

The Office of the Dead in Portuguese Medieval Uses

João Pedro d'Alvarenga

CESEM
Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas
Universidade Nova de Lisboa
jp.alvarenga@fcsh.unl.pt

Resumo

Este artigo procura determinar a procedência dos formulários do Ofício de Defuntos dos principais usos litúrgicos medievais portugueses (Braga, Coimbra, Évora e Santa Cruz de Coimbra) e percorrer as mudanças que neles ocorreram até ao início do período moderno. São consideradas as circunstâncias históricas da restauração das diferentes dioceses depois da reconquista, a origem e o percurso dos seus primeiros prelados, as fontes subsistentes de cada uso litúrgico e as suas características específicas, com referência à literatura especializada entretanto produzida. A exemplo do estudo pioneiro de Knud Ottosen, a metodologia assenta também numa ampla comparação das séries de responsórios e versos das Matinas de Defuntos e outras particularidades textuais e musicais de fontes locais e de fontes ibéricas e francesas seleccionadas. Em apêndice, são fornecidas listas exaustivas das fontes manuscritas e impressas dos usos de Braga, Évora e Santa Cruz, incluindo as respectivas localizações e referências bibliográficas relevantes.

Palavras-chave

Ofício de Defuntos; Usos litúrgicos portugueses; Filiações litúrgicas; Séries de responsórios e de versos; Portugal no período medieval e início do período moderno.

Abstract

This article aims to establish the ancestry of the formularies of the Office of the Dead in the main Portuguese medieval liturgical uses (Braga, Coimbra, Évora and Santa Cruz in Coimbra) and track their changes up to the early modern period. This is mainly achieved by considering the historical circumstances of the restoration of the different dioceses after the reconquest, the background of their first prelates, the extant sources of each liturgical use and their distinctive characteristics with reference to previous scholarship. Following Knud Ottosen's seminal study, methodology also relies on an extensive comparison of the series of responsories and verses of the Matins of the Dead and other textual and musical details in local and selected Iberian and French sources. Comprehensive lists of the manuscript and printed sources of the uses of Braga, Évora and Santa Cruz, their location and relevant bibliographical references are also provided at the end.

Keywords

Office of the Dead; Portuguese liturgical uses; Liturgical affiliations; Series of responsories and verses; Medieval and early modern Portugal.

SETTING ASIDE THE USES OF THE MENDICANT AND THE MONASTIC, including military, orders and the uses of the different orders of canons regular like the Augustinian Canons and the Premonstratensians, existing evidence point to only three different formularies for the Office of the Dead in late medieval and early modern, pre-Tridentine Portuguese diocesan uses (including the Roman use). As we shall see later on, though originally distinct, Braga and Coimbra shared the same formularies as far as the Office of the Dead is concerned.¹ Évora received the Office of the Dead, albeit partly indirectly, from different institutions in Coimbra, even if the whole of its liturgical use seems to be, according to present knowledge, mostly dependent on Braga. Nothing is known for sure about the medieval uses of Oporto and Lisbon, though it has been suggested that the former might have followed Braga and the latter might have consisted of some variation of the use of Salisbury.²

Little is known about pre-Tridentine liturgical uses in the dioceses of Viseu—restored after the definitive reconquest of the city in 1058 but annexed to that of Coimbra perhaps in 1101 until its own bishop was appointed in 1147, and a suffragan diocese of Braga; Lamego—restored in 1071 and also initially ruled by the bishop of Coimbra possibly from 1092 until it was provided with a bishop also in 1147, although a suffragan diocese of Compostela until 1394;³ Guarda—heir of the Visigothic diocese of Egítanea (Idanha-a-Velha), from where the episcopal seat was transferred in 1199, and also initially a suffragan diocese of Compostela and later of Lisbon (1490); and Silves—first restored in 1189 and a suffragan diocese of Seville (1253) and then of Lisbon (1393) and Évora (1540).

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¹ Other formularies in Braga and Coimbra are also similar but for instance, the late-twelfth-century *Pontifical de Coimbra*, P-Pm Ms. 353 (Santa Cruz 59), copied in St Rufus or Toulouse and probably used by the bishops of Coimbra, is different from the roughly contemporary *Pontifical de Braga*, P-Pm Ms. 1134 (Santa Cruz 83), ff. 1r–141v, surely organized in the region of Toulouse and possibly copied in Portugal for the use of the Church of Braga; see Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, ‘L’influence de la liturgie languedocienne au Portugal (Missel, Pontifical, Rituel)’, in *Liturgie et musique (IX^e - XIV^e s.)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 17 (Toulouse, Privat, 1982), pp. 173–84, at pp. 176–80.

² On the issue of the medieval use of Lisbon, needing further study, see João Pedro d’ALVARENGA, ‘Polifonia portuguesa sacra tardo-quincentista: Estudo de fontes e edição crítica do *Livro de São Vicente*, manuscrito P-Lf FSVL 1P/H-6’ (Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade de Évora, 2005), vol. 1, pp. 5–6; and Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, ‘A música religiosa em Portugal por volta de 1500’, in *Actas do III Congresso Histórico de Guimarães: D. Manuel e a sua época* (Guimarães, Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, 2004), vol. 2, pp. 203–16, at pp. 207–8.

³ The so-called *Pontifical de Lamego*, P-Lant Ms. C. 22, E. 9–10, P. 7, n.º 3, dated to the thirteenth century, is however related to the late-twelfth-century *Pontifical de Braga*, of which it seems to be an abridgment, or a copy from a different and less complete exemplar also from the region of Toulouse; see BRAGANÇA, ‘L’influence de la liturgie languedocienne’ (see note 1), pp. 180–1.

The Dioceses of Braga and Coimbra

As early as the latter half of the eighteenth century, António Pereira de Figueiredo, an Oratorian priest and liturgist, pointed out the influence of Cluny in the liturgy of Braga Cathedral.⁴ Modern historians had long acknowledged the influence of the great Burgundian abbey and of its southern-French and Leonese dependencies and Cluny-modelled independent monasteries on the geopolitics of late eleventh- and early twelfth-century reconquered Iberia and their central role in the process of introducing the Franco-Roman rite and uses into its Christian kingdoms, particularly following the Council of Burgos of 1080, which officially abolished the old Visigothic rite.⁵

The See of Braga had been restored in 1071. Shortly before 1080, the Franco-Roman rite was already spreading through the diocese (and in fact through the whole of the north and northwest of the Iberian Peninsula) by means of the action of Benedictine monks of Cluniac influence.⁶ Ferdinand I, King of León and Castile, reconquered the city of Coimbra in 1064. Bishop Paterno (1080-7) instituted, or re-organized, the chapter of the cathedral there in 1086. However, the local Mozarabic community resisted the imposition of the Franco-Roman rite. This was definitely introduced and consolidated in both dioceses, Braga and Coimbra, by French bishops, who were brought by the Cluniac Bernard de Sédillac when he occupied the archiepiscopal seat of Toledo in 1086, after he had reformed the Leonese Monastery of Sts Facundus and Primitivus in Sahagún (1080): Gerald, or Gérald, of Moissac in Braga and Maurice Bourdin of Limoges in Coimbra.

Gerald received his education at the Cluniac Abbey of St Peter in Moissac (affiliated to Cluny in 1048), where he was *custos armarii* and cantor—that is, the librarian and the one who supervised liturgy and chant. He lived in Toulouse at the Priory of Notre-Dame de la Daurade for several years until late 1095 and was then schoolmaster and cantor at Toledo Cathedral. Gerald was made bishop of Braga in 1099. The following year, he obtained from Pope Paschal II metropolitan dignity for his church, thus becoming the first archbishop of Braga; he died on 5 December 1108.⁷ The ecclesiastical independence of Braga was a first critical step towards the political independence of Portugal.

⁴ António Pereira de FIGUEIREDO, *Dissertação Crítica sobre o antigo e moderno Calendário Bracarense, para servir de Plano à emenda e reformação que no Breviário e Missal da mesma Santa Igreja medita fazer o Sereníssimo Senhor D. Gaspar, Arcebispo Primaz*, autograph dated Lisbon, 1770, revised in 1781, P-Lac Ms. 259 Azul; fair copies in P-EVp Ms. CXI/2-14 and Ms. CXII/2-16; see Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, 'Liturgia bracarense: Origens, fontes, posteridade', in *O Clero secular medieval e as suas catedrais: Novas perspectivas e abordagens*, edited by Anísio Miguel de Sousa Saraiva and Maria do Rosário Barbosa Morujão (Lisbon, Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa, 2014), pp. 123-40.

⁵ See the comprehensive overview in Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, 'Cluny at Fynystere: One Use, Three Fragments', in *Studies in Medieval Chant and Liturgy: In Honour of David Hiley*, edited by Terence Bailey and László Dobszay (Ottawa, The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2007), pp. 179-228, at pp. 179-91.

⁶ See José MATTOSO, 'Data da introdução da liturgia romana na diocese de Braga', in *Religião e cultura na Idade Média portuguesa* (Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1982), pp. 91-102.

⁷ On the date of Gerald's arrival in Braga, see Avelino de Jesus da COSTA, *A vacância da Sé de Braga e o episcopado de S. Geraldo* (Braga, Author, 1991); see also Patrick HENRIET, 'Géraud de Braga (+1108): La problématique Vita d'un moine-évêque grégorien entre Moissac et Braga (BHL 3415)', in *La réforme 'grégorienne' dans le Midi (milieu XI^e-début XIII^e siècle)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 48 (Toulouse, Privat, 2013), pp. 81-111.

Maurice Bourdin took the Benedictine habit in St Martial of Limoges (reformed by Cluny in 1062), was abbot of St Peter in Uzerche in the south Limousin and was then an archdeacon at Toledo Cathedral. He was also made bishop of Coimbra in 1099, ruling the diocese until early 1109. On 23 January of that year Maurice had already taken over the archbishopric of Braga, to which he had been elected upon the death of Gerald.⁸

The first known complete sources of the use of Braga are the so-called *Missal de Mateus*, *P-BRad* Ms. 1000, and the *Pontifical of Braga* from the twelfth century, *P-Pm* Ms. 1134, ff. 1r-141v. The first of these codices was copied in a *scriptorium* of the Limousin region certainly in around 1130-50, was possibly intended for the Priory of Notre-Dame de Bayne, near Moissac, and was then brought to Portugal and adapted to the use of Braga (the added calendar can be dated to c.1176). The other was possibly copied in Portugal, surely after 1175, from an exemplar originating in the region of Toulouse, but with strong connections with Normandy not yet fully explained.⁹ All the liturgical and musicological evidence studied so far points to the origins of the use of Braga in a late eleventh-century liturgy from the diocese of Cahors, though permeated by elements from Limoges, Toulouse and Tours. Its core is in an abbey reformed by Cluny, which, given the historical circumstances, cannot be other than that of St Peter of Moissac. In fact, the oldest surviving breviary from Braga, the so-called 'Soeiro' Breviary, *P-BRad* Ms. 657, copied in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century from an exemplar not later than the mid-1340s, shows a high degree of affinity with a Moissac breviary from the latter half of the thirteenth century, *F-Pic* Ms. Lat. 1,¹⁰ and, with specific regard to the Office responsories and the rubrics, a frequent coincidence with the so-called *Aquitanian Antiphoner*, *E-Tc* Ms. 44-2. This antiphoner is a manuscript with a Cluniac background sharing distinctive liturgical elements with Moissac, probably copied in around 1095; if this was not for Toledo Cathedral, it may at least have been used there. Other elements of the Night Office in sources from Braga also have parallels in the antiphoner *E-Tc* Ms. 44-1, a manuscript copied from Aquitanian models possibly in 1020-3 at Sant Sadurní de Tavernòles for the royal court of Sancho III of Navarre, which eventually reached Toledo.¹¹ The melodic substance in all notated

⁸ He was then antipope, known as Gregory VIII, from 8 March 1118 until April 1121, and died in Salerno, Italy, sometime after August 1137.

⁹ On the origins of *P-BRad* Ms. 1000 and *P-Pm* Ms. 1134, see Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, *Missal de Mateus: Manuscrito 1000 da Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Braga* (Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1975), pp. xvii-xxxviii; Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, 'Pontifical de Braga do século XII', *Didaskalia*, 7 (1977), pp. 309-98, at pp. 316-37; and Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, 'As origens do Gradual de Braga', *Didaskalia*, 25 (1995), pp. 57-96, at pp. 70-3.

¹⁰ On this important manuscript, see Pedro Romano ROCHA, 'Les sources languedociennes du bréviaire de Braga', in *Liturgie et musique* (see note 1), pp. 185-207, at pp. 203-5.

¹¹ On *E-Tc* Ms. 44-1, see Lila COLLAMORE, 'Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, 44.1-Its Origin and Date', in *The Past and the Present: Papers Read at the IMS Intercongressional Symposium and the 10th Meeting of the Cantus Planus, Budapest & Visegrád, 2000*, edited by László Dobszay (Budapest, Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, 2003), vol. 2, pp. 179-206. See also *Hispania Vetust: Musical-Liturgical Manuscripts from Visigothic Origins to the Franco-Roman Transition* (10-

manuscripts seems to have its origin in southwestern France, probably around Toulouse, but all derive from independent sources.¹²

In contrast to the case of Braga, the origins of the medieval use of Coimbra Cathedral are not at all clear. This is essentially due to the fact that only a few complete or nearly complete liturgical sources certainly originating there, or used there, are extant.¹³ Coimbra was a suffragan see of Braga from 1103; it is also known that the document of commitment for the division of the cathedral revenues between the bishop and the chapter, dated 1210, declares the intent of adopting the organizational model and usage of Braga. This could also have included liturgy. Indeed, a few late twelfth-century and later sources, mostly fragments, seem to confirm close liturgical and musical proximity, if not identity, between Coimbra and Braga.¹⁴ But a recent analysis of melodic variants in the corpus of the *Alleluia* from the mass suggests a more complex picture, with sources located in Coimbra (though not all necessarily from Coimbra) showing closeness to Toledan, Toulousaine, Limousin and, in a few instances, north-Italian chant traditions.¹⁵ This is not at odds with the

12th Centuries), edited by Susana Zapke (Bilbao, Fundación BBVA, 2007), pp. 400 and 404, where different origins and dates are suggested for *E-Tc* Ms. 44-1—‘late eleventh-century’, from ‘Central Aquitaine, Sahagún or Toledo, scribes from the south of France’—and *E-Tc* Ms. 44-2—‘early twelfth-century’, from ‘Aquitaine (Moissac, Aurillac, Toulouse), Sahagún or Toledo’. The first manuscript would represent the beginning of the process of introducing the Franco-Roman rite in Toledo after the reconquest of the city in 1085 and the restoration of its cathedral in 1086 and the latter manuscript would represent the second stage of that process. On *E-Tc* Ms. 44-2, see also Michel HUGLO and Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, ‘O procissão português de Chicago’, *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, 14-5 (2004-5; published in 2010), pp. 57-78, at p. 62 n. 11 (including the references to the relevant literature on the manuscript), available online at <<http://rpm-ns.pt/index.php/rpm/article/view/251/266>> (accessed 23 August 2016).

¹² Tables 1 and 2 in Appendix I give all the known complete or nearly complete manuscripts and early printed books of the use of Braga. On the origins of the use of Braga and its sources, see the updated survey in Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, ‘A música na Sé de Braga durante a Idade Média: Estado da questão’, in *A Catedral de Braga: Arte, liturgia e música, dos fins do século XI à época tridentina*, edited by Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues and Manuel Pedro Ferreira (Lisbon, Arte das Musas - CESEM, 2009), pp. 93-135; and the historical overview and bibliography in FERREIRA, ‘Liturgia bracarense’ (see note 4). Although it disregards all previous musicological research on the subject, namely the important work of Manuel Pedro Ferreira, see also Joaquim Félix de CARVALHO, ‘A liturgia em Braga’, *Didaskalia*, 37 (2007), pp. 139-84. On the relations with Moissac, see Diogo Alte da VEIGA, ‘Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Breviary Fragments in Moissac and the Rite of Braga: Some Preliminary Insights’, in *Musical Exchanges, 1100-1650: Iberian Connections*, edited by Manuel Pedro Ferreira, Iberian Early Music Studies 2 (Kassel, Reichenberger, 2016), pp. 49-58.

¹³ Besides the two manuscripts on Table 1 below (Co 1 and Co 2), there is only a late processional, *P-Cug* MM 220, and a printed ritual: *Manuale secundum consuetudinem alme Colymbriensis ecclesie* (in preclara Lixbonensis civitate, per Nicolaum Gazini, 1518); copy in *P-Ln* Res. 152 V. digitised at <<http://purl.pt/15166>>. Solange Corbin also refers to a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century noted breviary opening with the Office of the Dead existing in *P-Cua*, which is however nowadays untraceable; see her *Essai sur la musique religieuse portugaise au Moyen Age (1100-1385)* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1952), p. 172, n. 1. On the *Missale mixtum* (Co 1), see Abílio QUEIRÓS, ‘Missal medieval da Sé de Coimbra’ (Master’s thesis, Universidade de Coimbra, 1993). The so-called *Pontifical de Coimbra*, *P-Pm* Ms. 353 (Santa Cruz 59), copied in St Rufus or Toulouse in the late twelfth century, was probably used by the bishops of Coimbra.

¹⁴ See Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, ‘*Unctio Infirmorum*: Tradições portuguesas do Sacramento dos doentes’, *Didaskalia*, 2 (1972), pp. 299-360, at pp. 307-9, on the formulary for the Last Sacrament in late sources from Braga, Coimbra and Évora, which is the same in the three uses; and FERREIRA, ‘Cluny at Fynystere’ (see note 5), p. 217 and n. 89, on the invitory tones in *P-Lant* Casa Forte, Fragmentos, Caixa 20, n.º 14 (Coimbra Cathedral, late twelfth century) with reference to his ‘Braga’s Invitory Tones’, in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 9th Meeting, Esztergom & Visegrád, 1998* (Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2001), pp. 127-50, and mentioning *P-Cug* Fragmentos 42 and 43 (first half of the thirteenth century, with no declared provenance), which, Ferreira says, ‘are pure Braga liturgy’.

¹⁵ Diogo Alte da VEIGA, ‘O *Alleluia* na monodia litúrgica em Portugal até 1600: Comparações melódicas’ (Master’s thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2009).

historical circumstances of the imposing of the Franco-Roman rite in Coimbra, given in the first place the background of Bishop Maurice Bourdin.

The Office of the Dead, as a central element in Cluniac votive liturgy and spirituality, must have been introduced early in Braga and Coimbra.¹⁶ Pre-Tridentine extant sources including it from both dioceses—all rather late—are shown on Table 1 in approximate chronological order.

Co 1	Votive and festive noted Missal known as <i>Missale mixtum</i> , Coimbra, second quarter of the 14th century, with music	<i>P-Cua</i> Cofre 42, <i>olim</i> Estante XVI, tab. 5, n.º 5 (digitised at < http://pemdatabase.eu/source/157 >)
BR 1	' <i>Soeiro</i> ' Breviary, Braga, late-14th/early-15th century, from a mid-14th century exemplar (c.1340) with readings from a lectionary in use in 1282	<i>P-BRad</i> Ms. 657
Co 2	Psalter-hymnal known as <i>Liber catenatus</i> , Coimbra, mid 14th century (c.1350) ¹⁷	<i>P-Cua</i> Cofre 27 (digitised at < http://pemdatabase.eu/source/165 >)
BR 2	' <i>Valasco</i> ' Breviary, Braga, mid 15th century (1430-40)	<i>GB-Ob</i> Ms. Lat. liturg. e.12
BR 3	' <i>Duques de Palmela</i> ' Breviary, Braga, mid 15th century (1431-57)	<i>P-BRs</i> s.s. (from the collection of Avelino de Jesus da Costa)
BR 4	<i>Officium defunctorum</i> , Braga, mid 15th century, with music	<i>P-BRsem</i> s.s. (presently missing)
BR 5	' <i>Fernão Duarte</i> ' Breviary, Braga, latter half of the 15th century (1450-70)	<i>E-E</i> e-IV-10
BR 6	<i>BREVIARIUM bracharense</i> , in augusta Bracharensi ciuitate, per Johannem Gherlinc, 1494	<i>P-AR</i> Res. L 1; <i>P-Cantanhede</i> , Câmara Municipal s.s. (incomplete copy); <i>P-Ln</i> Inc. 94 (incomplete copy; digitised at < http://purl.pt/22000 >)
BR 7	<i>BREVIARIUM bracarense</i> , Salmanticae, in prelo Joannis d' Porres, 1511-2	<i>E-Mn</i> R. 3305 (dated 1512; incomplete copy); <i>GB-Lbl</i> C.41.a.2 (dated 1511; incomplete copy)
BR 8	Gradual, Braga, c.1510-5, with music	<i>P-BRs</i> Ms. 34 (digitised at < http://pemdatabase.eu/source/2350 >)
BR 9	Sanctoral Antiphoner, Braga, c.1510-20, with music	<i>P-BRad</i> Ms. 949
BR 10	Sanctoral Antiphoner, Braga, c.1510-20, with music	<i>P-BRs</i> Ms. 28 (digitised at < http://pemdatabase.eu/source/4547 >)
BR 11	Psalter, Braga, c.1520, with music	<i>P-BRs</i> Ms. 27
BR 12	[<i>BREVIARIUM bracarense</i> , Salamanca, Juan de Porres, 1529]	<i>P-Gms</i> BG 22-1-25 (incomplete copy)
BR 13	<i>BREVIARIUM bracarense</i> , Bracharae, Ioannes Aluarus & Ioannes Barrerius, 1549	<i>E-Mn</i> R. 20798 (incomplete copy); <i>I-Rvat</i> R.G.Liturg.VI.164; <i>P-Cug</i> R-5-22, R-5-23; <i>P-EVp</i> Séc. XVI-2423; <i>P-Ln</i> Res. 83 P., Res. 84 P., Res. 1684 P.; <i>P-Universidade de Lisboa, Faculdade de Letras</i> Res. 231 (digitised at < http://purl.pt/14279 >)

Table 1. Sources from Braga and Coimbra including the Office of the Dead

¹⁶ The Office of the Dead in the use of Braga is the object of two brief descriptions in Pedro Romano ROCHA, *L'Office Divin au Moyen Age dans l'Eglise de Braga: Originalité et dépendances d'une liturgie particulière au Moyen Age* (Paris, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Centro Cultural Português, 1980), p. 101, n. 162, and Pedro Romano ROCHA, 'Os responsórios do Ofício de Defuntos na liturgia bracarense', in *A Catedral de Braga: Arte, liturgia e música, dos fins do século XI à época tridentina*, edited by Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues and Manuel Pedro Ferreira (Lisbon, Arte das Musas - CESEM, 2009), pp. 148-51.

¹⁷ Owing to the fact that some folios are missing, the Office of the Dead is here incomplete, lacking all texts for Vespers and the beginning of Matins up to the verse of the first responsory.

A brief look at Table 2 below containing the series of responsories and verses of the Office of the Dead in Braga and Coimbra shows that the oldest source in each of the dioceses has different though related series, suggesting different origins within the same liturgical family.¹⁸ It also shows that the series became the same in sources from the mid fourteenth century onwards, suggesting that one of the dioceses may have adopted the use of the other, at least as regards the Office of the Dead—though there is no source from Coimbra other than the *Liber catenatus* to confirm this; and that responsory 82, *Requiem aeternam*, replaces responsory 90, *Subvenite sancti Dei*, in the fourth position, it would seem sometime in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, the former responsory appearing as an addition in the ‘*Soeiro*’ Breviary.

	<i>Missale mixtum</i> , Coimbra, second quarter of the 14th c.	‘ <i>Soeiro</i> ’ Breviary, Braga, late-14th/early-15th c., from an exemplar from c.1340	<i>Liber catenatus</i> , Coimbra, c.1350; ‘ <i>Valasco</i> ’ Breviary, Braga, 1430-40; Braga Breviary printed 1494 and later sources ¹⁹
1)	14 Credo, quod redemptor 177 Quem visurus	14 Credo, quod redemptor 177 Quem visurus	14 Credo, quod redemptor 177 Quem visurus
2)	72 Qui Lazarum 188 Qui venturus es	72 Qui Lazarum 188 Qui venturus es	72 Qui Lazarum 188 Qui venturus es
3)	24 Domine, quando veneris 34 Commissa mea	24 Domine, quando veneris 34 Commissa mea	24 Domine, quando veneris 34 Commissa mea
4)	90 Subvenite 221 Suscipiat te Christus	90 Subvenite 198 Requiem aeternam 221 Suscipiat te Christus 82 <i>Requiem aeternam</i> [add.]	82 Requiem aeternam 15 Animae eorum in bonis
5)	32 Heu mihi 12 Anima mea turbata	32 Heu mihi 12 Anima mea turbata	32 Heu mihi 12 Anima mea turbata
6)	57 Ne recorderis 59 Dirige, Domine	57 Ne recorderis 59 Dirige, Domine	57 Ne recorderis 59 Dirige, Domine
7)	68 Peccantem me 53 Deus in nomine tuo	68 Peccantem me 53 Deus in nomine tuo	68 Peccantem me 53 Deus in nomine tuo
8)	28 Domine, secundum actum 8 Amplius lava me	28 Domine, secundum actum 222 Tibi soli peccavi	28 Domine, secundum actum 222 Tibi soli peccavi
9)	38 Libera me, Domine, de morte 55 Dies illa, dies irae 227 Tremens factus sum 198 Requiem aeternam	46 Memento mei, Deus 91 Et non revertetur 38 Libera me, Domine, de morte 55 Dies illa, dies irae 227 Tremens factus sum 198 Requiem aeternam	46 Memento mei, Deus 91 Et non revertetur 38 Libera me, Domine, de morte 55 Dies illa, dies irae 227 Tremens factus sum 198 Requiem aeternam

Table 2. The series of responsories and verses of the Office of the Dead in Braga and Coimbra

¹⁸ The numbers in Table 2 and thereafter on other tables and the main text before the incipit of responsories and verses refer to their respective catalogue in Knud OTTOSEN, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* (Norderstedt, Tyskland, Books on Demand GmbH, 2007); online interactive version at <http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/>. I am deeply grateful to Professor David Hiley for kindly providing me with copies of some of Ottosen’s original research materials held by the Institut für Musikwissenschaft at the Universität Regensburg.

¹⁹ BR 3 and 4 show important differences in the third nocturn and BR 5 has a completely different series of responsories and verses, as it will be seen below; BR 9, 10 and 13 have 198, ‘*Requiem aeternam*’, as the second verse in the third and sixth responsories (this being an addition in BR 9). Verse 198, ‘*Requiem aeternam*’, as the concluding verse in each of the three nocturns is an obvious influence from the Roman Office of the Dead.

Since the second nocturn in the *Missale mixtum*—which is in fact a votive and festive missal for the use of Coimbra Cathedral's Confraternity of Our Lady—and the 'Soeiro' Breviary includes responsories 90, *Subvenite*, 32, *Heu mihi*, and 57, *Ne recorderis*, in the fourth, fifth and sixth positions respectively, the origins of the Office of the Dead in Braga and Coimbra should be sought within the realm of the Cluniac reforms. The oldest source of the Office of the Dead from the Abbey of Cluny is a late thirteenth- or early-fourteenth-century noted breviary copied there for a parish church in Cluny, *F-SO* Ms. 334.²⁰ The main series of responsories is that of *GB-Ob* Ms. D'Orville 45, an eleventh-century liturgical collection including a psalter and a hymnal from Moissac datable to around 1075, which, characteristically, have responsory 46, *Memento mei, Deus*, in the ninth position. Later sources have responsory 38, *Libera me, Domine, de morte*, as an alternating responsory in that same position (see Table 3a). This is precisely the series of responsories in the 'Soeiro' Breviary.

A variant of the Cluny series has responsory 38, *Libera me, Domine, de morte*, as either the only final responsory, or responsory 38 as the first of two alternative responsories in position nine. In St Martial of Limoges, the alternative ninth responsory is 46, *Memento mei, Deus*, in two of its later manuscript sources: the fourteenth-century noted breviary *F-Pn* Ms. Lat. 783 and the fifteenth-century fragmentary psalter and book of hours *F-Pn* Ms. Lat. 774^C (see Table 3b). The series of responsories in the *Missale mixtum* from Coimbra Cathedral, with only responsory 38, *Libera me, Domine, de morte*, in the ninth position, is thus likely to derive from St Martial, just as Braga's earliest series most probably derived from Moissac. In both cases, however, the offices were not simply transplanted. They must have been introduced in the early twelfth century and they must have been exposed to other uses and to intermediate exemplars before their earliest extant sources were copied, because of the discarding of the alternative responsories other than those in the ninth position, the textual variant at the opening of the third responsory (*Domine, dum veneris / Domine, quando veneris*) and especially the differences in some of the verses attached to the responsories. Moreover, in both Braga and Coimbra, the readings with which the responsories were sung are not those of the majority of Cluniac offices—that is, the usual eight Job readings with 2 Macc 12: 42b-46, 'In diebus illis, vir fortissimus Juda', as the ninth reading—but the set ending with Job 10: 18-22, 'Quare de vulva... sempiternus horror inhabitat', which became the standard Roman readings from the twelfth century and the most widespread set of readings of the Office of the Dead in the Middle Ages, particularly in France, England and the Iberian Peninsula.²¹

²⁰ The Office of the Dead in *F-SO* Ms. 334 including a transcription and comparison with *F-Pn* Ms. Lat. 774^C is the subject of Suzanne M. HILTON, 'A Cluniac Office of the Dead' (MA thesis, University of Maryland, College Park, 2005), available online at <<http://drum.lib.umd.edu/handle/1903/3268>> (accessed 31 July 2016).

²¹ These readings are: in I Noct. Job 7: 16b-21, Job 10: 1-7 and Job 10: 8-12; in II Noct. Job 13: 22-28, Job 14: 1-6 and Job 14: 13-16; in III Noct. Job 17: 1-3+11-15 and Job 19: 20-27. The ninth reading in Cluniac offices is usually 2 Macc

	<i>F-SO</i> Ms. 334, Noted Breviary, Cluny, late 13th c./early 14th c.	<i>GB-Ob</i> Ms. D'Orville 45, Psalter-hymnal with complements, Moissac, c.1075	<i>F-Pic</i> Ms. Lat. 1, Breviary, Moissac, latter half of the 13th c.
1)	14 Credo, quod redemptor 177 Quem visurus	14 Credo, quod redemptor 177 Quem visurus	14 Credo, quod redemptor 177 Quem visurus
2)	72 Qui Lazarum 198 Requiem aeternam	72 Qui Lazarum 198 Requiem aeternam	72 Qui Lazarum 198 Requiem aeternam
3)	24 Domine, dum veneris 34 Commissa mea 36 <i>Induta est caro</i> 60 <i>Nocte os meum perforatur</i>	24 Domine, dum veneris 34 Commissa mea	24 Domine, dum veneris 34 Commissa mea 36 <i>Induta est caro</i> 58 <i>Dies mei velocius</i>
4)	90 Subvenite 198 Requiem aeternam	90 Subvenite 198 Requiem aeternam	90 Subvenite 198 Requiem aeternam
5)	32 Heu mihi 12 Anima mea turbata	32 Heu mihi 12 Anima mea turbata	32 Heu mihi 12 Anima mea turbata
6)	57 Ne recorderis 151 Non intres in iudicio 67 <i>Paucitas dierum</i> 84 <i>Scio, Domine</i>	57 Ne recorderis 151 Non intres in iudicio	57 Ne recorderis 151 Non intres in iudicio 67 <i>Paucitas dierum</i> 135 <i>Manus tue, Domine</i>
7)	68 Peccantem me 53 Deus in nomine tuo	68 Peccantem me 53 Deus in nomine tuo	68 Peccantem me 53 Deus in nomine tuo
8)	28 Domine, secundum actum 8 Amplius lava me 46 <i>Memento mei, Deus</i>	28 Domine, secundum actum 8 Amplius lava me	28 Domine, secundum actum 8 Amplius lava me 60 <i>Nocte os meum perforatur</i> 158 <i>Nunc autem in memetipso</i>
9)	46 Memento mei, Deus 91 Et non revertetur 38 Libera me, Domine, de morte 55 Dies illa, dies irae 227 Tremens factus sum 180 Quid ego miserrimus 178 Plangent se super se 38 Creator omnium rerum	46 Memento mei, Deus 91 Et non revertetur	46 Memento mei, Deus 91 Et non revertetur 38 Libera me, Domine, de morte 55 Dies illa, dies irae 198 Requiem aeternam 38 Creator omnium rerum 392 Mortis mors, o Jesu Christe 173 Quando Deus, filius virginis 261 Post haec dicit 393 Bonum est confidere 227 Tremens factus sum 55 Dies illa, dies irae 159 Nunc, Christe, te deprecor 178 Plangent se super se

Table 3a. The Cluniac series: Cluny and Moissac²²

12: 42b-46; in the Roman office it is Job 10: 18-22. See OTTOSEN, *The Responsories and Versicles* (see note 18), pp. 53-60, 62-4.

²² The fourteenth-century breviary of Arles-sur-Tech, *F-NAR* Ms. 166, has the same series of responsories and verses as in the Moissac Breviary, except that the tail of responsory 38, *Libera me, Domine, de morte*, is limited to verses 55, 'Dies illa', and 198, 'Requiem aeternam'. In the Moissac Breviary, the long tail of responsory 38 is indeed divided into three alternative series of verses: 55, 198, 38, 392 and 173; marked as 'ali(us) V(ersus)': 261; and 393, 227, 55, 159 and 178. The text of verse 393, which seems to be unique to this source, is not given in full in Ottosen's 'Alphabetic List of Versicles' (OTTOSEN, *The Responsories and Versicles* (see note 18), pp. 403-20). It is a version of the well-known conductus attributed to Philip the Chancellor and reads as following: '[B]onu(m) est (con)fid(er) in dominor(um)

	<i>F-Pn Ms. Lat. 1088 (2), Antiphoner, St Martial, late 13th c./early 14th c.</i>	<i>F-Pn Ms. Lat. 783, Noted Breviary, St Martial, 14th c.</i>	<i>F-Pn Ms. Lat. 774^C, Psalter and book of hours, St Martial, 15th c.</i>
1)	14 Credo, quod redemptor 177 Quem visurus	14 Credo, quod redemptor 177 Quem visurus	14 Credo, quod redemptor 177 Quem visurus
2)	72 Qui Lazarum 198 Requiem aeternam	72 Qui Lazarum 198 Requiem aeternam	72 Qui Lazarum 198 Requiem aeternam
3)	24 Domine, dum veneris 34 Commissa mea	24 Domine, quando veneris 34 Commissa mea <i>36 Induta est caro</i> <i>57 Dies mei sicut umbra</i>	24 Domine, quando veneris 34 Commissa mea <i>36 Induta est caro</i> <i>58 Dies mei velocius</i>
4)	90 Subvenite 221 Suscipiat te Christus 198 Requiem aeternam	90 Subvenite 221 Suscipiat te Christus 198 Requiem aeternam <i>56 Ne perdideris me</i> <i>144 Miserere mei Deus</i>	90 Subvenite 198 Requiem aeternam <i>56 Ne perdideris me</i> <i>144 Miserere mei Deus</i>
5)	32 Heu mihi 12 Anima mea turbata	32 Heu mihi 12 Anima mea turbata	32 Heu mihi 12 Anima mea turbata
6)	57 Ne recorderis 151 Non intres in iudicio	57 Ne recorderis 151 Non intres in iudicio <i>67 Paucitas dierum</i> <i>82 Ecce in pulvere</i>	57 Ne recorderis 151 Non intres in iudicio <i>67 Paucitas dierum</i> <i>82 Ecce in pulvere</i>
7)	68 Peccantem me 53 Deus in nomine tuo	68 Peccantem me 53 Deus in nomine tuo	68 Peccantem me 53 Deus in nomine tuo
8)	28 Domine, secundum actum 8 Amplius lava me <i>40 Libera me, Domine, de viis</i> <i>31 Clamantes et dicentes</i>	28 Domine, secundum actum 8 Amplius lava me <i>84 Scio, Domine</i> <i>387 Tu quidem gressus</i>	28 Domine, secundum actum 8 Amplius lava me <i>84 Scio, Domine</i> <i>387 Tu quidem gressus</i>
9)	38 Libera me, Domine, de morte 227 Tremens factus sum 55 Dies illa, dies irae 243 Vix justus... et ego	38 Libera me, Domine, de morte 227 Tremens factus sum 55 Dies illa, dies irae 243 Vix justus... et ego 46 Memento mei, Deus 91 Et non revertetur	38 Libera me, Domine, de morte 227 Tremens factus sum 55 Dies illa, dies irae 243 Vix justus... et ego 46 Memento mei, Deus 91 Et non revertetur

Table 3b. The Cluniac series: St Martial

The first different verse in the earliest known sources from Braga and Coimbra is the one attached to responsory 72, *Qui Lazarum*. All Cluniac series dating from before the twelfth century have verse 198, 'Requiem aeternam', with this responsory. Verse 188, 'Qui venturus es'—which Ottosen says is the usual verse with responsory 72, belonging to 'the current repertoire in France in

do/mino bonu(m) spem pon(er)e i(n) n(ost)re / spei termino u(is) carnis ab ergastulo / liber eat spirito nec peccatis ui(n)/culo ui(n)ciat(ur) et trahat(ur) ad i(n)ferni / gemit(us) ubi locus flenciu(m) ubi / stridor denciu(m) ubi timor ge(n)ciu(m) / nulla pena gehennali nulla / t(ame)n compar tali affligent(ur) om(ne)s / mali i(n) die nouissimo i(n) die grauiissi/mo i(n) die tristissimo quando iud(e)x / uenerit.' (*F-Pic Ms. Lat. 1*, p. 613; compare with *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. 21, no. 175; *Carmina Burana* no. VIII, 1st strophe; modern edition and concordances of the conductus text in Anne-Zoé RILLON-MARNE, 'Philippe le Chancelier et son œuvre: Étude sur l'élaboration d'une poétique musicale' (Thèse de Doctorat, Université de Poitiers, 2008), vol. 1, pp. 497-8).

the 11th century²³—appears more frequently in series from central-French Benedictine abbeys independent from Cluny, even if their Office of the Dead is a variation of, or derives from, the Cluniac office. This is the case for instance, of Montier-la-Celle in the diocese of Troyes, south Champagne, whose breviary, *F-T* Ms. 109, dated to the latter half of the thirteenth century, has both verses, 188, ‘Qui venturus es’, and 198, ‘Requiem aeternam’, in that order, attached to responsory 72, *Qui Lazarum*, probably signifying that the first verse is an addition; a fifteenth-century hymnal and diurnal from Saint-Vanne in Verdun, *F-VN* Ms. 131, has only verse 188, ‘Qui venturus es’. This is also the case with all Iberian Benedictine late printed sources.²⁴

Responsory 90, *Subvenite sancti Dei*, arguably one of the oldest elements of the funeral liturgy since it belonged to the Old Roman repertory, has two verses in the majority of the Cluniac series: 221, ‘Suscipiat te Christus’ (or ‘Suscipiat eas’/‘eam’ in a few cases), and 198, ‘Requiem aeternam’, which seems to be the commonest and oldest one. In some series both verses appear in succession, suggesting that the first verse, 221, is an addition. Such are the cases of the first two sources from St Martial on Table 3b and also of older sources such as *F-Pn* Ms. Lat. 12042, a collectar from Saint-Maur-des-Fossés datable to the latter half of the twelfth century.²⁵ In Saint-Maur, verse 198, ‘Requiem aeternam’, was eventually discarded, judging from its early-thirteenth-century breviary, *F-T* Ms. 1752 (with only the variant of verse 221, ‘Suscipiat eas Christus’, since the office it contains is intended for ‘memoria defunctorum’). This could have been the case in Coimbra as regards responsory 90, *Subvenite sancti Dei*, although a few early Iberian sources apparently with no Cluniac connections, such as the late-eleventh-century *Antiphoner of Silos*, *GB-Lbl* Add. Ms. 30850, have only verse 221 with responsory 90. The ‘*Soeiro*’ Breviary parallels two late sources from Cluny, the 1479 printed breviary²⁶ and the book of hours printed in around 1502 and later adapted to the use of St Peter of Corbie,²⁷ which also have responsory 90 followed by verses 198, ‘Requiem aeternam’, and 221, ‘Suscipiat te Christus’, in that order.

²³ OTTOSEN, *The Responsories and Versicles* (see note 18), p. 224. In the 1672 occurrences of responsory 72, *Qui Lazarum*, recorded by Ottosen, verse 188, ‘Qui venturus es’, is attached to it in 796 different series.

²⁴ As for instance, the *Officium defunctorum* printed in Montserrat by Juan Luschner in 1500 for San Benito el Real in Valladolid (copy in *GB-Lbl* K.8.f.18); on this print, see Màrius BERNADÓ, ‘Un programa de libros litúrgicos para la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: Los impresos de Luschner en Montserrat’, in *New Music’ 1400-1600: Papers from an International Colloquium on the Theory, Authorship and Transmission of Music in the Age of the Renaissance (Lisbon-Évora, 27-29 May 2003)*, edited by João Pedro d’Alvarenga and Manuel Pedro Ferreira (Lisbon - Évora, CESEM - Centro de História da Arte e Investigação Artística - Casa do Sul Editora, 2009) pp. 77-127, at pp. 110-3 and 126-7.

²⁵ It also happens in the 1500 printed *Officium defunctorum* (see note 24) and all later Iberian Benedictine prints.

²⁶ *Breviarium Cluniacense* (Venezia, Franz Renner, 1479), copy in *F-Pn* Res.B.27827.

²⁷ *Horae ad usum Cluniacensem* (Paris, [Philippe Pigouchet], c.1502), with manuscript additions datable to c.1530, *F-Pn* Lat. 18034.

Verses 59, 'Dirige Domine', with responsory 57, *Ne recorderis*, and 222, 'Tibi soli peccavi', with responsory 28, *Domine, secundum actum*, could have resulted from a similar process of addition eventually leading to the substitution of the newest verse for the earlier one (151, 'Non'/'Ne intres in iudicio', and 8, 'Amplius lava me', respectively). The mid thirteenth-century breviary *F-VENbm* Ms. 17 E from La Trinité de Vendôme, a Benedictine abbey not dependent on Cluny, serves as an illustration of this phenomenon as it has verses 59 and 151 in succession following responsory 57. A number of both early and late Benedictine Iberian sources, however, have verses 59, 'Dirige Domine', and 222, 'Tibi soli peccavi', as the apparently original choices to go with responsories 57, *Ne recorderis*, and 28, *Domine, secundum actum*, respectively. An example of the latter case is again the *Antiphoner of Silos*. But the more likely explanation for the presence of verses 188, 'Qui venturus es', and 59, 'Dirige Domine', in the first extant series from Coimbra Cathedral and of verses 188, 59, and 222, 'Tibi soli peccavi', in the earliest known series from Braga is contamination, either through the mediation of Toledo or later Dominican influence and, in the latter case, also because of the geographical proximity to Compostela.²⁸ In addition, given the relatively late date of the *Missale mixtum* and the 'Soeiro' Breviary and the common tail of verses following responsory 38, *Libera me, Domine, de morte*, acquaintanceship with the Roman-Franciscan Office of the Dead is not to be overruled, even if the influence of the mendicants on diocesan uses is not wholly acknowledged before the sixteenth century.²⁹

Studies on the liturgical use of Braga and its chant tradition, at times touching upon the uses of Évora and Coimbra, have stressed the role of late eleventh- and early twelfth-century French prelates and Cluniac monks, and the mediation of Toledo and the Cluniac Leonese monasteries in the importation of the Franco-Roman rite and the shaping of Portuguese medieval diocesan uses. However, the important wave of southern-French bishops and clergymen in Coimbra in the latter quarter of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century coming from the region of Quercy and particularly from the diocese of Cahors, mainly members of the Ébrard family and of

²⁸ The popularity of the use of Compostela in the archdiocese of Braga is acknowledged by Sisto Figueira who, in the prologue to his *Arte d' rezar as horas canonicas ordenada segundo as regras & costume Bracharensse* (Salamanca, Lourenço de Leon d' Dei, 1521), says that it is 'em especial o costume compostelano que em estas partes mais se usa depois do bracarense' [especially the use of Compostela that is most used in these parts after the use of Braga]. The series of responsories of the Office of the Dead in Compostela is 14, 72, 24, 32, 57, 40, 68, 28, 38 and the respective series of verses is 197, 188, 47, 12, 59, 31, 50, 222, 55, 198 and 116; see *Breviarium ad ritum et consuetudinem almae Compostellanae ecclesiae* (Ulyssipone, Nicolaus de Saxonia, 1497), ff. Kiiii'-[Kvi]v, incomplete copies in *E-Mn* Inc. 874 and *E-Mh* Inc. 148, digitised at <<http://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/dgbrah/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=44556>> (accessed 22 August 2016). The series of responsories in Toledo is 14, 72, 82, 32, 57, 40, 68, 46, 38 and the respective series of verses is 177, 188, 15, 12, 59, 31, 53, 50, 55, 227 and 198; see *Breviarium secundum morem ecclesiae Toletanae* (Venezia, Johannes [Hamman] Hertzog, 1492), ff. 253r-254v, copy in *E-Mn* Inc. 415, digitised at <<http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/biblioteca/qls/bdh0000097182>> (accessed 22 August 2016).

²⁹ Roman books were however present in Braga since at least 1391, when the Chapel of Archbishop Lourenço Vicente was instituted, being referred to in its respective inventory dated 1397, *P-BRad* Colecção Cronológica, Caixa 18.

other related families, a number of them having previously served in Spanish dioceses, should not be overlooked. During this period—which is the period when most of the earliest complete extant liturgical sources at stake were compiled—the chapters of Lisbon, Évora and Coimbra cathedrals especially admitted many French canons and dignitaries, thanks to the common practice of nepotism. Coimbra had four French bishops: Aymeric d'Ébrard (1279-95), Raymond d'Ébrard I (1319-24), Raymond d'Ébrard II (1325-33) and Jean des Prez (1334-8; *in absentia*). In the mid fourteenth century too, Lisbon had French bishops (though often absent and relying on vicars of southern-French origin)—Étienne de la Garde (1344-8), Théobald de Castillon (1348-56) and Reginald de Maubernard (1356-8)—and so had Braga—Guillaume de la Garde (1349-61) and Jean de Cardaillac (1361-71).³⁰

That Coimbra had some degree of independence not only in pastoral but also in liturgical matters can be seen from the early introduction of new feasts into the diocese: *Corpus Christi* by Bishop Aymeric in the 1280s or early 1290s and the Immaculate Conception by his nephew, Raymond I, on 17 October 1320.³¹ This latter feast was introduced in Braga five years later, in 1325.³² It is thus quite possible that some of the elements of the use of Braga common to other diocesan uses and attested only by relatively late sources were after all brought from its suffragan dioceses. This could have been the case with the Office of the Dead in the form that first appears in the mid fourteenth-century *Liber catenatus* from Coimbra Cathedral and was then adopted in the fifteenth-century breviaries from Braga including the 1494 printed *Breviarium bracharense* and later sources as far as the choice of texts is concerned. A detail, however—the presence of verse 222, 'Tibi soli peccavi', in the *Liber catenatus*, which was already part of the oldest known series in Braga—suggests otherwise, that Coimbra adopted the 'new' office from Braga.

The most prominent feature of this 'new' office is the substitution of responsory 82, *Requiem aeternam*, for responsory 90, *Subvenite*, making the series of responsories similar to that of the Abbey of La Croix-Saint-Leufroy in the diocese of Évreux, Normandy, and to a number of series

³⁰ See Maria do Rosário Barbosa MORUJÃO, 'La famille d'Ébrard et le clergé de Coimbra aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles', in *A Igreja e o Clero português no contexto europeu* (Lisbon, Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa, 2005), pp. 77-91, taking up an issue already addressed by Pierre DAVID, 'Français du Midi dans les évêchés portugais (1279-1390)', *Bulletin des Études Portugaises*, 9 (1943), pp. 16-70, and Gérard PRADALIÉ, 'Quercynois et autres méridionaux au Portugal à la fin du XIIIe et au XIVe siècle: L'exemple de l'Église de Coimbra', *Annales du Midi: Revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale*, 94 (1982), pp. 369-86.

³¹ In 1324, Raymond d'Ébrard I bequeathed to the chapter of Coimbra Cathedral a manuscript containing the new feasts of *Corpus Christi* and the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady, which he wanted to be celebrated solemnly; DAVID, 'Français du Midi' (see note 30), p. 30. Both feasts already appear in the *Missale mixtum* the latter, however, still without a proper office and mass, most of their texts being taken from the Feast of the Nativity of Our Lady; see QUEIRÓS, 'Missal medieval' (see note 13), pp. 154-5.

³² See ROCHA, *L'Office Divin* (see note 16), pp. 192-3 n. 324. The first reference to the feast of *Corpus Christi* in Braga is in the inventory of the chapel of Archbishop Lourenço Vicente in 1397 (see note 29); see again ROCHA, *L'Office Divin* (see note 16), p. 189, n. 317.

from churches in the orbit of Rheims.³³ However, aside from a long-lasting trading relation, no other institutional or ecclesiastical connection with Normandy and the north of France is known at that time.³⁴ A number of Spanish uses also have responsory 82, *Requiem aeternam*, with verse 15, 'Animae eorum', in the third position (for instance, Toledo and Seville) or in the fourth position (Lleida). The Carmelite and the Sarum series include it in position eight, but coupled with verse 185, 'Qui Lazarum resuscitasti'.³⁵ It should be noted that responsory 90, *Subvenite sancti Dei*, even if replaced in the Office of the Dead, still remained in the commendation rites of both dioceses, whose formularies are nevertheless different in Braga and Coimbra. The replacement of responsory 90, *Subvenite sancti Dei*, with responsory 82, *Requiem aeternam*, must have taken place between 1320-5 and 1341-55, *termini post quem* for the *Missale mixtum* and the *Liber catenatus* respectively.³⁶ This possibly occurred during the prelacy of Archbishop Gonçalo Pereira in Braga (1326-48) or his successor, Guillaume de la Garde (1349-61), and Bishop Jorge Eanes in Coimbra (1338-56).³⁷

The introduction of responsory 82, *Requiem aeternam*—it being a plea for the everlasting peace of the soul of the deceased—was perhaps a response to the slow acceptance of the idea of a necessary suffering in purgatory before the ultimate redemption of the individual. The perception of death, purgation and final salvation as a matter of each one's body and soul became more and more acute in the course of the thirteenth century and the early fourteenth century.³⁸ The change in the series of responsories might however have been prompted by a major event with heavy social and

³³ Except for the responsories in position nine: La Croix-Saint-Leufroy has only 46, *Memento mei, Deus*, as the final responsory; Rheims has 38, *Libera me, Domine, de morte*, or this latter one as an alternating to responsory 40, *Libera me, Domine, de viis*. See OTTOSEN, *The Responsories and Versicles* (see note 18), pp. 144-5. It should be noted that the series of La Croix-Saint-Leufroy came from sixteenth-century sources; being a Benedictine abbey, though independent from Cluny, its earliest series, as in Braga, could have had responsory 90, *Subvenite*, in the fourth position.

³⁴ The Archbishop of Rheims, Jean de Vienne, was however in the Iberian Peninsula in 1337 as an envoy of the king of France in order to mediate in a conflict between Portugal and Castile, which ended with the signing of a peace treaty in Seville in late 1338. See Ardian MUHAJ, 'Quando todos os caminhos levavam a Portugal: Impacto da Guerra dos Cem Anos na vida económica e política de Portugal (séculos XIV-XV)' (Ph.D. dissertation, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2013), pp. 51-3.

³⁵ This is also the case with the late-eleventh-century *Antiphoner of Silos*, which has responsory 82 with verse 185 as the first responsory in position nine. Verse 185 is by far the most common with responsory 82.

³⁶ The first manuscript includes the feast of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady, instituted in Coimbra in 1320 (see note 31); the second one already has the hymns for the feast of the *Victoria Christianorum*, instituted in commemoration of the Battle of Salado immediately after it had taken place near Tarifa, southern Andalusia, on 30 October 1340. On this feast, see Solange CORBIN, 'Fêtes portugaises: Commémoration de la victoire chrétienne de 1340 (Rio-Salado)', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 49/2 (1947), pp. 205-18.

³⁷ It is worth noting that Archbishop Gonçalo Pereira was previously Prior of the Hospitallers before the headquarters of the Order was moved from Leça do Bailio in the north of Oporto to Crato in the northeast of the Alentejo province in 1340 and that at least three late Hospitallers liturgical sources of different provenance include responsory 82 in the series of the Office of the Dead (two of them by adopting the Sarum series; see OTTOSEN, *The Responsories and Versicles* (see note 18), p. 237).

³⁸ This can be clearly seen from the increase in testamentary practices including the prescription of a great number of specific rituals of individual suffrage, intercession and memory as opposed to the decrease in the practice of donating.

spiritual impact. Such an event could have been the outbreak of bubonic plague which began suddenly in autumn 1348, and which, within just a few months, wiped out a third to half of the Portuguese population. There is an additional circumstance that could have favoured the inclusion of responsory 82, *Requiem aeternam*, into the series of responsories of the Office of the Dead in Braga and Coimbra. This is its likely use in the anniversary memorial service of Kings Afonso Henriques and Sancho I, performed annually on 6 December at the church of the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra. In the existing descriptions of the ceremony, no mention is made of a specific responsory, but a mid-sixteenth-century polyphonic source suggests that responsory 82, *Requiem aeternam*, was used in that context.³⁹

Three lesser-known fifteenth-century sources from Braga feature untypical elements as regards the Office of the Dead. The ‘*Fernão Duarte*’ Breviary, written possibly in 1478 though representing the breviary used in Braga between 1450 and 1470,⁴⁰ has the series of responsories proper to Santa Cruz in Coimbra. This manuscript still awaits a comprehensive study, but the final remarks of its brief presentation by Pedro Romano Rocha suggest the possibility of it having been compiled not for Braga, but for a church in its suffragan diocese of Oporto.⁴¹

The mid-fifteenth-century *Officium defunctorum* inverts the alternative responsories in position nine. This manuscript and the likely contemporary ‘*Duques de Palmela*’ Breviary present different sequences of verses after responsory 38, *Libera me, Domine, de morte* (see Table 4).⁴² A rubric in this breviary explains the circumstances when responsory 38 is to be used: at the obsequies when the body of the deceased is present and on the anniversaries of important people, such as the king or the bishop. Four of the verses in these mid-fifteenth-century sources are unique variants of existing texts. One, ‘Redemptor piissime, qui in diluvio’, is an abridgment of verse 401, ‘Rector clementissime’, which is unique to *GB-Ob* Lat. liturg. g.1, an early fifteenth-century English psalter from the Benedictine Priory of St Bees in Cumbria (or, on the contrary, verse 401 is an elaboration of the text in the Braga source; see Table 5). The first four verses in the ‘*Duques de Palmela*’ Breviary also occur in the Moissac Breviary, *F-Pic* Ms. Lat. 1. According to Solange Corbin, not only the versions of the texts but also the chant of the uncommon verses in the now missing *Officium defunctorum* are proper to Braga.⁴³

³⁹ See João Pedro d’ALVARENGA, ‘A Neglected Anonymous Requiem Mass of the Early Sixteenth Century and its Possible Context’, *Musica Disciplina*, 57 (2012), pp. 155-89.

⁴⁰ See Pedro Romano ROCHA, ‘Um breviário bracarense na Biblioteca do Escorial’, *Lusitania Sacra*, 9 (1970-1), pp. 41-54, at p. 42.

⁴¹ ROCHA, ‘Um breviário bracarense’ (see note 40), p. 54.

⁴² Since the *Officium defunctorum*, *P-BRsem* s.s., is now missing, for its contents and texts I relied on ROCHA, ‘Os responsórios do Ofício de Defuntos’ (see note 16), pp. 150-1.

⁴³ CORBIN, *Essai* (see note 13), p. 277.

	<i>'Duques de Palmela' Breviary</i> (BR 3)	<i>Officium defunctorum</i> (BR 4)
9)	46 Memento mei, Deus 91 Et non revertetur 38 Libera me, Domine, de morte 55 Dies illa, dies irae 227 Tremens factus sum *159 Nunc, Christe, te deprecor 178 Plangent se super se *180 Quid ego miserrimus	38 Libera me, Domine, de morte 227 Tremens factus sum 55 Dies illa, dies irae *401 Redemptor piissime, qui in diluvio *17 Ardentes animae 102 Gaudentes animae *30 Claustra inferni 46 Memento mei, Deus 91 Et non revertetur

Table 4. Untypical features in the final alternative responsories in two mid-fifteenth-century sources from Braga

[17] Ardentes animae *ardent* sine fine, *ardent* sine fine, ambulant per tenebras, dicuntque singulae: vae, vae, vae, quantae sunt tenebrae.

flent in all other 28 known sources.⁴⁴

[30] Claustra inferni confractae sunt, *portae paradisi apertae sunt, sed tu, Domine, dona eis requiem.*

et monumenta sanctorum aperta sunt, et vox omnium eorum dicit: Jam advenisti rex in the two other sources, *F-AI* Ms. 15 and an unidentified source from Oviedo dated 1556, where the verse is attached not to responsory 38 but to responsory 40, *Libera me, Domine, de viis*.⁴⁵

[159] Nunc, Christe, te deprecor, miserere, peto, qui venisti redimere *perditum*, veni salvare.

perpetim in all other 175 sources where this verse occurs, except in two English and two northern-central-French sources including *F-Pn* Ms. Lat. 12042, which have 'perditum, noli damnare redemptum', and *F-AI* Ms. 15, which has a completely different and unique text after 'miserere, peto'.⁴⁶

[180] Quid ego miserrimus, quid dicam vel quid faciam *cum vil bonis perferam ante tantum indicem indicantem.*

cum nil boni perferam ante tantum iudicium in all other 653 known sources.⁴⁷

<i>GB-Ob Lat. liturg. g.1</i>	<i>P-BRsem s.s. (BR 4)</i>
[401] <i>Rector clementissime, qui in diluvio reservasti Noe, et Abrahe demonstrasti trinitatem ad radicem Mambre, in specie columbae descendisti in Jordanis flumine, aquam vertisti in vinum in Chana Galilee. Hely, hely clamasti suspensus in cruce, ad latronem dixisti: amen dico tibi hodie mecum eris in paradiso sine crimine. Alme pater, Jesu Christe, dum veneris in regnum tuum, memento mei, Domine.</i>	[401] Redemptor piissime,* qui in diluvio salvasti Noe, in specie columbae descendisti in <u>Jordanem</u> , <u>aqua vinum mutasti</u> in Cana Galilae, Hely, hely clamasti in cruce, ad latronem dixisti: amen dico tibi hodie mecum eris in paradiso. <u>Domine memento mei, dum veneris in regnum tuum.</u>

* The vocative 'Redemptor piissime' is taken from verse 302, which occurs in only six sources including *F-AI* Ms. 15, its earliest source, and is composed in the same vein.⁴⁸

Table 5. The text of the uncommon verses from Braga

⁴⁴ See OTTOSEN, *The Responsories and Versicles* (see note 18), p. 404.

⁴⁵ See OTTOSEN, *The Responsories and Versicles* (see note 18), p. 405.

⁴⁶ See OTTOSEN, *The Responsories and Versicles* (see note 18), p. 413; three other sources feature different minor variants.

⁴⁷ See OTTOSEN, *The Responsories and Versicles* (see note 18), p. 416; the incipit of this verse is 'Quid ergo miserrimus' in 497 cases.

⁴⁸ See OTTOSEN, *The Responsories and Versicles* (see note 18), p. 417.

Owing to the fact that *F-AI* Ms. 15—a lectionary followed by a fragmentary antiphoner possibly used in Nîmes (because it includes a special office for St Baudile) but originating in Albi or St Michel of Gaillac (because of its palaeographical characteristics) and datable to before 1042—is an early source not only for some of the rare verses much later edited in Braga but also for responsory 82, *Requiem aeternam*, with verse 15, ‘Animae eorum’,⁴⁹ one would be tempted to think that a copy of its contents, or a similar manuscript from the same liturgical orbit, could have reached Portugal either through Braga in the early twelfth century or through Coimbra in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. However, the versions of the verses in the Albi-Gaillac/Nîmes source (including a unique text for the final part of verse 159, ‘Nunc, Christe’) are not compatible with the versions in Braga. In addition, the version of responsory 82, *Requiem aeternam*, it contains could hardly have been the model for this responsory in Braga, though they both clearly belong to the same southwestern French melodic tradition.⁵⁰ There are six points of variation between *F-AI* Ms. 15 and the available manuscripts from Braga (*P-BRs* Mss. 27, 28 and 34, and *P-BRad* Ms. 949). Three of these differences are particularly significant: two in the melisma on the first syllable of ‘luceat’ and the termination of the verse tone. One other southern-French source, the late fourteenth-century Pontifical of Couserans, *F-SOM* Ms. 250, presents even more marked variance (see Example 1 in Appendix I). As regards specifically the uncommon verses attached to responsory 38, *Libera me, Domine, de morte*, the fact that the long version of ‘Rector clementissime, qui in diluvio’ is, to our knowledge so far, unique to an English Benedictine source suggests a northern-French connection rather than a southern one.⁵¹ The series of responsories and verses established in the mid-fifteenth-century ‘*Valasco*’ Breviary is however the one that prevailed in the first printed breviary from Braga and later sources (see Table 2 above).

⁴⁹ See OTTOSEN, *The Responsories and Versicles* (see note 18), pp. 317-8 and n. 351; Olivier CULLIN, ‘Une pièce gallicane conservée par la liturgie de Gaillac. L’offertoire Salvator mundi pour les défunts’, in *Liturgie et musique* (see note 1), pp. 287-96, at pp. 289-90. The oldest source for verse 15, ‘Animae eorum’, seems to be the late ninth-century Gradual and Antiphoner from Albi, *F-AI* Ms. 44.

⁵⁰ The common, certainly northern, chant for this responsory begins with one of mode-7 characteristic opening gestures: G-a (G) G-a-c, or G-a (G) F-a-C; for a structural analysis of mode-7 responsories, see Kate HELSEN, ‘The Great Responsories of the Divine Office: Aspects of Structure and Transmission’ (Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Regensburg, 2008), pp. 202-31.

⁵¹ The route of verse 17, ‘Ardentes animae’, is sketched in Marie-Noël COLETTE, ‘Le *Salve Regina* en Aquitaine au XII^{ème} siècle: L’auteur du *Salve*’, in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3-8 September 1990*, edited by László Doboszay (Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1992), pp. 521-47, at pp. 533-5 and n. 32, considering its main sources: with possible origin in St Martial, this verse ‘se trouve à la fin du XII^{ème} siècle à Reichenau et à Verdun, et passe au XIII^{ème} siècle, par l’influence augustinienne, dans le rite de Sarum et à Cambrai’ and ‘enfin à Vich et Elne au XIV^{ème} [siècle]’—that is, it spread from south to north and from there to England and the south again.

The Diocese of Évora and the Augustinian Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra

Except for a late missal and a set of processional, no other manuscripts of the use of Évora have been certainly identified so far.⁵² The main liturgical books—missal, breviary and ritual—were however printed before the acceptance of the reformed Roman liturgy.⁵³

The restoration of the See of Évora took place in 1166, shortly after the reconquest of the city from the Almoravid Moors by the troops of Giraldo Giraldes in September 1165 on behalf of King Afonso Henriques. In order to attract people who could defend it, the city of Évora was granted its charter in April 1166. A bishop was immediately appointed and consecrated by the archbishop of Braga. Although in 1120 Pope Calixtus II had assigned to Compostela metropolitan rights over Évora and all other suffragan dioceses of the old Visigothic metropolis of Merida (even if they were at the time under Moorish rule), the archbishops of Braga and the Portuguese kings never ceased to plead for the cause of the jurisdiction of Braga over Portuguese dioceses, as this was a vital political matter for the independence of the newly-founded kingdom.⁵⁴ But in 1199, Pope Innocent III definitely determined that the archbishop of Compostela exerted full metropolitan authority over most of the ancient province of Lusitania including the dioceses of Évora and Lisbon, while Braga retained authority over its Galician suffragan dioceses.⁵⁵ Even if initially dependent on Braga, Évora thus remained a suffragan diocese of Compostela until 1394, when Lisbon was raised to the dignity of a metropolitan church.⁵⁶ Évora passed to the jurisdiction of the new metropolis until it was in its turn raised to metropolitan archbishopric in 1540.⁵⁷

The background of the first two bishops of Évora after the restoration of the diocese, Dom Soeiro I (1166-76) and Dom Fernando I (1177-9), is not known. But the third bishop, Dom Paio (elected 1180-6; in residence 1186-1204), was apparently an Augustinian Canon Regular. If Nicolau de Santa Maria is accurate in his *Chronica*,⁵⁸ in 1152, shortly after his return from Paris where he had studied at the University, Dom Paio took the habit at the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra. Sometime between 1160 and 1162, when Dom Godinho, a canon from Santa Cruz who was then charged with the reformation of the Monastery of São Salvador de Banho near Barcelos in

⁵² See Table 1 in Appendix II. In addition, there is an Évora-related festive missal, *P-SEad* Ms. 317 (24/17111/4), copied for the use of the Confraternity of Nossa Senhora da Anunciada in Setúbal by João de Beja, *bacharel* of Évora Cathedral, and dated 25 April 1474.

⁵³ Table 2 in Appendix II gives all the known printed books of the use of Évora, including an incunabulum of which no copy is apparently extant.

⁵⁴ The establishment of an independent Kingdom of Portugal was a complex political, military and diplomatic process, which of course involved many issues of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This is thoroughly detailed and explained most notably and recently in José MATTOSO, *D. Afonso Henriques* (Lisbon, Temas e Debates, 2006).

⁵⁵ Bull *In causa duorum*, issued on 2 June 1199.

⁵⁶ Bull *In eminentissimae dignitatis*, issued by Pope Boniface IX on 10 November 1394.

⁵⁷ Bull *Gratae divinae praeium*, issued by Pope Paul III on 24 September 1540.

⁵⁸ Nicolau de SANTA MARIA, *Chronica da Ordem dos Conegos Regrantes do Patriarcha S. Agostinho* (Lisboa, Officina de Ioam da Costa, 1668), Book XI, Chapter X, pp. 465-6.

the archdiocese of Braga, left for Lisbon with a group of twelve canons from Coimbra to establish an Augustinian community at the newly-founded Monastery of São Vicente de Fora,⁵⁹ he took with him Dom Paio, who eventually became a cloistral prior there. Because of the political and diplomatic troubles with Rome caused by the claims of the archbishop of Compostela, Dom Paio was consecrated by the archbishop of Braga only in 1186, shortly after King Afonso Henriques had died on 6 December 1185, and six years after he had been elected to the episcopal seat in Évora. It was Dom Paio who created the cathedral chapter on 24 April 1200, organizing it according to the model of Coimbra Cathedral.⁶⁰

The historical circumstances of the restoration of the diocese make viable the hypothesis of some liturgical dependence of Évora on Braga. Indeed, Pedro Romano Rocha has proved that the series of responsories for the Night Office in Évora in the distinctive seasons of Advent and the *Triduum sacrum* are almost identical to those in Braga.⁶¹ The same degree of correspondence seems also to occur in a number of series of Office antiphons.⁶² And Manuel Pedro Ferreira discovered in Évora the list of *Alleluia* verses for the Sundays after Pentecost closest to that in Braga, although he concludes that both lists depended on different sources: the earliest list in Braga may have had its origin in, or have been transmitted from, southern Aquitaine through the Leonese Monastery of Sts Facundus and Primitivus in Sahagún, and then conflated with a Moissac list from before the Cluniac reform; the list in Évora, sent from Braga, probably originated in an exemplar also from Moissac, but copied after the Cluniac reform there in the middle of the eleventh century.⁶³

⁵⁹ São Vicente de Fora means literally 'St Vincent Outside the City Walls'. The monastery was founded shortly after the reconquest of Lisbon, which took place on 25 October 1147, after a 117-day siege. King Afonso Henriques laid its first stone on 21 November that year, roughly in the place of a former military camp and cemetery of German and Flemish crusaders. For a short period—not longer than fifteen years—Premonstratensians, soon replaced by the Augustinian Canons Regular, occupied the monastery. Dom Godinho was the first Augustinian prior of São Vicente de Fora. His immediate successors, Dom Mendo (c. 1173) and Dom Paio (c. 1182; not the same as the third bishop of Évora), seem to have also come from the Monastery of São Salvador de Banho. See Manuela BIRG, 'S. Vicente de Fora (Igreja e Mosteiro de)', in *Dicionário da História de Lisboa*, edited by Francisco Santana and Eduardo Sucena (Lisbon, Carlos Quintas & Associados, 1994), pp. 827-30; and Aires Gomes FERNANDES, 'Os Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho no norte de Portugal em finais da Idade Média: Dos alvares de Trezentos à Congregação de Santa Cruz' (Ph.D. dissertation, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 2011), pp. 279-80. The accounts of the chronicles relating to this early period, particularly the succession of priors of São Vicente, has proven difficult to support with documentary evidence; see Carlos Guardado da SILVA, *O Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora: A comunidade regrante e o património rural (séculos XII e XIII)* (Lisbon, Colibri, 2002), pp. 63-8.

⁶⁰ Júlio César BAPTISTA, 'Restauração da Diocese de Évora', offprint from *A Cidade de Évora*, 58 (1975), pp. 3-64, at pp. 28-9; on Bishop Dom Paio see pp. 14-30.

⁶¹ ROCHA, *L'Office Divin* (see note 16), p. 381, n. 1: 'Les répons [in the 1528 and 1548 Évora breviaries] suivent de très près le responsorial de Braga'.

⁶² João Pedro d'ALVARENGA, 'Fragmento de um breviário notado bracarense do século XIII', in *Estudos de Musicologia* (Lisbon, Colibri - Centro de História da Arte da Universidade de Évora, 2002), pp. 11-33.

⁶³ FERREIRA, 'As origens do Gradual de Braga' (see note 9), especially pp. 73-89, and Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, 'Braga, Toledo and Sahagún: The Testimony of a Sixteenth-Century Liturgical Manuscript', in *Fuentes musicales en la Península Ibérica (ca. 1250-ca. 1550): Actas del coloquio internacional, Lleida, 1-3 abril 1996*, edited by Maricarmen Gómez and Màrius Bernadó (Lleida, Universitat de Lleida, 2002), pp. 11-33. These two articles were later rewritten by the author into a single text, published in Portuguese as Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, 'Das origens do Gradual de Braga', in *Aspectos da música medieval no Ocidente Peninsular*, vol. 1: *Música eclesiástica* (Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2010), pp. 119-60.

If the exemplars for most, or at least some, of its liturgical books were indeed received from Braga or through Braga, Évora seems to have preserved the transplanted texts and rituals better than they were preserved in the tradition from which they came. This is clear with, for instance the prayers for the benediction and imposition of ashes on Ash Wednesday and the series of Office antiphons for the Ember Days in Advent. In the first case, the second and third prayers of four in the 1519 *Missale Elboreense* result from the division and adapting of a much longer text, which is not retained in the printed books of the use of Braga, occurring only in an eleventh-century sacramentary from the Limoges area, *F-Pn* Ms. Lat. 821, and the so-called *Missal de Mateus*, *P-BRad* Ms. 1000.⁶⁴ In the second case, the series of Office antiphons, as well as the series of responsories, for the Ember Days in Advent are the same in both the 1494 *Breuiarium Bracharense* and the 1528 *Breuiarium Elborensis*. However, Évora keeps the earlier, southern-Aquitania versions of two of the antiphons in the series for Lauds in Saturday, while Braga, in the first printed books and later sources of its use, substitutes them, one with the universal version and the other one with a possibly local version resulting from the conflation of two different though related texts.⁶⁵

The liturgy in Évora, at least in certain sections of the antiphoner both of the Mass and Office, seems thus to have derived from Braga, or from the models of the liturgy in Braga, but with an even stronger Cluniac influence. The Office of the Dead in Évora is however essentially the same as in the Augustinian Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra. This must have been introduced during the prelate of Dom Paio—who, as we have seen, was an Augustinian Canon Regular—possibly in or around 1200, when he established the chapter in Évora Cathedral.

The use of Santa Cruz is, fortunately, far better documented and studied than the use of Évora. Forty complete or nearly complete medieval and early modern liturgical manuscripts from the monastery in Coimbra and affiliated communities, particularly São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon, are known to be extant;⁶⁶ most of these were produced in Santa Cruz.⁶⁷ To the manuscripts, we should add eight early prints from before the acceptance of the reformed Roman breviary.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ See Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, 'Influência religiosa da França no Portugal medievo', *Didaskalia*, 3 (1973), pp. 133-56, at pp. 141-6.

⁶⁵ See ALVARENGA, 'Fragmento de um breviário' (see note 62), pp. 15-6.

⁶⁶ See Table 3 in Appendix II.

⁶⁷ On the production of codices in Santa Cruz, see especially Aires A. NASCIMENTO, 'O scriptorium de Santa Cruz de Coimbra: Momentos da sua história', in *Catálogo dos códices da livraria de mão do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto*, edited by Aires A. Nascimento and José F. Meirinhos (Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 1997), pp. lxix-xcv. On the illumination of the manuscripts, see particularly Maria Adelaide MIRANDA, 'A iluminura românica em Santa Cruz de Coimbra e Santa Maria de Alcobaça: Subsídios para o estudo da iluminura em Portugal', 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1996), and Maria Adelaide MIRANDA, *A iluminura de Santa Cruz no tempo de Santo António* (Lisbon, Inapa, 1996).

⁶⁸ For the prints, see Table 4 in Appendix II.

Presbyter Tello, the archdeacon of Coimbra Cathedral, founded the community of Santa Cruz in Coimbra; he was soon joined by eleven other clerics. Among these were João Peculiar, at the time the cathedral's schoolmaster,⁶⁹ and Theotonius, who was to be the first elected prior of Santa Cruz (to which duty he resigned in 1152) and the first Portuguese saint, as he was canonised in 1163 by Pope Alexander III, precisely one year after he had died, on 18 February 1162. Construction of the original monastery began on 28 June 1131, on a site next to the city walls, where the royal baths were, donated by the then Prince Afonso Henriques. Communal life begun on 24 February 1132 and the privilege that placed the monastery under direct papal protection was granted by Pope Innocent II on 25 May 1135.⁷⁰ The newly founded monastery adopted the Augustinian rule and the uses and liturgy of the Canons Regular of St Rufus in Avignon.

The spiritual and liturgical derivation of Santa Cruz in Coimbra from St Rufus in Avignon is clearly shown in the identity of the early sanctorale, to which Santa Cruz adds initially only four local feasts—those of the Saints of Braga, Victor, Martyr, Fructuosus, Bishop of Dume and Archbishop of Braga, and Gerald, Archbishop of Braga, and the Holy Martyrs of Lisbon, Veríssimo, Máxima and Julia; the presence of St Rufus in the litanies; the coincidence of the series of responsories for Advent, the *Triduum* of Holy Week and the Office of the Dead; the similarity of certain features of the Ordo Missae, particularly the absence of a prayer before the preface; and the analogy of the core of the ritual: the ceremonies of the blessing of candles, ashes and palms; the rituals for the dead; the ceremonial of admission of new canons; and the rituals of profession.⁷¹

Table 6 below shows the series of responsories and verses of the Office of the Dead in St Rufus,⁷² Santa Cruz⁷³ and Évora.⁷⁴ St Rufus is represented by late sources from the abbey in

⁶⁹ He was successively bishop of Oporto (1136-8) and archbishop of Braga (1138-75), besides being one of Afonso Henriques's main counsellors.

⁷⁰ The bull *Desiderium quod*, which exempted the monastery from the authority of the bishop of Coimbra, committing it in return to the payment of an annual tribute to Rome. The establishment of Santa Cruz seems to have corresponded to a confluence of political and ecclesiastical interests supporting the independentist party of the County of Portugal. Prince Afonso Henriques, who was to be proclaimed king by the time of the battle of Ourique on 25 July 1139, moved definitely to Coimbra in or around 1131. On the foundation of Santa Cruz and its history up to the early fifteenth century, see especially Armando Alberto MARTINS, *O mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Idade Média* (Lisbon, Centro de História da Universidade, 2003); see also the overview in Saúl António GOMES, 'Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho', in *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*, edited by Carlos A. Moreira Azevedo (Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2000), A-C, pp. 429-34.

⁷¹ See especially ROCHA, *L'Office Divin* (see note 16), pp. 381 ff.; Pedro Romano ROCHA, 'Le rayonnement de l'Ordre de Saint-Ruf dans la péninsule ibérique, d'après sa liturgie', in *Le monde des chanoines (XIe-XIVe s.)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 24 (Toulouse, Privat, 1989), pp. 193-208; Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, 'L'influence de la liturgie languedocienne' (see note 1), pp. 181-2; and Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, *Ritual de Santa Cruz de Coimbra: Porto, Biblioteca Municipal, ms. 858* (Lisbon, Author, 1976).

⁷² According to OTTOSEN, *The Responsories and Versicles* (see note 18), pp. 224-5. Sources used by Ottosen are: *F-C* Ms. 719, incomplete breviary from St Rufus in Valence, fourteenth century; *F-LYbu* Ms. 44, breviary from St Rufus in Valence, fifteenth century; *F-VLbm* Ms. 43, breviary from Notre-Dame d'Annonay, fifteenth century; *Breviarium Augustiniense Congregationis S. Rufi*, Lugduni, [Michel Topié], 1500 (copy in *I-Mb* 73).

⁷³ Sources: *P-Pm* Ms. 843 (Santa Cruz 62), ff. 63r-176v, breviary, late twelfth or early thirteenth century; *P-Pm* Ms. 1159 (Santa Cruz 85), breviary, fourteenth century; *Breviarium secundum ordinem divi Augustini*, 1514; *Breviarium secundum usum insignis monasterii sanctae crucis*, 1531; see Tables 3 and 4 in Appendix II.

Valence and affiliated communities;⁷⁵ the oldest one is an incomplete fourteenth-century breviary, *F-C Ms. 719*, in which the series of responsories and verses is fragmentary. The oldest source from Santa Cruz is *P-Pm Ms. 843*, a composite manuscript containing a breviary copied in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, thus older than the sources from St Rufus in Valence and probably representing the original tradition of the Augustinian Canons Regular. This is quite a likely hypothesis as the series of responsories and verses in the Catalanian diocese of Tortosa—which, after the reconquest in 1148, also adopted the liturgy from St Rufus in Avignon—is exactly the same as in Santa Cruz.⁷⁶ Readings in all three uses—St Rufus, Santa Cruz and Évora—are those of the standard Roman set including Job 10: 18-22 as the final reading, as seen also adopted in Braga and Coimbra.⁷⁷

	St Rufus (late series)	Santa Cruz (possibly the original series in St Rufus)	Évora
1)	14 Credo, quod redemptor 197 Reposita est	14 Credo quod redemptor 197 Reposita est	14 Credo quod redemptor 177 Quem visurus
2)	36 Induta est caro 58 Dies mei velocius	36 Induta est caro 58 Dies mei velocius	36 Induta est caro 58 Dies mei velocius
3)	72 Qui Lazarum 188 Qui venturus es	72 Qui Lazarum 198 Requiem aeternam	72 Qui Lazarum 188 Qui venturus es
4)	32 Heu mihi 12 Anima mea turbata	32 Heu mihi 12 Anima mea turbata	32 Heu mihi 12 Anima mea turbata
5)	68 Peccantem me 53 Deus in nomine tuo	68 Peccantem me 53 Deus in nomine tuo	68 Peccantem me 53 Deus in nomine tuo
6)	24 Domine, quando veneris 34 Commissa mea	24 Domine, quando veneris 34 Commissa mea	24 Domine, quando veneris 34 Commissa mea
7)	51 Ne abscondas me 244 Voca me, et respondebo	51 Ne abscondas me 244 Voca me, et respondebo	51 Ne abscondas me 244 Voca me, et respondebo
8)	56 Ne perdideris me 144 Miserere mei, Deus	56 Ne perdideris me 144 Miserere mei, Deus	56 Ne perdideris me 144 Miserere mei, Deus
9)	38 Libera me, Domine, de morte 55 Dies illa, dies irae	38 Libera me, Domine, de morte 55 Dies illa, dies irae 227 Tremens factus sum 198 Requiem aeternam	38 Libera me, Domine, de morte 55 Dies illa, dies irae 227 Tremens factus sum 198 Requiem aeternam

Table 6. The series of responsories and verses of the Office of the Dead in St Rufus, Santa Cruz, and Évora

Variation within the series is limited to the verses of the first and third responsories in the first nocturn. Verse 197, 'Reposita est', came originally from the tradition of the diocese of Lyon, in east-central France in the Rhône-Alpes region. The original series in St Rufus is indeed a derivation

⁷⁴ Sources: *Breviarium Elborensis*, 1528; *Breviarium Eborensis*, 1548; see Table 2 in Appendix II.

⁷⁵ The Augustinian Canons Regular of St Rufus, established in Avignon in 1039, founded a canonry on the island of Esparvière in the river Rhône, south of Valence, in 1158. When the abbey in Avignon was destroyed by the Albigenses in 1210, the canons moved away and settled in Valence, which became their mother house from then on.

⁷⁶ See ROCHA, 'Le rayonnement de l'Ordre de Saint-Ruf' (see note 71), pp. 202-3.

⁷⁷ See note 21 above.

of the series in Lyon, as it retains from the latter responsories 14, *Credo, quod redemptor*, and 36, *Induta est caro*, with their respective verses, 197, 'Reposita est', and 58, 'Dies mei velocius', characteristically in the first two positions, and responsory 51, *Ne abscondas me*, with verse 244, 'Voca me, et respondebo', in the seventh position (it being the fourth in Lyon). The combination of responsory 72, *Qui Lazarum*, with verse 198, 'Requiem aeternam', seems older than its combination with verse 188, 'Qui venturus es': the former occurs in thirteen sources in the *Cantus* database, two of them datable to the late tenth century; the latter occurs in twenty-four sources, none earlier than the twelfth century.⁷⁸ Verses 227, 'Tremens factus sum', and 198, 'Requiem aeternam', in the tail of responsory 38, *Libera me, Domine, de morte*, are additions in just the late, sixteenth-century printed sources from Santa Cruz.⁷⁹

We can thus provisionally assume that the series of responsories and verses of the Office of the Dead in Évora is a descendent of the later series in St Rufus. It must have been transmitted, not through Santa Cruz—which admittedly retains the original series of verses from St Rufus—but through a newer foundation, most likely São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon, from where the third bishop of Évora came. Verse 177, 'Quem visurus', being the most usual verse with responsory 14, *Credo, quod redemptor*, was probably introduced in Évora either during the preparation of the 1528 printed breviary through the likely influence of Braga or Coimbra, or much earlier in the original process of transmission. In this latter case, it may well be a residue of the Premonstratensian series that was possibly in use in São Vicente de Fora before the monastery was given to the Augustinian Canons Regular in the early 1160s.

If we turn to the Vespers and Lauds of the Dead, the influence of the original use of Coimbra Cathedral—which was the organizational model for the bishop of Évora, Dom Paio, in 1200—is wholly apparent. As in the so-called *Missale mixtum*, and also in Braga sources, the Magnificat antiphon in Évora is *Audivi vocem de caelo*, not *Omne quod dat mihi Pater* as in the use of Santa Cruz. The fourth antiphon at Lauds is *Eruisti Domine*, as in Braga and Coimbra; in the use of the Augustinian Canons Regular, the fourth antiphon is *A porta inferi*. The Benedictus antiphon is not *Absolve Domine animas eorum* as in the use of Santa Cruz but *Ego sum resurrectio*. This latter antiphon is also the only Benedictus antiphon in the original use of Coimbra Cathedral and the alternative antiphon to be used in Paschaltide in all Braga sources except in the 'Soeiro' Breviary where, as in most Cluniac sources, the only Benedictus antiphon is *Omne quod dat mihi Pater*. Also the psalm after the *Pater noster* at Lauds in Évora is no. 12, *Usquequo Domine*, as in the *Missale mixtum* from Coimbra Cathedral. In the use of Braga, Psalm 129, *De profundis*, is sung at that

⁷⁸ <<http://cantusdatabase.org/>> (accessed 31 July 2016).

⁷⁹ The same happens in the late sources from Tortosa; see OTTOSEN, *The Responsories and Versicles* (see note 18), p. 225.

place; the use of Santa Cruz has Psalm 6, *Domine ne in furore*. Despite the findings of Bragança, Rocha and Ferreira mentioned above, the case with the Office of the Dead is a clear indication that some of the earliest layers of the liturgical use of Évora came, even if not directly, from or through Coimbra and that the influence of Braga was certainly not exclusive.

Epilogue

The schematic stemma in Appendix IV summarizes visually the conclusions in this article regarding the origins of the Office of the Dead in Portuguese medieval uses before the changes in Braga and Coimbra in the second quarter of the fourteenth century.

In the late medieval period, judging from the books of hours originally owned by members of the Portuguese royal family, most of which were produced under commission in Flanders, personal devotion leaned towards the Roman-Franciscan Office of the Dead.⁸⁰ This is consistent with the fact that most of the confessors, chaplains and private secretaries to the Portuguese kings and queens up to the arrival of the Jesuits under King João III were Franciscans and, particularly in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but to a lesser extent, also Dominicans.⁸¹ There is however at least one noteworthy exception: a book of hours from the latter half of the fifteenth century that follows the use of Sarum.⁸² This manuscript, although its origin and recipient are still not clearly

⁸⁰ See, for instance, the Book of Hours of King Duarte, *P-Lant* C.F. 140, dated to the first third of the fifteenth century and copied at the workshop of the *Maitre aux Rinceaux d'Or* in Bruges (ff. 323v-354v contain the *agenda mortuorum*), available at <<http://digitalq.arquivos.pt/viewer?id=4381017>> (accessed 31 July 2016); the Book of Hours of Queen Leonor, the wife of King João II, illuminated in Bruges by Willem Vrelant in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, *P-Ln* Il. 165 (the *agenda mortuorum* is on ff. 115r-145v), available at <<http://purl.pt/24005/3/>> (accessed 31 July 2016); on this latter book, see Delmira CUSTÓDIO, 'A luz da grisalha: Arte, liturgia e história no Livro de Horas dito de D. Leonor' (Master's thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2010); and the book of hours *P-Ln* Il. 166 (with the Office of the Dead on ff. 110r-152v), supposed to have been also owned by Queen Leonor, copied possibly in Bruges by the *Master of the Dresden Prayerbook* in the later quarter of the fifteenth century, available at <<http://purl.pt/24006/3/>> (accessed 31 July 2016).

⁸¹ See João Francisco MARQUES, 'Franciscanos e Dominicanos confessores dos reis portugueses das duas primeiras dinastias: Espiritualidade e política', *Revista da Faculdade de Letras, Línguas e Literaturas*, Anexo V: *Espiritualidade e Corte em Portugal*, sécs. XVI-XVIII (Porto, 1993), pp. 53-60.

⁸² This is the book of hours said to have belonged to King Fernando I (because of a forged, post-medieval inscription on its last folio attributing the miniatures to Spinello Spinelli and dating it from 1378), *BR-Rn* Ms. 50.1.1, available at <http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo_digital/div_manuscritos/mss1212389/mss1212389.html> (accessed 31 July 2016). According to Vera Lúcia Miranda FAILLACE, 'Catálogo dos livros de horas da Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil' (Final report of the postgraduate programme, Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil, 2009), p. 50, quoting information received personally from James H. Marrow, the book was copied in Flanders, probably in Bruges, and dated 'possibly to around 1460'; the Office of the Dead is on ff. 136r-176v. The miniature on f. 1v, depicting the martyrdom of St Sebastian, bears the arms of King João II of Portugal, with seven castles in the bordure of the shield and all five escutcheons in upright position, thus suggesting a date shortly after 1485; Marrow, however, argues that this first folio and the coat of arms on it are later additions—an argument for which there is in fact no clear evidence as regards the first folio, though the coat of arms seems indeed a later painting, oddly located on a tree within the miniature, instead of the much common location on the bottom border of the page; see Vânia Leite FRÓES, 'O livro de horas dito de Dom Fernando: Maravilha para ver e rezar', *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, 129 (Rio de Janeiro, 2009; published in 2011), pp. 83-135, at pp. 106-12. It should be noted that many books of hours, particularly those in *P-EVp*, that follow French or English uses were acquired in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for private collections, notably that of Frei Manuel do Cenáculo (1724-1814).

established, deserves proper consideration as it may support the claim that some of the members of the Portuguese royal family followed an English use in the late fourteenth and fifteenth century.⁸³

Since at least the late fifteenth century, and earlier in some cases, in dioceses that still kept their medieval uses, the existence of liturgical books of the Roman use and of other historically influential or geographically close uses is well documented.⁸⁴ The printing in Lisbon of the *Votiuale Missarum secundum ritum romane curie* by Valentim Fernandes of Moravia in 1496 is one of the first pieces of evidence of the favouring of the Roman use at the expense of local ones.⁸⁵ The approach to liturgical convergency as far as the texts are concerned, embodied either in the acceptance of the Roman books or in the contamination of medieval formularies mainly through Humanist influence, began however to emerge more clearly in the 1530s, driven particularly by the reformer prelates related to the great nobility and the royal family.⁸⁶

By that time, the Roman use was already widely established in Portugal. The Royal Chapel had definitely adopted it in the period of regency of the *Infante* Dom Pedro (1439-48) before King Afonso V attained his majority in 1448; a bull from Pope Eugene IV was issued on 21 September 1439 allowing the Mass and Office to be celebrated in the Portuguese Royal Chapel according to the Roman use.⁸⁷ The diocese of Lisbon accepted the Roman use by decision of the diocesan synod of 1536; this was ratified by a bull of Paul III issued on 9 December 1538.⁸⁸ The Roman use was also introduced into Oporto Cathedral possibly during the prelacy of Bishop Diogo de Sousa between 1496 and 1505, and imposed throughout the diocese in 1541.⁸⁹ Coimbra definitely relinquished its use during the prelacy of Bishop João Soares (1545-72), who in 1555 ordered a breviary for the diocese combining the use of the Roman Curia and the use reformed under Clement VII (that is, the use of the three-lesson breviary of Cardinal Quiñones, first printed in Rome in

⁸³ This seems to have been the case with the wife of King João I, Philippa of Lancaster (1359-1415), daughter of John of Gaunt, 1st Duke of Lancaster, according to Fernão LOPES, *Chronica del Rey D. Ioam I de Boa Memoria e dos reys de Portugal o decimo* (Lisbon, Antonio Alvarez, 1644), part II, ch. 98, p. 229; and also their youngest son, *Infante* Dom Fernando (1402-43), according to João ÁLVARES, *Obras*, edited by Adelino de Almeida Calado (Coimbra, Universidade, 1960), vol. 1, pp. 8 and 17.

⁸⁴ See, for instance, notes 28 and 29 above.

⁸⁵ Sole known copy in GB-Lbl IA.56660 (incomplete); see *No quinto centenário da Vita Christi: Os primeiros impressores alemães em Portugal*, edited by J. J. Alves Dias (Lisbon, Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro, 1995), pp. 59-61. Given that this printing seems not to have been funded by a patron, it had to have a market large enough to pay back the printer's investment.

⁸⁶ See for instance, the case of the 1548 printing of the breviary of the use of Évora in note 122 below.

⁸⁷ See Miguel de OLIVEIRA, 'Os Próprios litúrgicos', *Academia Portuguesa da História: Anais*, série II, 4 (1953), p. 163.

⁸⁸ On the replacement of the use of Lisbon with the Roman, see ALVARENGA, 'Polifonia portuguesa sacra' (see note 2), vol. 1, p. 5.

⁸⁹ See *Côstituições sinodais do bispado do Porto ordenadas pelo muito reuerendo e magnífico Sôr dō Baltasar Limpo bispo do dicto bispado* (Porto, por Vasco Diaz Tanquo de Frexenal, 1541), f. lxx; copy in P-Ln Res. 145 A., digitised at <<http://purl.pt/14687>>.

1535).⁹⁰ All Portuguese dioceses created in the sixteenth century—Leiria and Miranda in 1545; Portalegre in 1549; and Elvas in 1570—also adopted the Roman use.

The Augustinian Canons Regular of Santa Cruz accepted the reformed Roman Breviary in their 1569 general chapter.⁹¹ The chapter of Évora Cathedral assented to the replacement of their Breviary by the Tridentine on 22 December 1570.⁹² Drawing upon the prerogative in the bulls of Pius V, *Quod a nobis* and *Quo primum tempore*, for rites of at least two hundred years's standing, Braga chose to keep its use after Trent. The uses of Braga and Rome were nevertheless to coexist formally in the archdiocese under an exemption granted in 1537.⁹³ In the 1570s, except for Braga and though apparently lacking enough proper books, particularly chant books, the Roman Office of the Dead eventually prevailed in Portuguese dioceses.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ *Breviarium Romanum antiquum & nouum complectens per Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Papam Iulium tertium approbatum* (Conimbricæ, apud Antonium a Santillana, 1555); copy in *P-Cug* R-3-13; see Pierre DAVID, 'O Breviário de D. João Soares', *Liturgia*, 2 (1948), pp. 118-28. Four years earlier, a nine-lesson Roman breviary had already been printed in Coimbra: *Breviarium novem lectionum ex Romano antiquo, & recentiori confectum* (Conimbricæ, Ioannes Barrerius et Ioannes Alvarus, 1551); copy in *P-EVp* Séc. XVI-2913.

⁹¹ *P-Lant* Corporações Religiosas, Coimbra, S.^{ta} Cruz, Maço 2, Liv. 1, f. 2v.

⁹² *Livro 1.º das Lembranças do Cabido que começou em 1569 até 1574*, *P-EVc* CEC 13-III, f. 31r.

⁹³ *CONSTITUÇÕES do arcebispado de Braga* (Lisboa, Germã Galharde, 1538), f. lxxiv. On this issue, see ALVARENGA, 'Polifonia portuguesa sacra' (see note 2), vol. 1, pp. 8 and 13-4.

⁹⁴ On the acceptance of the Roman use in Portugal before and after the Council of Trent, see the comprehensive overview in ALVARENGA, 'Polifonia portuguesa sacra' (see note 2), vol. 1, pp. 5-14. No mention is made there, or here, of the Portuguese dioceses in the Atlantic islands, Africa, Far East, and Brazil.

Appendix I

Table 1. Complete or nearly complete manuscripts of the use of Braga⁹⁵

Missal, copied in the region of Limoges possibly for Notre-Dame de Bayne, near Moissac, and then adapted to the use of Braga, known as <i>Missal de Mateus</i> , c.1130-50; calendar of Braga dated to c.1176 ⁹⁶	<i>P-BRad</i> Ms. 1000
Pontifical, possibly copied in Portugal from an exemplar organized in the region of Toulouse with elements from Normandy, latter quarter of the 12th century (after 1175) ⁹⁷	<i>P-Pm</i> Ms. 1134 (Santa Cruz 83), ff. 1r-141v
Pontifical, first third of the 13th century ⁹⁸	<i>P-Ln</i> Alc. 162
Breviary, late-14th/early-15th c., from a mid-14th century exemplar (c.1340) with readings from a lectionary in use in 1282, known as ‘ <i>Soeiro</i> ’ Breviary ⁹⁹	<i>P-BRad</i> Ms. 657 [BR 1]
Breviary, mid 15th century (1430-40), known as ‘ <i>Valasco</i> ’ Breviary ¹⁰⁰	<i>GB-Ob</i> Ms. Lat. liturg. e.12 [BR 2]
Breviary, mid 15th century (1431-57), known as ‘ <i>Duques de Palmela</i> ’ Breviary ¹⁰¹	<i>P-BRs</i> s.s. (from the collection of Avelino de Jesus da Costa) [BR 3]

⁹⁵ On the many identified fragments of the use of Braga, see especially ALVARENGA, ‘Fragmento de um Breviário’ (see note 62); Joaquim Félix de CARVALHO, ‘Fragmentos litúrgicos de Braga’, *Didaskalia*, 40 (2010), pp. 93-112; Jorge Alves BARBOSA, ‘A música na liturgia bracarense nos séculos XII e XIII: O repertório musical da Missa nos fragmentos de códices do Arquivo Distrital de Braga’, *Modus*, 3 (1989-92), pp. 81-271; Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, ‘Fragmento de um Missal de Braga do século XII’, *Theologica*, 28 (1993), pp. 375-90; Avelino de Jesus da COSTA, ‘Fragmentos preciosos de códices medievais’, *Bracara Augusta*, 1 (1949), pp. 421-34, and 2 (1950), pp. 44-63; Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, ‘Three Fragments from Lamego’, *Revista de Musicología*, 16/1 (1993), pp. 457-76; and the *Portuguese Early Music Database* at <pemdatabase.eu>. As a complementary source to the manuscripts on this table one should add the *Estatutos antigos do Cabido de Braga feitos pello Arcebispo D. Diogo de Souza*, dated 1506 with an addendum from 1516, *P-BRad* Gaveta do Cabido e seus Oficiais, Caixa 2, no. 12, including the Choir Regulations at ff. 27r-51r; see the edition in Ana Maria S. A. RODRIGUES, ‘O Regimento do coro da Sé de Braga de 1506’, *Lusitania Sacra*, series 2, 18 (2006), pp. 433-50.

⁹⁶ Modern edition in BRAGANÇA, *Missal de Mateus* (see note 9). On the notation added on ff. 7v, 8r, 109r and 110v, see Marie-Noël COLETTE, ‘La notation du demi-ton dans le manuscrit Paris, B.N. Lat. 1139 et dans quelques manuscrits du Sud de la France’, in *La Tradizione dei tropi liturgici*, edited by C. Leonardi e E. Menesto (Spoleto, Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 1987), pp. 305-6. See also *Hispania Vetust* (see note 11), pp. 410-1; João Pedro d’ALVARENGA, ‘Breves notas sobre a notação do meio-ton nos manuscritos litúrgicos medievais portugueses, ou o mito da “notação portuguesa”’, in *Medieval Sacred Chant: From Japan to Portugal (Actas do Colóquio Internacional “Monodia sacra medieval”, Lisboa-Évora, 2-5 de Junho, 2005)*, edited by Manuel Pedro Ferreira (Lisbon, CESEM - Colibri, 2008), pp. 203-19, at p. 210; and Kathleen E. NELSON, ‘The Notated Exultet in Braga’s *Missal de Mateus*: Known Tradition or New Composition?’, in *Musical Exchanges* (see note 12), pp. 31-48.

⁹⁷ *Catálogo dos códices* (see note 67), pp. 337-9. Partial modern edition and full study in BRAGANÇA, ‘Pontifical de Braga do século XII’ (see note 9). See also Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, ‘A adoração da Cruz na espiritualidade do Ocidente: “ordines” inéditos da França meridional’, *Didaskalia*, 5 (1975), pp. 258-9 and 261-2; Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, ‘A sagração dos Reis portugueses’, *Didaskalia*, 24 (1994), pp. 173-94; and *Hispania Vetust* (see note 11), pp. 422-3.

⁹⁸ Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, ‘Um Pontifical de Braga do século XIII’, *Boletim Internacional de Bibliografia Luso-Brasileira*, 4/4 (1963), pp. 637-45; Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, ‘*Ordo ad visitandum infirmum* do Pontifical de Braga do século XIII’, *Didaskalia*, 11 (1981), pp. 221-38.

⁹⁹ Modern edition in ROCHA, *L’Office Divin* (see note 16). See ROCHA, ‘Les sources languedociennes’ (see note 10), pp. 185-207. CAO 150.

¹⁰⁰ On this manuscript, recently rediscovered by Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, see his ‘Liturgia bracarense’ (see note 4), p. 134, n. 19.

¹⁰¹ Avelino de Jesus da COSTA, ‘Importante breviário bracarense de meados do século XV’, *Didaskalia*, 25 (1995), pp. 47-56; see also ROCHA, *L’Office Divin* (see note 16), p. 51, n. 1.

Diurnal, mid 15th century (1451-7) ¹⁰²	<i>P-BRad</i> Ms. 1
<i>Officium defunctorum</i> , mid 15th century	<i>P-BRsem</i> s.s. (presently missing) [BR 4]
Breviary, latter half of the 15th century (1450-70), known as 'Fernão Duarte' Breviary ¹⁰³	<i>E-E</i> e-IV-10 [BR 5]
Ritual, latter half of the 15th century (1450-67) ¹⁰⁴	<i>P-Pm</i> Ms. Fundo Azevedo 81
Pontifical, mid or late 15th century (after 1485) ¹⁰⁵	<i>P-BRad</i> Ms. 870
Gradual, for the private chapel of Archbishop Diogo de Sousa, c.1510-5 ¹⁰⁶	<i>P-BRs</i> Ms. 34 (digitised at < http://pemdatabase.eu/source/2350 >) [BR 8]
Antiphoner, temporale, c.1510-20 ¹⁰⁷	<i>P-BRs</i> Mss. 31, 32 (digitised at < http://pemdatabase.eu/source/2902 >) and 50
Antiphoner, sanctorale, c.1510-20	<i>P-BRs</i> Mss. 28 (digitised at < http://pemdatabase.eu/source/4547 >) [BR 10] and 29, and <i>P-BRad</i> Ms. 949 [BR 9]
Antiphoner, temporale vol. 1, c.1520	<i>P-BRs</i> Ms. 23
Antiphoner, temporale vol. 2, c.1520	<i>P-BRs</i> Mss. 9, 10 and 11
Antiphoner, temporale vol. 3, c.1520	<i>P-BRs</i> Ms. 12
Antiphoner, sanctorale vol. 1, c.1520	<i>P-BRs</i> Ms. 18
Antiphoner, sanctorale vol. 2, c.1520	<i>P-BRs</i> Mss. 15, 16, 17 and 19
Antiphoner, sanctorale vol. 3, c.1520	<i>P-BRs</i> Ms. 26
Invitatoria, c.1520	<i>P-BRs</i> Ms. 13
Psalter, vol. 1, c.1520	<i>P-BRs</i> Ms. 8
Psalter, vol. 2; <i>Officium defunctorum</i> , c.1520	<i>P-BRs</i> Ms. 27 [BR 11]
<i>Magnificat</i> and <i>Benedictus</i> antiphons; <i>varia</i> , c.1520	<i>P-BRs</i> Ms. 33
Processional, two sets, first half of the 16th century	<i>P-BRs</i> Mss. [A] and [C]; <i>P-BRs</i> Ms. [B] and <i>P-BRad</i> Ms. 646
Office book of the Chapel of <i>Nossa Senhora da Glória</i> , first half of the 16th century	<i>P-BRad</i> Ms. 739

¹⁰² On this and the following manuscript, see CORBIN, *Essai* (see note 13), p. 277. On the first manuscript, see also ROCHA, *L'Office Divin* (see note 16), p. 51, n. 3.

¹⁰³ ROCHA, 'Um breviário bracarense' (see note 40).

¹⁰⁴ Modern edition in Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, 'Ritual de Braga do século XV', *Didaskalia*, 12 (1982), pp. 117-84; Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, *Ritual bracarense: Manuscrito do século XV* (Lisbon, Didaskalia, 1984).

¹⁰⁵ Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, 'O Pontifical de Braga do século XV', in *Congresso Internacional Bartolomeu Dias e a sua época: Actas*, (Porto, Universidade do Porto - Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1989), vol. 5, pp. 69-72; Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, 'A música do Pontifical de Braga do século XV', *Modus*, 2 (1988), pp. 57-73; modern edition in Joaquim Félix de CARVALHO, *Pontifical de Luxo Brácaro-Romano: Ms. 870 do Arquivo Distrital de Braga (1485-1516)* (Lisbon, Pedra Angular, 2010).

¹⁰⁶ FERREIRA, 'Braga, Toledo and Sahagún' (see note 63); FERREIRA, 'As origens do Gradual de Braga' (see note 9), pp. 57-96.

¹⁰⁷ On the sixteenth-century chant books from Braga, see CORBIN, *Essai* (see note 13), pp. 170-1 and 277-8; FERREIRA, 'A música na Sé de Braga' (see note 12); and FERREIRA, 'A música religiosa em Portugal' (see note 2), pp. 205-6, n. 5.

Table 2. Early and sixteenth-century prints of the use of Braga

1494	<i>BREVIARIUM bracharense</i> , in augusta Bracharensi ciuitate, per Johannem Gherlinch	<i>P-AR</i> Res. L 1; <i>P-Cantanhede</i> , Câmara Municipal s.s. (incomplete copy); <i>P-Ln</i> Inc. 94 (incomplete copy; digitised at <http://purl.pt/22000>) ¹⁰⁸ [BR 6]
1496	[<i>MANUALE SACRAMENTORUM cum brevi compilatione missarum...</i> Monti Regio, per Joannem Gerlinch]	No known copy ¹⁰⁹
1498	<i>MISSALE Secundum ritum & consuetudinem alme bracharensis ecclesie</i> , in civitate Ulixbonensi, ex officina Nicholai de Saxonia	<i>BR-Rn</i> Cofre II-5-7 (incomplete copy); <i>P-EVp</i> Inc. 181; <i>P-La</i> 48-XII-9 (incomplete copy); <i>US-SM</i> 92562 (incomplete copy)
1511-12	<i>BREVIARIUM bracharense</i> , Salmanticae, in prelo Joannis d' Porres ¹¹⁰	<i>E-Mn</i> R. 3305 (dated 1512; incomplete copy); <i>GB-Lbl</i> C.41.a.2 (dated 1511; incomplete copy) [BR 7]
1512	<i>MISSALE secundum ritum & consuetudinem almae Bracharensis ecclesie cum plurimis missis nouissime additis [...]</i> , Salmantice, in prelo Joannis de Porree	<i>GB-Lbl</i> C.62.d.8.; <i>P-BRp</i> Res. 594 V. (incomplete copy); <i>P-La</i> 52-VII-16; <i>P-Ln</i> Res. 151 V. (incomplete copy); <i>P-Pm</i> Y'-1-74
1517	<i>MANUALE secundum consuetudinem alme bracharensis ecclesie</i> , ¹¹¹ in antiquissima bracharensis civitate, [Pedro Gonçalves Alcoforado] ¹¹²	<i>P-Ln</i> Res. 6753 P. (digitised at <http://purl.pt/24338>)
1521	Sisto FIGUEIRA, <i>Arte d' rezar as horas canonicas ordenada segundo as regras & costume Bracharense</i> [...], Salamanca, Lourenço de Leon d' Dei ¹¹³	<i>GB-Cu</i> F152.d.8.4; <i>GB-Lbl</i> 1019.K.31; <i>P-EVp</i> Séc. XVI-6369
1529	[<i>BREVIARIUM bracharense</i> , Salamanca, Juan de Porres] ¹¹⁴	<i>P-Gms</i> BG 22-1-25 (incomplete copy) [BR 12]
1538	<i>MANUALE secundum consuetudinem alme Bracharensis ecclesie</i> , Salmantice, Joannis Iunte	<i>P-BRp</i> Res. 79 V.; <i>P-BRsem</i> , ¹¹⁵ <i>P-EVp</i> Res. 489

¹⁰⁸ Facsimile as *Breviário bracharense de 1494: Reprodução em fac-símile do exemplar da Biblioteca Nacional* (Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1987).

¹⁰⁹ See J. Augusto FERREIRA, *Estudos historico-liturgicos: Os ritos particulares das Igrejas de Braga e Toledo* (Coimbra, Coimbra Editora, 1924), pp. 280-1.

¹¹⁰ FERREIRA, *Estudos historico-liturgicos* (see note 109), pp. 282-4, refers to a 1528 reprint of this breviary, which had been contracted between Archbishop Diogo de Sousa and Juan de Porres on 8 September 1527. This is quite certainly the 1529 print listed below.

¹¹¹ This title is from the incipit; full title on the title page: *Neste breue manual se conten cousas muito necessarias e proueitas a todo sacerdote que ha de administrar e dar os sacramentos na madre sancta ygreja. Porque en elle se conntem dous baptismos scilicet hum pera ho macho: e outro pera ha femea cada hum de per si. E assi duas vnções: e dous encomendamentos todo apartado. e mudado as orações cada huma de per si. E assi as missas de requiem todo mudado e corregido. de maneira que nenhum sacerdote pode errar no mudar do latim. E assi som muitas missas deuotissimas e proueitas pera ha saude dalma e do corpo. as quaes nunca foram postas em nenhum missal nem manual de Braga. segundo mais largamente estam escriptas na taboa istius operis.*

¹¹² The printing materials (types and woodblock initials) are apparently the same used by this printer in the *Cõstituyções do Bpado de Coimbra feytas pollo muyto reuerendo e magnifico senhor o señor dom Jorge dalmeyda: bpo de Coimbra Conde Darganil &c.*, Empressas em a muy nobre e semp. leal cidade de Braaga pmas das espanhas &c. Per p.º gliz alcoforado, 1521.

¹¹³ This is included amongst the liturgical books of Braga because it is indeed a ceremonial, ordered by Archbishop Diogo de Sousa and written in Portuguese in order to facilitate the use of the 1511-12 breviary.

¹¹⁴ See José MARQUES, 'D. Diogo de Sousa e o Ofício de Nossa Senhora', *Diário do Minho* (December 8, 2005), p. 19; José MARQUES, 'Breviário Bracharense, de 1529', *Diário do Minho* (18 January 2006), pp. 24-6; and also CARVALHO, 'A liturgia' (see note 12), p. 156, n. 111. The sole copy of this print lacks the title page, f. 9 and all folios after f. 396 (the beginning of the Common of the Apostles), thus also having no colophon. The date of printing, 1529, was established by José Marques after the rubric on ff. 64v-70v, which mentions that Archbishop Diogo de Sousa ordered in that year a number of amendments to the Office of Our Lady on Saturdays with the purpose of making clear the way it would be celebrated. I thank Diogo Alte da Veiga for having examined this print.

¹¹⁵ CARVALHO, 'A liturgia' (see note 12), p. 156, n. 113, signals another copy in a private collection in Braga.

1538	[<i>MISSALE iuxta antiquam almae bracharensis ecclesiae consuetudinem</i>], Ullisipone, per Germanus Galhart	<i>P-Ln</i> Res. 1633 A. (incomplete copy; digitised at < http://purl.pt/14877 >)
1548	Arias da COSTA, <i>Cerimonial da missa</i> [...] f. 1v <i>Cerimonial e ordinario do modo em que os clerigos sacerdotes do arcebispado de Braga hã de celebrar has missas</i> [...], Lixboa, Germão Galharde	<i>P-EVp</i> Séc. XVI-6370 (bound together with Inc. 226); <i>P-Ln</i> Res. 153 V.
1549	<i>BREVIARIUM bracaraense</i> , Bracharae, Ioannes Aluarus & Ioannes Barrerius ¹¹⁶	<i>E-Mn</i> R. 20798 (incomplete copy); <i>I-Rvat</i> R.G.Liturg.VI.164; <i>P-Cug</i> R-5-22, R-5-23; <i>P-EVp</i> Séc. XVI-2423; <i>P-Ln</i> Res. 83 P., Res. 84 P., Res. 1684 P.; <i>P-Universidade de Lisboa, Faculdade de Letras</i> Res. 231 (digitised at < http://purl.pt/14279 >) [BR 13]
1558	<i>MISSALE iuxta usum & ordinem Almae Bracaraensis Ecclesiae</i> [...], Lygdvni, excudebat Petrus Fradin sumptibus Ioannis a Burgundia	<i>GB-Ob</i> (copy not found); <i>GB-Mr</i> R. 55398; <i>F-Pfm</i> B. 1478; <i>F-SO</i> JL b/2-7; <i>I-Mb</i> Gerli 411; <i>I-TRf</i> FSM 44 (incomplete copy); <i>P-BRp</i> Res. 70 P., Res. 71 P.; <i>P-BRs</i> s.s.; <i>P-BRsem</i> s.s.; <i>P-Cug</i> (copy not found); <i>P-EVp</i> Séc. XVI-1803, Séc. XVI-1804, Séc. XVI-1808; <i>P-Ln</i> Res. 1309 A., Res. 1932 A., Res. 1933 A., Res. 1934 A.
1562	<i>MANVALE Secvndvm Ordinem almae Bracaraensis Ecclesiae</i> , Bracarae, ex officina Antonij de Mariz	<i>P-BRp</i> Res. 167 P., Res. 168 P.; <i>P-Cug</i> R-20-29; <i>P-Ln</i> Res. 3505 P. (incomplete copy; digitised at < http://purl.pt/23234 >); <i>P-Luc</i> 264.02-15 BART; <i>US-CAh</i> Typ 560.26.262 (two copies, one incomplete); <i>US-Cn</i> Wing ZP 541 .M35

¹¹⁶ The database *Renaissance Liturgical Imprints: A Census* at <<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/r/relics/>> (accessed 22 August 2016) has an entry for a *Breviarium Bracaraense* dated 1542 in *F-Psg*, which is surely an incomplete copy of this 1549 print.

Example 1. Responsory 82, *Requiem aeternam*

F-SOM 250

F-AI 15

BR

8 Re - qui - em ae - ter - nam do - na e - is Do - mi - ne;

8 et lux per - pe - tu - a lu - - - - - ce - at e - is.

8 A - ni - me e - o - rum in bo - nis de - mo - ren - tur, et se - men e - o - rum

8 he - re - di - tet ter - ram.

Sources:

F-AI Ms. 15, Lectionary and antiphoner from Albi or Gaillac, possibly used in Nîmes, early or mid 11th century [*F-AI* 15]

F-SOM Ms. 250, Pontifical of Couserans, from Saint-Lizier in the Midi-Pyrenees, latter half of the 14th century [*F-SOM* 250]

P-BRs Ms. 34, Gradual, Braga, c. 1510-5 [BR]

Appendix II

Table 1. Manuscripts of the use of Évora

Missal, prepared by Canon Diogo Velho, mid 16th century (before 1565) ¹¹⁷	<i>P-EVc</i> Cód. lit. 16
Processional-responsorial, Temporale, mid 16th century ¹¹⁸	<i>P-EVc</i> Cód. perg. lit. 8 and 9
Processional-responsorial, Sanctorale, mid 16th century	<i>P-EVc</i> Cód. perg. lit. 5, 6 and 7
Processional-responsorial, Common of Saints, mid 16th century	<i>P-EVc</i> Cód. perg. lit. 10, 11, 12 and 13

Table 2. Early prints of the use of Évora

1490	[<i>BREVIARIUM Elborense</i> , Lisbon, Nicolau de Saxónia]	No known copy ¹¹⁹
1519	<i>MISSALE secundum consuetudinem Elborensis ecclesie nouiter impressum</i> , Ulixipone, expensis magistri Antonij Lernet [...] per Germanum Galhardum ¹²⁰	<i>P-EVp</i> Res. 111 (incomplete copy); <i>P-La</i> ; ¹²¹ <i>P-Ln</i> F.R. 1381, Res. 155 A. (digitised at < http://purl.pt/14879 >), Res. 1357 V. (incomplete copy); <i>P-VV</i> Livros de D. Manuel, 25
1528	<i>BAPTISTERIUM seu manuale elborense nouiter emendatum</i> , Hispali, Jacobum Cromberger [...] expensis magistri Antonij Lernet	<i>P-Ln</i> Res. 369 V. (microfilm in <i>P-Ln</i> F. 197), Res. 4214 V. (formerly in <i>P-Lant</i> 3072)
1528	<i>BREVIARIUM secundum consuetudinem sancte Elborensis ecclesie</i> , Hispali, Jacobi Cromberger [...] cura et expensis magistri Antonij Lernet	<i>GB-Lbl</i> C.52.g.6.; <i>E-Mn</i> R. 4773; <i>F-Psg</i> BB.Fol.84; <i>P-Ln</i> Res. 253 P. (digitised at < http://purl.pt/24656 >)
1548	<i>BREVIARIUM Eborense</i> , Olisipone, apud Ludouicum Rotorigium ¹²²	<i>E-Mn</i> R. 3827 (incomplete copy); <i>P-EVc</i> s.s.; <i>P-EVp</i> Séc. XVI-2912; <i>P-Ln</i> Res. 85 P. (digitised at < http://purl.pt/22944 >)
1552	<i>CERIMONIAL DA MISSA: canones penitêciaes, a bulla in cena domini, o modo como se ham de ministrar hos sanctos sacramentos da eucharistia & matrimonio</i> , Lisbõa, em casa de Germão Galharde ¹²³	<i>BR-Rn</i> 2.3.3 (microfilm in <i>P-Ln</i> F. 1762//5)

¹¹⁷ Miguel de OLIVEIRA, 'Livros litúrgicos de Évora', *Lusitania Sacra*, 6 (1962-3), p. 268; see also ALVARENGA, 'Fragmento de um breviário' (see note 62), p. 17, n. 19.

¹¹⁸ On this and the following manuscripts, see Michel HUGLO, *Les manuscrits du processionnal*, RISM B/XIV, 2, (München, Henle Verlag, 2004), vol. 2, nos. P-35 to P-45.

¹¹⁹ See António Ribeiro dos SANTOS, 'Memoria sobre as origens da tipographia em Portugal no século XV', in *Memorias de litteratura portugueza* (Lisbon, Typ. da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1856), vol. 8, p. 44; OLIVEIRA, 'Livros litúrgicos de Évora' (see note 117), p. 268; Fortunato de ALMEIDA, *História da Igreja em Portugal* (Porto, Portucalense, 1967), vol. 1, p. 471; *No quinto centenário da Vita Christi* (see note 85), p. 45. According to Ribeiro dos Santos, this breviary was reprinted in 1520, but no trace was left of this hypothetical and highly unlikely reprint.

¹²⁰ The date of printing in the *Missale* is 1509. For the correct dating, 1519, see Appendix III below.

¹²¹ This copy, referred to in António Joaquim ANSELMO, *Bibliografia das obras impressas em Portugal no século XVI* (Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, 1926), p. 162, is apparently missing.

¹²² This 1548 printing of the breviary was prepared by the Latinist and archaeologist André de Resende, who was a Dominican friar, on the orders of Archbishop Cardinal Infante Dom Henrique. The texts of the responsories particularly seem contaminated by Roman books and, on the whole, this breviary cannot be considered as a true testimony of the medieval use of Évora, even if it retains many of its peculiarities. It should rather be appraised as a product of the Catholic-Humanist reform.

¹²³ See OLIVEIRA, 'Livros litúrgicos de Évora' (see note 117), p. 273. Oliveira also refers to another *Ceremonial* printed in Lisbon in 1558; this is surely a mistake for the 1556 printing.

1556	<i>CERIMONIAL DA MISSA Canones penitenciaes: a Bula in cena Domini, o modo como se hão de ministrar os sanctos sacramentos da Eucharistia e Matrimonio</i> [f. 1v] Cerimonial e ordenario do modo em que os sacerdotes do arcebispado Deuora ham de celebrar as missas [...] conforme ao cerimonial Romano [...], Lisbõa, em casa de Ioannes Blauio de Colonia ¹²⁴	P-Cug R-14-1
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Table 3. Manuscripts of the use of Santa Cruz in Coimbra¹²⁵

Sacramentary, late 12th century ¹²⁶	P-Pm Ms. 794 (Santa Cruz 55)
Epistolary, late 12th century	P-Pm Ms. 1149 (Santa Cruz 91)
Epistolary sanctorale, of unknown origin but used at Santa Cruz in Coimbra, early 13th century	P-Pm Ms. 861 (Santa Cruz sem n.º)
Epistolary for solemn masses, 13th century	P-Pm Ms. 826 (Santa Cruz 66)
Epistolary, dated 1351	P-Pm Ms. 46 (Santa Cruz 39)
Evangelary temporale, 12th century ¹²⁷	P-Pm Ms. 350 (Santa Cruz 76)
Evangelary proper of Saints, early 13th century	P-Pm Ms. 863 (Santa Cruz 72)
Evangelary, incomplete, 13th-14th century	P-Pm Ms. 422 (Santa Cruz 81), ff. 1r-8v
Gradual, late 13th century ¹²⁸	P-Pm Ms. 830 (Santa Cruz 67)
Missal, votive and festive, possibly copied in southern France for the use of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, early 13th century ¹²⁹	P-Pm Ms. 53 (Santa Cruz 40)
Missal, votive and festive, 13th century	P-Pm Ms. 352 (Santa Cruz 68)
Missal <i>pro defunctis</i> , 13th century	P-Pm Ms. 94 (Santa Cruz 56)
Missal, known as 'Missal Rico', c.1518 ¹³⁰	P-Pm Ms. 37 (Santa Cruz 28)
Collectar, early or mid 16th century	P-Pm Ms. 618 (Santa Cruz sem n.º)
Office lectionary, early 13th century	P-Pm Ms. 32A (Santa Cruz 5)
Psalter; varia, early 12th century and 15th century	P-Pm Ms. 351 (Santa Cruz 78)
Psalter, dated 1179 ¹³¹	P-Pm Ms. 92 (Santa Cruz 27)
Psalter, late 12th century	P-Pm Ms. 865 (Santa Cruz 70)
Psalter with glosses, early 13th century	P-Pm Ms. 29 (Santa Cruz 10)
Psalter; varia, early 13th century	P-Pm Ms. 468 (Santa Cruz 26)
Psalter, late half of the 13th century ¹³²	P-Pm Ms. 114 (Santa Cruz 24)
Psalter, 13th century	P-Pm Ms. 363 (Santa Cruz 79)

¹²⁴ OLIVEIRA, 'Livros litúrgicos de Évora' (see note 117), p. 273. This is an adaptation of the *Ceremonial* prepared by Arias da Costa for the archbishopric of Braga and printed in 1548: besides the identical titles, the ritual of marriage is exactly the same in both prints.

¹²⁵ For a description of the manuscripts in P-Pm, see *Catálogo dos códices* (see note 67); small liturgical items in non-liturgical books are not referred to on this table.

¹²⁶ Samuel WINKLER, 'Ms 794 of the Public Municipal Library of Porto, Sacramentarium Ordinis Sanctae Crucis Conimbricensis: A Critical Edition of its Calendarium and Sanctorale' (Tesi di Laurea, Pontificio Ateneo Santo Anselmo, Pontificio Istituto Liturgico, 1997).

¹²⁷ CORBIN, *Essai* (see note 13), p. 189; *Hispania Vetus* (see note 11), pp. 420-1.

¹²⁸ CORBIN, *Essai* (see note 13), p. 189; for the dating, see *Catálogo dos códices* (see note 67), pp. 292-3.

¹²⁹ Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, 'O Missal votivo de Santa Cruz de Coimbra', *Didaskalia*, 1 (1971), pp. 363-6; on this and the following manuscript, see also CORBIN, *Essai* (see note 13), p. 189.

¹³⁰ On this and the following manuscript, see Horácio A. PEIXEIRO, 'Um Missal iluminado de Santa Cruz', *Oceanos*, 26 (April-June 1996), pp. 52-72.

¹³¹ CORBIN, *Essai* (see note 13), p. 188.

¹³² CORBIN, *Essai* (see note 13), pp. 188-9.

Psalter, late 14th century	<i>P-Pm</i> Ms. 50 (Santa Cruz 23)
Psalter, 14th-15th century ¹³³	<i>P-Pm</i> Ms. 51 (Santa Cruz 25)
Breviary; Calendar, 14th century and late 13th or early 14th century ¹³⁴	<i>P-Pm</i> Ms. 1159 (Santa Cruz 85)
Diurnal, 13th century	<i>P-Pm</i> Ms. 720 (Santa Cruz 92)
<i>Officium sepulturae</i> , 13th century	<i>P-Pm</i> Ms. 1160 (Santa Cruz 90)
Ritual; varia, between 1228-30 ¹³⁵	<i>P-Pm</i> Ms. 858 (Santa Cruz 77)
Psalter, Hymnary, Capitulary, Collectar and Ritual; Breviary; Calendar; Missal; Evangeliary, partly copied at St Rufus in Avignon, mid 12th century to late 13th century ¹³⁶	<i>P-Pm</i> Ms. 843 (Santa Cruz 62), ff. 1r-62v; 63r-181v; 181v-187r; 190r-289v; 290r-347r
Calendar, Missal and Breviary, late 13th or early 14th century ¹³⁷	<i>P-Pm</i> Ms. 368 (Santa Cruz 65)
Varia, including the hymn <i>Te matrem</i> , Office of Our Lady, Office of the Dead and a Capitulary for Advent; Diurnal at the end, late 14th century	<i>P-Pm</i> Ms. 97 (Santa Cruz 52), ff. 44v-44v[<i>bis</i>], 59v-84v
Ordinal of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, incomplete, late 12th century	<i>P-Pm</i> Ms. 366 (Santa Cruz 71)
Ordinal, early 14th century	<i>P-Pm</i> Ms. 345 (Santa Cruz 82)
Calendar; Ordinal of Santa Cruz, following the model of St Rufus in Avignon; varia, 14th and 15th centuries	<i>P-Pm</i> Ms. 93 (Santa Cruz 53)
Calendar; Customary of St Rufus; Sanctorale; Constitutions of the Canons Regular, late 12th century	<i>P-Pm</i> Ms. 862 (Santa Cruz 74)
Customary of Santa Cruz, Portuguese version, 14th century	<i>P-Pm</i> Ms. 874 (Santa Cruz 75)
Varia, including the eight psalm tones, doxologies for the responsories at Matins and the introits at Mass, versicles and responses, tones for lessons, chapters and prayers, Epistles and Gospels, votive antiphons, and a Kyriele, mid 16th century ¹³⁸	<i>P-Cug</i> MM 37
Sacramentary of São Vicente de Fora, Lisbon, late 12th or early 13th century ¹³⁹	<i>P-Ln</i> IL. 218
Evangeliary of São Vicente de Fora, Lisbon, late 12th or early 13th century	<i>P-Ln</i> IL. 143
Ritual of São Vicente de Fora, Lisbon, 13th century	<i>P-Pm</i> Ms. 708 (Santa Cruz 89)

¹³³ CORBIN, *Essai* (see note 13), p. 189.

¹³⁴ CORBIN, *Essai* (see note 13), p. 189. CAO 469.

¹³⁵ Modern edition in BRAGANÇA, *Ritual de Santa Cruz de Coimbra* (see note 71); Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, 'A música do Ritual de Santa Cruz de Coimbra do século XIII', *Modus*, 1 (1987), pp. 37-[190], including facsimiles, 1-72; see also Pierre DAVID, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VIe au XIIe siècle* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1947), pp. 544 and 553-4; and CORBIN, *Essai* (see note 13), p. 188.

¹³⁶ Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, 'Missal e Breviário de Santa Cruz de Coimbra', *Didaskalia*, 2 (1972), pp. 301-5; BRAGANÇA, 'Uncio infirmorum' (see note 14), pp. 299-360; see also CORBIN, *Essai* (see note 13), p. 190.

¹³⁷ CORBIN, *Essai* (see note 13), p. 190. CAO 467. This unidentified manuscript is possibly from the north of Portugal, although it may have been used in Santa Cruz. The *Catálogo dos códices* (see note 67), pp. 289-90, gives Santa Cruz as its place of origin and provenance and dates it to the fourteenth century, also stating that the breviary is of the "rito antigo" (old use).

¹³⁸ This is the only chant book from the period of the reform of Santa Cruz (1527-56) to have been identified, described and inventoried so far; see Owen REES, *Polyphony in Portugal c. 1530 – c. 1620: Sources from the Monastery of Santa Cruz, Coimbra* (New York - London, Garland, 1995), pp. 255-8. A seventeenth-century chant book entitled *Responsoria Brevia dicenda ad tertiam per annum in festis mobilibus, atque aliis de tempore, et communis ad ritum Canonicorum Regularum Sanctae Crucis Conimbricensis*, *P-Ln* MM 5050, is briefly described in Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, 'Congregati sunt inimici nostri: A Survey, the Holy War, and the Order of St Jerome', in *Papers Read at the 14th Meeting of the IMS Study Group 'Cantus Planus', Dobogoko/Hungary, 2009. Aug. 24-29*, edited by Barbara Haggh-Huglo and Debra Lacoste (Ottawa, The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2013), vol. 1, pp. 193-220.

¹³⁹ On this and the following manuscript, see Isabel Vilares CEPÊDA, 'Dois manuscritos litúrgicos medievais do Mosteiro de S. Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Lisboa, B. N. ms. IL. 218 e IL. 143)', *Didaskalia*, 15 (1985), pp. 161-228.

Table 4. Early prints of the use of Santa Cruz in Coimbra

1514	<i>BREVIARIUM secundum ordinem divi Augustini</i> , [Porto?], Dionisius Gonzalez de Sequera ¹⁴⁰	<i>P-Cug</i> R-6-14 (incomplete copy)
1531	<i>BREVIARIUM secundum usum insignis monasterii sanctae crucis colimbriensis ordinis diui augustini</i> , [Coimbra], per Germanum Galhardum	<i>P-Cug</i> R-3-16 (digitised at < http://almamater.uc.pt/ >), R-3-17
1532	<i>LIVRO DAS CONSTITUIÇÕES e custumes que se guardam em o moesteyro de sancta cruz</i> [...], Coimbra, Moesteyro de Sancta Cruz	<i>BR-Rn</i> (microfilm in <i>P-Ln</i> F. 1764//1)
1536	<i>LIURO DAS CONSTITUYÇÕES & costumes que se guardam em o moesteyro de Sancta Cruz de Coimbra, dos Canonicos regrantes da ordem de nosso Padre sancto Augustinho</i> , Coimbra, Canonicos regrantes do moesteyro de sancta Cruz	<i>P-Ln</i> Res. 1569 P. (microfilm in <i>P-Ln</i> F. 1319; digitised at < http://purl.pt/23117/ >)
1544	<i>LIVRO DAS CONSTITUIÇOENS e costumes q se guardam em os Moesteyros da congregacam de sancta Cruz</i> [...], [Coimbra, per os Canonicos... do Moesteyro de Sancta Cruz]	<i>BR-Rn</i> (microfilm in <i>P-Ln</i> F. 1763//3); <i>P-Cug</i> V.T. 18-8-16 (digitised at < http://almamater.uc.pt/ >)
1548	<i>LIURO DAS CONSTITUIÇOENS e costumes que se guardam em os moesteyros da c[o]ngregaçam de sancta Cruz de Coimbra, dos Canonicos regulares da ordem de nosso Padre sancto Augustinho</i> , Coimbra, Canonicos regulares do moesteyro de sancta Cruz	<i>P-Ln</i> Res. 137 V. (digitised at < http://purl.pt/15159/ >), Res. 141 V.
1558	<i>LIURO DAS CONSTITUIÇOENS e costumes que se guardam em os moesteyros da congregacam de sancta Cruz de Coimbra, dos Canonicos regulares da ordem de nosso Padre sancto Augustinho</i> , Coimbra, Canonicos regulares do moesteyro de sancta Cruz	<i>P-Cug</i> R-12-7 (digitised at < http://almamater.uc.pt/ >); <i>P-Cul</i> GB-I-2-26; <i>P-Ln</i> Res. 138 V., Res. 139 V.
1563	<i>ORDINARIO e ceremonial da Ordem dos Conegos regulares da ordem do bemaumentado nosso Padre sancto Augustinho, & da congregacam de sancta Cruz de Coimbra, Coymbra, por os Canonicos regulares do Moesteyro de sancta Cruz</i>	<i>P-Ln</i> Res. 1179//1 P. (microfilm in F. R. 936; digitised at < http://purl.pt/23038/ >); <i>P-Pm</i> X1-2-1

¹⁴⁰ This breviary was intended for use of the affiliated Monastery of Rio Covo, in the archdiocese of Braga; see Arménio A. da COSTA JÚNIOR, 'O Mosteiro do Rio Covo à luz do Breviário de 1514: Estudo analítico do Temporal' (Master's thesis, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 1992).

Appendix III

On the date of printing of the *Missale secundum consuetudinem Elborensis ecclesie*¹⁴¹

The date of printing on the *Missale Elborensis*—‘Anno salutis nostre millesimo quingentesimo nono’—is erroneous. This was certainly due to a mistake in composing its colophon. Indeed, the activity of the French printer Germão Galharde (German Gaillard) in Portugal began in 1519 using materials acquired from the German printers Hermão de Campos (Hermann Kempis) and Valentim Fernandes (Valentin Ferdinand), whose workshops, which had sometimes worked in partnership, closed in 1518. The colophon of the *Missale* states that printing was completed ‘Pridie kalendas martij’, that is, on 28 February. This makes the hypothesis of the year 1529 very unlikely and makes the year 1539 impossible. On the first date, 28 February 1529, Galharde had just printed the *Confessionario nouamente empremido por mandado del Rey nosso senhor*, finishing it ‘A xv. dias de feureyro’ (on 15 February).¹⁴² Unless he had previously begun work on the *Missale* it would have been quite unfeasible to set up a 250-folio book in just fourteen days. On the latter date, 28 February 1539, Galharde was busy with the printing of the *Capitulos de cortes. E leys que se sobre alguns delles fezeram*, which he would complete ‘aos. iij. dias do mes de Março’ (on 3 March).¹⁴³ The years 1549 and 1559 must also be rejected as the date of printing, particularly because of the adjective ‘Elborensis’ in the title of the *Missale*. In his *História da antiguidade da cidade de Évora*, André de Resende says that ‘Cômumête no vso eclesiástico & breuiarios ou missaes q hacte hagora se festerõ, lhe chamaũ Elbora [à cidade e à diocese] & costume Elborẽse. Porẽ o vero nome é Ebora’¹⁴⁴ (commonly, in ecclesiastical use and in breviaries or missals that were made so far they called it *Elbora* [the city and diocese] and its use *elborensis*; the true name is however *Ebora*). So the 1548 printed Breviary—the preparation of which had been committed to the same André de Resende—was accordingly entitled ‘Eborensis’. We are thus left with the year 1519 as the most likely date for the printing of the *Missale secundum consuetudinem Elborensis ecclesie*.¹⁴⁵ Possibly because this date of printing coincided with the inquiry into the habits of bishop Dom Afonso de Portugal ordered by Pope Leo X,¹⁴⁶ there is no reference to the prelate throughout the book. It is certainly no coincidence that in a visitation made in 1520 to the Collegiate Church of St James in Óbidos, in the diocese of Lisbon, the purchase of a missal of the use of Évora was ordered.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴¹ The following text is mostly drawn from ALVARENGA, ‘Polifonia portuguesa sacra’ (see note 2), vol. 1, pp. 20-1; see also ALVARENGA, ‘Fragmento de um breviário’ (see note 62), p. 17, n. 19.

¹⁴² Which is a short treatise on the sacrament of Confession by Garcia de Resende, also referred to as *Breve memorial dos pecados & cousas que pertencem ha confissam*; copy in *P-EVp* Res. 231, digitised at <<http://www.bdalentejo.net/BDAObra/BDADigital/Obra.aspx?id=305>>.

¹⁴³ Seven copies in *P-Ln*; digitised copy *P-Ln* Res. 1970 A. at <<http://purl.pt/14849>>.

¹⁴⁴ André de RESENDE, *Historia, da antiguidade da ciidade [de] Evora* (Euora, per Andree de Burgos, 1553), f. 6r; digitised at <<http://www.bdalentejo.net/BDAObra/BDADigital/Obra.aspx?id=386>>.

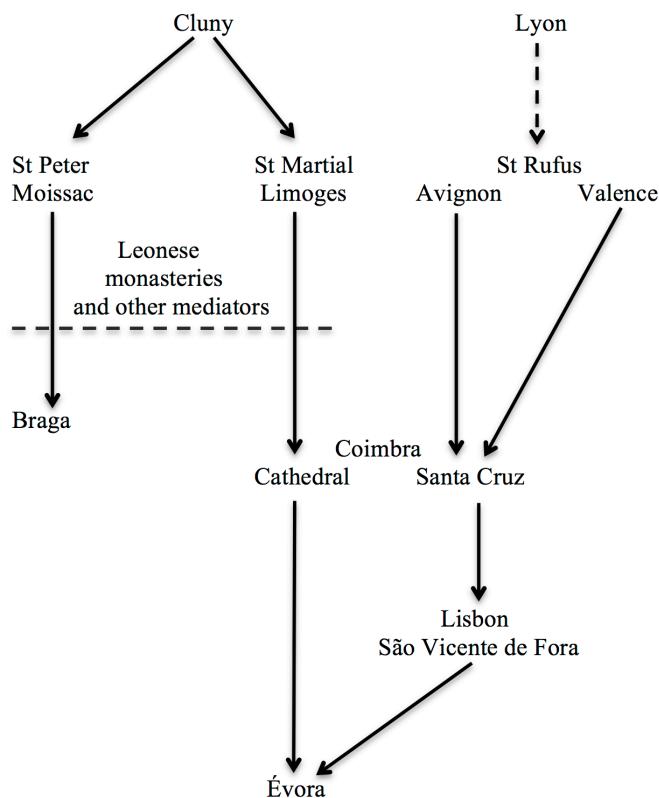
¹⁴⁵ In the *Catálogo dos impressos de tipografia portuguesa do século XVI: A coleção da Biblioteca Nacional* (Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, 1990), p. 159, and the bibliographical record at the PORBASE, <<http://catalogo.bnportugal.pt/>> (accessed 31 July 2016), a note says that the bibliographers ‘Norton e Pina Martins consideram a data de impressão 1519’ (Norton and Pina Martins consider 1519 as the date of printing), although no reasoning is given as to how they have reached such a conclusion. CARVALHO, ‘A liturgia’ (see note 12), p. 167, n. 190, assigns the date of printing to 1529 with no further explanation.

¹⁴⁶ Brief *Non absque gravi*, issued on 11 March 1517; see ALMEIDA, *História da Igreja* (see note 119), vol. 1, pp. 507 and 508, n. 1.

¹⁴⁷ Isaías da Rosa PEREIRA, ‘Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1501-1540)’, *Lusitania Sacra*, 1 (1991), pp. 288-9.

Appendix IV

A schematic stemma of the Office of the Dead in early Portuguese uses



João Pedro d'Alvarenga is a FCT Investigator, Senior Research Fellow and Coordinator of the 'Early Music Studies' Research Group of the CESEM—Centre for the Study of Sociology and Aesthetics of Music at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. He was Assistant Professor (1997-2011) and Coordinator of the Research Unit in Music and Musicology (2007-9) at the University of Évora, and Head of the Music Section at the National Library of Portugal (1991-7).

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