

EXPRESSING LITURGICAL CHANGE IN ELEVENTH- AND TWELFTH-
CENTURY IBERIA THROUGH THE FEAST OF THE HOLY INNOCENTS

*EXPRESANDO EL CAMBIO LITÚRGICO EN LA IBERIA DE LOS SIGLOS XI
Y XII A TRAVÉS DE LA FESTIVIDAD DE LOS SANTOS INOCENTES*

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Abstract: The feast of the Holy Innocents is a particularly informative example of liturgical change from the Old Hispanic to the Roman rite in Iberia after 1080. Not only did it involve a change of name and date, but also a shift in the tenor and meaning of the feast, one that always had to find a balance between tragedy and celebration. The elaborate allegorical lamentation of the Old Hispanic rite was first replaced with more neutral readings and chants that concentrated on the infants as holy martyrs, but more narrative presentations of the Massacre of the Innocents came to dominate in the 12th century. Collections of sermons or homilies played an important role in this process. Images in wall paintings –and after 1150 sculpture– began to express the full drama of this feast.

Keywords: Holy Innocents; Old Hispanic liturgy; Roman liturgy; liturgical manuscripts; homilies; Santo Domingo de Silos.

Resumen: La fiesta de los Santos Inocentes es un ejemplo especialmente informativo sobre el cambio litúrgico del rito viejo hispánico al Romano en la Península Ibérica después de 1080. No solo implicó un cambio de nombre y de fecha de la fiesta, sino también un cambio en el tenor y el significado de la misma que siempre debía encontrar el equilibrio entre la tragedia y la celebración. Las elaboradas lamentaciones alegóricas de la liturgia viejo hispánica fueron sustituidas, al principio, por lecturas y cantos más neutrales centrados en los infantes como santos mártires. Sin embargo, exposiciones más narrativas de la Masacre de los Inocentes pasaron a dominar en el siglo XII. Colecciones de sermones u homilías desempeñaron un papel importante en este proceso. Imágenes en pinturas murales –y, después de 1150, en escultura– comenzaron a manifestar plenamente el drama de esta fiesta.

Palabras clave: Santos Inocentes; liturgia viejo hispánica; liturgia romana; manuscritos litúrgicos; homilías; Santo Domingo de Silos.

SUMMARY

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1. INTRODUCTION¹

This article will focus on one feast celebrated in the Old Hispanic liturgy as “the day of the massacre of the infants” (*in diem allisionis infantum*) but in the Roman liturgy as “the anniversary of the Holy Innocents” (*in natale innocentium sanctorum*). In the Old Hispanic liturgy *in diem allisionis infantum* fell on 8 January after Epiphany (*in diem apparitionis domini*). This is clear from calendars in surviving manuscripts from Castile, León and Navarre in the tenth or eleventh century, and the Calendar of Córdoba of 961 shows that the same applied to the liturgy celebrated by Christians in al-Andalus². Els Rose has aptly described it as falling “under the shadow” of the feast of Epiphany on 6th January, although often the feast of SS Julian and Basilissa intervened on 7 January³. As a coda to Epiphany, *in diem allisionis infantum* followed the chronology of the gospel of Matthew (2, 16-23), where it also marks a *caesura*, since the biblical account recommences only with the preaching of John the Baptist. When the Roman liturgy was introduced into Iberia, the feast of the Holy Innocents, *in natale sanctorum innocentium*, was celebrated on 28 December, where it forms part of the Christmas octave falling immediately after the feast of St John the Evangelist. The Christmas octave, like that of Easter, was to develop new tropes and rituals during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries north of the Pyrenees; the extent to which that was also true south of the Pyrenees remains an open question. The change of title also emphasised the sainthood of the infants, where previously their status had been more ambivalent. The reluctance to emphasise the infants as not only blessed but also as martyr saints resonates with concerns in the late fourth and early fifth centuries about their nature. As Christ was only an infant at the time of their massacre, logically the infants could not be baptised Christians. For Augustine, they were tainted with original sin and would have gone to hell without the benefit of grace; others followed Pelagius and saw innate innocence and purity⁴. Despite theological anxieties on the subject, most Western liturgies treated the infants as *sancti innocentes*; only the Old Hispanic liturgy held back from wholeheartedly recognising them as martyr saints. For all these reasons, this feast is a particularly informative example of the wider liturgical transformation in León and Castile that was officially initiated in 1080.

¹ Abbreviations cited: BL = London, British Library; BNF = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France; CAO = *Corpus Antiphonarum Officii* 2.

² Vives 1941, p. 49.

³ Rose 2004, pp. 87-88.

⁴ Hayward 1994, pp. 72-73.

2. THE OLD HISPANIC LITURGY: *IN DIEM ALLISIONIS INFANTUM*

It is difficult to appreciate the full expression of the feast in the Old Hispanic liturgy, partly because elements of the liturgy appear in separate books. Prayers, chants and readings for the mass and offices have to be collated from several different sources, as they were at the time. This allowed for considerable variation and, in the case of *in diem allisionis infantum*, even omission. It is perhaps significant that the Massacre of the Infants is absent from three exemplars of the Old Hispanic Liturgy (BL, Add. ms. 30844, Add. ms. 30845, and Add. ms. 30846), which either do not cover that part of the year or, if they do, lack texts for that feast. It is unlikely that it once filled the missing two folios in Add. 30844 after *in apparitione Domini*, as each feast occupies about ten folios. This raises some questions about the importance of the feast in the Old Hispanic liturgy, and it may be worth noting that the Massacre of the Infants is omitted from the exceptional Infancy cycle depicted in the Girona copy of Beatus of Liébana's Commentary on the Apocalypse (Girona, Museu de la Catedral, Num. Inv. 7, 11) of 975⁵. That illuminator chose instead to show the impetus for the Flight into Egypt as an angel with outspread wings holding the Christ child. In a pose that invokes the type of Balaam and the Ass, the angel bars the way against Herod who is mounted on his horse and pointing a lance at the child. On the ground below a second figure of Herod, bare-chested and bedraggled, is being kicked by his horse. Whether the artist chose to portray this scene instead of the Massacre of the Infants for theological reasons or because his or her repertoire did not include such a scene cannot be determined.

The earliest known prayers for vespers and matins from the Old Hispanic liturgy are found in the *Libellus Orationum* (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, cod. LXXXIX) probably copied in Tarragona⁶. They present the martyred infants as models of innocence and purity for the faithful to emulate if they wish to enter heaven. The mother weeping for her children is interpreted allegorically as the Church weeping for its martyrs⁷. The other elements of the Old Hispanic feast have to be assembled from later, mostly eleventh-century, manuscripts. For this purpose, I shall be referring to surviving manuscripts copied and used in the Christian kingdoms in the north of the peninsula, which thus represent what is usually known as Tradition A.

⁵ For an illustration see Williams 1994, fig. 286.

⁶ Hornby, Maloy 2013, pp. 2-3.

⁷ See "The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity (CSLA) database": <http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk> [accessed: 17/03/2019].

Pericopes for the offices have not been recorded for the Old Hispanic liturgy, but readings for the mass are written in the *Liber Comicus*, which is preserved in BNF, NAL 2171. This manuscript, published by Morin, was probably written in the middle of the eleventh century; it may even be the copy given to Abbot Domingo at Silos in 1067, having previously been donated by Sancho Tabladillo to an Abbot Munnio⁸. *In diem allisionis infantum* appears in the calendar of the manuscript on f. 28v, where the *infantes* are further defined as “of Bethlehem” (*bethlemetici*). However, the illumination accorded *in diem allisionis infantum* (ff. 112v-114v) in this manuscript fits with the view that it is regarded as almost an adjunct to Epiphany: the three readings are introduced by three large initials, H, F and I, which even though they are finely executed are modest in comparison with the elaborate initials illuminated for the feast of Epiphany⁹.

The first reading, from the Old Testament, *Haec dicit dominus vox in excelso audita est lamentationis fetus et ululatus. Rachel ploran filios suos*, comes from the book of Jeremiah 31, 15-20, a passage that is quoted in the gospel of Matthew 2, 17-18. Rachel is weeping for her descendants who are going into exile and captivity. The second reading comes from Paul’s Letter to the Hebrews 2, 9-18 (*Fratres videmus ihesum xpm propter*); it likens Christ to children *who are partakers of flesh and blood*, so that through his incarnation he might destroy the devil. Overall the letter urges recipients to persevere in the face of persecution, which may have had an additional meaning for Christians in the peninsula who felt in peril from al-Andalus. The gospel reading from Matthew 2, 16-23 (*In illo tempore videns herodes*) tells how Herod ordered the massacre of the infants, and how, after the death of Herod, an angel appeared to Joseph telling him to take his family to Israel, but, because Herod’s son ruled Judaea, Joseph turned aside to Nazareth in Galilee. The evangelist draws attention to a providential Messianic reading whereby the Flight into Egypt is the fulfilment of the verse in Hosea (11, 1) where God calls his son out of Egypt. Likewise, the Massacre of the Infants is the antitype of Rachel’s weeping.

The fullest statement of the Old Hispanic liturgy is found in the Antiphonary of León (León, Archivo de la Catedral, ms. 8), a comprehensive collection of the sung elements for the mass and offices¹⁰. This manuscript has been dated to different parts of the tenth century and into the eleventh¹¹. Here I shall treat it as a manuscript of the last third of the tenth-century on

⁸ Boylan 1990, pp. 282-286.

⁹ [Http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8457362r/f98.item](http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8457362r/f98.item) [accessed: 17/03/2019].

¹⁰ Fernández 2011.

¹¹ De Luca 2015, pp. 19-23.

the basis of its illumination, style and iconography, which can be compared with dated *Beatus* manuscripts of the 970s¹². *In diem allisionis infantum* has a clear place in the hierarchy of feasts in this manuscript. At the base of f. 90r, a two-line heading written in alternating blue and red majuscules announces the texts and neumes for *officium in diem allisionis infantum*. Such a heading is typical for a temporal feast in this book. Similar headings open, for example, the feasts of the Nativity and Epiphany, whereas the sanctoral feasts have mostly one-line headings, as has the octave of *in diem allisionis infantum*. The decision to separate the heading from the ensuing material suggests that the scribes were more interested in prioritising the economic use of the vellum than the display of every feast. On f. 90v the first *vespertinum* chant is marked with a monogram, another typical feature of this book. Within the hierarchy of the monograms in the manuscript, this example is undistinguished, being 4-lines high, and formed of comparatively simple yellow interlace outlined in red set against a dark blue infill. *In diem allisionis infantum* is accorded no figural illumination, unlike the Nativity on f. 58r. In contrast, the opening of that feast is marked by a large complex *vespertinum* monogram formed of elaborate interlace. Alongside the monogram, and above the heading, is a small narrative scene of the Holy Family where the Virgin on the left gestures towards the Christ child in the manger, which seems to be decorated with a fine blue textile. The whole ensemble announces the importance of the feast of the Nativity. Similarly, *officium in diem apparitionis domini*, in the middle of f. 83v, has a small narrative scene where the three kings bring their gifts to the Virgin and Child, but in this case the scene substitutes for the *vespertinum* monogram. The Massacre of the Infants lacks such narrative treatment and is raised above the preceding feast of St Julian only by the size of its heading.

The chants for *in diem allisionis infantum* occupy almost four folios (ff. 90v-92v) in the Antiphony of León. The *vespertinum* chant, *Lux orta est*, sets the tone by introducing a tropological interpretation of the feast: *Light is sown for the righteous and gladness for the upright of heart*, a text that derives from Psalms 96, 11 in the Vulgate. It is followed by an elaborate and joyful *sono*, *Alleluia exultabunt sancti in gloria et laetabuntur in cubilibus*, from Psalms 149, 5. The antiphons that follow, *Hii sunt qui sequuntur agnum* and *Isti sunt sancti cum mulieribus*, with the verses *Novit dominus vias* (Psalms 1, 6) and *Beati in(maculati)* (Psalms 118, 1) emphasise the purity of the infants and immediately identify them with the Chaste who follow the Lamb in verse 14, 4 of the Book of the Apocalypse, and with the

¹² Guilmain 1981, pp. 390-391.

Sealed Elect in verse 7, 14 who wash their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Werckmeister notes that Beatus' commentary dismissed this allegorical association, as it preferred to see the Elect as an allegory of the whole Church not only martyrs; nonetheless it remained a core element of the liturgy¹³. A hymn of praise *A solis ortu(s)* follows; it narrates the life of Christ and includes a verse on the Massacre of the Infants that puts their numbers in the thousands¹⁴. Vespers ends with a *psallendum: Hii sunt qui non inquinaverunt*, a text that comes from the Book of the Apocalypse 3, 4 and confirms the moral interpretation of the *infantes* by likening them to the few in Sardis who *have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy*.

The first antiphon of *ad matutinum, Vidi in Sion turbam magnam*, continues the eschatological interpretation with a text that derives from Apocalypse 7, 9 speaking of the sealed elect but augmented by a verse from 2 Esdras 2, 43 where an exalted youth of great stature in their midst crowns the multitude on Mount Sion. The next two antiphons: *Sub ara dei vidi animas* and *Alleluia vindica deus sanguinem famularum* again draw their texts from the Book of the Apocalypse 6, 9-10, the opening of the fifth seal. Thus, here the *infantes* are aligned with the souls under the altar who were killed for the Word of God and cry for vengeance. The responsory *Vox in Rama audita* changes the focus to the Old Testament reading from Jeremiah 31, 15, and the verse *Plorans plorabit in nocte* from Lamentations 1, 2 complements it with the weeping of Jerusalem. The second antiphon, *Vocem sanguinis ad te clamantis*, draws on II Maccabees 8, 3 and evokes the victorious events leading to the re-dedication of the Temple in Jerusalem. The second responsory, *Vox filie syon clamantis*, employs the vocabulary of anguish from Jeremiah (4, 31)¹⁵, followed by a repeat of the antiphon, *Vox in rama audita est ploratus*, whilst the next two antiphonal chants *Vidi sub ara dei* and *Candidati sunt Nazorei* return to the imagery of the Book of the Apocalypse. The third responsory *Vide domine quoniam tribulor venter meus conturbatus est* employs the visceral imagery of Lamentations 1, 20 with the verse *Deducant oculi mei* (Jeremiah 14, 17), while in contrast the antiphon *Lababo inter innocentes manus* turns to Psalms 25, 6 for images of purity and rectitude, followed by the antiphons, *Innocentes recti adeserunt* (Psalms 24, 21) with its verse *Memento*, and *Hii sunt qui non inquinaberrunt vertem suam* (Apocalypse 3, 4) with the verse *Laudate pueri* (Psalms 112, 1).

¹³ Werckmeister 1997.

¹⁴ Walsh, Husch 2012, pp. 86-89.

¹⁵ Randel 1969, p. 294.

This theme is carried forward in the fourth responsory *Sanguis innocens et iustus*, followed by the verse *Effuderunt sanguinem eorum* (Psalms 78, 3) where Jerusalem is laid waste and the dead shed their blood like water. The fifth antiphon *Sinite parvulos venire* (Let the little children come unto me) from the gospel of Matthew (14, 19) and its verse *Venite filii* (Psalms 33, 12) dispel the layers of lamentation, followed by the antiphons *Sapientia aperuit os* (Sapientia 10, 21) and *Ex ore infantium* (Psalms 8, 3) focusing on the voices of the infants. The sixth and final *responsorium*, *Isti sunt non polluerunt* returns to the Book of the Apocalypse 3, 4, to those who will walk with Christ in white, whilst the verse *Beati mundo corde* celebrates the blessed who are pure in heart: for they shall see God (Matthew 5, 8) finishing with a three-part alleluia. The *de cantico*, *Quiescat vox tua a fletu et oculi tui a luctu quia merces mea est ayt dominus* (Jeremiah 31, 16) recalls the comforting of Rachel with the promise that her children shall return from the land of the enemy.

Thus, the Old Hispanic liturgy for *in diem allisionis infantum* wove its chosen texts mostly from the book of Jeremiah, the Apocalypse and the psalms to exhibit extreme sorrow and extreme joy. The Old Testament context of Jeremiah provides much of the poetry of the feast: the type of Rachel weeping for her children and the language of lamentation, occasionally augmented by a psalm. The Apocalypse gives an eschatological interpretation of the fate of the infants: identification with the chaste, the sealed elect and the martyred souls under the altar, and ultimately the promise of salvation at the end of time. In dialogue with these two main themes, the psalmi sing praise and highlight the virtues attributed to the infants: purity and rectitude. Although contrary to Augustine's doctrines of original sin and grace, an emphasis on the infants' inner purity had come to dominate sermons in the West by the eighth century¹⁶. Beyond the gospel reading, there is little narrative content for this feast in the Old Hispanic liturgy, and it is not treated primarily as an historical event or even as a dramatic story. Instead it is a highly allegorical feast that encompassed heightened emotions of lament juxtaposed with the solace offered within the Apocalypse. It is possible that Rachel's weeping for her exiled and captive descendants may also have resonated with historical laments for "the loss of Spain" after the conquest of 711¹⁷.

¹⁶ Hayward 1994, p. 80.

¹⁷ Linehan 1993, pp. 12-13.

3. AN EARLY EXPERIMENT? THE ROMAN BREVIARY, ADD. MS. 30847:
IN NATALE SANCTORUM INNOCENTUM

The breviary BL, Add. ms. 30847, was among the first manuscripts of the Roman liturgy copied in the Iberian Peninsula outside Catalunya¹⁸. It has been attributed to the scriptorium at Santo Domingo de Silos by many scholars including me, although this is not definitive. The title of the feast is clearly given as *In natale sanctorum innocentum parvulorum*. The pericopes, prayers and sung elements appear on ff. 50v to 57r between the feast of St John the Evangelist and the Sunday after the Nativity. The texts begin with a short reading, *Vidi supra montem Sion agnum stantem*, the first verse of chapter 14 of the Book of the Apocalypse, associated with this feast in the Roman rite since at least the eighth century¹⁹. Although extracts from that chapter had featured significantly in the Old Hispanic liturgy, they had never included the first verse, as the vision of the Lamb on Mount Sion, allegorically in the Heavenly Jerusalem, had formed the basis of chants for the Octave after Easter²⁰. On one level this was a small change, but it was a significant shift in visual imagery. The responsory is *Vidi turbam magnam* (Apocalypse 7, 9), which returns to ideas familiar from the Old Hispanic liturgy. After the Magnificat and the antiphon, *Sinite parvulos venire ad me*, the prayer *Deus cuius hodierna preconium innocentes* encapsulates much that was new in this feast from the Iberian point of view: the day (*hodie*), the clear designation of the innocents as martyrs and the argument for their confession not by speaking but by dying (*martyres non loquendo sed moriendo confessi sunt*)²¹. That concept can be traced to the fifth-century in the earliest surviving collection of Mass prayers according to the Roman rite²². The assertion of martyrdom is echoed in *Christum natum regem pro quo martyres innocentes*, a comparatively rare *invitatorium*, which, appears however, in the early eleventh-century antiphoner Toledo, Biblioteca Capitulare, 44.1, possibly from Sant Sadurní de Tavèrnoles²³, in the thirteenth-century Antiphoner of Saint-Victor de Marseilles (BNF, lat. 1090) and in a sixteenth-century Portuguese sanctoral-antiphoner that is thought to preserve the Aquitanian tradition

¹⁸ Walker 1998, p. 133.

¹⁹ Hayward 1994, p. 78.

²⁰ Huglo 2013, pp. 205-206.

²¹ Also in the later twelfth-century sacramentary from San Isidoro, León: BL, Add. ms. 39924, f. 20v.

²² Olsen 2015, pp. 111-12; Hayward 1994, p. 79.

²³ Collamore 2003, pp. 179-206.

(Braga, Arquivo da Sé, ms. 28)²⁴. Of the six psalmic antiphons that follow only the first, the tropological *Novit dominus viam iustorum* (Psalms 1, 6) is also written into the antiphonary from Silos (BL, Add. ms. 30850). The second antiphon *Rex terrae infremuit adversus* is unusual but found in an antiphonary of ca. 1100 from Rome (Biblioteca Vallicelliana, ms. C.5) and a twelfth-century antiphonary from Saint-Maur-des-Fossés outside Paris (BNF, NAL 12584)²⁵. The third antiphon *Deus iudex iustus judica nos*, based on Psalms 7, 12, is also not a common antiphon for the Holy Innocents, but the fourth, *Ex ore infantium deus et lactantium*, a song of praise and celebration of victory based on Psalms 8, 3, is used widely for this feast. The fifth antiphon *Iudicavit dominus pupillum* (sic) is another unusual antiphon for this feast based on Psalms 9, 39 and Psalms 10, 7. In contrast, the sixth antiphon, *Mortis usuras rex impius*, is sung in the same position during the feast of the Holy Innocents in the Roman antiphonary, Vallicelliana C.5, and it appears elsewhere in the offices for the Holy Innocents in the Aquitanian antiphonary, Toledo, Biblioteca Capitulare, 44.2²⁶. That manuscript, which may have been in Spain by ca. 1100, has been associated with the Cluniac house of Saint-Pierre at Moissac, but there is a lacuna before f. 25r where most of the chants for matins were once recorded. Each of the antiphons in Add. 30847 is followed by its psalm and the typically Iberian *terminatio, sevovae*. In summary this seems to be a highly individualised set of psalmic antiphons that has some similarities with manuscripts from both Aquitaine and Rome. The theme of divine justice emerges strongly to emphasise an aspect of this feast that had been important since the debates of the fifth century²⁷.

The first pericope, *Agnus Christus de quo Iohannes ait*, is number 47 in the collection of Smaragdus, which begins with its biblical text: Apocalypse 14, 1-5 *Vidi supra montem agnum stantem*²⁸. This homily is read throughout the first and second nocturns, divided into eight pericopes punctuated by responsory antiphons with verses. The exegesis is essentially ecclesiological and Christological: Mount Sion is interpreted as an allegory of the church and the number of the elect; Christ is its protector; the thunder is the evangelist; and the new song is the New Testament. The first responsory for the first nocturn is *Sub altare dei audivi* with the verse *Vidi sub altare dei*. It is

²⁴ Portuguese Early Music Database (PEM): <http://pemdatabse.eu> [accessed: 17/03/2019].

²⁵ Hesbert II 1965: Saint-Maur-des-Fossés lat. 12584 is manuscript F.

²⁶ Olexy 1992, ff. 25r-32v. See Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, C.5, <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/chants?source=123635&feast=2744> [accessed: 06/03/2019]. Rubio Sadia 2004, pp. 134-136.

²⁷ Hayward 1994, pp. 72-94.

²⁸ Walker 1998, pp. 86-88; Patrologia Latina 1851, col. 48-50.

frequently used for this feast, but in diverse forms, and it came to be associated with enacted liturgical rituals on the anniversary of the Holy Innocents²⁹. The other responds are equally widespread: *Adoraverunt viventem in* (Apocalypse 4, 10); *Effuderunt sanguinem* (Psalms 78, 3); and *Histi sunt sancti qui passi sunt* (Apocalypse 14, 4). These four responds are also used for the first nocturn in the Silos Antiphony, Add. 30850, although not in exactly the same order. The second nocturn begins with six antiphons: *Quis ascendet aut quis stabit* (Psalms 23, 3); *Innocentes adhaeserunt mihi* (Psalms 24, 21); *Inter innocentes lababo manus* (Psalms 25, 6); *Mendaces et vani dum Christum*; *Ambulabunt mecum in albis* (Apocalypse 3, 5); and *Angeli eorum semper vident* (Matthew 18, 10). The first four antiphons are quite widespread and they are used, for example, in the Roman antiphony, Vallicelliana C.5. The last antiphon is found in Toledo 44.2, although not in this position but, if we had the full text for matins in Toledo 44.2, the picture might look different. The homily is again divided into four pericopes marked by responsories: *Isti sunt sancti qui non inquinaverunt*; *Ecce vidi agnum stantem*; *Vidi sub altare dei audivi voces occisorum*; and *Hi em(p)ti sunt ex omnibus* (sic). Each of these appears also in the Silos Antiphony, Add. 30850, for the feast of the Holy Innocents, but, with the exception of *Isti sunt sancti qui non*, they are not used for the second nocturn. The third nocturn (*ad cantica*) in Add. 30847 begins with the antiphon *Innocentes pro cristo* and its verse *Corpora sanctorum*. The homily, *Non dicit tuum puerum neque mulieris*, on Matthew 2, 13-23, comes again from the collection of Smaragdus, although it is not read in full³⁰. The responsories that mark the pericopes all use texts from the Book of the Apocalypse largely familiar from the Old Hispanic liturgy: *Vidi turbam magnam* (Apocalypse 7, 9); *Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus* (Apocalypse 14, 4); *Cantabant sancti novum canticum* (Apocalypse 14, 3); *Centum quadraginta quattuor milia* (Apocalypse 14, 3). Only the last of these is shared with the selection of responsories for the third nocturn in Add. 30850. The others feature widely at this period but not in this position.

The scribe of Add. 30847 wrote out in full the text for all the pericopes for the Holy Innocents, and the text and the music for the responsories that divide them. Musical notation is added for some of the antiphons, but in some cases the space for that remains blank. Where the passages from the homilies contain biblical texts, they are rubricated, as they often are in homiliaries, which may indicate that these were intoned slightly differently from the rest of the text. The shortage of incipits gives a sense that much of this material

²⁹ Grier 2000, pp. 182-186.

³⁰ Patrologia Latina 1851, col. 51-55.

may still have been unfamiliar in this liturgical context. The *mise-en-page* and the lack of musical notation for some pieces suggest that this book may have been compiled from the perspective of the monk who was to intone the homilies and sing the intervening responsories³¹. The sung texts for the feast of the Holy Innocents in Add. 30847 are much more restrained than those for *in diem allisionis infantum* in the Old Hispanic liturgy as they lack the lows of lamentation and the highs of the alleluias of the traditional rite. The responsories use Apocalypse texts familiar from the Old Hispanic liturgy, but without the juxtaposition with Jeremiah the expectant eschatological context is paramount. In particular the focus is now on the vision of the Lamb on Mount Zion, an image that had been important in the Old Hispanic liturgy for Eastertide but now led the victory theme for the Holy Innocents. Smaragdus's homilies do not disrupt this emphasis but offer moderate and inclusive exegesis. The narrative of the massacre continues to be present in the gospel reading from Matthew, but it is not elaborated.

4. HOMILIES BETWEEN THE OLD HISPANIC AND ROMAN RITES

Marius Férotin noted two homilies for *in diem allisionis infantum*: *Catholicam, dilectissimi fratres, religiosa fides admonet* and *Deus, cuius misericordia per utrumque sexum*, in the only surviving, almost complete, *liber missarum* (Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, 35.3) of the late eleventh century³². However, there is no evidence that these sermons were in regular use in the Old Hispanic liturgy before that time. It is notable that a relatively high number of manuscripts containing homilies survive from the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries, studied in detail by Raimond Étaix and Germain Morin³³. Two homiliaries for the Roman rite, BNF NAL 2176 and NAL 2177 –the former an augmented copy of the latter– are closely linked to the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos, and the hand of one of the scribes in NAL 2176 is found in the Silos Apocalypse, BL, Add. ms. 11695. This casts considerable doubt on the earlier eleventh-century date once assigned to them. On the basis of the initial style Ann Boylan also identifies parallels with the Silos Antiphonary and Add. 30850, and accepts both NAL 2176 and Add. 30850 as products of the Silos scriptorium³⁴. In both the homiliaries the sermons come from the collections of Smaragdus and Paul the Deacon. In NAL 2176

³¹ Webber 2017, p. 185.

³² Férotin 1912, col. 37; Gros 1978, p. 61.

³³ Morin 1893, pp. 405-425.

³⁴ Avril 1982, pp. 22-24; Boylan 1990, pp. 289-290.

the feast of the Holy Innocents lacks a heading but the homilies are clearly written: on f. 32v, *Zelus quo tendat quo siliat livor* (Paul the Deacon); on f. 33r, *Non dicit tuum puerum neque mulieris* (Smaragdus); and on f. 36v, *De morte pretiosa martyrum christi* (Paul the Deacon)³⁵. The texts on folios surviving from the summer section (*pars aestiva*) of another homiliary (Burgos, Archivo de la Catedral, Cod. 2) are almost identical to NAL 2177, and also interweave sermons from the collections of Smaragdus and Paul the Deacon³⁶. A fourth homiliary for the Roman rite, Sheffield, Museum & Galleries Trust, ms. 31, contains only the collection of Paul the Deacon³⁷. Here a clear heading on f. 46v *de natale innocentum* introduces the homily *Zelus qua tendat*, which it wrongly attributes to Severianus. Two more homilies follow: *Dedicator nobis ab infantibus sermo sanctis laudibus*; and again, Bede's *De morte pretiosa*. On the other hand, another fragmentary homiliary, Burgos, Archivo de la Catedral Cod. I, contains the collection of Smaragdus, including *Agnus Christi de quo Joannes ait* (f. 330r), followed by the collection of Paul the Deacon³⁸.

Twenty of the additional homilies found in NAL 2176, but not in NAL 2177, also appear in BL, Add. ms. 30853³⁹. This homiliary was published by Morin as a book of "Toledan" homilies, and several of the readings also appear in a mixed book of the Old Hispanic rite, Add. 30844⁴⁰. Add. 30853 contains a cycle of homilies for the liturgical year, which does not include a sermon for *in diem allisionis infantum* or *in natale innocentium sanctorum*; this cycle ends on f. 231r with a clear statement *fnit deo gratias amen*. On f. 232v another group of supplementary homilies begins, although there are no further correspondences with Add. 30844. On f. 250r to f. 254v, Add. 30853 has a homily, *Hodie fratres karissimi natale illorum infantum*, headed *sermo in natale infantum*. This manuscript has been assigned to a wide date range from the late tenth century to the early twelfth century. Certain features of its illumination have led some scholars to suggest that it was produced at San Millán de la Cogolla⁴¹; others, including José Ruiz Asencio, argue that it was copied at Santo Domingo de Silos, but after a model from San Millán de la Cogolla⁴². Ruiz Asencio also opts for a later eleventh-century date, and he compares the manuscript to two psalters of the Old Hispanic liturgy, BL,

³⁵ Étaix 1990, p. 21.

³⁶ Étaix 1959, pp. 213-224; Mansilla 1949, pp. 381-418.

³⁷ Brou 1949, pp. 7-8.

³⁸ Étaix 1959, p. 224.

³⁹ Étaix, 1959, p. 221.

⁴⁰ Morin 1893, pp. 405-25.

⁴¹ Boylan 1990, pp. 253-57.

⁴² Ruiz 2003, pp. 177-210.

Add. ms 30851, and especially BNF, Smith-Lesouëf 2, part II, where he sees the same hand. The script of Add. 30853 is Visigothic with few Caroline characteristics, suggesting an earlier date, but a letter copied into the manuscript on f. 231r-v has prompted later dating. The letter purports to be from the Saviour to Petrus, a bishop of Nîmes. Since Petrus Ermengaudus (1080-1090) is the only known bishop of Nîmes to be called Peter in the late tenth or eleventh centuries, it is often argued that he was the supposed recipient. This still does not explain the reason for inserting a letter addressed to the distant bishop of Nîmes. One occasion that might have occasioned this unusual text is the visit of Peter, Archbishop of Aix, the metropolitan of Nîmes, to Silos in 1088 to participate in the consecration of new altars. However, it should be noted that the theme of the letter is rest, which raises the possibility that it is a kind of colophon justifying time off for the scribe at the end of his labours at the point when he has finished the main part of the book. The “letter” may thus be a scribal conceit and unreliable as an indication of the time or place of production. Broadly the contents of these homiliaries indicate that they belong to the period of liturgical change around 1100, when it is apparent that considerable variation is permitted in the homilies for the night office⁴³. They suggest a particular interest in collections of homilies at this time and a willingness to experiment. This will be further elucidated by a Roman breviary copied at Santo Domingo de Silos.

5. A CONFIDENT EXPERIMENT: THE ROMAN BREVIARY, ADD. MS. 30848:

IN NATALE SANCTORUM INNOCENTUM

The breviary BL, Add. ms. 30848, was probably copied slightly later in the implementation process of liturgical change than Add. 30847⁴⁴. It expresses a creative and confident approach to the new liturgy through its fine script and its accomplished illumination, which nonetheless perpetuate some habits from the past. The character of the first two nocturns for the feast *in [natale] sanctorum innocentum* (ff. 34v-37r) is determined largely by a change of homily. Smaragdus is set aside in favour of another sermon: *Hodie fratres karissimi natale illorum infantum*, also found in Add. 30853. This comes from the collection of Alan of Farfa, and, although it is often attributed to Augustine, is the work of Caesarius of Arles (d. 542)⁴⁵. It is also included

⁴³ Walker 1998, p. 211.

⁴⁴ Walker 1998, pp. 93-95.

⁴⁵ Altés 2013, p. 60; Morin 1953, pp. 877-878; Hayward 1994, pp. 74-75.

in a homiliary from the monastery of Saint-Pierre at Moissac, probably of the mid-eleventh century (BNF, Moissac Reg. 3783, ff. 59r-64v). Although Moissac and other monasteries in its region almost certainly supplied texts for the liturgical change in Iberia, such dependency cannot be demonstrated in this case, as the version of the homily in the Moissac manuscript is not that written in Add. 30848. Morin identified two recensions: one which, for example, adds *crudelissimo* before *rege*, and a second version that omits that adjective but adds a short passage, *Sic enim [paulo] ante audivimus (...) adquisivit, after beatitudinis [sic] effulsit*⁴⁶. The version copied into Add. 30848 is distinct from that in the Moissac homiliary, but a close comparison of the texts in Add. 30853 and Add. 30848 shows that several idiosyncrasies can be identified in both, to the extent it can be said that they contain the same version. Despite different systems of abbreviation, the close resemblance between the texts is remarkable. Both omit *crudelissimo* but include the *Sic enim* passage, and, for example, use –perhaps deliberately– *beatitudinis* for *benedictionis*; *occisis* for *occasus*; *homocidii causa* for *odii causa*; *transferretur* for *transferat*. One word in a sentence where they differ may even suggest that Add. 30848 copied this sermon from Add. 30853. This says that *the wicked enemy could never have benefitted the blessed little ones through deference, as much as he did through hate*. Where the majority of texts have *prodesse* (to benefit), Add. 30853 has *prodisse* split over the two lines, which was probably an orthographic quirk and not a change of verb, as that manuscript also gives *cerimonias* for *ceremonias*. Either way, it may have confused the scribe of Add. 30848 who wrote *prodidisse*.

The homily *Hodie fratres karissimi natale illorum infantum* is not, to my knowledge, to be found in any of the liturgical books that contain the Old Hispanic liturgy. I have shown previously how the compiler(s) of Add. 30848 carefully selected extracts from the commentary of Beatus on the Apocalypse, a text already familiar to the monks, to be read at the four Sundays after the Easter Octave and their search for a homily for the “new feast” of the Holy Innocents amongst their own books seems to be a parallel case⁴⁷. This homily constitutes a firm statement arguing for the fitting celebration of the cult of the Holy Innocents⁴⁸. Its rhetoric and vocabulary emphasise that *we rightly celebrate the anniversary of those killed by the king Herod as the evangelist declares (digne tamen Natalem illorum colimus)*. The Innocents are celebrated as martyrs, (*iure dicuntur martyrum flores (...) pretiosa mors martyrum laudem*

⁴⁶ Morin 1953, pp. 877-81.

⁴⁷ Walker 1998, pp. 88-89; 2018.

⁴⁸ Hayward 1994, pp. 74-75.

in confessione promeruit), as celestial soldiers (*coelestium militum*), and as blessed little ones (*beatis parvulis*). The importance of the day and its liturgy is highlighted alongside a rejection of lamentation and tears (*sacratissimum praesentis diei festum* and *dignum est interfectis pro Christo infantibus honores impendere; ceremonias, non dolores, sacramentis dare vota, non lacrymas*). Towards the end the homily turns to an eschatological context and calls out for the day of judgement (*novissima dies*), when the stars and heaven will fall and the just will be separated from the unjust, and those who praise God from the blasphemers. The third nocturn selects again Bede's *De morte pretiosa martyrum*, taken from the collection of Paul the Deacon. In Bede's homily the Massacre of the Innocents is an exemplum of the glory of martyrdom as a reward for humility, presented in the wider context of the persecuted Church. Like Caesarius of Arles, Bede argues against mourning and for celebration⁴⁹. The prophecy of Jeremiah is placed within this interpretation as an allegory of the Church and its saints who overcome death. Together these homilies constitute a strong rebuttal of the Old Hispanic liturgy's approach to this feast.

Add. 30848 contains almost the same selection of chants as the antiphonary, Add. 30850, and together these manuscripts consolidate the form of the Roman liturgy at Silos ca. 1100. The opening chant *Innocentes pro Cristo infantes occisi sunt* (CAO 3351) presents the incongruous image of the suckling infants (*lactantes*) who, even as they are killed for Christ, praise the Lamb and forever are saying the Gloria. Texts for the Gloria were consistently added as corrections to this manuscript, perhaps to emphasise the importance of celebration even at the worst moment. A joyous tone continues in the "invitatorio" *Adoremus Salvatoris*. The set of six antiphons that follow is identical to that found in Add. 30850. The first, *Novit Dominus viam iustorum*, is the only one shared for the first nocturn with Add. 30847. The second antiphon combines the cries of the infants and their mothers with the Church rejoicing over its martyrs in *Clamant, clamant, clamant*. This antiphon is not widespread, and nor is the third in this set. An element of dramatic narrative is allowed with the little infant smiling at the sword of his murderer in *Arridebat parvulus occisori gladio*, a text from a homily by Peter Chrysologus not used otherwise in this manuscript⁵⁰. This is immediately followed by the consolatory promise of heaven in two popular antiphons, *Dabo sanctis meis locum* from John 14, 2 and *Sinite parvulos venire ad me*. The sixth antiphon, *Reddet deus mercedem* (Sapientia 10, 17), is more commonly used for All Saints. The four responsories sung after each pericope in the first nocturn pick up the

⁴⁹ Hayward 1994, pp. 75-76.

⁵⁰ Hayward 1994, p. 71.

Apocalyptic theme. The order in Add. 30848 varies slightly from that found in Add. 30847: *Vidi sub altare et audivi; Effuderunt sanguinem; Adoraberunt viventem;* and *Isti sunt sancti qui passi sunt*. Thus, these words are placed in yet another context, alongside *Hodie fratres karissimi natale illorum infantum*, one in which lamentation is explicitly set aside in favour of the joy of martyrdom. The second nocturn begins with the antiphon *Erodes videns quia inlusus* that uses the text of Matthew 2, 16 to set out the event of the massacre followed by the joyful psalm verse *Gaudete iusti* (Psalms 32, 1). The other five antiphons *Licuit sanguinem loqui quibus* (CAO 3627) are celebrations of martyrdom: *Ecce vidi agnum stantem* (Apocalypse 14, 1); *Istorum est enim regnum caelorum* (Apocalypse 7, 4); *Sanguis sanctorum martyrum* (CAO 4809); and *Vindica Domine sanguinem* (Apocalypse 6, 10). The responsories that punctuate the continuation of the homily in Add. 30848 are found in the same order in Add. 30850: *Cantabant sancti canticam* (Apocalypse 14, 3); *Isti sunt sancti qui* (Apocalypse 3, 4); *Coronabit eos Dominus*, which appears uncharacteristically in this manuscript only as an incipit; and *Concede nobis Domine* (CAO 1863). Amongst other late eleventh-century and early twelfth-century manuscripts, the last two responsories are also found in Toledo 44.2 but for the feast of *Commune plurimorum martyrum* and not for the Holy Innocents.

The third nocturn (*Ad cantica*) opens with the antiphon *O quam gloriosum et regnum* (Apocalypse 7, 9; 14, 4), a chant that was used elsewhere as part of the liturgical enactment *Interfectio puerorum*⁵¹. The homily *De morte pretiosa martyrum* is divided by four responsories: *Ecce vidi agnum stantem* (Apocalypse 14, 1); *Sub trono Dei omnes sancti* (Apocalypse 6, 9-10); *Qui em[p]ti sunt ex [h]ominibus*, which uses the *qui* of Apocalypse 14, 4 and not the more usual *hi*; and *Centum quadraginta quattuor* (Apocalypse 14, 3). Alongside the emphatic rejection of lamentation and a concentration on the glories that await the righteous, the version of the Roman liturgy in Add. 30848 also admits more of the narrative of the Massacre of the Innocents. This derives for the most part from the late antique world of Caesarius of Arles where graphic details were used to heighten theological debate⁵². The importance given to the early Church by Pope Gregory VII in his arguments for liturgical change at the end of the eleventh century may have partly inspired the choice of homilies and the overall tone that they set for this feast at the moment when the version of the Roman liturgy in Add. 30848 was formulated and copied.

⁵¹ Boynton 1998, pp. 45-48, 62.

⁵² Hayward 1994, pp. 67-68.

6. INTO THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Neither the homily of Smaragdus nor that of Caesarius of Arles seems to have been chosen for the first and second nocturns in the breviaries of twelfth-century Iberia, although few have survived to confirm this. Instead Peter Chrysologus's sermon *Zelus quo tendat quo siliat livor*, number 49 in the collection of Paul the Deacon, became the usual homily, alongside Bede's *De morte preciosa* for the gospel reading⁵³. The fifth-century author of this homily provided rich dramatic detail using emotive language against the cruelty of Herod and in celebration of the blessed wombs that carried the infants, the blessed breasts that gave them milk, and the blessed tears that were shed for them. The image of the infant smiling at the sword (*Arridebat*) of his murderer comes from this homily. It argues that both the mothers and their infants received baptism: the mothers through their tears and the infants through their blood, but most importantly through grace and not through merit⁵⁴.

Such vivid descriptions of the massacre cannot be traced visually in manuscripts or other media at Santo Domingo de Silos or San Millán de la Cogolla in the early twelfth century, but they appear in other places. The most notable example is in the Panteón at San Isidoro in León. A large scene on the southwest vault, pulled out from the rest of the Infancy cycle, is dedicated to the Massacre of the Innocents. Various dated from *ca.* 1100 to after 1164, aspects of this portrayal help to place the paintings in the first half of the twelfth century, in the period when San Isidoro was still a double monastery under a royal *domina*. The scene does not form one narrative, but is a series of cameos, four are individual scenes that follow the divisions of the vault to present one soldier in the act of killing one of the infants with a sword or a spear, whilst Herod is enthroned in a larger panel towards the centre. Below Herod can be seen the only panel to include one of the mothers as well as her infant. Another panel on the eastern side of the vault shows two soldiers, although their murders are happening in separate spaces. The iconography of these scenes could have derived from late antique sarcophagi, for example those on a sarcophagus lid at Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume (Var) and on the Trinity sarcophagus at Arles; the former shows the Massacre whilst the latter has only Herod on his throne directing the soldiers⁵⁵. The adjacent scene on the Trinity sarcophagus depicting Abraham about to sacrifice Isaac, with

⁵³ Brou 1949, pp. 159-160.

⁵⁴ Hayward 1994, pp. 70-71.

⁵⁵ Musée Réattu, Arles.

his sword raised in his right hand while the left holds the head of Isaac, could even have inspired a similar pose adopted by one of the soldiers in the double eastern panel at San Isidoro who likewise looks away from his act. The tituli in the Panteón are damaged, but enough sections are preserved to demonstrate their liturgical character⁵⁶. The inscription that accompanies the figure of Herod, *Gerosolimen cum eo*, despite its unusual orthography immediately invokes the gospel reading from Matthew 2, 3: *Herodes rex turbatus est et omnis hierosolyma cum illo*. The titulus alongside the mother, *Rachel plorans filios suos* (Matthew 2, 18), continues that association, but that accompanying the panel with two soldiers, *isti sunt innocentes qui propter Deum occisi sunt*, references the antiphon *Innocentes pro Christo infantes occisi sunt* found in the Silos Antiphonary Add. 30850, as well as in the breviaries Add. 30847 and Add. 30848. This liturgical scene had a special association for San Isidoro, as the obit for its founder, Fernando I (d. 1065), was celebrated at Cluny on the morrow of the feast of the Holy Innocents, and, since the introduction of the Roman liturgy into León, San Isidoro probably followed suit before 1148. After that the date of the obit was moved forward to 27 December and later to 23 December, thus removing the association with the Holy Innocents. However, nothing is known of what may have replaced the commemorative ceremonies for the king around 29 December.

One other inscription at San Isidoro may refer to the liturgy of the Holy Innocents. A fragment from the lapidarium, *ne maiestatis arce adoran*, has been extended to read [*Sedentem in super*] *ne maiestatis arce adoran[t]*, and it has been proposed that it formed part of a doorway dated to the early twelfth century⁵⁷. The text is a prosula, which I have not been able to find in any manuscripts from León or Castile in the earlier twelfth century. However, Bonastre recorded it as a verbeta (prosula), linked to the responsory *O quam gloriosum est regnum* for the Holy Innocents, in the antiphonary of Sant Feliu in Girona (Girona, Museu Diocesà, Cod. 45, f. 108v). Gros and Marquès clarified that it was part of a number of additions to that manuscript probably written in the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries⁵⁸. In similar vein Susan Boynton has highlighted this prosula in the thirteenth-century ordinal of Bayeux Cathedral, where it forms part of the boy bishop ceremonies on the feast of the Holy Innocents⁵⁹. Evidence for such ceremonies in Iberia before the late thirteenth or fourteenth centuries is so far lacking, as is evi-

⁵⁶ Walker 2000, pp. 200-225.

⁵⁷ Martin 2008, pp. 369-370.

⁵⁸ Bonastre 1982, pp. 154-155; Marquès, Gros 1995, p. 242, fn. 25.

⁵⁹ Boynton 2008, p. 46.

dence for other liturgical enactments, such as the *Interfectio puerorum*⁶⁰. The fragmentary inscription at San Isidoro thus remains a puzzle.

From the middle of the twelfth century dramatic sculptural representations of the Massacre of the Innocents began to appear in Iberia as they did in France, notably in the capital frieze on the west facade of Chartres cathedral⁶¹. The first known instance in Iberia is on the tomb of Queen Blanca (d. 1156) who was buried at Santa María in Nájera after dying in childbirth. On the surviving lid of the tomb the mothers plead for their infants, one of whom is still swaddled⁶². This iconography was to spread across archivolts and capitals in Spain, as it had in France, including the now lost north portal at Santo Domingo de Silos⁶³. In this way the liturgical expression of the feast of the Holy Innocents transformed across the eleventh and twelfth centuries from the extravagant but allegorical lamentation and joy of the Old Hispanic rite, based on Jeremiah and the Apocalypse, to a period of restraint and reconceptualisation that used the Apocalypse and homilies to concentrate on the joys of martyrdom. The detailed narrative of the massacre gradually became more important in the liturgy during the twelfth century, as it had been in homilies and poetry of the early Church, and from the middle of that century ever more dramatic visualisations were executed.

⁶⁰ Boynton 1998, pp. 39-64.

⁶¹ Nolan 1996, pp. 95-141.

⁶² Váldez 1996, pp. 311-333.

⁶³ Lozano 2010, pp. 275-291; Poza 2011, pp. 126-128.

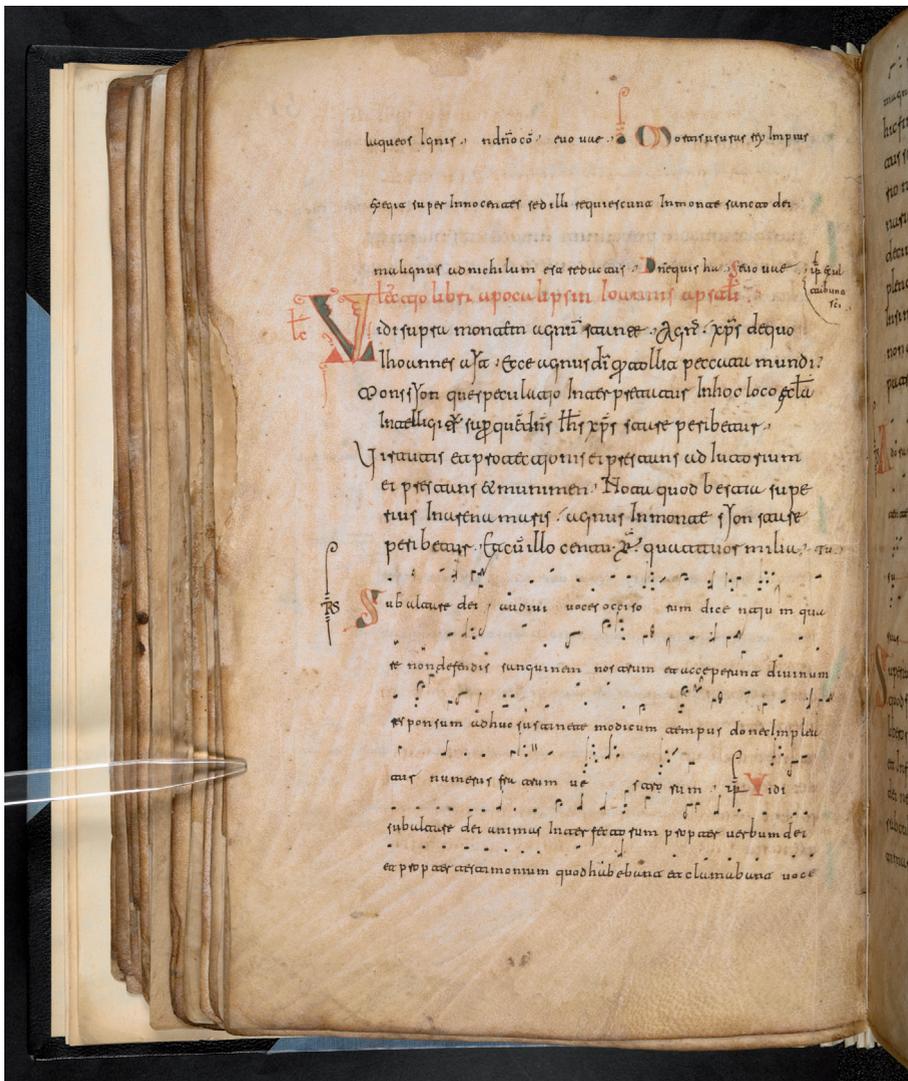


Fig. 2. © British Library Board, Add. ms. 30847, f. 51v.

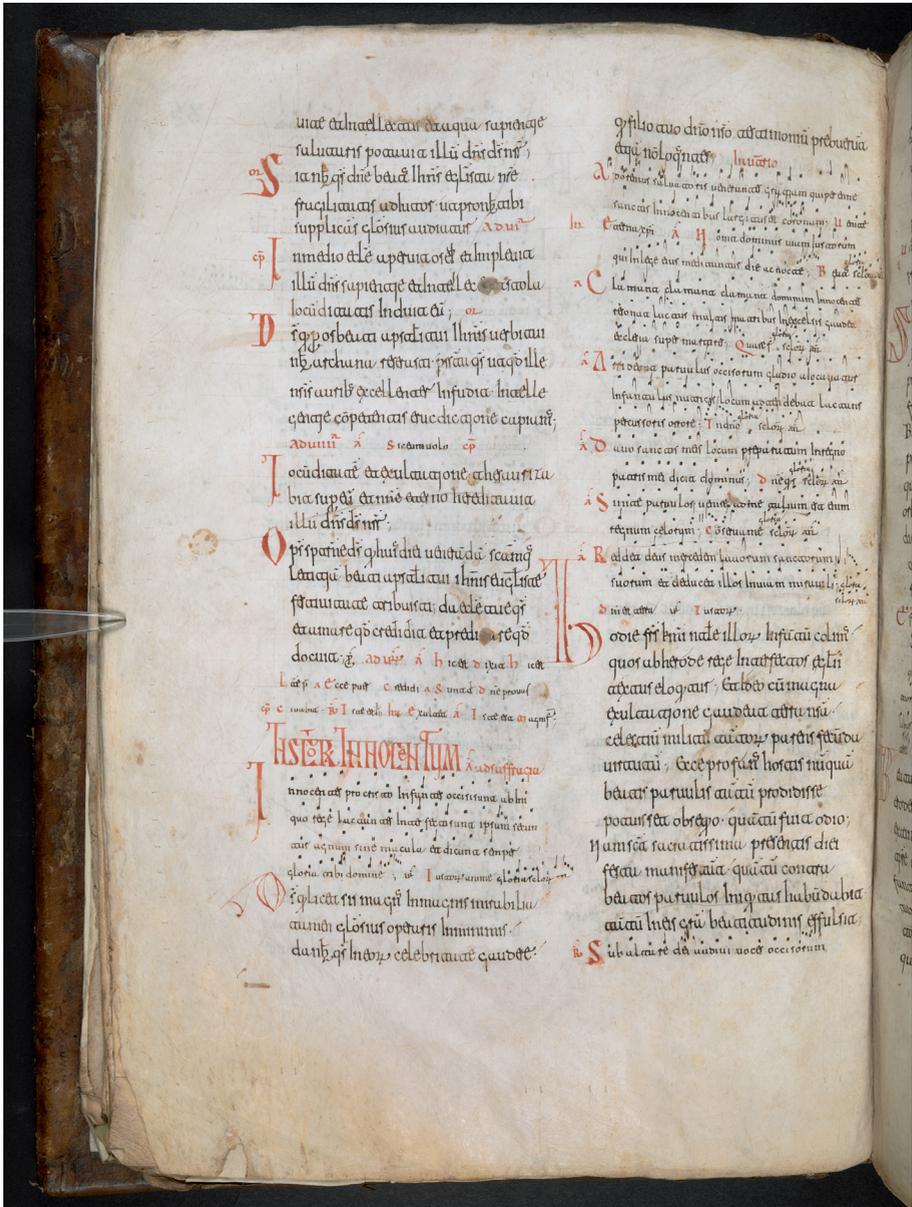


Fig. 3. © British Library Board, Add. ms. 30848, f. 34v.

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Fecha de recepción del artículo: abril 2019

Fecha de aceptación y versión final: diciembre 2019