

## The Liturgical Use and Chant Tradition of Évora Cathedral from a Fragment of a Thirteenth-Century Antiphoner

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### Resumo

Este artigo constitui um estudo de caso sobre um fragmento de um antifonário. Com o objectivo de determinar a sua datação, origem e filiação litúrgica hipotéticas, descrevem-se e estudam-se os seus conteúdos, incluindo os tipos de notação e de escrita, a decoração e a escolha dos textos. Para esclarecer o contexto que emerge deste estudo, esboça-se um breve resumo do conhecimento actual sobre o uso litúrgico da Sé de Évora. Por fim, ensaia-se uma primeira aproximação ao idioma melódico ali usado e à sua origem possível, por meio da transcrição e da análise comparada de uma amostra de peças contidas no fragmento e em fontes seleccionadas, que representam as tradições de cantochão aquitana, aquitana-ibérica e do centro e nordeste de França.

### Palavras-chave

Fragmento; Antifonário; Usos litúrgicos medievais portugueses; Sé de Évora; Tradições e idiomas do cantochão franco-romano.

### Abstract

This article consists of a case study on a fragment of an antiphoner. In order to determine the fragment's hypothetical dating, origin, and liturgical affiliation, its contents—including the type of notation, script and decoration, and choice of texts—are described and analysed. Furthermore, a brief summary of the current knowledge on the liturgical use of Évora Cathedral is provided as to clarify the context which emerges from the proposed analysis. Lastly, a first approach to the used melodic idiom and its possible origin is provided by means of a comparative transcription and study of a number of pieces in this fragment, as well as selected sources representing Aquitanian, Aquitanian-Iberian, and Central- and North-Eastern French chant traditions.

### Keywords

Fragment; Antiphoner; Portuguese medieval liturgical uses; Évora Cathedral; Franco-Roman chant traditions and idioms.

WHILE SEARCHING THROUGH SOURCES IN THE *Portuguese Early Music Database* to study the textual and chant traditions of the *Kyries tenebrarum* in Portugal,<sup>1</sup> I came across a fragment from an antiphoner containing part of the *Tenebrae* office and the lesser hours for Maundy Thursday. This fragment serves as the cover for an early seventeenth-century account book housed at the Arquivo Distrital de Évora with the shelfmark AHMEVR 98. It was originally the outer bifolium of a binion. The missing inner bifolium would have contained the final part of Matins and the beginning of Lauds.<sup>2</sup>

The notation is Aquitanian of the Portuguese variety over a single red line. It can be characterised as medium sized when compared with the module of the text script. The regular note-heads are square and slightly convex-concave to the left. The rate of accent-type neumes is relatively low: we find the *clivis* and, more rarely, the *porrectus* in compound neumes, and the liquescent *clivis*, either in compound neumes or in isolation. The lozenge-shaped *punctum* is used consistently to indicate the lower note of semitones. The red line functions as a clef line. As in most Southern-French and Iberian sources, it represents the third over the final in the authentic modes, and the final in the plagal modes except the fourth, where it represents the second over the final. A *custos* with the head to the left of the stem (which is a distinctive shape in Iberian manuscripts) is often found at the end of each line.<sup>3</sup>

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An early version of this article was delivered as a talk at the *Workshop on Iberian Musical Fragments*, CESEM, NOVA FCSH, 1 June 2018, with the title 'Problems Encountered in the Identification of Portuguese Medieval Liturgical Fragments: A Case Study'. I would like to acknowledge the assistance of the FCT–Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology and CESEM–Centre for the Study of the Sociology and Aesthetics of Music at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. I warmly thank Dominique Gatté for his kind assistance in accessing hard-to-find manuscript reproductions, Océane Boudeau for having read a draft of this text, and my wife, Isabel, for her support.

<sup>1</sup> See the resulting article: João Pedro d'ALVARENGA, 'Textual and Chant Traditions of the *Kyries tenebrarum* in Portugal, and Polyphony around 1500', *Portuguese Journal of Musicology, new series*, 6/1 (2019), forthcoming. The *Portuguese Early Music Database*, PEM, is available at <<http://pemdatabase.eu/>>.

<sup>2</sup> For a summary description, indexing, and full-colour reproduction of this fragment, see <<http://pemdatabase.eu/source/1786>> (accessed 8 August 2018).

<sup>3</sup> On the Aquitanian-Portuguese chant notation, see Solange CORBIN, *Essai sur la musique religieuse portugaise au Moyen Age (1100-1385)* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1952), chapter VII, especially pp. 251-8; 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', *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici. Atti dei convegni sui tropi liturgici Parigi (15-19 ottobre 1985), Perugia (2-5 settembre 1987)*, edited by Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menestò (Spoleto, Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1990), pp. 297-311, on the notation added in the *Missal de Mateus (P-Brad Ms. 1000)* and its relation to Moissac and Limoges; and João Pedro d'ALVARENGA, 'Breves notas sobre a representação 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 (Lisboa, CESEM - Colibri, 2008), pp. 203-19. See also Kathleen E. NELSON, 'Semitone Indication in a Twelfth-Century Source of Aquitanian Notation in Zamora', *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, 14-15 (2004-5, published in 2010), pp. 7-24; and Océane BOUDEAU, 'Un missel ibérique de la seconde moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> ou du début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Salamanque, Biblioteca General Histórica, ms. 2637)', *Portuguese Journal of Musicology, new series*, 3/2 (2016), pp. 65-110, particularly at pp. 72-5, available at <<http://rpm-ns.pt/index.php/rpm/article/view/301/448>> (accessed 8 August 2018).

The script is Gothic of the southern semi-textualis type<sup>4</sup> and is rather rounded (so I would call it a transitional, or Protogothic script) with few ligatures and a reduced repertory of abbreviations. The most relevant abbreviations for hypothesising a copying date are: the sign that takes the form of figure 9, which is used on the baseline to mean ‘con-’ and ‘-us’, and occasionally above the headline to mean ‘-us’; the superscript sign that takes the form of figure 2 placed horizontally to mean ‘-ur’; the semicolon-like sign for ‘-ue’, and also ‘-et’ in ‘dilexisset’ (the latter being a rare abbreviation); and the tironian ‘et’ that has the form of a figure 7, which only appears in ‘et cetera’. The ascenders of the upright /d/, of /b/, /l/, and /h/ are quite short and have a pronounced horizontal stroke to the left as a serif. There is no systematic distinction between /u/ and /v/.

Capital letters alternate, as usual, between blue and red, with simple filigree penwork in red and green respectively. Secondary initials are highlighted with single red fillets. In keeping with common practice, red is used for rubrics, the abbreviated indications of antiphon, responsory, verse, versicle, *presa* (which is the Aquitanian-Iberian term for the *repetenda* in responsories and the respond in versicles), psalm, the first letter of the differentiae, and the horizontal line separating syllables and words.

Notational and scriptural features, and plain decoration—all typical of an average cathedral’s *scriptorium*—allow the manuscript of which the fragment was once part to be dated to the later half of the thirteenth century.

The textual content of the fragment is given below, retaining the original orthography. A number in the left column indicates for each chant the order in which it appears on the page; the two right hand columns give the mode of each chant and its Cantus ID number.

[Folio Ar]

1	[e]rat si natus non fuisset. [end of R̃: Unus ex discipulis]	[8]	007809
2	℣. Qui intingit mecum manum in parapside hic me trad<et in> <sup>(1)</sup> ma<nus p>eccatorum.	8	007809a
3	R̃. Eram quasi agnus innocens ductus sum ad immolandum et nesciebam consilium fecerunt inimici mei <aduer>sum me dicentes. p. Venite mittamus lignum <in pa>ne[m] eius et conteramus <sup>(2)</sup> eum de ter<ra vi>uentium.	7	006660
4	℣. Omnes inimici mei	7	006660a

<sup>4</sup> According to the basic distinguishing criteria used by Albert DEROLEZ, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books, from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003): /a/ is single-compartment; the tall /s/ and the /f/ are on the baseline; there is no loop in the ascenders of /b/, /h/, and /l/; and no spiky extensions at the head- or baseline.

## [Folio Av]

- 1 aduersum me cogitabant mala mihi uerbum <iniquum> mandauerunt  
aduersum me dicentes.  
Jn iij <n<sup>o</sup>c>
- 2 <a. Di>xi iniquis nolite loqui aduersus deum <iniquita>tem. p. Confitebimur. 7 002265  
a e N.
- 3 a. Terra tremuit [et quie]uit dum resurgeret<sup>(3)</sup> in iudicio deus. p. Notus <in 8 005139  
iudea. a e N.>
- 4 <a.> Jn die tribulationis mee deum exquisiui <manibus> meis. p. Voce mea. a 7 003223  
e N.
- 5 ¶ Terra tremuit *et* q<uieuit. p. Dum> resurgeret *in iudicio deus*.<sup>(4)</sup> 005139
- 6 ¶ Una ho<ra>//[7] 007807

## [Folio Br]

[ad laudes]

- 1 [¶ Qui] expassis in cruce manibus traxisti omnia ad te secula. 4 008444
- 2 ¶ Qui propheticè prom[p]sisti ero mors tua o mors. 4 008447
- 3 Kyrieleyson. Xpisteleyson. Kyrieleyson. ¶ Domine miserere *et cetera*. 4 909040
- 4 ¶ Vita in ligno moritur infernus ex mors lugens spoliatur. 4 008449
- 5 ¶ Teque vinciri uoluisti nosque a mortis uinculis eripuisti. 4 008448
- 6 ¶ Agno mitti basia cui lupus dedit venenosa. 4 008442
- 7 Kyrieleyson. Xpisteleyson. Kyrieleyson. p. Domine miserere *et cetera*. 4 909040

## [Folio Bv]

- 1 ad i. a. Accepto pane iudas tradidit dominum sicut promiserat principibus 1 001219  
sacerdotum. S e v o v a e.
- 2 ad. iij. a. Si male locutus sum perhibe testimonium si autem bene quid me 1 004900  
cedis. S e v o v a e.
- 3 ad vj. a. Ante diem festum pasc[h]e sciens ihesus quia uenit eius hora cum 3 001432  
dilexisset suos in finem dilexit eos. S e v o v a e.
- 4 ad ix. a. Repleuit et inebriauit me amaritudine inimicus meus. S e v o v a e. 2 004615
- 5 ad uesperas. an. Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen//[2] 001754

Amendments by a late sixteenth-century cursive hand:

<sup>(1)</sup> Partly erased and changed interlineally to 'traditurus est'.<sup>(2)</sup> Cancelled and changed interlineally to 'eradamus'.<sup>(3)</sup> Cancelled and changed interlineally to 'exurgeret'.<sup>(4)</sup> Interlineal addition: 'Exurg[e domine. p.] Et judica causam meam'. On the left margin: 'R. Eram / Una ho.'

## Other inscriptions:

- f. Ar, two seventeenth-century different hands in ink, top right: ‘despesa do pao de 623 / [illegible] / 623’;  
top centre: ‘Anno de 1623’; centre: ‘[illegible] / 68?’; modern hand in blue pencil, bottom right: ‘667’.  
f. Bv, seventeenth-century hand in ink, top left: ‘[illegible] / [illegible] que se ande / [illegible] / 68’.

A few decades before being detached and reused as a cover, the fragment—and likely the whole volume to which it belonged—was amended in a number of ways: the chants have been shortened or adapted by erasures and additions, which nevertheless allow reading the originals. Amendments in the texts conform them to the Roman-Franciscan use (as seen in the notes to the transcription above). Changes to the chants are in two different hands: one corresponds to the amendments in the texts; the other is earlier. The amendments are an obvious indication that the fragment came from an antiphoner that was in use for about three centuries.

We should note that the original words amended by the late sixteenth-century hand in the verse ‘Qui intingit mecum manum’, the *presa* of responsory *Eram quasi agnus*, and the antiphon *Terra tremuit* are the most common medieval readings at those places. The fourteenth-century ‘Soeiro’ Breviary, however, reads ‘resurget’ in the antiphon *Terra tremuit*, and ‘exurgeret’ in the versicle; all other Braga sources and the 1528 *Breviarium Elborensis* have the common medieval readings. In the responsory *Eram quasi agnus*, the early sixteenth-century manuscript antiphoners from Braga and the 1549 *Breviarium bracarense* have ‘eradamus’.<sup>5</sup> The word ‘expassis’ in the first trope for the litany at the end of Lauds is a variant equipollent of the more common synonym ‘expansis’. Among the Portuguese sources surveyed, this variant is used in all the manuscript antiphoners from Braga but the only other occurrence is in our fragment.<sup>6</sup>

The main problem with this apparently straightforward fragment is to determine its origin and the liturgical use it represents. Given its contents and the undeniable fact that it was copied in Portugal (evident from the type of notation used and the somewhat conservative style of the text script), we are left with only two possible places of origin: Braga, or Évora. To the best of my knowledge, these are the only two secular uses in Portugal to have the responsories *Unus ex discipulis* and *Eram quasi agnus* in the second nocturn of Maundy Thursday in sequential positions (second and third responsory, respectively). In fact, until the printing of the revised *Breviarium*

<sup>5</sup> For the manuscript and printed sources of the uses of Braga and Évora, including the relevant bibliography, see João Pedro d’ALVARENGA, ‘The Office of the Dead in Portuguese Medieval Uses’, *Portuguese Journal of Musicology, new series*, 4/1 (2017), pp. 167-204, at pp. 193-6 and 198-9, available at <<http://rpm-ns.pt/index.php/rpm/article/view/317/506>> (accessed 10 August 2018).

<sup>6</sup> See ALVARENGA, ‘Textual and Chant Traditions’ (see note 1). This is also the reading of sources M and V (the eleventh-century Monza and Verona antiphoners) in René-Jean HESBERT, *Corpus antiphonarium officii*, vol. 4: *Responsoria, versus, hymni et varia*, *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta*, Series maior, Fontes 10 (Roma, Herder, 1970), p. 524.

*Eborensis* in 1548, the series of responsories and attached verses for the last three days of Holy Week were exactly the same in Braga and in Évora.<sup>7</sup> The other variable elements in the fragment are: the versicle in the third nocturn of Matins; the verses, or tropes to the litany at the end of Lauds known as the *Kyries tenebrarum*; and the antiphons for the lesser hours and Second Vespers. However, the choice and order of all these texts in both Braga and Évora is again the same. In the case of the *Kyries tenebrarum*, the verses are the first six that appear in the late-eleventh-century antiphoner Toledo 44.2 (*E-Tc* Ms. 44.2) assigned for Maundy Thursday in the same order.<sup>8</sup> Toledo 44.2 contains fifteen verses: one six-verse series and one three-verse series for Maundy Thursday, three verses for Good Friday, and three verses for Holy Saturday—this probably results from the conflation of two different exemplars, one represented by the series of six verses and the other by the three groups of three verses.<sup>9</sup>

Regarding the verses for the *Kyries tenebrarum*, it is worth making a brief excursus on the late thirteenth-century noted breviary Porto 1151 (*P-Pm* Ms. 1151, Santa Cruz s.n.). The origin of this acephalous and truncated manuscript has been much debated, most recently by Kate Helsen in an article published in 2016.<sup>10</sup> In this respect, the following should be noted: the series of verses for Maundy Thursday (not Good Friday, as stated by Helsen<sup>11</sup>) that it contains—the same as the first three-verse series in Toledo 44.2—is the one identified by Jane Hardie in her study on the *Kyries tenebrarum* in Renaissance Spain as part of the Catalanian text group.<sup>12</sup> According to Pedro Romano Rocha, the spread of this series of verses for Maundy Thursday crosses the Septimania from Gellone to Elne, concentrates in Catalonia particularly in sources from Vic and Barcelona, and reaches Pamplona, Zamora, and Compostela.<sup>13</sup> This, also considering the version of the *Cantus*

<sup>7</sup> See 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. 429, n. 32.

<sup>8</sup> See ALVARENGA, 'Textual and Chant Traditions' (see note 1). On *E-Tc* Ms. 44.2, see 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 relevant bibliography on the manuscript, available at <<http://rpm-ns.pt/index.php/rpm/article/view/251/266>> (accessed 9 August 2018).

<sup>9</sup> See Pedro Romano ROCHA, 'Les "tropes" ou versets de l'ancien Office des Ténèbres', in *Mens concordet voci: Pour Mgr A. G. Martimort à l'occasion de ses quarante années d'enseignement et des vingt ans de la Constitution 'Sacrosanctum Concilium'*, edited by Jacques Dutheil and Claude Dagens (Paris, Desclée, 1983), pp. 691-702, at p. 697.

<sup>10</sup> Kate HELSEN, 'The European Affiliations of MS Porto BPM 1151', in *Musical Exchanges, 1100-1650: Iberian Connections*, edited by Manuel Pedro Ferreira, *Iberian Early Music Studies* 2 (Kassel, Reichenberger, 2016), pp. 59-68.

<sup>11</sup> See HELSEN, 'The European Affiliations' (see note 10), p. 63.

<sup>12</sup> See Jane Morlet HARDIE, 'Kyries tenebrarum in Sixteenth-Century Spain', *Nassarre: Revista Aragonesa de Musicología*, 4/1-2 (1988), pp. 161-94, at p. 174, and the corresponding list of texts at p. 167.

<sup>13</sup> This can be seen from the table of distribution of the tropes according to the liturgical traditions in ROCHA, 'Les "tropes" ou versets' (see note 9), pp. 694-5.

*Sybilae* it contains, which Manuel Pedro Ferreira identifies as belonging to the Leonese tradition,<sup>14</sup> is a strong argument for searching for the origin of Porto 1151 in the central western part of the medieval Kingdom of León, and definitively to discard the hypothesis of its origin in Portugal.

At this point, it would also be useful to set out the most significant facts we know about the liturgical use of Évora, as we actually know very little, and it is mostly derived from the many existing studies on the use of Braga.

No complete or nearly complete medieval source of the liturgical use of Évora is known to be extant. The main liturgical books were however printed in the early sixteenth century: the missal in 1519, and the breviary and the ritual in 1528. There is notice of an early printing of the breviary in 1490, but no copy of this has emerged so far. A later edition of the breviary, heavily revised according to Humanist trends, was printed in 1548. A complete set of manuscript processions dating from the middle of the sixteenth century is also extant.<sup>15</sup> Judging from the texts of a few antiphons and prayers, the 1519 *Missale Elborensis* and the 1528 *Breviarium Elborensis* are more conservative than their Braga counterparts, because these texts were edited in the 1498 *Missale bracharensis* and the 1494 *Breviarium bracharense*.<sup>16</sup>

The restoration of the See of Évora took place in 1166, ninety-five years after the diocese of Braga was restored in 1071. Although initially dependent on Braga, Évora remained officially a suffragan diocese of Compostela from 1199 until 1394, when Lisbon was raised to the dignity of a metropolitan church. Évora passed to the jurisdiction of the new metropolis until it was in turn raised to a metropolitan archbishopric in 1540. The third bishop of Évora, Dom Paio—an Augustinian Canon Regular from the newly-founded Monastery of São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon who, despite the claims of the archbishop of Compostela, was consecrated by the archbishop of Braga in 1186—created the chapter in Évora Cathedral on 24 April 1200, organizing it according to the model of Coimbra Cathedral.<sup>17</sup> Liturgical connections with Braga, Coimbra Cathedral, and the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra and its affiliated communities are thus to be expected given these historical circumstances.

<sup>14</sup> Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, 'Notas sibilinas: Alfonso X, Braga y María', in *La Sibila: Sonido. Imagen. Liturgia. Escena*, edited by Maricarmen Gómez Muntané and Eduardo Carrero Santamaría (Madrid, Alpuerto, 2015), pp. 87-104, at pp. 96-7.

<sup>15</sup> See ALVARENGA, 'The Office of the Dead' (see note 5), p. 198.

<sup>16</sup> See João Pedro d'ALVARENGA, 'Fragmento de um breviário notado bracarense do século XIII', in *Estudos de Musicologia* (Lisboa, Colibri - Centro de História da Arte da Universidade de Évora, 2002), pp. 11-33, at pp. 15-6, on the antiphons for Lauds of Ember Saturday in Advent; and Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, 'Influência religiosa da França no Portugal medievo', *Didaskalia*, 3 (1973), pp. 133-56, at pp. 141-6, on the prayers for the benediction and imposition of ashes on Ash Wednesday.

<sup>17</sup> See ALVARENGA, 'The Office of the Dead' (see note 5), pp. 184-5.

With regard to the Office, Pedro Romano Rocha stated that, in the distinctive seasons of Advent and the *Triduum*, 'les répons [dans les bréviaires d'Évora] suivent de très près le responsorial de Braga' (the responsories [in the Évora breviaries] closely follow Braga's responsorial) as it is given in the 'Soeiro' Breviary and later sources.<sup>18</sup> This is indeed true. The series of Advent responsories and their verses in Évora is almost the same as in Braga.<sup>19</sup> There are, however, a few significant exceptions. In the 1528 Évora breviary, the verse for responsory *Ecce Dominus veniet protector*, the fifth in the series for the Second Sunday in Advent, is 'Ecce dominator Dominus', as in Moissac and in most of the Cluniac sources, while Braga—following Toledo 44.2—has 'Et dominabitur a mari', a verse particularly widespread in Aquitaine, Provence, and some regions of Spain, notably Salamanca, Compostela, Orense, and Tuy. Also the presence of *Montes Israel* with the verse 'Florete flores' among the extra responsories assigned to the weekdays after the First Sunday in Advent takes Évora closer to Moissac. However, in Braga the verse for the responsory *Obsecro Domine* is 'A solis ortu', which is also the case in Moissac and other Cluniac series, whereas in Évora it is 'Qui regis Israel', as in Compostela, Orense, Santa Cruz in Coimbra, a number of churches in North-Central France, and also Lyon and St Victor in Marseille. Although requiring further consideration, possible explanations for these differences are the extent of the Lyonnaise influence and the models of the chant tradition in Évora.<sup>20</sup>

The situation with the Advent responsories seems to be comparable to the one found by Manuel Pedro Ferreira in the list of Alleluia verses for the Sundays after Pentecost. Évora has the list closest to the list of Braga. However, the lists are drawn from different sources: the earliest list in Braga may have had its origin in, or have been transmitted from, southern Aquitaine through Sahagún, and then been conflated with a Moissac list from before the Cluniac reform; the list in Évora, which was likely sent from Braga, probably originated in an exemplar also from Moissac, but was copied after the Cluniac reform there in 1047-8.<sup>21</sup> That is, the liturgy in Évora, at least in the core sections of the

<sup>18</sup> ROCHA, *L'Office Divin* (see note 7), p. 381 n. 1.

<sup>19</sup> A comparative analysis of the responsorial in Braga is found in ROCHA, *L'Office Divin* (see note 7), pp. 381-410 (Advent), and 421-41 (*Triduum*), but Évora is not included.

<sup>20</sup> On this latter issue, see J. LEMARIÉ, 'Influence lyonnaise sur l'antiphonaire de l'Office de Saint-Victor de Marseille', *Revue Bénédictine*, 78/1-2 (1968), pp. 138-45; ROCHA, *L'Office Divin* (see note 7), pp. 393 n. 1, 410, and 419. One further difference to Braga is that the 1528 Évora breviary has no extra responsories assigned for the weekdays after the Second and the Fourth Sunday in Advent. This, however, also happens with other late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century printed breviaries, like, for instance, the *Breviarium Compostellanum* (Vlixbone, Nicolai de Saxonia, 1497).

<sup>21</sup> Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, 'As origens do Gradual de Braga', *Didaskalia*, 25 (1995), pp. 57-96, at pp. 73-89. This article, also incorporating 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, was later rewritten by the author and published as Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, 'Das origens do Gradual de Braga', in *Aspectos da música medieval no Ocidente Peninsular*, vol. 1: *Música eclesiástica* (Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2010), pp. 119-60.



antiphoner both of the Office and Mass, seems to have derived from Braga, or from the models of the liturgy in Braga, but with an even stronger Cluniac influence, probably with no Leonese or Toledan mediation. In its turn, the Office of the Dead in Évora is essentially the same as in Santa Cruz in Coimbra as regards Matins, but follows Coimbra Cathedral in Vespers and Lauds.<sup>22</sup> This is a clear indication that some of the earliest layers of Évora's liturgical use also came from, or through, Coimbra, and that the influence of Braga was certainly not exclusive.

Turning to our fragment, since its texts are the same as in Braga and in Évora, only melodic comparison can shed light on its possible origin. We know from previous studies, particularly by Manuel Pedro Ferreira and Diogo Alte da Veiga, that the melodic tradition in Braga is of central Southern-French ancestry, probably originating around the axis of Toulouse-Gaillac.<sup>23</sup> (This region is often called South Aquitaine, although it corresponds geographically to the Western Languedoc). Characteristic traits of this melodic tradition are the consistent bias towards the lower note of semitones and a tendency, even if inconsistent, to fill in the minor thirds. Regarding Évora, given the seeming extent of the Cluniac influence in the choice of its liturgical texts, we could expect to find traces of a more north-eastern-oriented melodic tradition, characterized by a preference for the higher note of semitones, especially when choosing between *c* and *b*.

The chants studied here are the three antiphons for the third nocturn of Maundy Thursday, because they are universal, and the respond of *Eram quasi agnus* up to the *presa*, since this responsory is mostly readable in our fragment. All discernible additions and changes to the original reading in the fragment were discarded in the transcriptions presented above; lacunae and illegible or inaccessible segments are marked with void square brackets. The following manuscripts are used for comparison:

- *E-SI* Ms. 9—Noted breviary, probably copied in Sahagún for San Rosendo de Celanova in Orense, Galicia, late twelfth century (1180-90).<sup>24</sup>
- *E-Tc* Ms. 35.9—Noted breviary, unknown origin but used in Toledo Cathedral, late twelfth or early thirteenth century.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> ALVARENGA, 'The Office of the Dead' (see note 5), pp. 186 and 188-90.

<sup>23</sup> See FERREIRA, 'As origens do Gradual de Braga' (see note 21), pp. 89-94; Diogo Alte da VEIGA, 'O Alleluia na monodia litúrgica em Portugal até 1600: Comparações melódicas' (Tese de mestrado, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2009).

<sup>24</sup> See Carmen RODRÍGUEZ SUSO, 'El manuscrito 9 del Monasterio de Silos y algunos problemas relativos a la adopción de la liturgia romana en la Península Ibérica', *Revista de Musicología*, 15/2-3 (1992), pp. 473-510.

<sup>25</sup> Regarding the sources in Toledo, in addition to the references given in the notes below, one should refer to Juan Pablo RUBIO SADIA, *Las órdenes religiosas y la introducción del rito romano en la Iglesia de Toledo: Una aportación desde las fuentes litúrgicas* (Toledo, Instituto Teológico San Ildefonso - Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes, 2004).

- *E-Tc* Ms. 44.1—Antiphoner, probably copied at Sant Sadurní de Tavèrnoles in Catalonia from Septimanian Midi exemplars, early eleventh century (c.1020-3).<sup>26</sup>
- *E-Tc* Ms. 44.2—Antiphoner, unknown origin but used in Toledo Cathedral, copied from Southern-Aquitainian exemplars sharing distinctive liturgical elements with Moissac, late eleventh century (c.1095).<sup>27</sup>
- *F-Pn* Lat. 784—Antiphoner, Limoges Cathedral, late fourteenth century.<sup>28</sup>
- *F-Pn* Lat. 1090—Antiphoner, Marseille Cathedral, late twelfth century (1190-1200).<sup>29</sup>
- *F-Pn* Lat. 12044—Antiphoner, St Maur-des-Fossés, early twelfth century.<sup>30</sup>
- *F-Pn* Res. 1531—Antiphoner, north-central France, Dominican use, early fourteenth century.<sup>31</sup>
- *P-BRc* Ms. 32—Antiphoner, Braga Cathedral, early sixteenth century (c.1510-20).<sup>32</sup>

Additionally, the following manuscripts have been used:

- *P-EVc* Cód. Perg. Lit. 8, and Cód. Perg. Lit. 5—Processional-responsorial, Évora Cathedral, mid-sixteenth century.

### *Dixi iniquis*

As far as we can ascertain because of the inaccessible segment at the end of the piece, the fragment follows the similar versions from Braga and Sahagún-Celanova. The only difference, yet not significant, is on '**deus**', where the fragment stands alone by having a liquescent *torculus* instead of a *podatus*.

<sup>26</sup> On this manuscript, see Lila COLLAMORE, 'Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, 44.1 - Its Origin and Date', *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, and the *Cantus Manuscript Database* at <<http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123638>> (accessed 10 August 2018). See also *Hispania Vetusta: Musical-Liturgical Manuscripts from Visigothic Origins to the Franco-Roman Transition (10-12th Centuries)*, edited by Susana Zapke (Bilbao, Fundación BBVA, 2007), p. 400, where a different date and other possible origins are suggested for *E-Tc* Ms. 44-1: 'late eleventh-century', from 'Central Aquitaine, Sahagún or Toledo, scribes from the south of France'.

<sup>27</sup> On *E-Tc* Ms. 44.2, besides the references in note 8 above and the *Cantus Manuscript Database* at <<http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123639>> (accessed 10 August 2018), see also *Hispania Vetusta* (see note 27), p. 404, where a different date and hypothetical origins are suggested for this manuscript: 'early twelfth-century', from 'Aquitaine (Moissac, Aurillac, Toulouse), Sahagún or Toledo'.

<sup>28</sup> Full reproduction at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9078125w>> (accessed 10 August 2018).

<sup>29</sup> See the *Cantus Manuscript Database* at <<http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123627>> (accessed 10 August 2018), and the full reproduction at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60007359>> (accessed 10 August 2018).

<sup>30</sup> See the *Cantus Manuscript Database* at <<http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123628>> (accessed 10 August 2018); the summary description in *MANNO-Manuscripts notés en neumes en Occident* at <<http://saprat.ephe.sorbonne.fr/media/83265facc2b864ce06964f82d33638ff/latin-12044.pdf>> (accessed 10 August 2018); and the full reproduction at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000531z>> (accessed 10 August 2018).

<sup>31</sup> Full reproduction at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530097575>> (accessed 10 August 2018).

<sup>32</sup> Summary description, indexing, and full reproduction at <<http://pemdatabase.eu/source/2902>> (accessed 10 August 2018).

**Example 1.** Antiphon *Dixi iniquis*

### *Terra tremuit*

The fragment departs from the Aquitanian-Iberian reading at ‘resurget’ because of a difference of pitch on the penultimate syllable and a slightly longer melisma on the last syllable of this word. None of the sources consulted share these variant readings. Braga follows Toledo 44.2, except in that it has an extra note on ‘quievit’.

**Example 2.** Antiphon *Terra tremuit*

### *In die tribulationis*

The fragment has five accretions—on ‘die’, ‘tribulationis’, ‘deum’, and ‘meis’—and three erasures—after ‘die’, and on ‘tribulationis’ and ‘deum’ (see Figure 1). This is one of its more amended chants, but the original can however be easily restored. In the transcription, the readings of Braga—entirely concordant with Sahagún-Celanova—and St Maur-des-Fossés (as a representative of Cluniac and North-Eastern traditions) are also given in full. The fragment again departs from the

Aquitanian-Iberian readings on 'deum', where there is a *torculus praepunctis* instead of a *porrectus*, thus producing a variant of pitch. On 'exquisivi', the fragment avoids the *b* and then ascends to *c'* in a similar way as in St Maur and other North-Eastern-French versions, which is different from the Aquitanian-Iberian manuscripts but the same as in manuscripts from Limoges and Marseille. The melodic profile at this point, *c'-a-g-a-c'*, irrespective of the neumatic grouping and syllable distribution, is the same as in the Dominican antiphoner. St Maur has *b-a-g-a-c'*. Because the final segment cannot be read, we do not know what pattern the cadence follows.

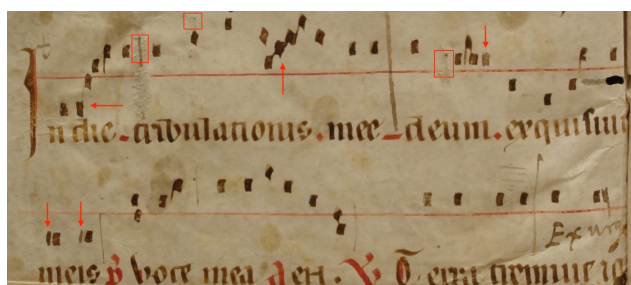


Figure 1. P-EVc AHMEVR 98, f. Av (detail)

E-Tc Ms. 44.1				
E-Tc Ms. 44.2				
E-SI Ms. 9 P-BRc Ms. 32	ex - qui - si - vi			
P-EVad AHMEVR 98	In di - e tri - bu - la - ti - o - nis me - ae de - um ex - qui - si - vi ma - ni - bus me - is			
F-Pn Lat. 12044 (Cluniac)	tri - bu - la - ti - o - nis	ex - qui - si -	vi	
F-Pn Res. 1531 (Dominican)				
F-Pn Lat. 784 (Limoges)				
F-Pn Lat. 1090 (Marseille)				

Example 3. Antiphon *In die tribulationis*

*Eram quasi agnus*

The transcription includes again the full readings from Braga and St Maur-des-Fossés. Although the melodic profile and goal-pitches are essentially the same, Aquitanian-Iberian and North-Eastern versions are quite distinct. This can be seen straightaway at the beginning of the first phrase-element of the respond (marked L1, after Kate Helsen in her analysis of the great responsories in the antiphoner of St Maur-des-Fossés<sup>33</sup>): on ‘Eram’ (‘Ego’ in the Marseille antiphoner), Aquitanian-Iberian sources emphasise the *b* and have the semitone expressed, while St Maur avoids the *b* by jumping from *a* to *c*. The second element-phrase (f1) is another obvious example of these different idioms, with Toledo 44.1 contrasting the most with St Maur.

Standard elements (which, according to Helsen, are those appearing five or more times in at least three responds within the responsories of a given mode<sup>34</sup>) tend to be more stable, with fewer variants the higher their frequency; non-standard elements seem to present more variants. This explains the variety of readings on ‘**mei**’ at the end of the penultimate element transcribed (19, a standard element with only five occurrences in mode 7 responsories, which, moreover, is not a proper phrase, thus having different goal-pitches: *c*, *d*, and *a*), and ‘**adversum**’ at the beginning of the last one (g, a non-standard element).

In contrast to what happened with the antiphons *Dixi iniquis* and *In die tribulationis*, the Braga antiphoner is now more distant from Sahagún-Celanova and closer to Toledo 44.2, in a similar way as with the antiphon *Terra tremuit*. Two sources share at least one element—the first half of the f1 element-phrase, on ‘**innocens**’—with the north-eastern version: the antiphoner of Marseille and our fragment. Marseille, which belongs to the Provençal group of Aquitanian-border sources, has a few other details in common with St Maur. Our fragment, however, shows significant differences as it follows Sahagún-Celanova on ‘**agnus**’ and ‘**nesciebam**’, and Braga on ‘**mei**’ before ‘**inimici**’; it however stands alone on ‘**immolandum**’ and ‘**fecerunt**’ (both having shortened cadence formulas as in ‘**agnus**’), ‘**nesciebam**’ (by filling in again the falling minor third, which results in a unique rendering of element-phrase g9), and ‘**me**’ before ‘**dicentes**’. Of course, some of the unique readings of the fragment, as in any other source, can be the result of reception or performance practice, or reflect the ‘house-style’ of a scribe or a *scriptorium*.

<sup>33</sup> Katherine Eve HELSEN, ‘The Great Responsories of the Divine Office: Aspects of Structure and Transmission’, 1 vol. and 1 CD-Rom (Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Regensburg, 2008), pp. 57-60, on the nomenclature of structural elements, and pp. 202-31, on the analysis of mode 7 responsories.

<sup>34</sup> HELSEN, ‘The Great Responsories’ (see note 33), p. 58.

*E-Tc* Ms. 44.1

*E-Tc* Ms. 44.2

*E-Sl* Ms. 9

*E-Tc* Ms. 35.9

*F-Pn* Lat. 1090  
(Marseille)

*P-BRc* Ms. 32

*P-EVad*  
AHMEVR 98

*F-Pn* Lat. 12044  
(Cluniac)

E - - - go - - -

8 E - - - ram - - - qua - si a - - - gnus in - no - - - cens - - -

L1 f1

8 du - ctus sum ad im - mo - lan - dum et ne - sci-e - - - bam

g5 g9

con - si - li - um me di - cen - tes:

con - si - li - um fe - ce - - runt in - i - mi - ci - me - i ad - ver - sum me. di - cen - tes:

16 19 g

**Example 4.** Responsory *Eram quasi agnus* (respond section)

As can be seen, the fragment is well rooted in the Aquitanian melodic tradition but its reading is different enough from Braga to allow for a different origin. There are four relevant circumstances to be considered: the earliest attested location of the fragment in Évora; the insertion of north-eastern idiomatic melodic elements in the reading of the fragment; the presence of a text variant in the *Kyries tenebrarum* exclusive to the fragment and the antiphoners of Braga; and the fact that, at a point where all other sources differ, in element 19 of the responsory *Eram quasi agnus* on ‘*mei*’, only Braga and the fragment agree. These circumstances lead to the following provisional conclusion: the fragment was part of an antiphoner that was copied from an exemplar, or exemplars, sent from a Cluniac dependency in eastern Occitania. This would explain why the fragment shares characteristics with the models of the liturgical and chant tradition in Braga, but also has North-Eastern melodic traits. This excludes an origin in Braga so the fragment can be assumed to have its origin in Évora and should therefore be assigned to the use of Évora Cathedral.

The only available method to validate this conclusion is to verify whether the profile of a differentiating element in a mode 7 responsory included in the manuscript processional of Évora Cathedral is consistent with the parallel reading in the fragment. The mode 7 responsory *Dignus es Dominus*, assigned to the First Sunday after the Octave of Easter in the Évora processional, includes the f1 element as the middle phrase of its first period, setting the words ‘accipere librum’. The rendering of this element-phrase is not only consistent in all the manuscripts surveyed, but is also the same in the fragment and the sixteenth-century Évora processional, except that in this latter

source the goal-pitch is diverted from *f* to *g*. However, other mode 7 responsories in the processional that include element f1—for instance, *Lucia virgo quid a me petis*—end it regularly on *f* (see Example 5). So, the reading in Évora is again concordant with the Marseille antiphoner. This is surely a clue to search for the possible origin of the melodic idiom used in Évora within the eastern border region of the Aquitanian chant tradition.<sup>35</sup>

Dignus es Dominus

E-Tc Ms. 44.1  
E-Tc Ms. 44.2

E-SI Ms. 9

F-Pn Lat. 1090  
(Marseille)

P-BRc Ms. 32

P-EVc Cód.  
Perg. Lit. 8

F-Pn Lat. 12044  
(Cluniac)

f1

Lucia virgo

P-EVc Cód.  
Perg. Lit. 5

**Example 5.** Middle phrase of the first period in the mode 7 responsories *Dignus es Dominus* and *Lucia virgo*

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Recebido em | Received 17/08/2018

Aceite em | Accepted 25/07/2019

<sup>35</sup> On the characterisation of the Aquitanian chant tradition and its different idioms, see particularly Lilla COLLAMORE, 'Aquitanian Collections of Office Chants: A Comparative Survey' (Ph.D. dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 2000), especially vol. 1, pp. 308-12.