviewed in *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 4 (1924) 241.

³⁰ Cabrol, *DACL* (see note 2) 12¹.489.

³¹ Romans 15:24.

The missionaries fled to the river bank and across the bridge, but they were miraculously preserved when the bridge crashed and the pursuers were submerged. As a result of the miracle and of their preaching, the faith triumphed. Torquatus remained at Acci as first bishop in Spain, while his companions dispersed to various centers, all ending their days in peace and honor.

Authentic records of the Spanish Church date from the third century when Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, wrote to certain bishops of Spain regarding the expulsion of church officials who had fore-sworn the Christian faith under stress of persecution.³² At that time, Legio, Asturica, and Emerita had become important Christian centers. Cyprian was a great historic figure who was himself martyred in 258. His position both in Carthage and Spain is recognized in the hymn *Urbis magister Tasciae*, the sixth stanza of which has these lines:

Ditans cruore Africam,
Verbo docens Hesperiam. (A. H. 27.152)

The history of the Roman persecution of Christianity is reflected, period by period, in the hymns for the martyrs of the Spanish Church. Prior to the time of Cyprian persecutions were local and sporadic. The emperors Septimius Severus (193–211) and Maximinus Thrax (235–238) had given an official character to the movement, but the death penalty was not exacted. Imperial action seemed necessary to safeguard the state religion as the number of Christian adherents increased and spread to the army, the court, and the higher ranks of society. The organization of the church was also causing alarm, and Christian literature called for suppression. The emperor Valerian (253–258) commanded that all bishops, priests, and deacons be executed; whereas Decius (249–251) had determined to destroy Christianity altogether.

The Decian period was alternated by a peaceful reaction of fifty years, after which Diocletian and Maximinian (286–305) initiated the final and most terrible of the Roman persecutions. Churches were destroyed, the Scriptures were burned, and church officials lost their civil rights. Under the enactments of Maximinian every Christian was compelled to choose between the performance of sacrifice to the Roman divinities and death. Dacian, governor

³² *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 3¹⁻², ed. W. Hartel (Vindobonae, 1868) 735ff.

of Tarraconensis, was entrusted with the duty of carrying out the edicts of Diocletian in Spain. He is mentioned in a hymn for the martyrs Justus and Pastor of Complutum, *O dei perenne verbum* (A. H. 27.210). In Spain some fifty are said to have lost their lives at this time,³³ a large number of whom were recognized as saints in the Mozarabic calendar and honored with appropriate hymns. Some Spaniards were martyred in other countries, among them the Spanish-born Laurence, and others less famous who upheld their faith throughout the Roman empire wherever the persecutions happened to overtake them. Such was Thyrsus, said to be a native of Toledo, but martyred in Apollonia during the Decian persecution.³⁴ The hymn, *Exulta nimium, turba fidelium* (A.H. 27.249), dates from the Moslem period, but the veneration of this saint in the sixth century points to a possible Byzantine origin of the cult³⁵ and may be one of those links connecting Spain with Constantinople which were forged during the restoration of the empire under Justinian.

Local cults not a part of the state religion also existed in Spain, imported from the orient or surviving from civilizations which preceded the Roman rule.³⁶ In Seville Salambo was honored, a Phoenician goddess in the role of Venus mourning Adonis. It was the custom for women votaries to carry her image in procession as a part of the festival. Passing by a potter's shop belonging to two Christian women, the sisters Justa and Rufina, they halted. For what reason, the hymns honoring these saints do not inform us. We are told that Justa intervened:

Intrepida Deo saepe
famulans comminuit
Tenacis mundique vitam
simulacrum profanum. (A.H. 27.207, stanza 5)

Stricken by a divine dart the image was destroyed:

Confossum peremit portentum vibrans
Caelestis spicula regis. . . . (A.H. 27.206, stanza 3)

³³ S. McKenna, *Paganism and Pagan Survivals in Spain etc.* (Wash., D. C., 1938) 25; also E. S. Bouchier, *Spain under the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1914) 177. For a general survey of the persecution under Diocletian, see N. H. Baynes, "The Great Persecution," *CAH* 12, chap. xix.

³⁴ Dom Baudot, *Dictionnaire d'Hagiographie* (Paris, 1925) 622.

³⁵ De Urbel, "Origen, etc." (see note 7) 131-2.

³⁶ McKenna, *op. cit.* (see note 33) 22-3.

In the fracas that followed, the wares in the shop were shattered and the owners arrested. Their martyrdom followed and, later, the date of July 19th, that of the feast of Salambo, was fixed for the festival rites of the martyrs.³⁷

Anonymous authors produced the hymns cited above. The great martyr hymns of Spain were written by Prudentius. He went to Rome and there visited the graves of the Roman martyrs, seeking the true narratives of their fate, a task of the greatest difficulty. He was even more interested in the Spanish martyrs and tried to recall to popular memory their names and sufferings. In this pursuit he interpreted the lives of the martyrs within a poetic medium. The result is the Christian saint's legend in a form which was carried over and developed in medieval literature. Prudentius did not write primarily for the liturgy. His work was of devotional interest to Christian readers in a period when a revival of religious culture was in progress in Spain.³⁸ He commemorates in the various sections of the *Liber Peristephanon* the names of Laurence, Deacon of Rome, and Fructuosus, Bishop of Tarraco, who were martyred under Valerian; Emeterius and Chelidonius of Calagurris, and Cassianus of Tangis, three soldier martyrs; Acliscus and Zoilus of Cordova, Cucufatis of Barcinon, Justus and Pastor of Complutum, Eulalia of Emerita (Merida), and Vincent of Caesaraugusta (Saragossa).³⁹ Eulalia of Merida and Vincent of Saragossa overshadowed all other martyrs of Spain in prestige, which, in the case of Vincent, extended to the church at large.

Passing from the Roman period to the sixth century, one should note the hymn for the Abbot Aemilianus, a hermit and monk of early medieval Spain, *O magne rerum, Christe, rector inclite* (A.H. 27.125). His biographer Braulio, Bishop of Saragossa (631-651), was the author.⁴⁰ San Millan de la Cogolla, to give him his modern name, gives a striking representation of the typical forms of Spanish monasticism mentioned above. The hymn of eighty lines is one of general praise with brief mention of the saint toward the close.

³⁷ Cf. Migne, *PL* 85, cols. 786-7, *Inlatio*; *RE* s.v. "Salambo," Reihe II, Band I (Stuttgart, 1920) 1823-24.

³⁸ P. Wagner, *Der Mozarabische Kirchengesang* etc. in H. Finke, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* (Münster, 1928) Reihe I, Band I, 108; Canon 9, First Council of Toledo, Mansi 3.1000.

³⁹ For the enumeration of hymns borrowed from Prudentius, see A.H. 27, Introd. 37-9.

⁴⁰ Migne, *PL* 80, cols. 699-716.

Haec nempe virtus Christus est tutissima,
 Aemilianum quae tulit per ardua,
 Vitae tropaea quae coronat praemio,
 Nostris ut esset saeculis sectabilis
 Foretque fortis advocatus infimis. (Stanza 15)

It is an excellent illustration of seventh-century religious poetry by one of the most notable liturgists of the period.

The hymns for saints who were not natives of Spain differ widely in subject matter and intrinsic interest. A hymn for St. Bartholomew, *Exaudi, Christe, nos patris potens, pie* (A.H. 27.139), edited for the first time by Blume, is built upon an acrostic as follows: *Ecce ymnus Bartholomei apostoli quem fecit Leo Melfitanus*. The poet, who seems to be otherwise unknown, ascribes to this apostle the mission to India which is usually associated with St. Thomas. The poetic style is complicated and crude. A second hymn, *Aeterni proles patris et incliti* (A.H. 27.138), honoring the same saint, is much less ornate and concerned with simpler concepts.

While all the apostles are represented in Mozarabic hymns, St. James, son of Zebedee and brother of St. John, was destined to hold the most influential position in the Spanish peninsula. The shrine of St. James at Compostella was famous throughout Christendom in the later Middle Ages as a stronghold of religion when the Christian kingdoms of the north were advancing southward to expel the Mohammedans. Regarding the veneration of this saint in the earlier medieval centuries, opinions differ. The hymn, *O Dei verbum, patris ore proditum* (A.H. 27.186), appears in the tenth-century *Hymni Mozarabici* and is significant for this and other reasons. The acrostic formed by the initial letters reads *O raex regum, regem pium Maurecatum aexaudi, cui probe (h)oc tuo amore prebe*. Maurecatus or Mauregato reigned as king of the Asturias from 783 to 788, which circumstance may date the hymn. Whether the prestige of St. James in the eighth century exceeded that of the other apostles is questioned. The poet, as he enumerates the apostolic missions to regions beyond the Holy Land, says:

Regens Iohannes dextra solus Asiam
 Eiusque frater potitus *Spania. (Stanza 5)

He also addresses the saint in these words:

O vere digne sanctior apostole,
 Caput refulgens aureum *Spaniae
 Tutorque nobis et patronus vernulus. (Stanza 10)

Simonet, the Spanish historian of the Mozarabs, believes that the inclusion of this hymn demonstrates the antiquity of that veneration which regards St. James as the divinely appointed patron of Spain.⁴¹ Others argue that this point was not reached until after the reputed discovery of the body of the saint at Compostella in the ninth century.⁴²

The hymn for St. Clement, *Clementis festum celebratur hodie* (A.H. 27.145), represents those written for the Fathers of the Church. It is found in sources outside of Spain but is accepted as Mozarabic. In giving the details of martyrdom which are very scanty in the breviary office, the writer follows the version appearing in the Greek Acts of the Martyrs.⁴³ De Urbel comments upon this hymn as typical of the literary decadence of the ninth century and observes that the feast of St. Clement was not introduced into Spain until after the Moorish invasion. The mass, which contains references to the unbelievers of Clement's day, seems to have been composed when the rule of the infidel lay heavily on the minds of the people.⁴⁴

St. Speratus with his companions who were martyred at Scillium in Africa,⁴⁵ inspired a hymn which to the present writer seems one of the genuinely beautiful contributions of the Mozarabic sources to Latin hymnody. There are eight stanzas in all, of which the first is quoted:

Sperati, sancti martyris,
 Palmam virtutis inclitam
 Alternis invicem choris
 Hymnis canamus mysticis. (A.H. 27.243)

Throughout the hymnody for the saints poems of a simple and austere tradition, unmarred by fantastic details, are found side by side with lengthy poetic narratives following in some measure the models of Prudentius. The latter, however, proved the more popular.

Four hymns in praise of St. Sebastian, the Roman soldier

⁴¹ F. J. Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes de España* (Madrid, 1897, 1903) 713.

⁴² Gams, *op. cit.* (see note 1) 2^a.368, 390-3. De Urbel thinks that the hymn is not older than the reign of Mauregato but that St. James at that time was already regarded as the apostle of Spain. See "Origen etc." (see note 7) 125-7. See also G. King, *The Way of St. James* (N. Y., 1920) *passim*.

⁴³ Migne, *PG* 2, col. 617ff. especially cols. 630-2.

⁴⁴ De Urbel, "Origen etc." (see note 7) 116.

⁴⁵ D. Attwater, *Dictionary of Saints* (London, 1938) 279.

martyred at Milan, are in reality one long poem of seventy-six five-line stanzas: *Sollemne festum, plebs benigne, promite, Iam nunc ad illos properare convenit, Sebastiani martyris sollemne est, and Adest dies percompta summis gaudiis* (A.H. 27.231, 235, 236, 238). Other lengthy poems were written: for St. Agatha in twenty-five Sapphic stanzas, *Festum insigne prodiit coruscum*; for St. Eugenia in thirty-five four-line stanzas, *Astantes pariter sexus unigenae*; for Sts. Adrianus and Natalia in twenty-one six-line stanzas, *Hierusalem gloriosa* (A.H. 27.129, 164, 122). A new stage has been reached in the transformation of the hymn-legend into the medieval romance, which is reflected in early Spanish vernacular poetry which consists largely of tales of saints and martyrs along with poems praising the deeds of national heroes.⁴⁶

Commune sanctorum ⁴⁷

The hymns of this group like those of the *Commune de tempore* are founded upon the early hymnal lists. In fact, the correspondence is identical with that of the ninth-century cycle which is made up of the following: the two Ambrosian hymns, *Aeterna Christi munera* (also in the old cycle) and *Jesu corona virginum*; also *Martyr Dei qui unicum, Rex gloriose martyrum, Sanctorum meritis inclita gaudia, Virginis proles opifexque matris, and Summe confessor sacer et sacerdos*. For the last Blume claims a Mozarabic origin in spite of its wide usage outside of Spain. Six others, undoubtedly Mozarabic, complete the series of hymns used for the general praise of saints.

The importance of the group as a whole was very great in actual practice. Hymns for the Common of Saints were used throughout the church for the festivals of specific saints before the multiplication of hymns for occasional purposes, and were constantly relied upon for feast days even when the appropriate hymns existed.

One cannot help observing that the purity of early tradition is maintained in the hymns of Mozarabic authorship, of which *Laudes sanctorum martyrum*, in eight stanzas, is an excellent illustration. It stands comparison with the best of martyr hymns, ancient or modern, as an expression of the martyr spirit blended from courage, joy and faith.

⁴⁶ R. Altamira, *History of Spanish Civilization*, translated by P. Volkov (London, 1930) 67.

⁴⁷ Blume edits seven from a total of seventeen hymns.

Laudes sanctorum martyrum,
 Quos sacra fecit passio
 Christi conformes gloriae,
 Puris canamus mentibus. (A.H. 27.258)

In variis occasionibus ⁴⁸

To many commentators, the collection of hymns for special occasions is the most significant in the entire hymnal.⁴⁹ They vary widely in purpose and content, disclosing the secular custom and religious practice of the period. The reader is present, so to speak, when the restoration of a church is celebrated, or the anniversary of its consecration; when a bishop or king is consecrated, or his birthday honored; when the army goes forth to war, or the New Year opens; when the harvest is gathered, or when times of pestilence, drought, flood, or warfare demand the response of national prayer; finally, when rejoicing marks the occasion of marriage, or sorrow that of illness or death.

In these days when the restoration of places of worship is a matter of deep concern to the faithful of many creeds throughout the world, the hymn *O beata Hierusalem* voices an aspiration not restricted to medieval Spain, the scene of almost continuous destructive wars.

Hic tui altaris aram
 cum decoris gloria
 Rite rursus reparatam,
 rex superna, visita,
 Hic tua virtus redundet,
 hic honor refulgeat. (A.H. 27.264, stanza 6)

The two hymns *In ordinatione episcopi* are one in metrical style and poetic treatment, *Adest diei, Christe, consecratio* and *Verus redemptor, Christe, lumen luminis* (A.H. 27.267, 265). These are glowing hymns colored with oriental tradition and imagery derived from the Old Testament description of Aaron's robes in the 28th chapter of Exodus.

In Visigothic Spain kingship was invested with a sacred character, a concept familiar in all ages. The second stanza of the consecration hymn *Inclite rex magne regum* (A.H. 27.269), which refers to the anointing in the words *Unguine sacro nitescat*, is one

⁴⁸ Blume edits twenty-four from a total of twenty-six hymns.

⁴⁹ F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry* (Oxford, 1927) 128-9.

of the extant sources for this ceremony among the Visigoths.⁵⁰ The royal birthday is celebrated with the hymn *Anni peracto circulo* (A.H. 27.269) which may contain a hint of the elective principle of kingship,⁵¹ fundamental in Germanic political thought, as expressed in the fourth stanza:

Maturitate temporis
Honore ditas regio.

The departure of armed forces to war is marked by religious observance accompanied by hymns. *O verum regimen, Christe, fidelium* (A.H. 27.269) is a long and fervent appeal for the protection of the army and the confusion of the enemy, even as the Israelites under Moses had safely passed through the Red Sea with the conquered Egyptians perishing in their wake. The close expresses a thought cherished by all men in time of war, the longed-for and victorious return.

Three harvest hymns are also newly edited, two of which deserve mention. *Inclito regi polorum* (A.H. 27.272) is built upon the acrostic *Imnus primitiarum* and is devoted in part to the offering of the first fruits, but largely to prayers for the people. *Rex angelorum, Domine* (A.H. 27.273), a much finer hymn, also combines the two themes and adds prayers for the rulers as well, making the common pattern of the hymn for harvest thanksgiving familiar today.

A series of seven hymns for times of disaster, flood, drought, or war are full of interest. They seem to be the work of a single poet and are cast in one mould of thought and intention. *Rex aeterne, Deus, fons pietatis, Iram, qua merito sternimur, auctor, and Huius supplicium pestis amarae* (A.H. 27.275, 276, 278) implore aid against plague, the ravages of which are vividly described:

Infantes, iuvenes, sexus uterque,
Aetas ipsa senum cignea iamque,
Lactantes etiam ubera matrum
Prostrantur pariter vulnere diro. (A.H. 27.275, stanza 10)

Two petitions in time of flood or drought are poetic counterparts

⁵⁰ The rites of consecration are not extant. Information derived from records and inscriptions, including the three hymns in this section, have been assembled by Dom Férotin in *Liber ordinum* (see note 5) 506-15.

⁵¹ De Urbel, "Origen etc." (see note 7) 234.

built upon these contrasted themes. Powers of graphic description are exhibited in both.

Obduxere polum nubila caeli
Absconduntque diem sole fugato,
Noctes continuas sidere nudas
Et lunae viduas carpinus olim. (A.H. 27.278)

Squalent arva soli pulvere multo,
Pallet siccus ager, terra fatiscit,
Nullus ruris honos, nulla venustas,
Quando nulla viret gratia florum. (A.H. 27.279)

Walpole, commenting upon the second hymn, speaks of the Virgilian echoes in which it abounds and discusses its authorship and literary merits without making an independent judgment.⁵²

Man's destructive power in war is no less dreadful than that of nature. The final poems of the series are petitions in time of conflict, *Tristes nunc populi*, *Christe redemptor* and *Saevus bella serit barbarus horrens* (A.H. 27.281, 282).

Dire namque fremens, en, furor atrox
Gentis finitimae arva minatur
Saeve barbarico murmure nostra
Vastari, perimens ut lupo agnos (A.H. 27.281, stanza 2)

Urbes urit edax barbarus ignis,
Communesque domos urit et almas;
Vinctos praedo senes ducit, ephebos,
Nuptas et viduas atque puellas. (A.H. 27.282, stanza 6)

It is a tribute to the genius of this unknown poet that one turns from the despairing scenes which frame his thought with a sense of relief.

The marriage hymn from the occasional group, *Tuba clarifica, plebs Christi, revoca* (A.H. 27.283), although commonplace, is at least intended to provoke a joyful mood which is accentuated by a rapid meter and internal rhymes. The names of musical instruments which are mentioned, *tympanum*, *cithara*, *cymbalum*, *cinara*, *nabulum* and others, may be of interest in the study of this period.

The Hymnal closes on a note of solemnity recalling in a series of hymns for the ill and for the dead the healing power of the divine Lord and his triumph over death, namely, *Christe, caelestis medicina*

⁵² Walpole, *op. cit.* (see note 14) 397-8.

patris, Christe, rex, mundi creator, and Hic functionis est dies (A.H. 27.284, 286, 286). The praise of God which is enjoined at the opening of the Hymnal in the *Prologus hymnorum* is finally carried into the world beyond the grave.

Hinc et recepto corpore
Resurgat hic ad gloriam
Te mentis aucta gratia
Laudans perennis incola. (A.H. 27.286, stanza 5)

Literary and liturgical tradition

The authorship and literary traditions of Mozarabic hymns proceeds from Ambrose, early anonymous writers, and Prudentius, as we have seen. Anonymous hymn writers not only in Spain but throughout the west, who followed the Ambrosian model, are amply represented in the ninth-century cycle, taken over almost entirely in the Hymnal. The influence of Prudentius is no less marked. Entire hymns or centos were used in actual practice, many excerpts were incorporated in new hymns, and phraseology reminiscent of his work abounds everywhere.

Between the fourth and seventh century the church in Spain experienced many vicissitudes. Threatened by survivals of pagan cults, local superstitions, and the heresy of the Priscillianists, it was called upon during the fifth century to absorb the Visigothic invaders who had been converted to Arian Christianity. From the reign of Euric (466–483) to that of Recared (586–601) the Catholic faith battled with the Arian for supremacy and finally triumphed in 589 when the Third Council of Toledo ruled in favor of the Catholic position.⁵³ During the seventh century there is evidence once more of a literary and liturgical movement initiated by Isidore of Seville and other great bishops of the Visigothic Church, supported by the councils and the schools.

The name of Isidore, Archbishop of Seville (d. 636), was attached to the Mozarabic rites by Ximenes although they had originated prior to the seventh century. The name signifies rather the dominating position held by Isidore in ecclesiastical affairs. In his *Etymologiae* and his *De officiis ecclesiasticis* he considers the subject of music and liturgy.⁵⁴ His *Regula monachorum*, built partly on older rules observed in Spain, is an evidence of his interest in

⁵³ Mansi (see note 29) 3.977–92.

⁵⁴ Migne, *PL* 82, cols. 163–9, 252–60; 83, cols. 737–826.

monastic reform.⁵⁵ As presiding bishop of the Fourth Council of Toledo (633) he was at the height of his reputation.⁵⁶ Braulio, Bishop of Saragossa (631–651), his pupil and literary executor, bears witness to his fame.⁵⁷ Leander, older brother of Isidore and his predecessor in the see of Seville, had created a tradition of liturgical interest which was continued with great success, not only by Isidore and Braulio, but by Eugenius II, Primate of Toledo (646–657), Ildefonsus who held the same rank (659–667), and others. The canons of the Fourth Council of Toledo for which Isidore may have been responsible, require uniformity of the rites and offices throughout Spain and Gaul.⁵⁸ The thirteenth canon upholds the validity and appropriateness of hymns by Christian authors against those who would restrict the hymnody of the church to the Psalms of the Old Testament.⁵⁹ At the Eighth Council of Toledo (653) it is recommended not to ordain candidates for the clergy who are ignorant of the psalms, canticles and hymns.⁶⁰

In the episcopal and monastic schools of that day, centered around Isidore, Braulio, Eugenius II, and the Abbot Spera-in-deo, liturgical study and writing were active.⁶¹ New masses were composed for the feasts of saints. The offices were enriched with new hymns, but very few of those produced in the course of this renaissance of liturgical interest were written by known authors. Quiricus, Bishop of Barcelona, wrote the hymn *Fulget hic honor sepulchri* (A.H. 27.167) for St. Eulalia of Barcelona.⁶² Eugenius II or Ildefonsus wrote *Sanctissimae Leucadiae* (A.H. 27.213) for St. Leocadia.⁶³ Braulio wrote *O magne rerum, Christe, rector* for St. Aemilianus.⁶⁴ It is estimated that anonymous hymns numbering at least forty were also written in the seventh century, and almost as many after the Moslem invasions⁶⁵ when the old musical and liturgical traditions were fostered by Eulogius, Archbishop of Cordova. A pupil

⁵⁵ Migne, *PL* 83, cols. 867–94; Heimbucher, *op. cit.* (see note 25) 203.

⁵⁶ LeClercq, *op. cit.* (see note 25) 304–5.

⁵⁷ Migne, *PL* 81, cols. 16–7.

⁵⁸ Canon 2, Mansi 10.616.

⁵⁹ Mansi 10.622–3.

⁶⁰ Mansi 10.1218.

⁶¹ C. H. Lynch, *St. Braulio, Bishop of Saragossa* (Wash., D. C., 1938) 20–1; Leclercq, *op. cit.* (see note 25) 348.

⁶² See stanza 13.

⁶³ Gams, *op. cit.* (see note 1) 1.339.

⁶⁴ See p. 116.

⁶⁵ De Urbel, "Los himnos mozárabes" (see note 7).

of Spera-in-deo and a noted scholar in his own right, Eulogius was interested in the collection of Latin manuscripts for Mozarabic libraries and in literary work. The acrostic hymn honoring St. Euphemia, *Ecce micantia veluti sidera* (A.H. 27.160), bearing his name has been attributed to him. He wrote the *Memorialis sanctorum*,⁶⁶ including the records of the ninth-century martyrs whose ranks he himself finally joined.

During the rule of Mohammed I (852-886) an outbreak of persecution of the Christians took place, a rare occurrence under Moslem government. A wave of revolt in Merida and resistance in other cities aroused his vengeance. There were zealots, too, who by deliberately insulting the Prophet subjected themselves to punishment for blasphemy.⁶⁷ At this time Eulogius with his friend Alvarus, a rich and scholarly noble and churchman of Cordova,⁶⁸ incited the people against Mohammed I. Eulogius, charged with concealing an accused Christian woman, Leocritia, was arrested and executed by the sword in 859.⁶⁹ The hymn in his honor, *Almi nunc revehit festa prolifera* (A.H. 27.169), must have been written very shortly after these events, perhaps by Alvarus, for the acrostic *Albarus te rogat sa(l)ves* opens the lines. It is almost entirely free from the traditional exaggerations of the martyr theme and is akin to the new poetry of the Carolingian revival.

The writers who frequented the court of Charlemagne or lived in his time are often thought of as the first to restore the continuity of Latin poetry in the Middle Ages after the barbarian inroads. We learn from the perusal of Mozarabic verse that the revival had already begun in Spain at least a century earlier. Contacts between Gaul and Spain were not restricted to the pass at Roncesvalles, and under the rule of Moslem princes friendly intercourse existed. The hymn, *O Petre, petra ecclesiae* (A.H. 27.228), attributed to Paulinus of Aquileia, was used in Spain and, on the other hand, Alcuin borrowed from Mozarabic sources in reforming the rites of the Frankish kingdom.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Migne, *PL* 115, cols. 731-818.

⁶⁷ R. P. A. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, translated by F. G. Stokes (London, 1913) ch. vi.

⁶⁸ For his writings including a life of Eulogius, see Gams, *op. cit.* (see note 1) 2².336ff.

⁶⁹ R. Altamira, "Western Caliphate," *Camb. Med. Hist.* 3.416-7.

⁷⁰ E. Bishop, *Spanish Symptoms in Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918) 168.

Nothing in the preceding pages should be interpreted as setting off the Mozarabic Hymnal from those used in other European countries at the same period, since the constant element in them all is substantial. The variable element consists of those hymns of Mozarabic authorship which occur here and there in all parts of the Hymnal, but which are found in greater numbers in the *Proprium de tempore* and the *Proprium de sanctis*. The hymns *In variis occasionibus* are absolutely unique. To a certain extent this is true of every country. Hymns have accumulated gradually and have been drawn upon by liturgists who were working toward uniformity of national rites. One comparison, which will suffice to illustrate the general principle, may be made with the Sarum rites established by Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury (1078-1099). The hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church, which was contemporary with the Mozarabic Church, formed the nucleus for the Sarum Breviary, but they did not offer a tradition of the praise of local saints such as that offered by the Mozarabic sources.⁷¹

Again, the objective nature of early medieval Latin hymns everywhere has been repeatedly stressed, and Spain is not exceptional. The significant aspect of Mozarabic hymns lies in their individuality, the result of the distinctive culture and the historical environment in which they were created, and, finally, in the light they shed during a period which is popularly termed the Dark Ages.

⁷¹ *Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. J. Stevenson, *Surtees Soc. Pub.* 23 (Durham, 1851). Sts. Cuthbert, Dunstan, and Edmund are the only local saints represented.