

## THE RITE OF MATRIMONY (“ORDO QUALITER AGANT ILLI QUI NUBERE VOLUNT”) IN THE RITUAL OF SAN ISIDORO, LEÓN (LEÓN, ARCHIVO DE LA REAL COLEGIATA DE SAN ISIDORO, COD. 12)

by MICHAEL S. CARLIN

### ABSTRACT

The rite of matrimony in the Ritual of San Isidoro, León (León, Archivo de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, cod. 12), dated 1187, presents important but much neglected evidence for how native Spanish liturgists negotiated the integration of new imported liturgical texts and ceremonies. Especially significant is the consent dialogue for both bride and groom, the first such text in any medieval European rite of matrimony. By situating this rite in the context of other contemporary Leonese and Castilian rites of matrimony, we can also begin to discern a common ritual milieu that shaped matrimony rites and practices in western Iberia.

*Keywords:* rite of matrimony, Kingdom of León, Kingdom of Castile, 12th century.

EL RITU DEL MATRIMONI («ORDO QUALITER AGANT ILLI QUI NUBERE VOLUNT») EN EL RITUAL DE SAN ISIDORO, LLEÓ (LLEÓ, ARCHIVO DE LA REAL COLEGIATA DE SAN ISIDORO, COD. 12)

### RESUM

El ritu del matrimoni segons el ritual de San Isidoro, Lleó (Lleó, Archivo de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, cod. 12), datat el 1187, presenta evidències importants, però molt desateses, de la manera com els litúrgics nadius espanyols negociaven la integració de cerimònies i textos litúrgics d'importació recent. És especialment significatiu el diàleg de consentiment tant pel que fa a la núvia com pel que fa al nuvi: el primer text d'aquestes característiques que apareix en un ritu matrimonial europeu medieval. En situar aquest ritu entre altres ritus matrimonials lleonesos i castellans contemporanis, podem començar a discernir un entorn ritual comú que va donar forma als ritus i pràctiques matrimonials de la Ibèria occidental.

*Paraules clau:* ritu del matrimoni, Regne de Lleó, Regne de Castella, segle XII.

Over the years, the rite for the celebration of matrimony found in the twelfth-century ritual of the canonical community of San Isidoro, León has received surprisingly little scholarly attention. This is the more remarkable, since the rite of matrimony found in Archivo de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León, codex 12 contains what is likely the earliest consent dialogue found in any medieval European liturgical manuscript.<sup>1</sup> A consent dialogue is the scripted words within the rite of matrimony by which the priest-celebrant asks the bride and groom each for their consent to the union about to be effected through the sacrament, and is, therefore, evidence of immense importance to historians of marriage whether from a canonical, theological, gender studies, or more generally sociological or anthropological perspective.

For liturgists, the matrimony rite of ASIL, cod. 12 represents, more generally, one of the most creative experiments in the final period of the Romanization of native Leonese and Castilian liturgical rites that began with the suppression of the Old Spanish Liturgy at the Synod of Burgos in 1080.<sup>2</sup> As I will elaborate later, in both structure and content, the rite strikes a balance between old and new, presenting novel importations from France in forms that recall traditional and local practices. For all of these reasons, it is remarkable that this rite has never been considered in either the comprehensive histories of matrimony or in more focused studies concerned with marriage in medieval Spain.<sup>3</sup>

1. Archivo de San Isidoro de León will hereafter be abbreviated "ASIL" with the number of the codex or *diplomatium* as appropriate. A notable exception to most liturgical scholars' neglect of this ms. is BRIAN BETHUNE, "The Text of the Christian Rite of Marriage in Medieval Spain", Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1986.
2. The recent studies of Rubio Sadia emphasize that the change of rites in the kingdoms of León and Castile was not accomplished in 1080, but only begun then, occurring as an on-going process during the twelfth century. The present study only re-inforces this viewpoint. See JUAN PABLO RUBIO SADIA, "La introducción del rito romano en la Iglesia de Toledo. El papel de las órdenes religiosas a través de las fuentes litúrgicas", *Toletana*, 10 (2004), p. 151-177. Still cited as an essential starting point for the political history of the change of rites is the collection of studies by BERNARD F. REILLY, ed., *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter: The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080*, New York, 1985.
3. None of the following fundamental histories considers the San Isidoro ms.: JEAN-BAPTISTE MOLIN and PROTAIS MUTEMBE, *Le rituel du mariage en France du XIIe au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1974); KENNETH W. STEVENSON, *Nuptial Blessing: A Study of Christian Marriage Rites* (Alcuin Club Collection, 64), London, 1982; and KORBINIAN RITZER, *Le mariage dans les églises chrétiennes du Ier au XIe siècle*, Paris, 1970. Since no publication has issued from Brian Bethune's thesis, there is still no Spanish counterpart to Molin and Mutembe's history of matrimony in medieval France.

The church of San Isidoro has become well known as an early exemplar of the return of monumental sculpture and the spread of the new Romanesque architecture in eleventh-century Spain.<sup>4</sup> The evidence from the rite of matrimony in ASIL, cod. 12 suggests that we might also look to San Isidoro as a key innovator in the formulation of a ritual synthesis of native Spanish and Romano-Frankish rites in the late twelfth century.

### THE MANUSCRIPT

My remarks on the state of the manuscript are based on both my personal observation and the exhaustive codicological and paleographical study of the Caroline-script codices in the collection of San Isidoro carried out by Ana I. Suárez González.<sup>5</sup> The extant codex 12 is a factitious manuscript composed of a liturgical calendar, computational texts, capitulary, collectar, ritual, psalter, and hymnal. As Suárez González has demonstrated, the codex is made up of three main sectors corresponding to three phases of production by different scribes.<sup>6</sup> The ritual containing the rite of matrimony corresponds to Suárez's sector 12B and is the work of a single scribe. Sector 12B also includes the capitulary and collectar, texts often bound with the early "monastic rituals" to create a multi-use liturgical book suited for priests living a regular life in a cenobitic community.<sup>7</sup> The text is, for the most part, written in a single column in

4. THERESE MARTIN, "Decorar, aleccionar, aterrorizar. Escultura románica y gótica", *Real Colegiata de San Isidoro. Relicario de la monarquía leonesa*, León, 2007, p. 105-143.
5. ANA I. SUÁREZ GONZÁLEZ, "Patrimonio bibliográfico de San Isidoro de León. Los códices del siglo XII", Ph.D. diss., Universidad de León, 1994. This dissertation is the basis of the published study of all extant Caroline-script twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century codices produced by the scriptorium of San Isidoro, which has, to date, run to two volumes: *Los códices III.1, III.2, III.3, IV y V (Biblia, Liber capituli, Misal)* (Patrimonio cultural de San Isidoro de León, B, Serie bibliográfica, II), León, 1997; *Los códices VI-X.2* (Patrimonio cultural de San Isidoro de León, B, Serie bibliográfica, III), León, 2001.
6. SUÁREZ GONZÁLEZ, "Patrimonio bibliográfico", p. 1697.
7. PIERRE-MARIE GY, "Collectaire, rituel, processionnal", *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 44 (1960), p. 441-469, see esp. p. 464-464. Gy observes that through the twelfth century the greater part of all known rituals were for monastic use, and it is only from the thirteenth century that parish rituals begin to appear. This fact likely explains why the majority of rituals from before the twelfth century are found bound with a collectar, since that arrangement was more practical for the needs of monastic clergy.

a fine Protogothic book hand.<sup>8</sup> Within the ritual, the rite of matrimony occupies folios 93 $r$  to 97 $v$ , after the rites of baptism and just before the visitation and anointing of the sick.

#### DATE AND PLACE OF COMPOSITION

The internal evidence alone is enough to establish conclusively that this book was written at San Isidoro, for the use of the canons of San Isidoro, and that it was written in July of 1187. The formula for profession of novices on folios 120 $r$ - $v$  of the ritual is dispositive, with the novice offering himself "to the church of St Isidore" and promising obedience "according to the rule of blessed Augustine, to the lord abbot of the aforesaid church".<sup>9</sup> Also, just after the text of the ritual proper, there is found a later addition, in the same hand as the preceding text, headed "Sancti Ysidori commemoratio" where we read: "Propiciare domine quesumus nobis famulis tuis, per huius sancti confessoris tui antique pontificis Ysidori qui in presenti requiescit ecclesia..."<sup>10</sup> The colophon on folio 132 $r$  establishes the firm date for the preceding ritual: "Era M<sup>a</sup>.CC<sup>a</sup>.XX<sup>a</sup>.V<sup>a</sup>. et mense iulio" which corresponds to July of 1187.<sup>11</sup>

Suárez González's detailed study of the paleography has demonstrated that this manuscript was composed by a scribe active in both book and diplomatic production at San Isidoro.<sup>12</sup> Hence we have a manuscript composed for San Isidoro and by a member of the community who was active in its scriptorium. Whatever sources the scribe drew from, this

8. SUÁREZ GONZÁLEZ, "Patrimonio bibliográfico", p. 1629-1630 and p. 1643-1644, terms this script "Pregothic" in conformity with the terminology of ALBERT DEROLEZ, *The Paleography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge/New York, 2003.
9. "Ego frater .N. offerens trado meipsum deo, et ecclesie Sancti Ysidori, et promitto obedientiam secundum canonicam regulam beati Augustini, domno .N. prefate ecclesie abbati et successoribus eius, quos sanior pars congregationis canonicè elegerit."
10. ASIL, cod. 12, fol. 132 $v$ , likely an addition to the completed text of the collectar.
11. Suárez González was first to observe that this date does not correspond to the totality of the extant codex, but only to part B.
12. SUÁREZ GONZÁLEZ, "Patrimonio bibliográfico", 1582 and *Los códices III.1...*, 34, n. 103, 327. Although this scribe was something of a "liturgical specialist" according to Suárez González, he also produced diplomata for both San Isidoro and the chancery of King Fernando II of León.

manuscript, with the liturgical formularies it contains, was confected as a reflection of and instrument for the liturgical life of the canons of San Isidoro, León.

#### TITLE AND STRUCTURE OF THE RITE

The rite of matrimony in ASIL, cod. 12 is a hybrid creation that integrates Anglo-Norman, southern French and native Old Spanish customs, along with some original euchology and ceremony.<sup>13</sup> The whole of the rite is composed of four distinct parts that correspond to four ceremonial units. First there is the blessing of the bedchamber, titled in other manuscripts the *Benedictio thalami* (n. 2-3), the pre-mass rite of *arras* and consent before the door of the church (n. 4-15), the mass proper with its nuptial blessing (n. 16-33), and the post-mass blessings and dismissal (n. 34-37). In each case, these divisions are signaled by substantial rubrics directing the celebrant in how to continue with the rite. The divisions between the distinct parts of this *ordo* would have been clear to the celebrant and any attentive witness of this late-twelfth-century rite, yet they are integrated beneath a common title for this rite: “Ordo qualiter agant illi qui nubere volunt” (n. 1). As a title, this text is unique, expressing the aspiration of the couple “who desire to wed”. In such a description, it is markedly distinct from the titles of the Old Spanish, Gregorian, or Gelasian sacramentary traditions, which carry tersely proper *tituli*: “Ordo nubentium”, “Oratn. ad sponsas velandas”, and “Accio nupcialis” respectively. An echo may be heard in the similarly discursive heading of the rite of matrimony in the southern French composition (from the vicinity of Moissac) known as the Missal of Mateus: “Qualiter benedicendi sunt sponsus et sponsa”.<sup>14</sup> In both cases, there is an attempt to describe the totality of what follows as a single process to tie, in effect, the disparate parts of a composite rite together with a description of a single action they accomplish. Here, they seek *nubere*, to be wed, in four steps or phases.

13. Later this year, I intend to publish a more in-depth examination of marriage as celebrated at San Isidoro in its late-twelfth-century intellectual and cultural milieu.

14. JOACHIM O. BRAGANÇA, *Missal de Mateus. Manuscrito 1.000 da Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Braga*, Lisbon, 1975, n. 2444.

*Benedictio thalami* – n. 2-3.

As in the Old Spanish *Liber ordinum episcopal*, a blessing of the bed chamber is the first item in a phased marriage process that begins on the day before the wedding mass.<sup>15</sup> The text of the blessing in n. 2 has no relation to any Old Spanish prayer texts, however, deriving rather from the Anglo-Norman tradition. The earliest manuscript containing a version of this prayer is the Ritual of Durham from about 950, where it forms part of a separate rite after the mass.<sup>16</sup> The prayer is later found in central and northern French manuscripts, but is nowhere part of a bedchamber rite before mass, as it is in ASIL, cod. 12. Our Leonese liturgist situates a foreign prayer beneath a rubric that accommodates the new item to the Old Spanish practice of beginning the phased process of marriage with a blessing of the bedchamber.<sup>17</sup> It is a combination of new material in an old accustomed context found in no other Spanish matrimony *ordo*. It is tempting to view the preservation of the Old Spanish order of these separate rites as a compensation for the unaccustomed novelty of the recently imported *arras* and consent ceremonies before the door of the church.

The specific prayer text found in our Leonese *rituale* is based on two prayers found together in the English bedchamber *ordo* as a dyad, with one prayer immediately following the other: “Benedic domine thalamum hoc” and “Benedic domine istos adulescentulos”. Item n. 3 is based principally on the first of the two prayers but borrows the elaboration “istos adulescentulos” from the second prayer. A number of later French manuscripts incorporate this dyad of English prayers into their

15. JOSÉ JANINI, *Liber ordinum episcopal* (Cod. Silos, Arch. Monástico, 4), Silos, 1991, n. 1047-9. The ceremony is titled “Ordo ad talamum benedicendum”; the title “Ordo nubentium” is right after this ceremony and is placed over the vespers for the eve of the marriage celebration.
16. Durham, Chapter Library, ms. A.III.9, edited by J. STEVENSON, *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis* (Publications of the Surtees Society 10), London, 1840, p. 111. This ritual corresponds to source “RDur” in my edition below. I also include in my list of sources the slightly later parallel for this prayer from the Pontifical of Egbert of York (source “Yk” in my edition), from around the year 1000.
17. A similar accommodation is seen in Montserrat, Bibl. de l’Abadia, ms. 72, edited by FRANCESC XAVIER ALTÉS I AGUILÓ, “El llibre místic de Sant Romà de les Bons (Andorra) (Biblioteca de l’Abadia de Montserrat, ms. 72)”, *Miscel·lània Litúrgica Catalana*, 13 (2005), n. 1049-1052. The “Ordo ad talamum” is placed before the rest of the marriage *ordo*, although the prayer texts do not bless the bedchamber as such but rather the *arras*, in the form of rings, that are offered there.

ceremonies for the blessing of the bedchamber, but none combines the two as does item n. 3.<sup>18</sup> I take this as evidence of the role of a local scribe, a canon of San Isidoro, in the creation of the distinctive hybrid rite found in ASIL, cod. 12.

*Arras and Consent at Church Door – n. 4-15*

The next segment in the matrimony *ordo* is the rite of *arras* and consent at the door of the church. A combined rite of expressed consent by the couple and the giving of *arras*, in the form of coins, was first developed in the Anglo-Norman ambit, but was integrated into southern French manuscripts in the twelfth century.<sup>19</sup> The rubric at the beginning of this section – item n. 4 in the following edition – links our *ordo* to two others from western Iberia: one from a sacramentary copied in Limoges in the second quarter of the twelfth century and later used in Braga<sup>20</sup> (source “MM” in my edition), and another twelfth-century sacramentary composed and used at Silos (source “Sca” in my edition).<sup>21</sup> Like ASIL, cod. 12 (“*cod.*” in my edition), both of these *ordines* have initial rubrics that show concerns for canonical issues of consent and consanguinity as well as highlighting the importance of love between the spouses:

MM: Die qua sponsus et sponsa iungendi sunt, hora III<sup>a</sup> veniant ad ecclesiam, et induat se sacerdos vestimentis sacris, et inquiret de parentela fortiter, et si est amor inter illos. Et si aliquam parentelam invenerit, non iungantur. Si autem amorem habent, et in parentela non inveniuntur, iungantur.

Sca: Stent ad portas ecclesie et veniat sacerdos et interroget fortiter de parentela, aut si habent in se unanimiter amorem, aut si sunt digni ad coniugere, et si habent in se amorem iungatur. Si vero non habent non iungatur.

18. For examples, see MOLIN AND MUTEMBE, *Le rituel du mariage*, p. 298-300, 305-308.

19. One example of this early integration with southern French rites is seen in our source “MM.”

20. Braga, Bibl. Publ., ms. 1000, ed. BRAGANÇA, *Missal de Mateus*. BETHUNE, “The Text of the Christian Rite of Marriage”, p. 170, notes that source MM contains the oldest extant mixed ring and coins rite of *arras*.

21. Salamanca, Bibl. Univ., ms. 2637.

*cod.*: In die autem nuptiarum veniant ad ecclesiam spons et sponsa, et stent ad fores ecclesie, et sacerdos indutus vestimentis sacris veniat ad eos, et inquirat de parentela fortiter, aut si est amor inter eos, et si sunt confessi peccata sua. Quidem si ita invenerit, statuat sponsam ad sinistram sponsi, quia de eodem latere sumpta est.

Even at the level of vocabulary and syntax, the relationship between these three sources is apparent: “parentela” to indicate consanguinity, “fortiter”, describing the interrogation, and the insistence that the couple have “amorem”, whether “inter eos”, “inter illos”, or “unanimiter”. Still, in spite of the common themes and evident textual relationship, the complete *ordines* are sufficiently different from each other, and the very rubrics themselves depart from each other in numerous points, that we must consider these three rubrics as inter-related more distantly than even a common exemplar. The relationship between these three sources seems best characterized as descending from a common ritual milieu from southern France.<sup>22</sup>

As I mentioned above, there are no antecedents for the consent dialogue in item n. 5. No other consent dialogue is found in the Iberian Peninsula until the fourteenth century, and then it is given in the vernacular.<sup>23</sup> The next earliest European consent dialogues are found in the Pontifical of Canterbury and the Pontifical of Sora, both from the early thirteenth century.<sup>24</sup> None of these later consent dialogues mentions anything other than the acceptance or free assent of the couple to their marriage. Indeed, there is no other medieval or renaissance rite of matrimony that expresses the couple’s free will in the affective terms of this *rituale*: “I love this woman/man”.

The rubric at n. 6 situates the giving of the bride in relation to both the immediately preceding consent dialogue and the giving of *arras* in the form of both coins and rings. Looking at MM and Sca, the other two sources that share in an unclear but evident common rubrical tradition with this *ordo*, we see that MM has the bride given to the priest after the

22. BETHUNE, “The Text of the Christian Rite of Marriage”, 103-106, 108-113, by contrast sees Sca and *cod.* as dependent on MM, effectively incorporating its rubrics.

23. BETHUNE, “The Text of the Christian Rite of Marriage”, 156.

24. The manuscripts are Oxford, Magdalen College, ms. 226 and Vatican, B. A. V., ms. Borghes. 49. The latter manuscript is a version of the Roman Pontifical of the twelfth century.

reading of her dowry contract (“*lex dotalium*”), and Sca, although it specifies a ring-giving after the first prayer blessing the *arras* (“Creator et conservator”, cf. n. 8), at no point does it detail when or how the giving of the bride takes place. In the San Isidoro rite, the bride is given away after consent has been given by the spouses and before any exchange is made, either of coins or rings.

MM: *Primo legitur lex dotalium. Deinde datur femina: que si puella est, cooperta manu: si vidua, relecta. Et ponat primum anulum in pollice sacerdos dicens: In nomine Patris, qui mundum creavit. Postea in indice: ‘Et Filii, qui mundum redemit.’ Deinceps in medium: ‘Et Spiritus Sancti, qui totum mundum redemit. Et pax tecum.’ Et dicat sponsus: ‘De isto anulo [sic] te sponso, et de isto auro te honoro, et de ista dote te doto’.*<sup>25</sup>

Sca: Et ponat XIII denarii et unum obolum et anulos super librum et benedicat eos sacerdos et dicat hanc orationem.

cod.: *Tunc parentes puelle tradant eam sponso. Deinde accipiant XIII denarios et unum obolum simil cum anulos et dent eos sacerdoti, et ipse ponat eos super librum, et benedicat ita dicendo:*

Literally, consent has priority before the ratification of the marriage contract by the two families. The bride leaves her family to join the groom before the signs of agreement are blessed by the Church. The consent dialogue is not just tacked on to a rite that existed before it. Rather, the other main constituent of this pre-mass rite – the exchange of *arras* in the form of rings and coins – both underlines and extends the emphatic statement of the centrality of the couple’s free and affective consent to the rite. These pledges are given after the bride has assumed her new position as a consequence of their expressed desire to marry and love each another.

A version of the prayer headed “Blessing of *arras*” (n. 9) is found in the Old Spanish *Liber ordinum sacerdotal*, but this is not the version found in the San Isidoro rite.<sup>26</sup> Rather, the prayer text of n. 9 bears a closer relationship

25. BRAGANÇA, *Missal de Mateus*, n. 2445. Obviously, this is not a parallel text.

26. JANINI, *Liber ordinum sacerdotal*, n. 169.

to the prayer contained in the Aragonese books of the composite Old Spanish and Roman rite that were composed at the beginning of the eleventh century under the influence of the see of Narbonne. These texts are represented by the Pontifical of Roda and the so-called *Liber mysticus* of Sant Romà de les Bons in my parallels (sources “Prod” and “MBons” respectively).<sup>27</sup> This Aragonese text is found also in Silos, in Sca and in the fourteenth-century *Manuale* of Toledo (source “TMn1” in my parallels). Source MM and most other twelfth-century matrimony *ordines* used a version closer to the Old Spanish *Liber ordinum sacerdotal*, but clearly there were multiple versions of this prayer available to liturgists in central and western Iberia in the twelfth century. There was not one single Old Spanish matrimonial rite that liturgists looked to in constructing their rites. One of these traditional sources for the Leonese hybrid rite was the earlier hybrid rite found in Aragonese manuscripts.

As in most other medieval Iberian matrimonial *ordines*, ours maintains the custom of exchanging two rings – one each for the bride and groom – as part of its *arras* ceremony. Unique among surviving texts, though, our *ordo* provides formulae – n. 11 and 13 – to both bride and groom for giving the rings to each other. Both of these texts are unique to this *ordo* and serve to underline the centrality of bride and groom in the ceremony. Calling upon the saints Peter and Paul, as he does, the groom does not merely solemnly endow his bride with the gifts but pronounces a sort of hieratic blessing beginning with a trinitarian formula. The bride’s syntactically parallel formula for giving the ring implicates both partners as actors in the rite, indeed, in these formulae at least, spoken in their own voices, as ministers of the rite.

Although the native Spanish liturgical tradition of two rings was conserved through the thirteenth century and beyond, no twelfth or thirteenth-century matrimony *ordines* conserve a distinct formula for the bride to place the ring on the groom. Those sources that do clearly mention the bride’s giving of the ring to the groom indicate merely that she “does likewise”.<sup>28</sup>

27. ALTÉS I AGUILÓ, “El llibre místic de Sant Romà de les Bons”; Josep Romà BARRIGA PLANAS, *El sacramentari, ritual i pontifical de Roda. Cod. 16 de l’Arxiu de la Catedral de Lleida*, Barcelona, 1975.

28. E.g. Sca, fol. 245r: “et sponsa similiter”.

*Mass and Nuptial Blessing – n. 16-33*

Following the typical practice of contemporary Spanish and Gallo-Roman marriage *ordines*, the matrimony *ordo* of San Isidoro follows the Mass of the Holy Trinity for the sung parts of the mass. Attending to the versicle of n. 20, “Qualis pater”, we can state more precisely that the sung parts of the Mass of the Holy Trinity that are integrated into this *ordo* are derived from a southern French manuscript source. The versicle “Qualis pater” is not found anywhere in a single twelfth century or earlier northern French mass formulary for this mass. In the eleventh century, the Mass of the Holy Trinity began to acquire numerous extra, often supernumerary, chant texts, as illustrated in the eleventh-century *graduale* manuscript from Albi, which includes the versicle “Qualis pater” as in n. 20.<sup>29</sup>

The prayer texts for the mass are those of the Gregorian tradition’s nuptial mass formulary, “Oratn. ad sponsas velandas”, principally as found in the Hadrianum version. The prayer texts at n. 25 and 26 were part of a single unitary prayer text in their Gregorian version. The only other source in which they are separated into distinct prayers is the Silos Sacramentary, source Sca. Beyond the *ordo* as a whole, even at the level of the transmission of common Gregorian prayers, our manuscript points to a common western Iberian tradition for the celebration of matrimony.

There is further evidence for a clear rubrical tradition among western Iberian rites in the rubric n. 16 of our *ordo*. The only clear parallel is the Segovian Sacramentary, Seg, also composed at the end of the twelfth century.<sup>30</sup>

29. GIOVANNI VARELLI, “The Early Written Transmission of Chant in Northern Italy: The Evidence of Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B. 48 SUP, ff. 141-2”, *Notarum figura: l’écriture musicale et le monde des signes au IXe siècle – Actes du colloque d’Auxerre (17-18 juin 2011)*, Études grégoriennes 40, Solesmes, 2013, p. 270. This expanded Mass of the Holy Trinity is found in the ms. Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 776, fols. 134r-135v, a *graduale* used in the church of St.-Michel-de Gaillac near Albi, composed around 1079. The curious versicle “Qualis pater” is derived not from a psalm or any scriptural text, but rather from the Athanasian Creed.

30. It is likely that the Sacramentary of Segovia depends on Leonese liturgical practice for this and other parallel rubrics, given the presence in the Segovian manuscript of the feast of the Translation of Saint Isidore of Seville. This is the oldest manuscript outside of León with this feast in its sanctoral formularies.

*Final Blessing and Dismissal – n. 34-37*

After the mass, there is a short rite of blessings and dismissal that represents another legacy of the Old Spanish liturgy, both structurally and textually. The Old Spanish nuptial blessing occurs just after the veiling of both bride and groom at the chancel.<sup>31</sup> It includes three prayers that make up the nuptial blessing, communion, a subsequent blessing with chants, blessings offered in view of the departure of the couple, and finally a dismissal. The series of n. 34-37 is composed of communion, two blessings, and a dismissal, in an abbreviated version of the Old Spanish post-mass ceremony.<sup>32</sup> Having imported a French-style pre-mass blessing, there was still the felt need to have a post-mass ceremony, for that was the traditional moment of the Old Spanish rite's veiling and nuptial blessing. These blessings are articulated with the mass, as a sort of dismissal, but, in their tripartite structure, they mimic the three-fold structure of the Old Spanish rite's nuptial blessing, a structure clearly signalled in the rubrics of the Old Spanish matrimony *ordines*.<sup>33</sup>

As we have seen, the three previous segments of this rite – bedchamber blessing, *arras*, and mass – are all headed with rubrics that clearly signal the transition and phasing from one portion of the rite to the next. This final section also has its rubric, n. 34, that serves to signal the transition from mass to the final blessing rite. While there is no direct textual parallel for this rubric, combining as it does the instruction to communicate the couple (with “blessed bread”) with the admonition to chastity, it clearly fulfills a role analogous to that of the rubric in the Old Spanish *ordines*, articulating the end of the mass with the blessings to follow.<sup>34</sup> Where the Old Spanish rubrics emphasize the need to maintain a day of chastity out of respect for the communion they were about to receive, this rubric explicitly rules that out specifying that their communion is to be given

31. JANINI, *Liber ordinum sacerdotal*, n. 171 and *Liber ordinum episcopal*, n. 1055. Only the latter source explicitly mentions that the ceremony occurs “iuxta cancellos”.

32. Attending closely to rubric n. 34, the expression “communion” should not be taken to imply a true eucharistic communion, but rather its substitute with the blessed but not consecrated species.

33. JANINI, *Liber ordinum sacerdotal*, n. 171 describes the veiling and then finishes with “Et dicitur has III orationes”; *Liber ordinum episcopal*, n. 1055 is similar, directing that the celebrant “dicit hanc prefationem cum duabus sequentibus orationibus”. In both cases, the first three prayers are underlined as comprising the nuptial blessing.

34. JANINI, *Liber ordinum sacerdotal*, n. 181; *Liber ordinum episcopal*, n. 1060.

as blessed bread and wine, a substitute for the eucharistic communion of the consecrated species. In its injunction to seven days of chastity, our rite is unique among all known marriage rites. The Old Spanish rubrics just cited enjoin one night of chastity, and the analogous rubrics of the Catalan and Aragonese books enjoin three nights, as do most other Spanish and French sources, seemingly in honor of the injunction in Tob 6: 18-22.<sup>35</sup> It is unclear whence comes this injunction to seven days' continence, although the manual and liturgical commentary of John Beleth, composed some twenty-five years earlier, offers seven days as an optional period of continence after reception of the Eucharist on account of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.<sup>36</sup>

The blessing at n. 35 derives from the Old Spanish rite of marriage, where its parallel is the first prayer following the three texts that make up the nuptial blessing.<sup>37</sup> The form of the prayer in our *ordo* is, however, closer to the Old Spanish texts in the Romanized sacramentaries of Catalonia and Aragon.

Only in southern France and Spain does n. 36, the widely dispersed "Blessing of Tobias", form part of a post-mass rite of blessing. The only earlier source with a form parallel to that in our rite is the Toledo Sacramentary (source "TSc3") dated 1162 and copied in Aragon from an exemplar that may have served the cathedral chapter of Toulouse.<sup>38</sup> The Toledan sacramentary was used at San Vicente de la Sierra, another canonical community suggesting one important vector for the transmission of the southern French material: namely through canonical communities that may also have ties of spiritual fraternity.

Finally, at n. 37 a blessing parallel to the Aaronic blessing of n. 15 closes the entire composite rite. Fittingly, this same blessing also closes the matrimony *ordines* of sources MM, Sca, and Seg. In a time of wholesale

35. A. OLIVAR, *El Sacramentario de Vich*, Barcelona, 1953, n. 1425; BARRIGA PLANAS, *El sacramentari, ritual i pontifical de Roda*, n. XXXIII, 15.

36. JOHN BELETH, *Iohannis Beleth Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, ed. Heribert Douteil (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio medievalis, 41A), Turnhout, 1976, ch. 120b.

37. JANINI, *Liber ordinum sacerdotal*, n. 176; *Liber ordinum episcopal*, n. 1059.

38. José JANINI and José SERRANO, *Manuscritos litúrgicos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid, 1969, p. 116-8. Janini locates Aragon as the place of composition on paleographical grounds. The sanctoral cycle contains a number of saints from the see of Toulouse. Cf. IRENEO GARCÍA ALONSO, "La administración de los sacramentos en Toledo después del cambio de rito (s. XII-XIII)", *Salmanticensis*, 5 (1958), p. 10-11.

liturgical change, they all adopt a similar southern French strategy in closing the rite with a short blessing with Aaronic echoes. As the most developed of the western Iberian twelfth-century matrimony *ordines*, the *ordo* of San Isidoro not only ends the rite this way, but symmetrically encloses the mass between two Aaronic blessings – n. 15 and 37 – like a precious liturgical triptych.

#### RULES OF THE EDITION

My principal aim in the edited text below has been to present a faithful and clear diplomatic edition of the text that shows a clear idea of the disposition of the text in the manuscript. Nevertheless, I also want the text to be immediately useful to scholars without paleographical or codicological training. Hence, the text below is essentially that as found in the manuscript with standard abbreviations and suspensions silently expanded while respecting the orthography of the medieval scribe. I have capitalized all proper names in my manuscript, and all beginnings of euchological, rubrical, and chant texts. I have also capitalized the first words of sentences after I have placed a period where modern punctuation would dictate. I have refrained from capitalizing *nomina sacra* where they are not capitalized in the manuscript. For the uniform beginning of prefaces I have retained the standard “VD” presented as a monogram in the manuscript text. In chant texts, I have expanded “v.” to “versus” and left the symbol “R/” as “Resp” since it might be expanded in more than one fashion (e.g. “responsum”, “respondere”, etc.).

I have presented the text to reflect the scribe’s own organization and distribution of the text. Where the scribe had the use of ornate or larger capitals and colored ink to set off a new prayer text or *ordo*, I must rely on formatting of modern word processing software. For clarity, I have separated titles from the main body of a prayer text, even if they appear on the same text line in the manuscript. I likewise separate rubrical texts from other genres even when they are run together by the scribe. In addition, all rubrics are presented in italics.

Punctuation is a special problem for the editor of any medieval text, since it could be irregular even within a given text. Although ASIL, cod. 12 has a certain consistency in its punctuation, it is not as consistent as a modern reader might need to make sense of the text, often using the *punctus*

and *punctus elevatus* interchangeably. In rendering the punctuation in this manuscript, I have followed a middle way: I have kept pauses of some kind where the scribe has added his punctuation, but I have rationalized these according to modern punctuation depending on the sense of the text.

The parallel texts are indicated in parentheses after each numbered item. These parallel texts should by no means be considered as exhaustive, but rather as reflective of the main lines of influence on the rite as we have it disposed in ASIL, cod. 12. Parallel citations given in italic script are distant parallels, either in a distinct context or with sufficient textual variants from those in ASIL, cod. 12 that they can only be considered very distantly related; these parallels are only given for contrast with the main parallel or to show a fuller picture of the textual filiation. I hope to publish a complete edition of the *rituale* portion of ASIL, cod. 12 in the next year, where I shall give a full apparatus of all the principal Iberian and other European textual parallels.

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- 1 *Ordo qualiter agant illi qui nubere volunt.*
- 2 *In vigilia eat sacerdos ad domum ubi thalamus collocatus est cum aqua benedicta, et dicat hanc orationem:*
- 3 *Benedic domine thalamum hunc, et istos ambos adholentes in eo habitantes, ut in tua voluntate permaneant, et in amore tuo vivant et senescant et multiplicentur in longitudinem dierum. Per. (RDur 111; Yk 126)*
- 4 *In die autem nuptiarum veniant ad ecclesiam spons et sponsa, et stent ad fores ecclesie, [fol. 93v] et sacerdos indutus vestimentis sacris veniat ad eos, et inquirat de parentela fortiter, aut si est amor inter eos, et si sunt confessi peccata sua. Quidem si ita invenerit, statuatur sponsam ad sinistram sponsi, quia de eodem latere sumpta est. (MM 2444; Sca 245r)*

- 5 *Tunc interroget sponsum: Diligis hanc feminam? Resp.: Diligo. Similiter interroget sponsam: Diligis hunc virum? Resp.: Diligo.*
- 6 *Tunc parentes puelle tradant eam sponso. Deinde accipiant XIII denarios et unum obolum simul cum anulos et dent eos sacerdoti, et ipse ponat eos super librum, et benedicat ita dicendo: (Sca 245r)*
- 7 *Manda deus virtuti tue... Usque veniat ubi dicit: qui probati sunt argento. Gloria patri. Kyrie eleison, Xpe eleison, kyrie eleison. Pater noster. (TMn1 xxviii; Sca 245r; Seg 173v; Wn 151)*
- 8 *Postea dicat hanc orationem:*
- Creator et conservator humani generis, dator gratie spiritualis et largitor eterne salutis deus, emitte benedictionem tuam super hos anulos, ut armati virtute celesti qui eos [fol. 94r] gestaverint, defensionis tue auxilio muniantur. Per. (TMn1 xxviii; Sca 245r; Seg 173v; TSc1 158v; Wn 151)*
- 9 *Item benedictio arrarum*
- Benedic domine has arras quas hodie tradit famulus tuus in manu ancille tue .N. quemadmodum benedixisti Abraham cum Sarra, Ysaach cum Rebecha, Iacob cum Rachel, dona super eos gratiam benedictionis tue, florescant sicut rosa in Iherico plantata, et dominum nostrum Ihm Xpm timeant et adorent. Qui vivit. (MBons 1052; PRod xxxi, 3; Sca 245r; TMn1 xxviii)*
- 10 *Tunc accipiat sponsus anulum de manu sacerdotis, et mittat eum in digito sponse sue qui apellatur medius et dicat: (Sca 245r; Seg 174r)*
- 11 *In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti hoc anulo te desponso, corpore meo te honoro, et hos tredecim denarios cum uno obolo tibi do in testimonium ut lex iubet, et doctores sancte ecclesie Petrus et Paulus docuerunt.*

- 12 *Et sponsa similiter mittat anulum in digito sponsi qui appellatur index et dicat: (LOS 170; Sca 245r; Tr\* 112; TSc3 69v)*
- 13 Ecce me tibi esse subditam et obedientem per omnia sicut lex do [fol. 94v] cet promitto.
- 14 *Postea dicat hunc psalmum totum sacerdos:*
- Beati omnes qui timent dominum. Gloria patri. Kyrie eleison. Pater noster. (Ps 127)
- 15 *Et dicat super eos hanc orationem:*
- Benedicat vos dominus, et custodiat vos Ihs Xps, ostendatque faciem suam vobis, et det vobis pacem, et spiritus sanctus habitet in vobis. Per eundem.
- 16 *Tunc ingrediantur ecclesiam et sponsus sponsam suam manu teneat et ponat eam ad levam suam et incipiant missam. (Seg 174r-v)*
- 17 Benedicta sit sancta trinitas. *Psalmus:* Benedicamus patrem. (AMS 172bis)
- 18 *Oratio*
- Exaudi nos omnipotens et misericors deus, ut quod nostro ministratur officio tua benedictione potius impleatur. Per. (SGre 833)
- 19 *Ad Corinthios*
- Fratres, nescitis quoniam corpora vestra membra Xpi sunt? Tollens ergo membra Xpi, faciam membra meretricis? Absit. An nescitis quoniam qui adheret meretrici, unum corpus efficitur? Erunt enim inquit duo, in carne una. Qui autem adheret domino, unus spiritus est. Fugite fornicationem omne peccatum quodcunque [fol. 95r] fecerit

homo extra corpus est. Qui autem fornicatur, in corpus suum peccat. An nescitis quoniam membra vestra templum est spiritus sancti, qui in vobis est quem habetis a deo et non estis vestri? Empti enim estis precio magno, glorificate et portate deum in corpore vestro. (I Cor 6:15-20)

**20** *Resp.:* Benedictus es domine. Alleluia. *Versus:* Qualis pater. (AMS 172bis)

**21** In illo tempore, venit Ihs in fines Iudee trans Iordanem, et secute sunt eum turbe multe, et curavit eos ibi. Et accesserunt ad Ihm pharisei temptantes eum, et dicentes: Si licet homini dimittere uxorem suam quacumque ex causa? Qui respondens ait eis: Non legistis quia qui fecit ab initio masculum et feminam, fecit eos et dixit, propter hoc dimittet homo patrem et matrem, et adhaerebit uxori sue, et erunt duo in carne una? Itaque iam non sunt duo sed una caro. Quod ergo deus coniunxit, homo non separet. (Mt 19:1-6)

**22** *Offertorium:* Benedictus sit deus. (AMS 172bis)

**23** *Sacra:* [fol. 95v] Suscipe quesumus domine prosacra conubii lege munus oblatum et cuius largitor es operis esto dispositor. Per. (SGre 834)

**24** *Prefatio*

VD. ęterne deus. Qui phedera nuptiarum blando concordie iugo, et indissolubili pacis vinculo nexuisti, ut multiplicandis per adobtionem filiis sanctorum conubiorum fecunditas pudica servaretur. Tua enim domine providentia, tua gratia ineffabilibus modis utrumque dispensa, ut quod generatio ad mundi edidit ornatum, regeneratio ad ęclesię perducatur augmentum. (SGre 835)

**25** *Et ideo infra canum.*

Hanc igitur oblationem quam tibi offerimus pro famula tua .N. quam perducere dignatus es ad statum mensure, et ad diem

nuptiarum, pro qua maiestati tue supplices effundimus preces, ut eam propitius cum viro suo .N. copulare digneris. Per. (SGre 836)

26 Quesumus domine ut placatus... (SGre 836)

27 *Antequam dicatur Pax domini flectant genua sua sponsis et sponsa ante altare, [fol. 96r] et cooperiat eos panno linteo, vel serico, et cingulum desuper, et dicat super eos hanc oratio. (cf. Sca 246r)*

28 Propitiare domine supplicationibus nostris, et institutis tuis quibus propagationem humani generis ordinasti, benignus assiste, ut quod te auctore iungitur, te auxiliante servetur. Per. (SGre 837)

29 Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Sursum corda. Abemus ad dominum. Gratias agamus domino deo nostro. Dignum et iustum est.

30 *Prefatio*

VD. eterne deus. Qui potestate virtutis tue de nichilo cuncta fecisti, qui dispositis universitatis exordiis, homini ad imaginem dei facto, ideo inseparabile mulieris adiutorium condidisti, ut femineo corpori de virili dares carne principium docens quod ex uno placuisset institui, nunquam liceret disiungi. Deus qui tam excellenti misterio coniugalem copulam consecrasti, ut Xpi et ecclesie sacramentum presignares in phedere nuptiarum. Deus per quem mulier iungitur viro, [fol. 96v] et societas principaliter ordinata ea benedictione donetur, que sola nec per originalis peccati penam, nec per diluvii est ablata sententiam. Respice domine propitius super hanc famulam tuam .N. que maritali iungenda consortio, tua se expetit protectione muniri. Sit in ea iugum dilectionis et pacis, fidelis et casta, nubat in Xpo, imitatrixque sanctarum permaneat feminarum. Sit amabilis ut Rachel viro, sapiens ut Rebecca, longeva et fidelis ut Sarra. Nichil in ea ex actibus suis ille auctor prevaricationis usurpet, nexa fidei mandatisque permaneat uni thoro iuncta, contactus illicitos

fugiat, muniat infirmitatem suam robore discipline. Sit verecundia gravis, pudore venerabilis, doctrinis celestibus erudita. Sit fecunda in sobole, sit probata et innocens, et ad beatorum requiem atque ad celestia regna perveniat, et videat filios filiorum suorum usque [fol. 97r] in terciam et quartam progeniem, et ad obtatam perveniat senectutem. Per. (SGre 838a-b)

31 *Deinde revertatur et dicat Pax domini.* (SGre 838b)

32 *Communio:* Benedicimus deum. (AMS 172bis)

33 *Postcomm:*

Quesumus omnipotens deus, instituta providentię tuę pio amore comitare, ut quos legitima societate connectis, longeva pace custodias. Per. (SGre 839)

34 *Post missam communicet eos pane benedicto, et vino, et admoneat eos ut teneant castitatem illis, vii<sup>m</sup> diebus.*

35 *Postea benedicat eos:*

Benedicat vos omnipotens deus nostri oris eloquio, et cor vestrum sinceri amoris copulet, nexu perpetuo floreatis rerum presentium bonis, et corpus fructificetis decenter in filiis, gaudeatis perhenniter cum fidelibus amicis, tribuat vobis dominus dona perhennia, presentia tempora, feliciter dilatata, senciatis gaudia sempiterna. Ipse qui unum trinumque possidet nomen, et gloriatur deus benedicat vos in secula seculorum. Amen. (LOE 1059; LOS 176; MBons 1069; PRod xxxiii, 15; SVic 1425; TMn1 xxxiii)

36 *Alia*

Dominus deus omnipotens benedicat vos, et ipse [fol. 97v] vos coniungat, impleatque benedictionem suam in vobis, et videatis filios filiorum vestrorum usque in terciam generationem, et adoptatam perveniatis senectutem. Prestante domino nostro. (PRod xxxiii, 19; TSc3 71r)

**37** *Tunc iubeat eos ire in domum suam et dicat eis:*

Benedictio dei omnipotentis patris et filii et spiritus sancti descendat et maneat super vos, et angelus domini bonus comitetur semper vobiscum. Amen. (MM 2465; Sca 246r; Seg 176v)