

THE SACRAMENTARIO DE SAHAGÚN AND AN EXULTET

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When the newly appointed archbishop of Toledo, Bernard of Sédirac (c. 1040 – 1125) arrived in the city in 1086, he may have brought with him a recently prepared sacramentary, one which is now part of the collections of the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid, catalogued with the *signatura* VITR/20/8.¹ Known as *Sacramentario de Sahagún* or *Missale Sancti Facundi*, this generously and comfortably proportioned book is still in fine condition over nine hundred years after its creation.² Although we cannot be certain that Madrid, BNE VITR/20/8 (hereafter *Sacramentario*) arrived in Toledo with Bernard, its association with him is strong, and it was to remain in Toledo for many centuries.

Bernard was the first archbishop appointed after Toledo had been taken over by Alfonso VI in 1085. A Frenchman and a monk of Cluny, Bernard's previous appointment had been as abbot of the Leonese monastery of Sahagún where he had been since 1080. The sacramentary appears likely to have been prepared for use at Sahagún, but the place of its copying is uncertain. It is by now of special significance as one of the very few remaining liturgical books associated with the church of Toledo of Archbishop Bernard's time. Not only was that the time of the reconquest of the city and restoration of the see, it was also the point at which the Franco-Roman rite was introduced into Toledo, positioning the city to again be recognized as the primatial see of Spain by the end of the century.

Sacramentario is now readily available for online viewing through the digital collections of the BNE, and one may hope that this availability will enable more

¹ Fully digitized in colour, the *Sacramentario de Sahagún* is freely available through the Biblioteca Digital Hispánica at <http://www.bne.es/en/Catalogos/BibliotecaDigitalHispanica/Inicio/>, PID: bdh0000015300. I am grateful to the BNE for its provision of digital access to this and other medieval manuscripts, and for providing additional high-resolution images of *Sacramentario* necessary for this investigation.

² *Sacramentario de Sahagún* was the principal title given for the book in the catalogue of liturgical manuscript sources held in the BNE prepared by Janini and Serrano, 1969, p. 248. The name *Missale Sancti Facundi* is inscribed on the front of the book's nineteenth-century binding and has also been added (as *Missale S. Facundi*) on the top of fol. 1r.

scholarly attention and analysis.³ In this article, I aim to make better known and understood the small amount of musical information included in this sacramentary. Although only four of its 136 folios contain musical notation, and the quantity of notated material on each page is small, exploring this musical information can nevertheless contribute to the further development of understanding of the origin and early practices surrounding this important book, a book which has been overlooked by musicologists.⁴ My own interest in this manuscript arose out of my larger research project concerning melodic practice for the Easter vigil prayer known as the Exultet, and it is on the Exultet in *Sacramentario* that the second half of this paper will focus. Firstly, I review aspects of the manuscript's history and the scholarly attention it has received, and also attempt to contribute to knowledge on the background of one or more models that might have been used during the preparation of *Sacramentario*.

I. SOME HISTORY

Following its preparation, perhaps in France or perhaps at the monastery of Sahagún between 1080 and 1086,⁵ *Sacramentario* was to receive a number of additions and amendments. One of these is the incomplete copy of a letter to Bernard from Abbot Hugh of Cluny found at the end of the book in *otra mano contemporánea* (Janini y Serrano, 1969, p. 249). In this letter, Abbot Hugh sent his approval of Bernard's appointment as archbishop of Toledo. The book's close association with Bernard is particularly derived from the letter's inclusion.

If *Sacramentario* was in fact a personal book belonging to or used by Archbishop Bernard then its employment may have come to an end with Bernard's death in April 1125.⁶ Remaining in Toledo, *Sacramentario* was incorporated into the library collections of the cathedral of Toledo from at least the sixteenth cen-

³ Important studies of *Sacramentario* include the detailed catalogue entry in Janini and Serrano, 1969, pp. 248-51, which remains vital to any study of the manuscript; and the introduction to the manuscript in González Ruiz, 1997, esp. pp. 79-80 and 690. Reference to other contributions to the study of this book will be included below.

⁴ Perhaps this lacuna in musicological study arose because, as a sacramentary, it would have been assumed to contain little or no musical notation. Furthermore, some of its notation can be easily missed as was my experience when first viewing this book reproduced on black and white microfilm.

⁵ For comment on the dating, see González Ruiz, 1997, p. 80.

⁶ On the date of death of Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, see Reilly, 1998, pp. 244-45, fn. 6.

tury, and it has been proposed that it may earlier have been kept in the cathedral's *sagraria* (González Ruiz, 1997, pp. 80, 690). While still in Toledo during the eighteenth century, *Sacramentario* was included in the study of liturgical manuscripts held at the cathedral carried out by Jesuit scholar, Andrés Marcos Burriel (1719–1762).⁷ Eventually, probably during the second half of the nineteenth century, *Sacramentario* was moved from Toledo to be incorporated into the collections of the national library in Madrid.⁸ There, a new cover of white leather was provided by an artistic binder of high repute, Antoine Ménard, a Frenchman who worked in Madrid during the late part of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century.

In Madrid, during the first half of the twentieth century, *Sacramentario* received the attention of various scholars from different fields including palaeographer Antonín Millares Carlo, art historian Jesús Domínguez Bordona, and liturgist Ludwig Fischer.⁹ On the other hand musicologists of the era do not appear to have taken the manuscript into account. The remarkable exploratory journey through Spain – or *Iter hispanicum* – undertaken for the Vatican Edition project in 1905–06 produced photographs and insightful reports on many Spanish notated liturgical manuscripts including some in the BNE, but their seminal published reports did not make mention of *Sacramentario* (Sablayrolles, 1912). Subsequently, the book was not included in another important publication, the *Catálogo musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* by Higinio Anglés and José Subirá; its first volume devoted to manuscripts, was published in 1946. This catalogue was the product of diligent searching for musical material in many manuscripts and prints kept in different parts of the library's collection. In his prologue to the first volume, Anglés described the work undertaken by Subirá to identify the materials, but he also admitted the likelihood of lacunae in their catalogue.¹⁰ *Sacramentario* is one of these. It seems probable that either *Sacramentario* was unavailable for Subirá's examination or, if it was examined, the scant notation could have been easily overlooked. Although the lack of musicological

⁷ Burriel, Madrid, BNE MSS/13058, fols. 73–83; Janini and Serrano, 1969, p. 170.

⁸ Janini noted that Toledo books were moved to Madrid in 1868, (Janini and Serrano, 1969, p. ix). For brief reference to the government decree relating to the transfer of valuable items into the national collection from various places, see 1869 in the BNE chronology at <http://www.bne.es/es/LaBNE/Historia/Cronologia/index.html>.

⁹ For these and other references see the bibliography of publications to 1958 in Janini and Serrano, 1969, p. 249.

¹⁰ Higinio Anglés, *Prólogo*, in Anglés and Subirá, 1946, pp. xv–xvi. The *Addenda* to volume 1 published as Appendix 1 of the third volume also did not mention VITR/20/8.

attention continued from that point, Janini and Serrano briefly signalled the presence of some of the notated content in their BNE catalogue of 1969. In that entry is written: “f. 40v: Lecciones del Sábado santo, dos de ellas con notación musical: «V. Lectio. Cantemus domino» y «Tractus. Vinea facta» (f. 41)” (Janini and Serrano, 1969, p. 250).

2. “ESCRITO POR MANOS FRANCESAS”: PREPARATION AND TWO NOTATED INCIPITS

In the absence of firm evidence to identify the place and date of preparation of *Sacramentario*, scholarly opinion has tended to favour the monastery of Sahagún during Bernard’s abbacy,¹¹ while also allowing for the possibility that it was initially copied in France and transferred to Sahagún. Strongly pointing to connection of the textual content with Sahagún is the book’s inclusion of celebrations for the patron saints of the house, Saints Facundus and Primitivus.¹²

The question of place of origin was carefully considered by Janini and Serrano who, in the opening summary of their catalogue entry for *Sacramentario*, cautiously avoided giving a place of copying, stating: “Siglo XI, último cuarto. Escrito por manos francesas” (Janini and Serrano, 1969, p. 248). This summary drew on the observations of esteemed palaeographer Anscario M. Mundó whose opinion is quoted in the entry. He had judged both the book’s script and illumination to probably be the work of *manos francesas* adding *estilo del dibujo como de la región central: Limoges-Borgoña-Cluny?* Mundó also wrote of the *letra carolina muy regular* without trace of Iberian influence, commenting that it was like that of some Cluniac books; and, referring to the presence of French monks at Sahagún, he recorded the opinion that the book could have been prepared at Sahagún (Janini and Serrano, 1969, pp. 248–49). More recent art historical opinion regarding the style of the illuminations in *Sacramentario* has emphasized southern French influence, especially mentioning Moissac (Walker, 1998; Williams, 1993). While we may never know whether *Sacramentario* was made at Sahagún by “French hands,” or somewhere else, probably in France, there remain

¹¹ For example, Miquel S. Gros y Pujol remarked *Parece evidente que es copia de un ejemplar cluniacense procedente de la Borgoña, hecha en el mismo monasterio de Sahagún, por manos francesas ya para uso personal del abad Bernardo* (Gros y Pujol, 1990, p. 110). Others who have favoured the proposal of preparation at Sahagún have been Williams, 1993, pp. 171 and 294–95, and Walker, 1998, esp. pp. 192–96.

¹² On these feasts, see Janini and Serrano, 1969, pp. 249–51.

important questions worth exploring, concerning practices and models that were influential in the manuscript's preparation.

One such practice is represented in the inclusion of the name Benigno (Saint Bénigne of Dijon) on fol. 5r of *Sacramentario* within the list of saints found in the *Nobis quoque* prayer. This inclusion provides another pointer to the sphere of influence surrounding the book's origins.¹³ Although, by this time, the *Nobis quoque* list was already heading towards standardisation, it was still possible to include a locally significant saint. As a result, such a list can be of use to scholars seeking to develop understanding of a manuscript, as was recognized by Victor Léroquais (1924, vol. I, p. xxxiii). Léroquais noted variations in *Nobis quoque* lists within his massive study of sacramentaries and missals in French libraries, identifying only three sources with the standard list to which Benigno's name was added between those of Petro and Felicitate. *Sacramentario* also gives the standard list and has the same placement of Benigno's name, although in what seems likely to be a scribal error, the usual placement of two names near the end of the list is reversed. It is noteworthy that the three lists matching that of *Sacramentario* (but without the scribal error) are all in books from Normandy dated to the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, with two from the abbey of Fécamp, and the third may be from the abbey of Troarn.¹⁴ To this group of sources can be added a fifteenth-century missal of Saint-Bénigne de Dijon which also has Benigno's name included at the same point in the standard list.¹⁵

The association of *Sacramentario* through its *Nobis quoque* list with these four missals suggests linkage with the sphere of influence of William of Dijon. The houses of Fécamp and Troarn, as well as others in Normandy, were part of the extensive network associated with William of Dijon (also known as William of Volpiano). William (d. 1031), following a period at Cluny, was appointed abbot at Saint-Bénigne de Dijon in the late tenth century; then, at the beginning of the eleventh century, he undertook the reform of Norman monasteries commencing

¹³ Burriel pointed out the addition of Benigno in the *Nobis quoque* (BNE MSS/13058, p. 73); and the saint was identified as “[B]enigno (= Dijon)” by Janini and Serrano, 1969, p. 249, who noted the likelihood that this feature *debe relacionarse con el modelo*.

¹⁴ Identified in Léroquais, 1924: Rouen, BM, ms 290, *Missel de Fécamp* (early 12th century), Léroquais, I, p. 194; Rouen, BM ms 292, *Missel de Fécamp*, (late 14th c), Léroquais, II, pp. 377–378; Paris, BN lat. 14446 (12th century), *Missale d'une Abbaye Normande*, Léroquais I, pp. 239–242. Léroquais (I, p. 140) also pointed out the inclusion of Benigno in list of the sacramentary of Besançon, Paris lat. 10500 (11th century), but there the name is within a more comprehensive list and is thus not significant for the comparison with *Sacramentario*.

¹⁵ Dijon, BM, ms 111, fol. 99r.

ing with Fécamp. He proceeded to reform many other houses in both France and Italy.¹⁶ Although a topic that needs further investigation, the inclusion of Benigno in the *Nobis quoque* list seems likely to have been a custom disseminated from Saint-Bénigne de Dijon under William's influence. The presence of Saint Benigno in the *Nobis quoque* of *Sacramentario* therefore permits the hypothesis that a book from one of the many abbeys with connection to William of Dijon was used as a model during the copying of *Sacramentario*.

With this in mind, the notation used for the two chant incipits on folio 40 of *Sacramentario* can now be considered. These notated incipits, previously observed by Janini and Serrano, are for the first two of the four Frankish Easter vigil canticle-tracts (identified in the manuscript by the term *Tractus*): *Cantemus Domino* and *Vinea facta*. The text incipits for the other two Easter vigil canticle-tract incipits – *Attende caelum* and *Sicut cervus* – follow on the next folio but are both without notation.¹⁷ The colour of the ink and general manner of writing of the neumes indicate that the same scribe who copied the text was probably also responsible for entering the notation of the two incipits. The brown shade of the ink used for the notation appears to match that of the surrounding text and is unlike the black ink used for many additions in *Sacramentario* including some on the same page as one of the incipits. The music notation employed for these is that usually named as “Lorraine” or “Messine” notation. By the eleventh century, this type of notation was widespread in north-eastern France especially in the archdiocese of Reims, extending further east to Trier and Metz, and also to the south.¹⁸ As it is likely that the scribe responsible for these two incipits copied the notation given in a model, we should consider the possibility that this model came from an abbey which had been influenced by the reforms of William of Dijon and in which Lorraine notation was in use.

As was usual for the Easter vigil canticle-tracts in the Franco-Roman rite, the same melodic material appears indicated for both incipits, although the first is a little longer than the second. Reading the notation requires caution as it has been fitted into the space between the text lines without the aid of any staff line, and, although the neumes have been carefully placed to represent melodic shape,

¹⁶ For an introduction to the work of William of Dijon, see Hiley, 1993, pp. 577–80.

¹⁷ On fol. 57r–v, the four canticle-tract incipits are given for the vigil of Pentecost, but there are without notation. On the Easter vigil canticle-tracts, see Hornby and Maloy, 2013, chapter 5, and on textual cues for canticle-tracts found in earlier Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries, see *ibid.*, pp. 273–74.

¹⁸ On the approximate extent and early forms of this type of notation, see, for example, Hiley, 1993, pp. 348–50, incl. map p. 350; Hiley here named the notation “Laon”.

interval size cannot be determined with certainty. Nevertheless, comparison with other sources allows the notation of the incipits to be recognized as transmitting the standard melody for the four Frankish Easter vigil tracts. This is the eighth-mode tract melody thought to have been “composed in the Carolingian heartland” no later than the beginning of the ninth century (Hornby and Maloy, 2013, p. 270). The *Sacramentario de Sahagún* is one of the earliest extant sources known, perhaps the earliest, to transmit the canticle-tract melodies in León-Castilla, melodies that represented practice distinct from the local Old-Hispanic traditions.

3. NOTATION FOR THE *BENEDICTIO CEREI* IN THE EASTER VIGIL

The only other musical notation employed in *Sacramentario* was probably added once the book was in use; not during the preparation of the book. With a markedly different appearance to the notation for the incipits discussed above, this notation belongs to the type now known as “Aquitanian.” The text to which Aquitanian notation was added in *Sacramentario* is the Easter vigil prayer, the *Benedictio cerei*, commencing on folio 38r. This is the prayer often known by the first word of its opening phrase, *Exultet iam angelica*. Before proceeding to discuss the musical material for the Exultet, it is worth reviewing two noteworthy points about the text at the opening. Firstly, the letter *E* of *Exultet* was omitted, although the text scribe had left ample space for a decorative initial (see top left corner of fol. 38r) and upper-case letters with simple decoration were used to provide emphasis for the rest of the word. It appears that an illuminated *E* at this point had been intended to be one of a series for texts for the most important occasions of the Temporale.¹⁹ Secondly, it can be observed that the opening phrase of the text includes an unusual variant: the word *tuba* is written instead of the usual *turba*.²⁰ While it appears possible that *tuba* could have been written in error (the word is used in the last phrase of the opening period of the prayer), it is also

¹⁹ There are other points in *Sacramentario* where initials were planned but never executed. On the illuminated initials and those omitted, see Walker, 1998, esp. pp. 190–92.

²⁰ *Sacramentario* fol. 38r. The normal opening of the text is *Exultet iam angelica turba celorum*. While a full study of the text variants in the Exultet of *Sacramentario* lies outside the scope of this paper, one more can be mentioned. This is a possibly unique variant: the use of the word *fulgore* instead of *splendore* in the second period (fol. 38r, line 6).

possible that the scribe copied this from a model. Three French sources dating from the eleventh or first half of the twelfth century also with this relatively rare variant in the opening phrase are from abbeys in different parts: from the Limoges region, from Saint-Maur-des-Fossés (near Paris), and from the north-east, a missal of Saint-Paul de Verdun.²¹

The notation provided for the Exultet in *Sacramentario* is partial, with only selected segments of the long text given notation. It was perhaps added as a memorandum, provided to assist with delivery. The text for the Exultet had been written in the standard full-size script used through most of the book and therefore was not prepared with the intention of adding musical notation. Fortunately, the clear and spacious layout that is characteristic of the manuscript meant that the finely written notation could be quite easily fitted between the lines of text. The signs of the notation are small and appear carefully written in the space above the text with generally clear alignment of notation and syllables; however, because the notation was written without the aid of any staff line (at this time, a single dry-point line was often utilized as a staff for this type of notation), the relative height of placement of each note is somewhat inconsistent. As a result, to prepare the transcriptions of the Exultet notation shown in Figs. 1 and 2, it was useful to compare repeated musical phrases and also to compare the notation of *Sacramentario* with later sources (see below on these). These other sources also provided the pitch level for the transcription.

These additions to the Exultet are likely to have been the work of a single person, a cantor, who was experienced and confident in the use and writing of Aquitanian notation. It is easy to imagine that the notation, found in a number of segments throughout the long Exultet text, was added in one campaign in preparation for presentation at an Easter vigil ceremony in Toledo. In the first part of the text (the Exultet prologue or introduction), the cantor included notation for the final phrase of each period.²² (See Fig. 1 for the first two.) It must have been felt unnecessary to provide notation for the earlier parts of each period. So, why was it necessary to notate the final phrases? The answer is almost certainly found in the significance and distinctive character of the music notated.

²¹ These are Madrid RAH Aemil. 35, Paris BN lat. 12054, and Laon BM 226b.

²² On fol. 38r, the beginning of each period of the prologue – except the first, which is missing its initial – is marked by a red capital letter.

Period 1. Exultet iam angelica

Period 2. Gaudeat se tellus tantis

Fig 1. Transcription of notation in periods 1 and 2
(*Sacramentario*, fol. 38r)

2a: from 38v

2b: from 39r

Fig. 2. Transcription of notation at two points in the preface of *Sacramentario*

On the next page, the cantor continued adding some notation for the dialogue that precedes the long *Praefatio* section of the Exultet and then for the first two words at the start of the preface. The start of the preface stands out on the page with its simply decorated upper-case letters for the opening words *Vere quia dignum* and its large-sized opening letter *V*, quite plainly written in red ink (fol. 38v, line 5). Here, the first five notes of the melisma to be sung on the first syllable of *Vere* were set out by the notator in a strikingly cruciform arrangement. Whilst this layout could be regarded as without significance and a natural outcome of the notation, the notator seems here to have chosen to emphasize this shape (See Fig. 2a for transcription of the full notation provided for the opening of this period). Continuing on, the notator chose to record the intonations of the six text periods opening with the word *Haec*. These share the distinctive melodic opening of *Vere*, although with some variation. Those commencing with *Haec nox* all have an eight-note pattern (see Fig. 2b).²³ At several more points in the preface, the cantor provided some additional musical material, again paying particular attention to melodic material for openings. Furthermore, written in the margin

near the opening of the preface and beside its first period is a carefully notated short melodic formula which seems intended to be that notated for several segments within the preface. Its writing in the margin suggests the jotting down of a memory aid.

4. A DISTINCTIVE MELODIC PHRASE FOR THE EXULTET PROLOGUE

The musical material provided for the Exultet prologue deserves more consideration. Limited to the single distinctive musical phrase, repeated at the end of each period, the material is sufficient to demonstrate its connection with the family of melodies for the Exultet prologue that includes the melody eventually disseminated in many later missals of the Roman use. The members of this Franco-Roman melody family are particularly distinguished by the overall falling motion of the last phrase repeated in the periods, that of *Sacramentario* being an example (see Fig. 1 above). Although there is considerable variety among the many versions of this phrase, later sources using clefs to indicate pitch level show stability in ending on the pitch *e*, often approaching the final note with the pattern *g-f-e* *e* as seen in Fig. 1. The association of this type of formula with the Exultet prologue can be seen to have spread during the twelfth century, and it is particularly prominent among sources of northern and eastern France including Normandy, and the Norman-Sicilian sources such as those in the BNE. Scattered examples have been identified in sources of German regions, southern France (Bordeaux and Limoges), and on the Iberian Peninsula (Toledo and Braga). Interestingly, in the light of thought on the origins or influences on the creation of *Sacramentario*, a Franco-Roman melody for the prologue was copied into a thirteenth-century gradual of Dijon (Brussels, Bib.Roy. MS II 3824, fol. 82), although it was soon to be replaced with another melody.

Although the early history of the Exultet's Franco-Roman melody family remains unclear and is a topic worthy of further study, it does now appear that the Franco-Roman melody family may have originated during the eleventh century.²⁴ Of course, it is impossible to know precisely when the notation was added for the

²⁴ Important contributions to the early history of the Franco-Roman Exultet melody family include those of Georges Benoît-Castelli (1953) and David Hiley (1981). Further study remains needed. In his seminal examination of different types of prologue melodies for the Exultet, Benoît-Castelli (1953, pp. 332-33) remarked on the absence of any Franco-Roman melody example from before the twelfth century.

Exultet of *Sacramentario*, but it was surely before Archbishop Bernard's death in 1125 and it could have been during the last decade of the eleventh century when the cantor Gerald was in Toledo. *Sacramentario* therefore gives one of the earliest known examples of notation for an Exultet of the Franco-Roman group.

Furthermore, its significance for the practice of this important Easter vigil text in Toledo and associated centres was to continue. The ending phrase shown in Fig. 1 was re-used with only tiny changes as part of the fully notated prologue in the Gradual of Toledo of c. 1200 (Toledo, Bib.Cap. Ms 35.10, fols. [62r-62v]), in the *Evangelario* of Uclés, (Madrid, BNE MSS/8958, fols. 74v-75r), and subsequently in the early fourteenth-century Gradual of Toledo (Madrid, BNE M/1361). The same prologue practice was copied during the thirteenth century into the two early sacramentaries for the church of Sevilla (Sevilla, Bib.Cap. 56-2-2 and 56-1-30).²⁵ Although *Sacramentario* gives only the last phrase for each period of the prologue, it is reasonable to assume that the full melody heard in Bernard's time was that which is presented in this group of later sources with fully written out prologue melodies. The notation in *Sacramentario* demonstrates the antiquity of this aspect of liturgical practice. Toledo's Exultet melody, a member of the Franco-Roman family of Exultet prologue melodies and unique to Toledo and closely associated centres, endured from perhaps the last decade of the eleventh century until it was replaced by a new melody during the fourteenth century. Although Bernard's sacramentary did not influence Toledo's later sacramentaries generally (Janini and Serrano, 1969, p. 249), it does appear to have influenced practice in this important part of the Easter vigil liturgy.²⁶

5. CONCLUSION: A HYPOTHETICAL SCENARIO

In conclusion I offer a hypothetical scenario for the early history of the *Sacramentario de Sahagún* and for its music for the Exultet. Work on the sacramentary intended for use at Sahagún commenced in north-eastern or central France in

²⁵ On these two books, see the entries in the library catalogue at icolombina.es, and in Janini, 1977, pp. 286-90.

²⁶ Like *Sacramentario*, the twelfth-century Toledo sacramentary, Madrid, BNE MSS/9719 (without musical notation for the Exultet) has the word *tuba* in the opening phrase, as do also the two Seville sacramentaries, thus *Exultet iam angelica tuba celorum*, although in one of the Seville books a correction is indicated. While the use of *tuba* in these three sources may represent an influence from the text known in the earlier *Sacramentario*, the question of textual influences on these later books is a larger one.

the scriptorium of an abbey which had been in the earlier sphere of influence of William of Dijon, and one where use of Lorraine notation was current. In this context it was not surprising that the name of St Benigno was included in the *Nobis quoque* list, and the Lorraine style of musical notation was used for two chant incipits for the Easter vigil. Later stages of preparation were unable to be completed in this French house because time was short, and some information was not available. As a result, illuminations and decorated initials, as well as some information (such as the dates for the patron saints) had not been added at the time of departure.²⁷ From that scriptorium, it was taken to Sahagún, perhaps with Bernard of Sédillac, or with another sent there to work under Abbot Bernard's leadership. Once at Sahagún, work continued with large illuminated initials being added by an artist who had experience in southern France, perhaps at the monastery of Moissac. Then, when Bernard moved to take up his new appointment in Toledo, the sacramentary was transferred with some details still incomplete. In Toledo, partial notation for the Exultet was added by one of the French monks in Bernard's team. Gerald, a skilled and highly respected monk (later to be titled St. Gerald), was appointed cantor in about 1096 under Archbishop Bernard following earlier experience in Toulouse and Moissac, places where Aquitanian notation was in use. From Toledo, Gerald went to become the archbishop of Braga in 1099.²⁸ It is tempting to propose that it was Gerald who, during his time in Toledo, expertly planned the presentation of the Exultet, creating a distinctive melody for the last phrase of the prologue while retaining melodic connections throughout with the sound of the Exultet heard in other places; and who, using the Aquitanian style of notation, made a record of important parts of the musical practice for the Exultet above the relevant text segments of *Sacramentario*.

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²⁷ On the absence of the dates for Saints Facundus and Primitivus, Henriët, 2004, p. 252.

²⁸ On St. Gerald, see Ferreira, 2001, p. 22; and for Braga's Exultet, Nelson, 2016.

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