

## Two Early Thirteenth-Century Fragments from Coimbra and Braga

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### Resumo

Este artigo consiste no estudo de dois fragmentos de Coimbra e de Braga, que outrora fizeram parte de breviários notados quase contemporâneos. O fragmento de Coimbra integra o acervo da Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra. O fragmento de Braga esteve outrora guardado no Arquivo Distrital de Braga, mas desapareceu depois de 1997, altura em que as colecções de fragmentos de pergaminho deste arquivo foram reorganizadas, sobrevivendo hoje apenas em fotografias. O estudo paralelo dos dois fragmentos permite vislumbrar metodologias para lidar criticamente com as dificuldades em diferenciar os usos da Sé de Braga e da Sé de Coimbra. A fim de determinar a sua hipotética datação, origem e filiação litúrgica, o conteúdo de cada um dos fragmentos – incluindo o tipo e particularidades da notação e da escrita, escolha de textos e tradições e idiomas melódicos – é descrito e analisado, comparando-o com uma selecção significativa de fontes que representam, principalmente, as tradições litúrgicas e de canto aquitana-ibérica e do Sul, Centro e Nordeste de França.

### Palavras-chave

Fragmentos; Breviários notados; Usos litúrgicos medievais portugueses; Sé de Coimbra; Diocese de Braga; Tradições e idiomas de canto franco-romano.

### Abstract

This article consists of a study of two fragments from Coimbra and Braga that once were part of nearly contemporary noted breviaries. The Coimbra fragment is part of the collection of the University of Coimbra General Library. The Braga fragment was once in the District Archive of Braga, but disappeared after 1997, around the time when this archive's collections of parchment fragments were reorganised, and is nowadays only available in photographs. The parallel study of the two fragments provides insights into how to deal methodologically and critically with the difficulties in differentiating the uses of the Cathedrals of Braga and Coimbra. In order to determine their hypothetical dating, origin, and liturgical affiliation, the contents of each of the fragments—including the type and particularities of notation and script, choice of texts, and melodic traditions and idioms—are described and analysed by comparing them with a significant selection of sources mostly representing Aquitanian-Iberian, and Southern-, Central- and North-Eastern French liturgical and chant traditions.

### Keywords

Fragments; Noted breviaries; Portuguese medieval liturgical uses; Coimbra Cathedral; Diocese of Braga; Franco-Roman chant traditions and idioms.

**A**MONGST THE MANY UNIDENTIFIED MUSICAL-LITURGICAL SOURCES photographed years ago within the framework of the project *Digital Survey of Pre-1600 Musical Sources*,<sup>1</sup> there is a fragment kept in Coimbra whose contents are complementary to those of another fragment once extant in Braga. The fragments are nearly contemporary and, at first sight, are apparently representative of the same liturgical use. However, close scrutiny reveals that they are indeed exemplars of two similar traditions as to the choice of the core texts but different regarding additional texts and chant idioms. The textual contents of the fragments are given in Appendix 1, retaining their original orthography.

### The Coimbra Fragment

This fragment, once part of a noted choir breviary in long-line format, is found in the University of Coimbra General Library with the shelfmark MM 1063 (79).<sup>2</sup> On the bottom margin of its folio *Ar* someone wrote in pencil: 'Sec. XIII antes de 1280 Breviario de choro Feira V<sup>a</sup> et VI<sup>a</sup> da Semana Santa' (Thirteenth century before 1280 Choir breviary Thursday and Friday of Holy Week). In fact, this fragment contains portions of Maundy Thursday—the verse of the eighth responsory, the ninth lesson, and the ninth responsory of Matins; the antiphons and *preces* of Lauds (known as the *Kyries tenebrarum*); and the Lesser Hours and second Vespers—and Good Friday—the first antiphon of Matins, incomplete; and the fourth lesson from about its middle up to the first pericope of the ninth lesson including the corresponding responsories. Its suggested date, 'before 1280', can however be put some fifty years earlier, that is, in the first third of the thirteenth century, on palaeographic grounds. The fragment was originally the outer bifolio of a binion, or the last internal bifolio of a larger quire. In its present condition it is separated into two folios joined by two pieces of thread. The missing inner bifolio should have contained all the reminding items of Matins of Good Friday, including the fully-notated Lamentations that constitute the lessons of the first nocturn. Since the fragment once served as a cover, the rectos of both folios A and B are heavily rubbed, causing extensive loss of contents.

The notation is Aquitanian of the Portuguese variety over a single red line. The special sign indicating the lower note of semitones, consisting most frequently of a tilted *punctum*, but also of a left-slanted stroke, is used inconsistently. On the whole, the notation is somewhat uneven and probably the work of an inexperienced scribe. The *custos* is only rarely found and most of them are

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Most of the research for and the writing of this paper was done during the lockdown period between early March and early June 2020, and resumed in late April 2021. It was intended as an exploratory case study for testing methodologies while writing the application proposal for the project *Texts and Voices Lost and Found: Recovering, Reconstituting, and Recreating Musical Fragments (c.1100-c.1600)*, PTDC/ART-PER/0902/2020, which was eventually selected for funding in the FCT 2020 Call for SR&TD Projects and started on 1 March 2021. I thank my colleagues in the Early Music Studies Research Group of CESEM for their comments and suggestions both for the project and this paper.

<sup>1</sup> This project (POCTI/EAT/46895/2002) was directed by Manuel Pedro Ferreira and conducted in CESEM in 2005-8.

<sup>2</sup> *P-Cug* MM 1063 (79). For a summary description and full-colour reproduction of this fragment, see the *Portuguese Early Music Database (PEM)* at <<http://pemdatabase.eu/source/241>> (accessed 29 March 2020).

apparently later additions. Besides the occasional indication of the lower note of semitones, no other special signs but the *quilisma* are used. Not infrequently, this latter sign takes the heavy shape of a reversed ‘Z’. One should note the presence of the liquescent *punctum* as a substitute of the *oriscus* when a *pressus* occurs.

The script is in a slightly irregular Pregothic of the southern type with two different modules, as is usual in notated liturgical manuscripts: the larger for the lessons and the smaller (of about half the module of the first) for the text of the chant pieces and the rubrics. These latter are written in sepia ink and underlined in red. One should observe the absence of the 9-like sign on the baseline as an abbreviation for ‘con-’ and ‘-us’, the latter using the superscript figure 9 instead; the inconsistent use of the ‘ct’ ligature (‘factus’, f. Ar, l. 5 from the bottom, and f. Av, l. 7 also from the bottom) and the round ‘r’ after ‘o’ (for instance, in ‘mors tua o mors’, f. Av, l. 2); the preference for the Tironian ‘et’ over the ampersand; the interchangeability of ‘u’ and ‘v’; the ‘pp’ fusion; the characteristically Iberian ‘z’ in the form of figure 3 extending below the baseline; the dotted ‘y’ and the stroked ‘ii’ (for instance, in ‘Filii’, f. Br, l. 1); the ‘x’ in two strokes, the second one going downward below the baseline; the often bifurcated top of ‘i’ and the ascenders of ‘b’, upright ‘d’, ‘h’, and ‘l’, which are at times relatively long; and the occasionally extended hairlines, for instance, closing the lower lobe of ‘g’ (especially visible in ‘cogitationum’, f. Bv, l. 14, and the abbreviation of ‘ergo’, same folio, l. 28). A number of misspellings are noted, as if the scribe was hearing instead of copying. For instance: ‘ergo’ for ‘ego’ (f. Av, l. 2); ‘fragellat’ for ‘flagellat’ (f. Bv, l. 2); ‘uultionum’ for ‘ultionum’ (f. Bv, l. 10); and, consistently, ‘[e]leysom’. There is also the change of ‘c’ for ‘t’ and, conversely, of ‘t’ for ‘c’ (as, for example, in ‘tencionum’ = ‘tentionum’, f. Bv, l. 15; ‘fidutia’ = ‘fiducia’, same folio, l. 28; and also ‘peccíit’ = ‘petiit’, two lines below), the change of ‘m’ for ‘n’ (in ‘Tanqua[m]’, f. Br, l. 6), and the diphthongization ‘mp’ in a few certain words (‘dampnemur’ = ‘damnemur’, f. Ar, l. 7, and ‘condempnabunt’ = ‘condemnabunt’, f. Bv, l. 10).

From the rubric in f. Av, no. 8, which mentions the bishop—‘... tradite sibi ab *episcopo* sacerdote calice ...’— and given its average textual and material characteristics, it is quite likely that the breviary of which the Coimbra fragment was once part was intended for the use of a church under the direct authority of the bishop who adopted the liturgy of the cathedral, such as a collegiate parish church.

### The Braga Fragment

This fragment—now missing—was kept in the District Archive of Braga, where it was number 7 in the former miscellaneous collection of parchment fragments (*P-BRd* Frag. 7).<sup>3</sup> It was once part of a

<sup>3</sup> A black and white image of the recto page appears in Avelino de Jesus da COSTA, *A Biblioteca e o Tesouro da Sé de Braga nos séculos XV a XVIII* (Braga, 1985), offprint from *Theologica* 18/1-2 and 3-4 (1983), Est. 33, p. 316. The available colour photographs, taken by Manuel Pedro Ferreira in February 1997, were not uploaded into *PEM* because they do not meet the required technical standards; they are published here as Appendix 2. According to M. P. Ferreira, ‘[i]n February 1997 [the fragment] was part of a “Miscellany of parchments”, with or without an assigned number

noted breviary in two-column format and seems to have been the outer bifolio of a quire, perhaps a quaternion, although only the left side folio survived nearly complete; the right side folio was cut off longitudinally, leaving only its inner margin and a small slice of the text block.<sup>4</sup> The fragment contains portions of Maundy Thursday—nearly half of Vespers—and Good Friday—the entire first nocturn, including the fully-notated Lamentations, and the second nocturn of Matins up to the end of the verse of the fifth responsory. As can be inferred from the seventeenth-century inscription on the right side of its verso page bottom margin, ‘São João de Louredo’, this fragment also served as a cover for administrative or accounting documents. São João de Louredo is most probably the homonymous parish near Amarante, some fifty kilometres southeast of Braga.<sup>5</sup>

As in the fragment previously described, the notation in the Braga fragment is Aquitanian of the Portuguese variety over a single red line. The special *punctum* signalling the lower note of semitones—more a tilted than a lozenge-shaped *punctum*, not always easy to distinguish—is used rather consistently. Again, the liquescent *punctum* substitutes the *oriscus* in most occurrences of the *pressus*, and is used even in isolation. In a number of places, the notation entered does not correspond to the space left by the scribe who wrote the text. This may be an indication that text and music came from different exemplars.

The Southern Pregothisc script in this fragment (with two modules, as is usual in medieval chant manuscripts) is more rounded and regular than the script in the Coimbra fragment. A few of its characteristics should be noted, namely the sparing use of the uncial ‘d’—however, the uncial and the upright ‘d’ are used in immediate succession (‘ad dexteram’, f. r col. a, l. 4), this being an apparently Iberian feature; the occasional use of the elongated round ‘s’, not the round uncial ‘s’, at the end of words and not only lines (for instance, in ‘Cenantibus’, f. r col. a, l. 10); the frequent use of the 9-like sign on the baseline as an abbreviation for ‘con-’; the treatment of the vertical ascenders, which can at times be relatively long, almost always with a stroke to the left as a serif, rather than bifurcated; and the use of the ellipsis sign in place of the abbreviation ‘aeN’ (= ‘amen’). Besides the common change of ‘m’ for ‘n’ in ‘Tanquam’ (= ‘Tamquam’, f. v col. b, l. 10) and the

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(renaming of the “Folder of Visigothic Fragments”, whose title only partially corresponded to its contents) that existed alongside two “Folders of Parchments”. However, from the numbered fragments in the folders [of parchments], number 7, which appears on the label of this fragment, was missing [because it was included in the “Miscellany of parchments”]. In my notes from that time I registered its liturgical correspondence with the *Soeiro* breviary (p. 155) [in Rocha’s *L’Office Divin*; see note 7] and classified the notation as being of the Portuguese variety, although this is not always obvious. It is among the fragments disappeared from the District Archive of Braga at the time of, or shortly before, their reorganisation’ (personal email to the author, 29 April 2020; my translation).

<sup>4</sup> An average of eight characters per line, which is hardly readable because of the angle of the photograph; it is however clear that the recto of the truncated, right folio is not the continuation of the verso of the left folio. The top of the recto side of what was left of that folio has the beginning of the verse ‘Jesum [quaeritis]’ from responsory *Angelus Domini locutus est*, the second in the Braga series for Easter Sunday.

<sup>5</sup> There is another place named São João de Louredo in the parish of Guilhofrei, about thirty kilometres east of Braga.

diphthongization ‘mp’ in ‘sollempni’ (= ‘sollemni’, f. *r* col. b, l. 14), no other significant orthographic inaccuracies are noted and copying lapses are rare (see, however, ‘Om[n]es’, f. *r* col. a, l. 1 from the bottom). On the whole, paleographic criteria allow the dating of this fragment to the first third of the thirteenth century.

### The Responsories<sup>6</sup>

The Coimbra fragment includes the verse of the eighth responsory—undoubtedly *Seniores populi*, with which the verse ‘Collegerunt ergo pontifices’ is more often coupled in Southern-French and Iberian sources—and the ninth responsory, *Revelabunt caeli*, of Maundy Thursday. Both these responsories and their corresponding verses in those positions are common to Braga, its neighbouring dioceses of Tuy, Compostela, Zamora and Salamanca, and Évora.<sup>7</sup>

The responsories and verses of Good Friday in both fragments also match the series in Braga and Évora (see Table 1). This series, as pointed out by Pedro Romano Rocha, is unique in that it includes responsories *O Juda* and *Judas mercator* in the seventh and eighth positions respectively. In his thorough study of the *Triduum* responsories, Rocha remarks that the series of Good Friday in Braga (and Évora), excepting for the seventh and eighth responsories, matches the one in Moissac. He also hypothesises that the *Aquitanian antiphoner* (E-Tc Ms. 44.2) might have been the supplementary source for the Braga series, because this antiphoner is the only known source that includes both responsories *O Juda* and *Judas mercator* in the series of Good Friday.<sup>8</sup> In fact, they do appear there closing the series of extra responsories, in the same order and with the same verses as they are found in the Braga series (which was subsequently transmitted to Évora). However, one wonders if the Braga series of Good Friday was composed from only the Moissac series, then contaminated with the series of the *Aquitanian antiphoner*. As in most Cluniac series, Moissac and Braga have the responsory *Animam meam* in the ninth position.<sup>9</sup> In these Cluniac series, the verse that more often goes with this responsory is ‘Omnes inimici mei’. Braga (and Évora) gives ‘Insurrexerunt in me’ instead. Another Cluniac series that has this latter verse with responsory *Animam meam* in the ninth position is that of Arles-sur-Tech. The *Aquitanian antiphoner* also

<sup>6</sup> For the sources referred to in this and the following sections, see the list after Table 1 below; sources that are not included in this list are detailed when they are referred to.

<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), pp. 422-3 and 424. Évora, in its 1528 printed breviary, which represents the medieval tradition, has exactly the same *Triduum* series of responsories and verses as Braga; the *Breviarium Eborensis* (Olisipone, apud Ludouicum Rotorigium, 1548), reformed according to Catholic-Humanist standards, presents a different series.

<sup>8</sup> ROCHA, *L’Office Divin* (see note 7), pp. 421 and 429.

<sup>9</sup> St Maur-des-Fossés and St Martial of Limoges introduce an extra responsory after the ninth: *Caligaverunt* with the verse ‘O vos omnes’, which, despite being almost universal, is ignored in a number of Cluniac series; see ROCHA, *L’Office Divin* (see note 7), p. 430.

includes *Animam meam* with the verses 'Insurrexerunt in me' and 'Pastores multi demoliti sunt', but in the fourth position. There are two other verses in Braga that are different from most Cluniac series, including Moissac: 'Petrae scissae sunt' with responsory *Velum templi* in the second position and 'Sepivi te' with responsory *Vinea mea* in the third position; the most common verses in Cluniac and Cluniac-derived series (like the Limoges series on Table 1) are 'Amen dico tibi' and 'Ego quidem' respectively. The different Braga verses, however, do appear again in the series of Arles-sur-Tech (and 'Sepivi te' with responsory *Vinea mea* is also found in the *Aquitanian antiphoner*, but in the second position, not the third). The most obvious conclusion is that the series in Braga is actually a conflation of the Moissac and the Arles-sur-Tech series, with two less common responsories from the series in the *Aquitanian antiphoner* replacing the almost universal *Tradiderunt me* and *Jesum tradidit* in the seventh and eighth positions respectively, giving it its unique character. The abbey of Arles-sur-Tech affiliated to Moissac in 1078. As remarked by Rocha regarding the verses of the *Triduum* responsories, Moissac almost always follows the Northern tradition of Cluny (to which it affiliated in 1048), as do the majority of the Cluniac dependencies, like St Martial (reformed by Cluny in 1062). When the verses are different in Arles-sur-Tech, they retain the Southern tradition instead.<sup>10</sup> This can be seen on Table 1 from the Good Friday early series of Albi Cathedral, St Martial before the Cluniac reform there (represented by the early eleventh-century abridged antiphoner, *F-Pn* Lat. 1085), the early eleventh-century antiphoner from Tavèrnoles, and the late eleventh-century *Aquitanian antiphoner*.

|     | <i>P-BRd</i> Frag. 7 | <i>P-Cug</i> MM 1063 (79) | <i>P-BRad</i> Ms. 657<br>Braga<br>Évora breviary, 1528 | <i>F-Al</i> Ms. 44<br>Albi | <i>E-Tc</i> Ms. 44.1<br>Tavèrnoles, Catalonia | <i>E-Tc</i> Ms. 44.2 | <i>F-Pn</i> Lat. 1085<br>St Martial | <i>F-Pic</i> Ms. Lat. 1<br>Moissac | <i>F-NAR</i> Ms. 166<br>Arles-sur-Tech | <i>F-Pn</i> Lat. 12584<br>St Maur-des-Fossés<br><i>F-Pn</i> Lat. 1088 (1)<br>St Martial | <i>F-Pn</i> Lat. 775<br>Limoges |
|-----|----------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1.1 | <b>7313</b>          |                           | <b>7313</b>                                            | <b>7313</b>                | <b>7313</b>                                   | <b>7313</b>          | <b>7313</b>                         | <b>7313</b>                        | <b>7313</b>                            | <b>7313</b>                                                                             | <b>7313</b>                     |
|     | <b>7313a</b>         |                           | <b>7313a</b>                                           | 7313za                     | 7313za                                        | <b>7313a</b>         | 7313za                              | <b>7313a</b>                       | 7313za                                 | <b>7313a</b>                                                                            | <b>7313a</b>                    |
|     |                      |                           |                                                        |                            |                                               |                      | 7313zd                              |                                    |                                        |                                                                                         |                                 |
| 1.2 | <b>7821</b>          |                           | <b>7821</b>                                            | 7887                       | 7887                                          | 7887                 | 7748                                | <b>7821</b>                        | <b>7821</b>                            | <b>7821</b>                                                                             | <b>7821</b>                     |
|     | <b>7821c</b>         |                           | <b>7821c</b>                                           | 7887za                     | 7887za                                        | 7887za               | 7748b                               | 7821a                              | <b>7821c</b>                           | 7821a                                                                                   | 7821a                           |
|     |                      |                           |                                                        |                            |                                               |                      | 7748a                               |                                    |                                        |                                                                                         |                                 |
| 1.3 | <b>7887</b>          |                           | <b>7887</b>                                            | 7748                       | 7848                                          | 7748                 | <b>7787</b>                         | <b>7887</b>                        | <b>7887</b>                            | <b>7887</b>                                                                             | <b>7887</b>                     |
|     | <b>7887za</b>        |                           | <b>7887za</b>                                          | 7748b                      | 7848b                                         | 7748b                | 7787a                               | 7887a                              | <b>7887za</b>                          | 7887a                                                                                   | 7887a                           |
|     |                      |                           |                                                        |                            |                                               |                      | <b>7787za</b>                       |                                    |                                        |                                                                                         |                                 |
| 2.1 | <b>7748</b>          | <b>7748</b>               | <b>7748</b>                                            | 6101                       | 6101                                          | 6101                 | 7773                                | <b>7748</b>                        | <b>7748</b>                            | <b>7748</b>                                                                             | <b>7748</b>                     |
|     | <b>7748b</b>         | <b>7748b</b>              | <b>7748b</b>                                           | 6101b                      | 6101b                                         | 6101b                | 7773a                               | <b>7748b</b>                       | <b>7748b</b>                           | 7748a                                                                                   | 7748a                           |
|     |                      |                           |                                                        |                            |                                               | 6101zf               | 7773b                               |                                    |                                        |                                                                                         |                                 |

<sup>10</sup> Pedro Romano ROCHA, 'Les sources languedociennes du bréviaire de Braga', in *Liturgie et musique (IXe - XIVe s.)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 17 (Toulouse, Privat, 1982), pp. 185-207, at pp. 201-2.

|     |              |              |              |              |              |               |              |              |              |              |              |
|-----|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 2.2 | <b>7760</b>  | <b>7760</b>  | <b>7760</b>  | 7773         | 7773         | 7773          | 6261         | <b>7760</b>  | <b>7760</b>  | <b>7760</b>  | <i>6101</i>  |
|     | <b>7760b</b> | <b>7760b</b> | <b>7760b</b> | 7773b        | 7773b        | 7773a         | 6261za       | <b>7760b</b> | <b>7760b</b> | <b>7760b</b> | 6101a        |
|     |              |              |              |              |              | 7773za        | 6261a        |              |              |              |              |
| 2.3 |              | <b>6159</b>  | <b>6159</b>  | <i>6261</i>  | <i>6261</i>  | <b>6159</b>   | 7035         | <b>6159</b>  | <b>6159</b>  | <b>6159</b>  | <i>7760</i>  |
|     |              | <b>6159b</b> | <b>6159b</b> | <i>6261a</i> | <i>6261a</i> | <b>6159b</b>  | 7035b        | <b>6159b</b> | <b>6159b</b> | <b>6159b</b> | <i>7760b</i> |
|     |              |              |              |              |              |               | 7035a        |              |              |              |              |
| 3.1 |              | <b>7272</b>  | <b>7272</b>  | 7035         | 7035         | 6261          | <i>6159</i>  | 7773         | 7773         | 7773         | 7773         |
|     |              | <b>7272b</b> | <b>7272b</b> | 7035b        | 7035b        | 6261a         | 6159a        | 7773a        | 7773b        | 7773a        | 7773b        |
|     |              |              |              |              |              |               | <i>6159b</i> |              |              |              |              |
| 3.2 |              | <b>7041</b>  | <b>7041</b>  | <i>7760</i>  | <i>7760</i>  | 7035          | <i>7760</i>  | 7035         | 7035         | 7035         | 7035         |
|     |              | <b>7041b</b> | <b>7041b</b> | <i>7760b</i> | <i>7760b</i> | 7035b         | <i>7760b</i> | 7035a        | 7035b        | 7035a        | 7035a        |
|     |              |              |              |              |              |               | 7760a        |              |              |              |              |
| 3.3 |              |              | <b>6101</b>  | <i>7821</i>  | <i>7821</i>  | <i>7821</i>   | <i>7821</i>  | <b>6101</b>  | <b>6101</b>  | <b>6101</b>  | 6261         |
|     |              |              | <b>6101b</b> | <i>7821c</i> | <i>7821c</i> | 7821a         | <i>7821c</i> | 6101a        | <b>6101b</b> | 6101a        | 6261a        |
|     |              |              |              |              |              |               | 7821a        |              |              |              |              |
| 10  |              |              |              |              | <i>6159</i>  | <i>7760</i>   |              |              |              | 6261         |              |
|     |              |              |              |              | <i>6159a</i> | <i>7760b</i>  |              |              |              | 6261a        |              |
|     |              |              |              |              |              | <i>7760za</i> |              |              |              |              |              |
| 11  |              |              |              |              |              | <i>7272</i>   |              |              |              |              |              |
|     |              |              |              |              |              | <i>7272b</i>  |              |              |              |              |              |
| 12  |              |              |              |              |              | <i>7041</i>   |              |              |              |              |              |
|     |              |              |              |              |              | <i>7041b</i>  |              |              |              |              |              |

Table 1. Responsories and their verses for Good Friday<sup>11</sup>

## Responsories and verses

- R. Animam meam (6101) V. Omnes inimici (6101a) Insurrexerunt in me (6101b) Pastores multi (6101zf)  
 R. Barabbas latro (6159) V. Ecce turba (6159a) Verax datur (6159b)  
 R. Caligaverunt (6261) V. O vos omnes (6261a) Videte populi (6261za)  
 R. Jesum tradidit (7035) V. Et ingressus Petrus (7035a) Adduxerunt autem (7035b)  
 R. Judas mercator (7041) V. Avaritiae inebriatus (7041b)  
 R. O Juda (7272) V. Corpore tantum (7272b)  
 R. Omnes amici mei (7313) V. Et dederunt (7313a) Inter iniquos (7313za) Ampliavit contra me (7313zd)  
 R. Tamquam ad latronem (7748) V. Filius quidem (7748a) Cumque iniecissent (7748b)  
 R. Tenebrae factae sunt (7760) V. Et velum templi (7760a) Cum/Dum ergo accepisset (7760b)  
 Exclamans Jesus (7760za)  
 R. Tradiderunt me (7773) V. Astiterunt reges (7773a) Alieni insurrexerunt (7773b) Aperuerunt super me  
 (7773za)  
 R. Velum templi (7821) V. Amen dico tibi (7821a) Petrae scissae sunt (7821c)  
 R. Vineam meam electam (7887) V. Ego quidem (7887a) Sepivi te (7887za)

## Sources

*E-Tc* Ms. 44.1—Antiphoner, probably copied at Sant Sadurní de Noya in Catalonia from Septimanian Midi exemplars, early eleventh century (c.1020-3).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Responsories and verses in the same position as in the fragments, Braga, and Évora are given in bold; in italics if they are in a different position.

<sup>12</sup> On *E-Tc* Ms. 44.1, 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 9 April 2020). See also *Hispania Vetis: 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 this manuscript: 'late eleventh-century', from 'Central Aquitaine, Sahagún or Toledo, scribes from the south of France'.

- E-Tc* Ms. 44.2—Antiphoner, unknown origin but used in Toledo Cathedral, copied from Southern-Aquitania exemplars, late eleventh century (c.1095), known as ‘*Aquitania antiphoner*’.<sup>13</sup>
- F-AI* Ms. 44—Gradual and Antiphoner, Albi Cathedral, late ninth century (c. 890).<sup>14</sup>
- F-Pic* Ms. Lat. 1—Breviary, Moissac, latter half of the thirteenth century.<sup>15</sup>
- F-Pn* Lat. 1085—Abridged antiphoner, St Martial of Limoges, early eleventh century (before 1028).<sup>16</sup>
- F-Pn* Lat. 1088 (1)—Antiphoner (first part of the Temporale), St Martial of Limoges, late thirteenth-fourteenth century.<sup>17</sup>
- F-Pn* Lat. 775—Noted breviary, Limoges, later half of the eleventh century.<sup>18</sup>
- F-Pn* Lat. 12584—Gradual and Antiphoner, St Maur-des-Fossés, last quarter of the eleventh century.<sup>19</sup>
- F-NAR* Ms. 166—Breviary, Arles-sur-Tech, fourteenth century.<sup>20</sup>
- P-BRad* Ms. 657—Breviary, Braga, late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, known as ‘*Soeiro Breviary*’.<sup>21</sup>
- Breuiarium secundum consuetudinem sancte Elborensis ecclesie* (Hispani, Jacobi Cromberger, 1528).<sup>22</sup>

## The Antiphons

Not all the series of antiphons in the two fragments under consideration are relevant to helping determine the use they were intended for. Almost all the series for Lauds of Maundy Thursday in the Coimbra fragment had to be reconstructed because of the parchment condition, but from the still perceptible textual clues, it is safe to assume that it was the universal series.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>13</sup> On *E-Tc* Ms. 44.2, see Michel HUGLO and Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, ‘O processional 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 8 April 2020); see also the *Cantus Manuscript Database* at <<http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123639>> (accessed 8 April 2020); and *Hispania Vetusta* (see note 12), 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>14</sup> Full reproduction at <[http://archivesnumeriques.mediatheques.grand-albigeois.fr/\\_images/OEB/RES\\_MS044/index.htm](http://archivesnumeriques.mediatheques.grand-albigeois.fr/_images/OEB/RES_MS044/index.htm)> (accessed 5 April 2020); see also the *Cantus Manuscript Database* at <<http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123679>> (accessed 8 April 2020).

<sup>15</sup> On the origins of this manuscript, see ROCHA, ‘Les sources languedociennes’ (see note 10), pp. 203-5.

<sup>16</sup> Full reproduction at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8432277r>> (accessed 5 April 2020). On the date of *F-Pn* Lat. 1085, see James GRIER, ‘The Divine Office at Saint-Martial in the Early Eleventh Century: Paris, BNF lat. 1085’, in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, edited by Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 179-204, at pp. 180-1. See also the *Cantus Manuscript Database* at <<http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123663>> (accessed 8 April 2020).

<sup>17</sup> Full reproduction at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10721054d>> (accessed 5 April 2020).

<sup>18</sup> Fragment of a gradual, ff. 1-8; fragment of a breviary, ff. 9-61. Full reproduction at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10543433d>> (accessed 5 April 2020).

<sup>19</sup> Full reproduction at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8422977w>> (accessed 5 April 2020).

<sup>20</sup> Full reproduction at <<http://mediatheques.legrandnarbonne.com/Default/doc/SYRACUSE/64261>> (accessed 5 April 2020).

<sup>21</sup> Modern edition in ROCHA, *L'Office Divin* (see note 7); ROCHA, ‘Les sources languedociennes’ (see note 10), pp. 185-207. All later sources from Braga give the same series of responsories and verses for the *Triduum*.

<sup>22</sup> Full reproduction of the copy in *P-Ln* Res. 253 P. at <<http://purl.pt/24656>> (accessed 5 April 2020). 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, at <<http://rpm-ns.pt/index.php/rpm/article/view/317/506>>.

<sup>23</sup> The *Cantus Analysis Tool* (accessed 8 April 2020), considering 109 sources, gives only one (*US-NDu* cod. Lat. b. 4, a thirteenth-century Carthusian diurnal) with the series in a different order and the antiphon *Exhortatus es* (2784) substituted with *Recordare mei* (4577), and another one (*I-MZ* 15/79, a twelfth-century antiphoner from Pavia, Italy) where the Benedictus antiphon is not *Traditor autem* (5169) but rather *De manu filiorum* (2111).



The series of antiphons for the Lesser Hours of Maundy Thursday and the third nocturn of Good Friday are also uncharacteristic given their wide dissemination.

A peculiarity that is immediately apparent in the Coimbra fragment is that the series of antiphons for Vespers of Maundy Thursday has a sixth antiphon, *De manu filiorum* (with Ps. 144), fully notated after the five antiphons common to Braga and Évora.<sup>24</sup> The Braga fragment only preserves the explicit of the antiphon *Custodi me a laqueo* followed by the antiphons *Considerabam ad dexteram* and *De manu filiorum*, but we can assume that the complete series was the same as in the Coimbra fragment.<sup>25</sup> This does not mean that six antiphons and six psalms were sung on Maundy Thursday, but that the antiphon in the sixth position, *De manu filiorum*, replaced the previous one, *Considerabam ad dexteram*, in the series for Good Friday (and, correspondingly, Ps. 141 was substituted with Ps. 144), even if the usual rubric explaining this scheme is not always unequivocal. As such, the actual series of antiphons for Vespers of Maundy Thursday and Good Friday in both fragments are the same as in Braga and Évora. However, the form in which they are presented is not identical, given that all known sources from Braga and Évora give the five-antiphon series for each of the first two *Triduum* days separately in their proper places. The presentation as a six-antiphon series in Maundy Thursday occurs in four relevant early sources: the antiphoner from Tavèrnoles (*E-Tc* Ms. 44.1), the *Aquitanian antiphoner* (*E-Tc* Ms. 44.2), the abridged antiphoner and the early-eleventh-century troper-proser from St Martial of Limoges (*F-Pn* Lat. 1085 and Lat. 1240 respectively). These two latter sources had originally a five-antiphon series ending with *De manu filiorum* (with Ps. 144),<sup>26</sup> which is the Good Friday series resulting from the replacement of the antiphon *Considerabam ad dexteram* with the antiphon *De manu filiorum*. In the later St Martial series, the antiphon *Considerabam* (with Ps. 141) appears in the fifth position as an interlineal addition in *F-Pn* Lat. 1085 and as a marginal addition in *F-Pn* Lat. 1240 (see Table 2). This strongly suggests a Limousin, possibly pre-Cluniac, origin for this particular scheme of Vespers antiphons and psalms of Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, which is retained in a few later Southern-French and Iberian sources.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> This series of five antiphons (1754, 2008, 1199, 2082, 1891) is by far the most widespread series for Vespers of Maundy Thursday. The *Cantus Index* (accessed 11 April 2020) records it in more than eighty sources.

<sup>25</sup> The six-antiphon series ending with *De manu filiorum* is the same in all known sources having it (1754, 2008, 1199, 2082, 1891, 2111). The *Cantus Index* (accessed 22 April 2020) records only nine sources containing this series.

<sup>26</sup> In the *Cantus Index* (accessed 11 April 2020), this series (1754, 2008, 1199, 2082, 2111) assigned to Maundy Thursday only appears in one antiphoner from Vercelli, Piedmont, northern Italy, *I-VCd* LXXIX, dated to the first half of the thirteenth century. One other coeval antiphoner also from Vercelli, *I-VCd* XXXVII, has the six-antiphon series with *Considerabam* in the fifth position. This latter series also appears in five more sources: one from Florence, one from Chiavenna in Lombardy, and three from the abbey of Prüm in the West Eifel or somehow connected to it.

<sup>27</sup> For instance, the late twelfth-century noted breviary *E-SI* Ms. 9, probably copied in Sahagún for San Rosendo de Celanova in Orense, Galicia, and, most telling, the fourteenth-century breviary from Arles-sur-Tech.

| <i>F-Pn</i> Lat. 1085 and Lat. 1240 original series <sup>28</sup> | <i>F-Pn</i> Lat. 1085 and Lat. 1240 later series, <i>E-Tc</i> Ms. 44.1 and Ms. 44.2, and the fragments | Braga and Évora              |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Calicem salutaris (1754)                                       | 1                                                                                                      | 1                            |
| 2. Cum his qui oderunt (2008)                                     | 2                                                                                                      | 2                            |
| 3. Ab hominibus iniquis (1199)                                    | 3                                                                                                      | 3                            |
| 4. Custodi me a laqueo (2082)                                     | 4                                                                                                      | 4                            |
| 5. De manu filiorum (2111)                                        | Considerabam ad dext- (1891)                                                                           | Considerabam ad dext- (1891) |
| —                                                                 | 5                                                                                                      | —                            |

**Table 2.** Vespers antiphons of Maundy Thursday

### The Versicles

The versicle of Vespers of Maundy Thursday in the Braga fragment, the uncommon ‘Acuerunt linguas suas sicut serpentes’ (007931),<sup>29</sup> is different from the versicle in the Coimbra fragment, ‘Christus factus est’ (800059), which is the same as in Braga and Évora, and equally rare.<sup>30</sup>

The third versicle of Matins of Good Friday in the Coimbra fragment is ‘Ab insurgentibus in me’ (007925), the same as in the abridged antiphoner of St Martial (*F-Pn* Lat. 1085) and in Évora, which is different from Braga, where this versicle is ‘Alieni surrexerunt in me’ (800477), the same as in the *Aquitanian antiphoner*.<sup>31</sup>

### The Rubrics

The rubrics in the Coimbra fragment, while written in an awkward Latin, are however related to, if not dependent on, the *Aquitanian antiphoner*, or the exemplars certainly copied from it. This is made clear by placing the text of both sources side by side.<sup>32</sup> First, the introduction to Vespers of Maundy Thursday, then the explanation of how to perform Vespers on Good Friday:

| <i>P-Cug</i> MM 1063 (79), f. Av                                                                                                                                    | <i>E-Tc</i> Ms. 44.2, f. 86v                                                                                                                                                            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Postea ad clero communionem tradite sibi ab episcopo sacerdote calice cum sacro sanguine. Incipiat diaconus hanc antiphona<br>[then follows: Calicem salutaris ...] | Post dictam a clero communjonem indito sibi ab episcopo siue a sacerdote. calicem cvm sacro sangvjne. incipjat diaconus.<br>[then follows: ad Vesperas antiphona Caljcem salutaris ...] |

<sup>28</sup> This is the same as the Good Friday series in all other sources considered.

<sup>29</sup> Of the CAO sources, only the ninth-century antiphoner from Compiègne, *F-Pn* Lat. 17436, have this versicle. According to the *Cantus Index* (accessed 21 April 2020), it also appears in the same position in an eleventh-century antiphoner from Quedlinburg in Saxony, *D-B* Mus. 40047, and a late thirteenth- or fourteenth-century breviary from St Martin of Tours, *F-TOm* Ms. 149.

<sup>30</sup> The *Cantus Index* (accessed 21 April 2020) records it in only nine sources, five of them from the Iberian Peninsula.

<sup>31</sup> Both these versicles seem to have had a very limited circulation. ‘Ab insurgentibus in me – Libera me Domine’ also appears in *F-AI* Ms. 44 and *E-Tc* Ms. 44.1 as the first versicle of Matins of Good Friday.

<sup>32</sup> This kind of kinship in the case of the *Soeiro* Breviary was already evinced by Rocha; see his ‘Les sources languedociennes’ (see note 10), pp. 196-8.

|                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                   |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>P-Cug</i> MM 1063 (79), f. Av                                                                                                                                 | <i>E-Tc</i> Ms. 44.2, f. 87r                                                                                                                      |
| In die parasceue omnia similiter fiant excepto quod ad uesperas quinto loco dimittatur et ponitur ad illum antiphona De manu filiorum alienorum libera me domine | In parasceve die omnia similiter ut in cena domini fiant excepto quod ad uesperas quinto loco dimittitur Considerabam et ponitur de manu filiorum |

The second rubric in the Coimbra fragment is particularly puzzling. Instead of ‘ad illum antiphona’, the scribe wrote in red the abbreviated indication for ‘ad Primam antiphona’ and notated in full ‘De manu filiorum ...’ as if it was a versicle, *recto tono* with a one-accent cadence, although no versicle is supposed to appear in that place.<sup>33</sup> The only possible explanation for this anomaly is that either the scribe or whoever dictated to him probably misinterpreted the exemplar because of the abbreviation for ‘illum’, which is the same as for ‘primam’—an ‘i’ with an upside down ‘m’ above. Had the scribe, or the dictator, understood it and the rubric would read: ‘ad uesperas quinto loco dimittatur [antiphona Considerabam] et ponitur ad illum [locum] antiphona De manu filiorum’. Its intended meaning is, after all, the same as that in the *Aquitanian antiphoner*.

The first rubrics in the Coimbra and the Braga fragments complement each other in the description of a ritual similar to that used in Braga and Évora and, indeed, in most Medieval uses, except the Roman: Vespers were performed before the completion of the evening Mass, between Communion and the Postcommunion prayer, which also serves as the collect of Vespers:<sup>34</sup> ‘Postea ad clero communionem [...] Incipiat diaconus hanc antiphona Calicem salutaris [...]’ [Coimbra fragment, f. Av nos. 8 and 9] and ‘Post uesperas sacerdos compleat missa cum oratione et sic finituum uespere’ [Braga fragment, f. r col. a, no. 6].

### The *Kyries tenebrarum*

The series of verses or tropes to the litany sung at the end of Lauds of Maundy Thursday in the Coimbra fragment—known as the *Kyries tenebrarum* and there, as is customary, labelled *preces*—is different from any of the series recorded in the relevant literature.<sup>35</sup> It is a four-verse series that consists of the first three verses and the sixth verse of the first series for Maundy Thursday in the

<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, ‘De manu filiorum... – Libera nos Domine’ (not ‘libera me’ as in the antiphon) is indeed a versicle (8004) that appears in a few northern and north-eastern sources assigned to second Vespers of Maundy Thursday.

<sup>34</sup> See, for instance, *Breuiarium bracharense* (in augusta Bracharensi ciuitate, per Johannem Gherlinc, 1494), f. [122]r, and *Missale secundum consuetudinem Elborensis ecclesie nouiter impressum* (Ulixipone, per Germanum Galhardum, 1509 [recte 1519]), ff. lxxix<sup>v</sup>-lxx[x]<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> 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; Jane Morlet HARDIE, ‘Kyries tenebrarum in Sixteenth-Century Spain’, *Nassarre: Revista Aragonesa de Musicología*, 4/1-2 (1988), pp. 161-94; 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), pp. 91-112, available at <<http://rpm-ns.pt/index.php/rpm/article/view/363/641>>.

*Aquitanian antiphoner*.<sup>36</sup> All known Portuguese sources containing the *Kyries tenebrarum* for the first day of the *Triduum* have either a six-verse series—the same as the first series in the *Aquitanian antiphoner*—or a three-verse series (with the first two verses combined into one longer verse in the case of sources related to the Royal Chapel).<sup>37</sup> Judging from the list in Pedro Romano Rocha's survey,<sup>38</sup> only one series have verse 'Agno mitti basia' directly following verse 'Qui prophetic':<sup>39</sup> that of Évreux, which has the six-verse series of the *Aquitanian antiphoner* but with this last verse in the fourth position. A few other uses have three-verse series for Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, the first one ending with verse 'Qui prophetic' and the second one beginning with 'Agno mitti basia': three from Great Britain including the use of Sarum, Auxerre, Silos, and the Dominican Order.<sup>40</sup> None of the four-verse series in Rocha's list (Monza, Rheinau, Salzburg, Würzburg, and St Bénigne de Dijon) include verse 'Agno mitti basia', nor they do have any verse series specifically for Good Friday and Holy Saturday. Therefore, given the available evidence, we can only hypothesize that the series in the Coimbra fragment is an abbreviated derivation of the Braga series for Maundy Thursday; being a four-verse series, it would likely be repeated on each of the *Triduum* days.<sup>41</sup>

The *Kyries tenebrarum* chant in the Coimbra fragment is the same as that found in other medieval and early sixteenth-century Portuguese sources.<sup>42</sup> Example 1 includes the melodic variants found in the early sixteenth-century antiphoners from Braga [BR] and a late thirteenth-century fragment from Évora [EV].<sup>43</sup> The major difference is in the response 'Domine miserere' on 'Domine' (and the corresponding place in 'Christus dominus' on 'mortem autem'), where the Coimbra fragment stands alone against all other sources; the same happens with the *f* on 'mortem', 'advenisti', and 'omnia'. Another unique reading to this fragment is in the first verse, 'Qui passurus', on 'propter nos', but this is probably due to an error of the scribe, who may have reversed the order of the liquescent *podatus*

<sup>36</sup> *E-Tc* Ms. 44.2 contains fifteen verses: one six-verse and one three-verse series for Maundy Thursday (nos. 25 19 26 31 29 1 and 14 15 30 respectively in Rocha's list; see his 'Les "tropes" ou versets' (see note 35), pp. 693-5), one three-verse series for Good Friday (12 4 11), and one three-verse series for Holy Saturday (10 8 28). These verses—almost half the known repertory—are the more common within the fifty-eight uses recorded in Rocha.

<sup>37</sup> ALVARENGA, 'Textual and Chant Traditions' (see note 35), pp. 93-7.

<sup>38</sup> ROCHA, 'Les "tropes" ou versets' (see note 35), pp. 694-5.

<sup>39</sup> This last verse in the fragment has a reading different from the usual—'ergo' instead of 'ero'—which, of course, cannot be counted as a variant but an error. Moreover, because of a lacuna, it is not possible to verify the first words of verse 'Qui expansis in cruce manibus', which in the early sixteenth-century antiphoners from Braga and a thirteenth-century fragment almost certainly from Évora read 'Qui expassis' instead; see ALVARENGA, 'Textual and Chant Traditions' (see note 35), p. 94.

<sup>40</sup> The three British series and the Dominican series for the *Triduum* are the same. This consists of the six verses from the first series of the *Aquitanian antiphoner* in the same order as in Évreux divided into two three-verse series, one for Maundy Thursday and the other one for Good Friday, with the series of Maundy Thursday being repeated on Holy Saturday.

<sup>41</sup> In Évora, like in Toledo, the entire six-verse series (25 19 26 31 29 1) is repeated on Good Friday and Holy Saturday; the six-verse series of Évreux (25 19 26 1 31 29) is also repeated the same way.

<sup>42</sup> See ALVARENGA, 'Textual and Chant Traditions' (see note 35), Example 1, pp. 98-9.

<sup>43</sup> *P-EVad* AHMEVR 98 and *P-BRc* Ms. 32 as a representative of the Braga antiphoners; for the Braga sources, see ALVARENGA, 'Textual and Chant Traditions' (see note 35), p. 97.

and the *punctum*. In ‘Christus dominus’ on ‘factus’, the variant reading *ab* seems unique to the Braga antiphoners (the reading in the Évora fragment is impossible to verify because of a lacuna). In verse ‘Qui propheticæ’ on ‘mors tua’, Braga and Évora have a different neumatic distribution (*punctum*, *clivis*). The liquescent *punctum* substituting the *oriscus* on ‘[e]leison’ is written in the Évora fragment as a liquescent *clivis* resulting in a liquescent *climacus* (*gfe*); Braga gives a *clivis pressus* (*ggf*).

### The Lectionary

The fact that the lessons of the first nocturn in the last three days of Holy Week, taken from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, are often subject to variation both in the choice and number of verses even in different sources from the same liturgical use makes significant the close matching of the Braga fragment with the breviaries from Braga. For Good Friday, the fragment gives Lam. 2: 5-6, 2: 7-10, and 2: 11-13, with no exordium and no peroration.<sup>44</sup> The only difference from the *Soeiro* breviary is that in this latter source the second lesson ends with Lam. 2: 9 and, consequently, the third lesson begins with Lam. 2: 10; the 1494 *Breuiarium bracharense* agrees with *Soeiro* except in the length of the third lesson, which in the first printed Braga breviary has one verse fewer, ending with Lam. 2: 12.<sup>45</sup>

The Braga fragment is arguably the oldest known Portuguese source containing a Lamentation tone. The characteristics of this particular tone are (see Example 2): the recurring intonation formula *mi sol-la* (pitches *e ga* or *a c'd'*); the sole reciting note, *a* (or *d'*); the three- and four-syllable cursive median cadences on the reciting note, half of them ascending, or inverted (*ga a*, or *c'd' d'*, and also *ab a*, or *d'e' d'*); and the final descending cadences on *g* (or *c'*) at the end of each verse but the last in each lesson; and the inverted cadence on *e* (or *a*) at the end of the last verse after an extended melisma. This tone is related to the fourth psalm-tone (same reciting note and pitch-goals), the Gloria XV (same intonation) and similar fourth-mode formulaic chants. All Hebrew letters but two have the same melodic contour: an ascending fourth leap from *mi* to *la* (pitches *e a* or *a d'*) followed by a descending stepwise fifth. Despite having a similar intonation formula (an ascending minor third followed by an ascending major second), this tone is not comparable to the so-called ‘Hispanic dominant tone’, which is in the second mode and often have two reciting notes.<sup>46</sup> I have found it in no other source so far.

<sup>44</sup> *Soeiro* also gives neither exordium nor peroration. The 1494 printed breviary gives the exordium ‘Incipiunt lamentationes’ before the first lesson of Maundy Thursday, which is common in early sixteenth-century Portuguese liturgical books, and the usual peroration, ‘Jerusalem, Jerusalem, convertere ad dominum deum tuum’, at the end of each lesson.

<sup>45</sup> Évora has the same selection as the late thirteenth-century noted breviary *P-Pm* Ms. 1151, which I believe is probably a Leonese manuscript from an area close to the Portuguese border; see João Pedro d’ALVARENGA, ‘The Liturgical Use and Chant Tradition of Évora Cathedral from a Fragment of a Thirteenth-Century Antiphoner’, *Portuguese Journal of Musicology*, new series, 5/2 (2018), pp. 299-314, at pp. 304-5, available at <<http://rpm-ns.pt/index.php/rpm/article/view/350/613>>.

<sup>46</sup> On the ‘Hispanic dominant tone’, see Manuel DEL SOL, ‘La tradición monódica hispana en las lamentaciones polifónicas del Renacimiento en España’ (Doctoral diss. Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2016), vol. 1, pp. 13-5, 20-7.

*P-Cug MM 1063 (79)*

BR, EV

Ky - ri - e lei - son. Chri - ste\_\_\_\_ lei - son. Ky - ri - e lei - son. Do-mi-ne mi-se - re-re.

BR (EV lac.) BR (EV lac.)

Chri-stus\_\_\_\_ do-mi - nus fa-ctus est o - be-di - ens us - que ad mor - tem mor-tem au-tem cru-cis.

BR (EV lac.)

Qui pas - su - rus\_\_ ad - ve - ni - sti\_\_\_\_ pro - pter nos.

EV BR BR, EV

[Qui ex - pas - sis in] cru-ce ma-[ni - bus tra-xi - sti] o-mni - a ad\_\_\_\_ te se-cu - la.

BR BR, EV

Qui pro - phe-ti - ce prom - psi - sti e - ro\_\_ mors tu - a o\_\_mors.

BR, EV EV BR

A - gno mit - ti\_\_\_\_ ba - si - a cu - i lu - pus\_\_\_\_ de - dit ve - ne - no - sa.

**Example 1.** The *Kyries tenebrarum* chant in the Coimbra fragment

He. \_\_\_\_\_ Fa-ctus est dominus velut i - ni - mi - cus pre - ci - pitavit Is - ra - el

pre - ci - pitavit omnia meni-a \_\_\_\_\_ e - ius dis - si - pa - vit mu - ni - ti - o - nes e - ius et replevit in fili-a Iu - da

humi - li - a - tum et hu-mi - li - a - tam. \_\_\_\_\_

Vau. \_\_\_\_\_ Et dis - sipavit quasi hortum tentori-um su - um de-mo - litus est tabernacu-lum su - um

ob - li - vioni tradidit dominus in Sion festivitatem et sab - ba - tum et op - pro-bri - o in in - di - gna - ti - o - nem

furo - ris su - i re-gem et \_\_\_\_\_ sa-cer-do-tem. \_\_\_\_\_

Zain. \_\_\_\_\_

Lamed. \_\_\_\_\_

[end of Lesson II]

vir - gi - nes Je - ru - sa - lem. \_\_\_\_\_

[end of Lesson III]

quis me - de - bi - tur tu - i. \_\_\_\_\_

**Example 2.** The Lamentation tone in the Braga fragment

The lessons of the third nocturn of Good Friday given by the Coimbra fragment are taken from the Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews, starting with chapter 4, pericope 11, ‘Festinemus (ergo) ingredi’, in line with Cluny, all Braga breviaries except *Soeiro*,<sup>47</sup> and Évora. However, the length of the pericopes in the fragment does not match Braga but Évora instead (see Table 3).

<sup>47</sup> Unlike all other sources from Braga, the *Soeiro* breviary uses the same patristic sermon in the second and third nocturns.

|   | <i>P-Cug</i> MM 1063 (79)                           | Braga 1494                                                             | Évora 1528                                          |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 7 | 4: 11-13a. Festinemus ingredi – in conspecto eius.  | 4: 11-15. Festinemus ergo ingredi – similitudine absque peccato.       | 4: 11-13a. Festinemus ingredi – in conspecto eius.  |
| 8 | 4: 13b-16. Omnia autem nuda – in auxilio opportuno. | 4: 16-5: 5. Adeamus ergo cum fiducia – ego hodie genui te.             | 4: 13b-16. Omnia autem nuda – in auxilio opportuno. |
| 9 | 5: 1-[?]. Omnis nanque pontifex – [?]               | 5: 6-11. Quemadmodum et in alio – imbecilles facti estis ad audiendum. | 5: 1-5. Omnis nanque pontifex – ego hodie genui te. |

**Table 3.** Good Friday, lessons of the third nocturn: Heb. 4, 5

Regarding the second nocturn, although both fragments under consideration present portions of Augustine's *Enarratio in Psalmum* 63, none of them match any of the known sources from Braga, where the incipit in Good Friday is 'Considerantes autem omnem circumstantiam' (see Table 4).<sup>48</sup>

The Coimbra fragment agrees with Évora, not only in the incipit but also in the distribution of the patristic pericopes among lessons. The incipit, 'Videamus ergo quid factum sit', which is the end of the commentary to verse 3, followed by verse 4, 'Quia exacerunt ut gladium' and part of the respective commentary, is the same as in the breviary copied in Sahagún for Celanova.<sup>49</sup>

The incipit of the Braga fragment, verse 3, 'Protexisti me a conventu', followed by the commentary 'Iam ipsum caput', is the same as in the tenth-century lectionary of St Martial of Limoges,<sup>50</sup> although in this latter source the lessons are much longer.

|   | <i>P-Cug</i> MM 1063 (79)             | <i>P-BRd</i> Frag. 7                                         | Braga 1494 <sup>51</sup>                       | Évora 1528                            |
|---|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 4 | [Videamus ergo] – viderentur immunes. | Protexisti me – et filius dei est                            | Considerantes autem – occidisse iudicemur.     | Videamus ergo – viderentur immunes.   |
| 5 | Nam cum dixisset – manibus liberaret. | Filius dei propter formam – occidere dominum ihesum christum | His omnibus curationibus – viderentur immunes. | Nam cum dixisset – manibus liberaret. |
| 6 | Nam propterea – Nullo modo.           | [Tanta opera bona inquit – ?]                                | Nam cum dixisset – intelligamus perturbamur.   | Nam propterea – Nullo modo.           |

**Table 4.** Good Friday, lessons of the second nocturn: Aug. *Enarrat. in Ps.* 63

<sup>48</sup> See ROCHA, *L'Office Divin* (see note 7), pp. 460-5.

<sup>49</sup> *E-SI* Ms. 9. The lessons of Good Friday in this manuscript are as follows: Lec. 4: Videamus ergo quid factum – gladium linguas suas; Lec. 5: Non dicant iudei – refundere volebant; Lec. 6: Sed nunquid <deum> iudicem – ex eorum manibus liberaret.

<sup>50</sup> *F-Pn* Lat. 740, *Lectionarium officii ad usum Sancti Martialis Lemovicensis*, f. 180v, available at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8432464t>> (accessed 30 April 2020); the lessons of Good Friday are as follows: Lec. 4: Protexisti me – animam non occiderunt; Lec. 5: Intendite. Parum ergo – vere filius dei est, liberet eum; Lec. 6: Videamus ergo – cum flagellatum viderent.

<sup>51</sup> *Soeiro* gives on Good Friday: Lec. 4: Considerantes autem – quando clamaverunt; Lec. 5: Apparitores potestatis – obtemperando administrabant; Lec. 6: Ipsum est totum – fallit ut feriat.



The breviaries of Sahagún/Celanova, Braga, and Évora follow the Cluniac use by starting the first lesson of the second nocturn of Maundy Thursday with the verse ‘Exaudi deus orationem meam’ directly followed by verse ‘Protexisti me a conventu’, thus omitting the connective commentary. However, regardless of the length of each lesson, the breviaries of Braga (like the breviary of Moissac<sup>52</sup>) are the only sources that stick to the incipits of the lectionary of Cluny on each of the *Triduum* days.<sup>53</sup>

The tenth-century lectionary of St Martial does not follow Cluny in that the first lesson of the second nocturn of Maundy Thursday does not omit the commentary to verse ‘Exaudi deus’, and verse ‘Protexisti me’ only appears at the start of the second nocturn of Good Friday.<sup>54</sup>

### Origin of the fragments

Despite the unique versicle of Vespers of Maundy Thursday, the only significant difference between the Braga fragment and the sources from Braga, namely the *Soeiro* breviary and the 1494 printed breviary, lies in the choice of texts for the lessons of the second nocturn of Good Friday. Although they all are taken from Augustine’s *Enarratio in Psalmum* 63, it is clear that the breviaries from Braga drawn their texts from Cluniac exemplars while the fragment used a non-Cluniac source possibly from St Martial of Limoges before its affiliation to Cluny in 1062. One should however bear in mind that only in the second half of the fifteenth century did the Braga temporal lectionary stabilise.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, given particularly the background of the second archbishop of Braga, Maurice, a former monk of St Martial of Limoges and an abbot of St Peter in Uzerche in the south Limousin, who has been the bishop of Coimbra between 1099 and 1109, it is not unlike that non-Cluniac Limousin lectionaries and Cluniac lectionaries brought through Moissac or a reformed Leonese monastery like Sahagún coexisted within the diocese in the early period

<sup>52</sup> *F-Pic* Ms. Lat. 1, latter half of the thirteenth century.

<sup>53</sup> *F-Pn* nouv. acq. Lat. 2246, *Lectionarium officii ad usum Sancti Petri Cluniacensis*, late eleventh century (c.1090-1100), available at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85710847>> (accessed 5 May 2020). The first lesson of the second nocturn has the following incipits: *Exaudi deus* (Maundy Thursday); *Considerantes autem* (Good Friday); *Perscrutati sunt iniquitatem* (Holy Saturday). The same with the lectionary of Sahagún, *E-Mh* Cód. 9, late twelfth century, available at <<http://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/es/consulta/registro.do?id=93>> (accessed 5 May 2020). Like the *Soeiro* breviary, the lectionary of Sahagún also uses the same patristic sermon for the second and third nocturns.

<sup>54</sup> *F-Pn* Lat. 740. The incipits of the first lesson of the second nocturn are as follows: *Exaudi deus* (Maundy Thursday); *Protexisti me* (Good Friday); *Exacuerunt tamquam gladium* (Holy Saturday).

<sup>55</sup> ROCHA, *L’Office Divin* (see note 7), p. 459, draws attention to the fact that in the last three days of Holy Week the breviaries of Braga present either two series of texts (the Lamentations in the first nocturn and a patristic sermon in the second and third nocturns), or three series of texts (the Lamentations in the first nocturn, a patristic sermon in the second nocturn, and an Epistle of Paul in the third nocturn). The *Soeiro* breviary and the so-called ‘*Duques de Palmela*’ breviary (1431-57, *P-BRs* s.s.) use the first scheme; the so-called ‘*Fernão Duarte*’ breviary (1450-70, *E-E* e-IV-10), all the later printed breviaries, and a fragment from a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century noted breviary, *P-BRam* Códices n.º 8 (studied in Pedro Romano ROCHA, ‘As Vésperas pascais na liturgia bracarense’, *Theologica*, 11 (1976), pp. 61-79), present the second scheme. For a summary description, inventory and reproduction of this fragment, see the *Portuguese Early Music Database (PEM)* at <<http://pemdatabase.eu/source/42886>> (accessed 5 May 2020).

when the use of Braga was being shaped and shaping the uses of the dioceses it actually administered. Therefore, it is quite possible that this fragment is from Braga and that it was part of a book that, even if not directly, contributed to the later breviaries and antiphoners of Braga.

The Coimbra fragment has its core-texts in common with Braga. However, the Maundy Thursday series of verses for the *Kyries tenebrarum* is apparently unique to this fragment. Also, the versicle of the third nocturn and the lessons of the second and third nocturns of Good Friday are different from Braga but entirely agree with the 1528 Évora breviary. It seems, then, that the Coimbra fragment is most likely neither from Braga nor Évora. Évora was a late recipient tradition and a highly conservative one regarding the preservation of imported texts and rituals. Therefore, it is quite likely that the texts common to the fragment and Évora represent the use that contributed to the use of Évora.<sup>56</sup> We know that when Bishop Dom Paio, a former Augustinian Canon Regular, created the chapter in Évora Cathedral on 24 April 1200, he took Coimbra Cathedral for its model. Évora also received a number of liturgical formularies from Coimbra. For instance, the Office of the Dead in Évora follows the use of Coimbra Cathedral in Vespers and Lauds, and the use of St Rufus as adopted in the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Matins with only small differences.<sup>57</sup> In the case of the origin of the Coimbra fragment, however, Santa Cruz must be ruled out, because its series of *Triduum* responsories is different, the tropes to the litany at the end of Lauds were not known to its liturgy, and in the second nocturn of the last three days of Holy Week its breviaries present not Augustine's but Cassiodorus's commentary on Psalm 63. Consequently, the liturgical use represented by the Coimbra fragment cannot be any other than that of Coimbra Cathedral (although the fragment may have come from one of the city's collegiate parish churches).

### Chant idioms

Previous studies on the daily Office chant repertory have shown that Braga follows the Aquitanian-Iberian tradition represented particularly by the antiphoners *E-Tc* Ms. 44.1 and Ms. 44.2, and the noted breviary copied in Sahagún for Celanova, *E-SI* Ms. 9. Closeness, kinship, or even identity, with each of these manuscripts does not seem to involve complete formularies but rather separate genres. This supposes that between Braga and those manuscripts there were either intermediate exemplars or common ancestors, such as *libelli* containing full series of antiphons and responsories. For instance, in the case of Saturday of Ember Days in Advent, the sources from Braga are on the whole closer to *E-Tc* Ms. 44.1 followed very closely by *P-Pm* Ms. 1151 (most certainly a Leonese breviary close to, if not of the same orbit as, the breviary of Sahagún/Celanova, *E-SI* Ms. 9). The same happens if we consider only

<sup>56</sup> Some exemplary cases showing that Évora better preserved the texts it received than the traditions where those texts came from are referred to in ALVARENGA, 'The Office of the Dead' (see note 22), p. 186.

<sup>57</sup> See ALVARENGA, 'The Office of the Dead' (see note 22), pp. 189-90.

the antiphons. However, if we look at the responsories alone, the positions are reversed, with *P-Pm* Ms. 1151 being the closest to Braga. In either case, *E-Tc* Ms. 44.2 always appears distant, but not so distant when we consider only the antiphons.<sup>58</sup> The same kind of kinship between Braga and *E-Tc* Ms. 44.1 and the slight distancing of *E-Tc* Ms. 44.2 are also noticed by Manuel Pedro Ferreira in his study of the responsory *Quare detraxistis* in a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century fragment from Lamego.<sup>59</sup> The study of the three antiphons for the third nocturn of Maundy Thursday and of responsory *Eram quasi agnus* reveals a somewhat different situation. Concerning the antiphons, there is a close kinship, and even identity, between Braga and both *E-SI* Ms. 9 and *E-Tc* Ms. 44.2. Regarding the responsory, there is greater closeness between Braga and *E-Tc* Ms. 44.2, with Ms. 44.1 right behind. This study has moreover revealed that the chant idiom in Évora, although following now Braga, now Sahagún/Celanova, also incorporates north-eastern French elements. This is a characteristic of the border regions of the Aquitanian tradition, namely the Limousin and Provence.<sup>60</sup>

It is not possible to compare the two common responsories appearing in both the Braga and the Coimbra fragments (*Tamquam ad latronem* and *Tenebrae factae sunt*) because they are mostly illegible in the latter source. However, the five responsories in the Braga fragment virtually match the reading in the early sixteenth-century Braga antiphoners.

The only two responsories in the Coimbra fragment that are readable, *O Juda* and *Judas mercator*—precisely those that give the Braga series of Good Friday its uniqueness—do not follow the reading of the Braga sources in a number of places. A detailed examination of the respond section of the first of these responsories is given below (see Example 3). In addition to manuscripts *E-Tc* Ms. 44.1 (Septimanian-Catalonian, c.1020-3), *E-Tc* Ms. 44.2 (Occitanic-Iberian, known as ‘*Aquitanian antiphoner*’, c.1095), *F-Pn* Lat. 775 (Limoges, later half of the eleventh century), and *F-Pn* Lat. 1088 (1) (St Martial of Limoges, late thirteenth-fourteenth century), briefly described after Table 1 above, the following sources are also used for comparison purposes:

*F-ME* Ms. 83—Antiphoner, Abbey of Saint-Arnould in Metz, thirteenth century.<sup>61</sup>

*F-Pn* Lat. 784—Antiphoner, Limoges, late fourteenth century.<sup>62</sup>

*F-TOm* Ms. 149—Noted breviary, St Martin of Tours, late thirteenth-fourteenth century.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>58</sup> João Pedro d’ALVARENGA, ‘Fragmento de um breviário notado bracarense do século XIII’, in *Estudos de Musicologia* (Lisboa, Colibri, 2002), pp. 11-33.

<sup>59</sup> Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, ‘Three Fragments from Lamego’, *Revista de Musicologia*, 16/1 (1993), pp. 457-76.

<sup>60</sup> ALVARENGA, ‘The Liturgical Use and Chant Tradition of Évora Cathedral’ (see note 45).

<sup>61</sup> Full reproduction at <<https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fbvmm.irht.cnrs.fr%2Fiiif%2F23579%2Fmanifest>> (accessed 13 May 2020).

<sup>62</sup> Full reproduction at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9078125w>> (accessed 13 May 2020).

<sup>63</sup> See the indexing in the *Cantus Manuscript Database* at <<http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123640>> and a full reproduction at <<http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=4898>> (both accessed 13 May 2020).

*P-AR* Res. Ms. 21—Antiphoner, Cistercian use, probably copied in Alcobaça, used in Arouca, c. 1200.<sup>64</sup>

*P-BRC* Ms. 32—Antiphoner, Braga Cathedral, early sixteenth century (c. 1510-20).<sup>65</sup>

The transcription of the respond section of *O Judo* in four sources is given in full in Example 3: the Coimbra fragment in the lower stave; Braga in the stave immediately above; St Martin of Tours, as a representative of western and northern-central France (but not including Paris<sup>66</sup>), in the top stave; and Arouca, as a representative of the Cistercian tradition and north-eastern France, in the third stave from above. The variant readings recorded in staves three to seven from below refer to the version in the Braga antiphoner, represented by *P-BRC* Ms. 32; those in the second stave from above refer to the Cistercian antiphoner.

Example 3 shows the transcription of the respond section of *O Judo* in four sources, with variant readings recorded in staves three to seven from below. The sources are:

- F-TOM* Ms. 149 (Coimbra fragment)
- F-ME* Ms. 83 (Braga antiphoner)
- P-AR* Res. Ms. 21 (Cistercian antiphoner)
- F-Pn* Lat. 784 (St Martin of Tours antiphoner)
- F-Pn* Lat. 775 (St Martin of Tours antiphoner)
- F-Pn* Lat. 1088 (1) (St Martin of Tours antiphoner)
- E-Tc* Ms. 44.1 (St Martin of Tours antiphoner)
- E-Tc* Ms. 44.2 (St Martin of Tours antiphoner)
- P-BRC* Ms. 32 (Braga antiphoner)
- P-Cug* MM 1063 (79) (Coimbra fragment)

<sup>64</sup> Summary description, indexing, and full reproduction on the *PEM Database* at <<http://pemdatabase.eu/source/24607>> (accessed 13 May 2020).

<sup>65</sup> Summary description, indexing, and full reproduction on the *PEM Database* at <<http://pemdatabase.eu/source/2902>> (accessed 13 May 2020).

<sup>66</sup> Although the breviary from St Martin of Tours corresponds quite closely in its organisation and selection of chants to the Notre Dame of Paris breviary as represented by *F-Pn* Lat. 15181, the melodic idiom in this latter source, as in other Parisian sources, is much closer to north-eastern exemplars; see, for instance, the mid twelfth-century antiphoner of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis, *F-Pn* Lat. 17296, indexed on the *MMMO Database* at <<http://musmed.eu/source/13486>>, with reproduction of the relevant folio at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000532c/f269.item>> (both accessed 14 May 2020).

g<sup>4</sup> 15

8 - - is con - si - li - - a - tus es tri - gin - ta ar - gen - te - - is

8 - - is con - si - li - - a - tus es tri - gin - ta ar - gen - te - - is

8 - - is con - si - li - - a - tus es tri - gin - ta ar - gen - te - - is

8 - - is con - si - li - - a - tus es tri - gin - ta ar - gen - te - - is

j<sup>4</sup> 19

8 ven - di - di - sti san - gui - nem iu - stum \*Et pa - cem os - cu - lo

8 ven - di - di - sti san - gui - nem iu - stum \*Et pa - cis os - cu - lum

pa - cis os - cu - lum

pa - cis os - cu - lum

pa - cis os - cu - lo

os - cu - lum

pa - cis os - cu - lum

8 ven - di - di - sti san - gui - nem iu - stum \*Et pa - cem os - cu - lo

8 ven - di - di - sti san - gui - nem iu - stum \*Et pa - cem os - cu - lo

The image shows a musical score for the respond section of *O Juda*. It consists of several staves of music. The top staff is labeled with 'g' and 'G1' above it. The lyrics are: 'fe-re - bas quam in pe-cto - - re non ha - - - be - bas.' The music is written in a style that includes many repeated notes and slurs, indicating a specific melodic contour. There are also some rests and a 'quod' marking. The bottom staff also has the same lyrics: 'fe-re - - - bas quam in pe-cto - - re non ha - - - be - bas.' The notation includes various note values and rests, with some notes being repeated.

**Example 3.** The respond section of *O Juda*

As expected, Braga follows the *Aquitanian antiphoner*, *E-Tc* 44.2, except in three small details (the first two being indeed negligible): the liquescence that disappeared from the beginning of elements g3 and k4 (on the last syllable of ‘consilium’ and ‘et’, respectively), and the second note of the *distropha* on ‘non’ (a liquescent *distropha* in some sources) at the closing element G1 that slipped to the lower semitone, having caused the prevalent reading of two repeated notes to become a *clivis*.<sup>67</sup> *E-Tc* 44.1 appears slightly distanced from Braga, even if all the disagreements between the two sources are somewhat trivial and do not imply real changes in melodic contour. The most noticeable variant readings are on the middle syllable of ‘consiliatus es’ in element g4, where *E-Tc* 44.1 lacks a descending passing note (this being a unique reading and thus possibly a slip of the scribe), and the beginning of element j4 on ‘vendidisti sanguinem’, where *E-Tc* 44.1 and the late antiphoner from St Martial (*F-Pn* Lat. 1088) go together.

One should note the variable readings in the sources from Limoges, particularly in non-standard element-phrases, which I believe are not so much the result of the different manuscripts’

<sup>67</sup> Labelling of the element-phrases in the great responsories follows Katherine Eve HELSEN, ‘The Great Responsories of the Divine Office: Aspects of Structure and Transmission’, 1 vol. and 1 CD-Rom (Ph.D. diss. Universität Regensburg, 2008); see particularly pp. 57-60 for the nomenclature of structural elements.

dates and origins but rather of the fact that the Limousin is a region of exchange between north and south and one of the border regions of the Aquitanian chant tradition. Despite a few concordances in the points of variation—such as on the last syllable of ‘iustum’ before the *presa*, where *F-Pn* Lat. 1088 and Lat. 775 go together with *F-TOm* Ms. 149 while *F-Pn* Lat. 784 stands alone—the source from St Martial is closer to southern readings, and the sources from Limoges Cathedral are more absorbent of northern readings. See, for instance, as an example of the first case, the aforementioned coincidence of *F-Pn* Lat. 1088 and *E-Tc* 44.1 on ‘vendidisti sanguinem’, and, as an example of the latter case, the *torculus* on the last syllable of ‘dereliquisti’ in both *F-Pn* Lat. 775 and Lat. 784, the same as in St Martin of Tours (*F-TOm* Ms. 149) and all other northern and north-eastern sources consulted.

The Coimbra fragment stands alone in a number of places. Some of the unique readings are apparently not significant and can be the result of reception: on the third syllable of ‘dereliquisti’ there is a *podatus* instead of a single *punctum*;<sup>68</sup> on ‘Et’ at the start of the *presa*, the universal *torculus resupinus* is condensed into a *podatus*; and the last syllable of ‘osculo’ has the melisma expanded by the repeating its last two notes.

The first important variant is at the beginning of the respond on the first syllable of ‘Juda’. Such a rendering of this seventh-mode standard element-phrase, typically Aquitanian-Iberian because it expresses the semitone and emphasises its lower note, can however be found in Braga, for instance, in the responsory *Eram quasi agnus*, which also has the same initial element L1.<sup>69</sup> Braga does not always agree with itself, even in standard elements a few folios away in the same manuscript, but this can also be seen in its hypothetical chant archetypes, like *E-Tc* 44.1 and 44.2. Perhaps the fact that *O Juda* is an extra responsory in both these early manuscripts (no. 10 for Good Friday in the first and no. 11 for Maundy Thursday in the latter), and thus possibly an addition to the original series, can explain the Lotharingian idiom of its opening formula, as found in the antiphoner from Metz, and also in sources from previous areas, like Limoges.

The second place of significant disagreement is at the beginning of element g3 on ‘consilium’. It is quite possible that the scribe misread his exemplar, or was misled by the dictator, and wrote the neumes a second up from their proper pitch. If corrected, the passage agrees with the noted breviary from St Martin of Tours and the concordance extends up to the first syllable of the next word, ‘paci’, except for the last note, a *c*’ that, as typically in the Aquitanian-Iberian idiom, slipped to *b*.

<sup>68</sup> A *podatus* at this point in seventh-mode responsories initial element L1 (the unaccented syllable before the last accented syllable) is however often found, for instance in the late twelfth-century antiphoner from Marseille Cathedral, *F-Pn* Lat. 1090, in responsories *Ego quasi agnus*, f. 67v, and *Ecce vicit leo*, f. 77r, at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60007359/f146.item>> and <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60007359/f165.item>> respectively (accessed 28 April 2021), among others.

<sup>69</sup> This can also be found in central-Italian Franciscan manuscripts.

Another place where the Coimbra fragment stands alone is in element g, which sets the text 'ferebas quam in pectore'. Being a non-standard element, a higher degree of variance among sources is expected. However, on 'ferebas', a problem of misreading, or mishearing, might have happened again. If the *clivis* is adjusted to the range of a third instead of a second and, keeping the relative position of its lower note, is transposed up along with the following *podatus* and the final *punctum*, the reading would become similar to both Braga (and, hence, also *E-Tc* 44.1 and 44.2) and St Martin of Tours (bearing in mind that all other readings at this word end with a repeated note). Other points where the reading in the Coimbra fragment agrees with central-northern and, indeed at these particular places, also north-eastern, readings is on 'sanguinem' in element j4 and 'pacem' in element l9.

It seems, then, that the scenario with this fragment is similar to the one found in a somewhat later fragment from Évora:<sup>70</sup> chant is well rooted in the Aquitanian tradition but also incorporates central and north-eastern traits, suggesting an origin different from that of the chant in Braga.

Misalignment of the Coimbra fragment with the tradition of Braga and its chant archetypes and the mixed character of its melodic idiom can be better seen in the second-mode responsory *Judas mercator*, at the beginning of the initial element C1 on 'Judas' and element d1 except the cadence on 'osculo (osculum) petiit', two points of variation where the different traditions are clearly separated, with northern and north-eastern, including Cistercian, sources leaning to avoiding the ascending *mi-fa* step, and central-Italian, including early Franciscan, and Aquitanian-Iberian sources showing as two cohesive groups (see Example 4). In addition to the manuscripts already referred to (*E-Tc* 44.1 and 44.2, *F-ME* Ms. 83, *P-AR* Res. Ms. 21, and *P-BRc* Ms. 32), the following ones are also used for the purpose of comparison:

*D-Mbs* Clm 4303—Antiphoner, Benedictine use, monastery of SS Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg, 1459, representing the tradition of the Benedictine monastery of Subiaco in central Italy.<sup>71</sup>

*F-CA* 38 (olim 40)—Antiphoner, Cambrai Cathedral, northern France, c.1235-45.<sup>72</sup>

*F-AS* 893 (olim 465)—Noted breviary, monastery of St Vaast in Arras (which, although independent, was not impervious to Cluniac influence), northern France, fourteenth century.<sup>73</sup>

*I-Ac* 693—Noted breviary, Franciscan use, central Italy, first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>70</sup> *P-EVad* AHMEVR 98; see ALVARENGA, 'The Liturgical Use and Chant Tradition of Évora Cathedral' (see note 45).

<sup>71</sup> See the *Cantus Manuscript Database* at <<https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123681>> and a full reproduction at <[https://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil\\_Fak\\_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/microfilm/clm4303/index.html](https://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/microfilm/clm4303/index.html)> (both accessed 15 May 2020).

<sup>72</sup> See the *Cantus Manuscript Database* at <<https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123601>> and a full reproduction at <<https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=19286>> (both accessed 15 May 2020).

<sup>73</sup> See the *Cantus Manuscript Database* at <<https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123593>> and a full reproduction at <<https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/24878/canvas/canvas-2562780/view>> (both accessed 15 May 2020).



*F-CA* 38 (olim 40)  
*F-AS* 893  
*F-ME* Ms. 83  
*P-AR* Res. Ms. 21  
*D-Mbs* Clm 4303  
*F-Ac* 693  
*P-BRc* Ms. 32  
*E-Tc* Ms. 44.1, Ms. 44.2  
*P-Cug* MM 1063 (79)

Ju - das os - cu - lo pe - ti - it

**Example 4.** Two points of variation in the respond section of *Judas mercator*

*F-Pn* Lat. 12044  
*F-Pn* Lat. 784  
*F-Pn* Lat. 775  
*P-Cug* MM 1063 (79)  
*P-BRd* Frag. 7  
*E-Tc* Ms. 44.1  
*P-BRc* Ms. 32  
*E-Tc* Ms. 44.2

de - dit dis-ci-pu-lis

Ce-nan-ti-bus au - tem ac-ce-pit Ie-sus pa - nem be-ne-di-xit ac fre-git de - dit dis-ci-pu-lis su-is.

**Example 5.** The Magnificat antiphon *Cenantibus autem*

Examination of the antiphons is also illustrative of the differences between the Coimbra fragment and Braga and the permeation of the first by northern elements. The Magnificat antiphon for Maundy Thursday, *Cenantibus autem*, is transcribed in Example 5.<sup>75</sup> One more source is considered for comparison:

<sup>74</sup> See the *Cantus Manuscript Database* at <<https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123670>> and a full reproduction at <[http://www.internetculturale.it/jmms/iccuviewer/iccu.jsp?id=oai%3Awww.internetculturale.sbn.it/Teca%3A20%3ANT0000%3APG0213\\_ms.693&mode=all&teca=MagTeca%2B-%2BICCU](http://www.internetculturale.it/jmms/iccuviewer/iccu.jsp?id=oai%3Awww.internetculturale.sbn.it/Teca%3A20%3ANT0000%3APG0213_ms.693&mode=all&teca=MagTeca%2B-%2BICCU)> (both accessed 15 May 2020).

<sup>75</sup> See also the *Antiphonale Synopticum* at <<http://gregorianik.uni-regensburg.de/an/#id/916>> (accessed 10 May 2020).

*F-Pn* Lat. 12044—Antiphoner, St Maur-des-Fossés, early twelfth century.<sup>76</sup>

In this antiphon, the early sixteenth-century antiphoner from Braga entirely agrees with the *Aquitanian antiphoner*, *E-Tc* 44.2; the Braga fragment, however, because of the placement of a low note on the first syllable of 'discipulis', goes with *E-Tc* 44.1 instead. The Coimbra fragment, in the first clause up to 'Jesus', is in line with the Aquitanian-Iberian reading. However, the cadence on 'panem' and all the second clause seems to have come from the Limousin versions, which, in turn, and particularly that in the late antiphoner *F-Pn* Lat. 784, are indebted to northern readings.

The first antiphon for Vespers of Maundy Thursday, *Calicem salutaris*, reveals the same phenomenon of juxtaposition of contrasting elements. Example 6 gives all the variant details in some of the main Aquitanian-Iberian sources, including Braga and also Évora, below the version of the Coimbra fragment; this and Évora are transcribed in full; the Limousin sources, including St Martial, and St Maur-des-Fossés are given in the upper staves.<sup>77</sup> Three more sources of the Aquitanian-Iberian group are considered in the collation (one of them, the Sahagún/Celanova breviary, already referred to above):

*E-SAu* Ms. 2637—Plenary missal, possibly from Astorga in Léon (a suffragan diocese of Braga), last quarter of the twelfth century.<sup>78</sup>

*E-SI* Ms. 9—Noted breviary, probably copied in Sahagún for San Rosendo de Celanova in Orense, Galicia, late twelfth century (1180-90).<sup>79</sup>

*E-Tc* Ms. 35.9—Noted breviary, unknown origin, used in Toledo Cathedral, late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

The sources from Évora are the following:

*P-EVad* AHMEVR 98—Fragment of an antiphoner, probably from Évora Cathedral, later half of the thirteenth century.<sup>80</sup>

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

<sup>76</sup> See the *Cantus Manuscript Database* at <<https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123628>> and a full reproduction at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000531z/f195.item>> (both accessed 10 May 2020).

<sup>77</sup> See also the *Antiphonale Synopticum* at <<http://gregorianik.uni-regensburg.de/an/#id/911>> (accessed 10 May 2020).

<sup>78</sup> See the description, indexing and full reproduction on the *PEM Database* at <<http://pemdatabase.eu/source/4126>> (accessed 10 May 2020). The most recent study on this manuscript is 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, at <<http://rpm-ns.pt/index.php/rpm/article/view/301/448>>. The hypothesis of the origin in Astorga was recently put forward by Manuel Pedro Ferreira.

<sup>79</sup> See the indexation on *Musica Hispanica* at <<http://musicahispanica.eu/source/19722>> (accessed 10 May 2020).

<sup>80</sup> Already referred to above; see ALVARENGA, 'The Liturgical Use and Chant Tradition of Évora Cathedral' (see note 45); summary description, indexing and full reproduction of this fragment on the *PEM Database* at <<http://pemdatabase.eu/source/1786>> (accessed 10 May 2020).

*F-Pn Lat. 12044*  
*F-Pn Lat. 1088 (1)*  
*F-Pn Lat. 784*  
*F-Pn Lat. 775*  
*P-Cug MM 1063 (79)*  
 Ca - li-cem sa - lu - ta - ris ac - ci - pi - am et no - men do - mi - ni in - vo - ca - bo.  
*E-SAu Ms. 2637*  
*E-Tc Ms. 44.1*  
*E-SI Ms. 9*  
*E-Tc Ms. 44.2*  
*E-Tc Ms. 35.9*  
*P-BRc Ms. 32*  
*P-EVad AHMEVR 98*  
*P-EVc Cód. Perg. Lit. 8*

**Example 6.** The antiphon *Calicem salutaris*

It is interesting to note that Braga does not agree with neither *E-Tc* 44.2 nor *E-Tc* 44.1, and is unusually removed from *E-SI* Ms. 9, particularly in the second clause. It is indeed closer to the Astorga missal (*E-SAu* Ms. 2637), but with the cadence formula as in the Toledo breviary (*E-Tc* Ms. 35.9). Évora (whose reading seems to have remained stable between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries) is concordant with the early Limoges breviary (*F-Pn* Lat. 775) up to the first syllable of ‘nomen’, but from there unto the end it is closer to the Astorga missal, the only difference with this latter source being the *torculus* instead of the *clivis* on the second syllable of the last word, ‘invocabo’. As for the Coimbra fragment, its first clause is entirely concordant with both *E-Tc* Ms. 44.2 and Ms. 35.9. The second clause, however, agrees with the Limoges version, which at this point is the same as the northern reading. The case with both antiphons in the Coimbra

fragment seems to be the same: an idiomatic Aquitanian-Iberian opening clause, and a second clause depending on northern-derived elements (interestingly enough, the case with Évora is the reverse in the second antiphon considered). Even if they are rooted in the Aquitanian tradition, the miscegenation in the responsories and the juxtaposition of southern and northern-derived elements in the antiphons are strongly indicative of a contaminated idiom, usually found in the border regions of a melodic tradition.

Although the use of Braga, of which the now-lost Braga fragment is an early witness, and the Medieval use represented in the Coimbra fragment—almost certainly that of Coimbra Cathedral—have a common matrix (and hence their sharing of common core-texts), their secondary elements and respective chant repertories had clearly different origins, actually shaping two distinct uses. However, from at least the middle of the fourteenth century, the liturgy of Coimbra Cathedral gradually adopted elements of the liturgy of Braga until the two uses became virtually indiscernible in the first decades after 1500.<sup>81</sup> This is so much so that, by the late sixteenth century, the chantbooks in use in Coimbra Cathedral before the new series of graduals and antiphoners adapted to the Tridentine texts was finally commissioned in 1602 were commonly called ‘bracarenses’—that is, of the use of Braga.<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, there are now enough clues suggesting that important elements of the Medieval use of Coimbra Cathedral endured unchanged in the use of Évora and that it was probably Coimbra, not Braga directly, that transmitted their common liturgical, and possibly also musical, elements to the ‘new’ diocese south of the River Tagus.

<sup>81</sup> See, for instance, the case with the Office of the Dead, studied in ALVARENGA, ‘The Office of the Dead’ (see note 22). Significantly, the original series of responsories and verses in Coimbra Cathedral likely derived from St Martial of Limoges, while the earliest series in Braga derived from Moissac. One important correction should be made regarding the so-called ‘*Fernão Duarte*’ breviary, E-E e-IV-10, which I mention in ‘The Office of the Dead’ (see note 22), p. 181, following Pedro Romano ROCHA, ‘Um breviário bracarense na Biblioteca do Escorial’, *Lusitania Sacra*, 9 (1970-1), pp. 41-54: in its *agenda mortuorum*—copied, one should note, on an inserted quire—the series is not the one proper to Santa Cruz, but the variant found in the 1528 Évora breviary, which has verse ‘*Quem visurus*’ with the first responsory, *Credo quod redemptor*, and verse ‘*Qui venturus*’ with the third responsory, *Qui Lazarum*; the last responsory, *Libera me, Domine, de morte*, has verse ‘*Dies illa, dies irae*’ only, like in the original series from St Rufus and Santa Cruz, and possibly also Évora. On the uses of Braga and Coimbra Cathedral in the early sixteenth century, Alberto Medina de SEIÇA, ‘*Livros de cantochão da Sé de Coimbra (1603-1609): Tradições e reformas do canto gregoriano*’, 2 vols. (PhD diss. Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, 2019), vol. 1, pp. 93-100, discusses the case of the identity of the *Manuale secundum consuetudinem alme bracharensis ecclesie* (in antiquissima bracharensis civitate, [Pedro Gonçalves Alcoforado], 1517) and the *Manuale secundum consuetudinem alme Colymbrie[n]sis ecclesie* (in preclara Lixbonensis civitate, per Nicolaum Gazini, 1518).

<sup>82</sup> See SEIÇA, ‘*Livros de cantochão da Sé de Coimbra*’ (see note 81), especially vol. 1, pp. 13 and 24.

Appendix 1<sup>83</sup>The Coimbra Fragment, *P-Cug* MM 1063 (79)

[Folio Ar]

|    |                                                                                                                                                                |     |  |            |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|--|------------|
|    | [Feria V <sup>a</sup> Jn iii <sup>o</sup> n <sup>o</sup> c]                                                                                                    |     |  |            |
| 1  | ℣. Colleger<unt ergo pontifices [...]> [verse of ℞ Seniores populi]                                                                                            | [1] |  | [007636za] |
| 2  | [Lec. IX <sup>a</sup> ] I<taque quicumque manducauerit calicem> domini<br>indi<gne [...] cum hoc mundo dampnemur>                                              |     |  |            |
| 3  | ℞ Reuel<abunt celi [...]>                                                                                                                                      | [1] |  | 007543     |
| 4  | ℣. [In die perditionis ...]                                                                                                                                    | [1] |  | [007543b]  |
| 5  | Jn laudibus .a. I[ustificeris domine ...]                                                                                                                      | [8] |  | [003537]   |
| 6  | a. Domin[us tamquam ovis ...]                                                                                                                                  | [2] |  | [002422]   |
| 7  | a. [Contritum est cor meum ...]                                                                                                                                | [8] |  | [001912]   |
| 8  | a. [Exhortatus es ...]                                                                                                                                         | [1] |  | [002784]   |
| 9  | a. [Oblatus est ...]                                                                                                                                           | [2] |  | [004097]   |
| 10 | Jn evG a. T<raditor autem [...]>                                                                                                                               | [1] |  | 005169     |
| 11 | preces K<yrie> leysom Xpiste leysom Kyrie<e leysom> [℣.]<br>D<omi>ne miserere Xpistus <dominus fa>ctus est obediens<br><usque> ad mor[tem mortem au]tem crucis | 4   |  | 909040     |
| 12 | ℣. <Qui passurus> aduenisti propt<er nos> [℣.] Domine [miserere]<br>Vs[que ad mortem]                                                                          | 4   |  | 008446     |
| 13 | ℣. [Qui expassis in] cruce ma[nibus traxisti] <omnia ad> te sec<ula><br>[℣.] Domine [miserere]                                                                 | 4   |  | 008444     |

[Folio Av]<sup>84</sup>

|    |                                                                                                                                       |     |      |        |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|------|--------|
| 1  | ℣. Qvi prophetize prompsisti ergo mors tua o mors [℣.] Domine<br>misere[re]                                                           | 4   |      | 008447 |
| 2  | ℣. Agno mitti basia cui lupus dedit venenosa                                                                                          | 4   |      | 008442 |
| 3  | Kyrie leysom Xpiste leysom Kyrie leysom [℣.] Domine misere[re]<br>Vsque mortem autem crucis                                           | 4   |      | 909040 |
| 4  | ad .i. a. Accepto pane iudas [...] aeN                                                                                                | 1F  | 69b  | 001219 |
| 5  | ad .iii. a. Si male locutus sum [...] aeN                                                                                             | 1F  | 69b  | 004900 |
| 6  | ad .vi. a. Ante diem festum pasche [...] aeN                                                                                          | 3B  | 213a | 001432 |
| 7  | ad .ix. a. Repleuit et inebriauit [...] aeN                                                                                           | 2D  | 152g | 004615 |
| 8  | <u>Postea ad clero communionem tradite sibi ab episcopo sacerdote<br/>calice cum sacro sanguine. Incipiat diaconus hanc antiphona</u> |     |      |        |
| 9  | [ad Vesperas] Calicem salutaris accipiam [...] p. Credidi propter aeN                                                                 | 2D  | 152g | 001754 |
| 10 | a. Cum his qui oderunt [...] p. [Ad] dominum aeN                                                                                      | 8G* | ?    | 002008 |
| 11 | a. Ab hominibus iniquis [...] p. <E>ripe me aeN                                                                                       | 8G  | 84a  | 001199 |
| 12 | a. Cvstodi me a laqueo [...] p. Domine cla aeN                                                                                        | 7A  | 143b | 002082 |
| 13 | a. Considerabam ad dexteram [...] p. Voce mea aeN                                                                                     | 7   |      | 001891 |

<sup>83</sup> Only the incipit of the chant pieces is given except for the verses of the *Kyries tenebrarum* in the Coimbra fragment, which are transcribed in full; for the lessons of the second and third nocturn, the incipit and explicit are provided. Rubrics are also given in full and underlined as in the originals. Conjectural text and missing designations are given in square brackets; fainted text in the original is given in angle brackets. A number in the left column indicates for each item the order in which it appears on the page. The three right-hand columns give: the mode of each chant piece or the *differentia* in the case of the antiphons using the traditional system; the *differentia* using the new code devised by Rebecca Shaw (see the *Differentiae Database* at <https://differentiaedatabase.ca/>, accessed 29 December 2021); and the corresponding Cantus ID number.

<sup>84</sup> The *differentia* in f. Av no. 13 is not notated. In no. 10, although the intonation formula is that of psalm-tone 8, the 'Amen' termination, which should apparently be read as *fg g*, is more commonly found in psalm-tone 1. This is probably an error of the scribe, who had previously written the same neumes in the same position relative to the line for the termination of psalm-tone 2 (reading *cd d*) in nos. 7 and 9. The usual *differentia* with antiphon *Cum his qui oderunt* is Shaw's 84a.

|            |                                                                                                                                                                         |     |     |           |
|------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----------|
| 14         | a. De manu filiorum alienorum [...] p. <i>Benedictus</i> aeN                                                                                                            | 8G  | 84a | 002111    |
| 15         | ℣. Xps factus est [...] ℣. Mortem autem crucis                                                                                                                          | -   |     | 800059    |
| 16         | ad MG a. Cenantibus autem accepit [...] p. <i>MaGnificat</i> aeN                                                                                                        | 1F  | 69b | 001781    |
| 17         | <u>In die parasceue omnia similiter fiant excepto quod ad uesperas quinto loco dimittatur et ponitur ad illum antiphona De manu filiorum alienorum libera me domine</u> |     |     |           |
| 18         | [Feria VI <sup>a</sup> ] Jn .i <sup>o</sup> . n <sup>o</sup> c [a.] Astiterunt reges [...] in unum ad//                                                                 | [8] |     | 001506    |
| [Folio Br] |                                                                                                                                                                         |     |     |           |
|            | [Feria VI <sup>a</sup> ] Jn ii <sup>o</sup> n <sup>o</sup> c]                                                                                                           |     |     |           |
| 1          | [Lec. IV <sup>a</sup> ] [gl]dium linguas suas. Filli hominum dentes eorum arma et sagitte [...] <a morte eius viderentur immunes>                                       |     |     |           |
| 2          | ℣. Tanqu[am] ad latronem ... ]                                                                                                                                          | 8   |     | 007748    |
| 3          | ℣. [Cumque inieciissent ...]                                                                                                                                            | [8] |     | [007748b] |
| 4          | [Lec. V <sup>a</sup> ] Nam <cum dixisset eis pilatus [...] ex eorum> manib[us] liberaret>                                                                               |     |     |           |
| 5          | ℣. T<enebre facte sunt [...]>                                                                                                                                           | [7] |     | [007760]  |
| 6          | ℣. <Cum ergo accepisset>                                                                                                                                                | [7] |     | [007760b] |
| 7          | [Lec. VI <sup>a</sup> ] N<am propterea flagellatum [...] Nullo modo>                                                                                                    |     |     |           |
| 8          | ℣. B<arabbas latro [...]>                                                                                                                                               | [2] |     | [006159]  |
| 9          | ℣. V<erax datur>                                                                                                                                                        | 2   |     | 006159b   |
| [Folio Bv] |                                                                                                                                                                         |     |     |           |
| 1          | fallacibus pium fragellat impius                                                                                                                                        |     |     |           |
| 2          | Jn.iii <sup>o</sup> n <sup>o</sup> c. a. Ab insurgentibus [...] p. eripe me de inimicis aeN                                                                             | 1F  | 69b | 001201    |
| 3          | <a.> Longe fecisti [...] [p.] Domine deus salutis aeN                                                                                                                   | 8G  | 84a | 003632    |
| 4          | a. Captabunt in animam [...] p. Deus uultionum aeN                                                                                                                      | 8G  | 84a | 001767    |
| 5          | ℣. ab insurgentibus in me ℣. Libera me domine                                                                                                                           | -   |     | 007925    |
| 6          | [Lec. VII <sup>a</sup> ] Festinemus ingredi in illam requiem [...] inuisibilis in conspecto eius                                                                        |     |     |           |
| 7          | ℣. O iuda qui dereliquisti                                                                                                                                              | 7   |     | 007272    |
| 8          | ℣. Corpore tantum                                                                                                                                                       | 7   |     | 007272b   |
| 9          | [Lec. VIII <sup>a</sup> ] Omnia autem nuda [...] in auxilio opportuno                                                                                                   |     |     |           |
| 10         | ℣. Iudas mercator pessimus                                                                                                                                              | 2   |     | 007041    |
| 11         | ℣. Avaritie inebriatus                                                                                                                                                  | 2   |     | 007041b   |
| 12         | [Lec. IX <sup>a</sup> ] Omnis nanque pontifex [...] hominibus constituitur//                                                                                            |     |     |           |

### The Braga Fragment, *P-BRd* Frag. 7

|                                    |                                                                                     |    |      |        |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|--------|
| [Folio r col. a]                   |                                                                                     |    |      |        |
| [Feria V <sup>a</sup> ad uesperas] |                                                                                     |    |      |        |
| 1                                  | operantium iniquitatem [explicit of a. Custodi me a laqueo] p. Domine clamaui aeN   | 7A | 143b | 002082 |
| 2                                  | a. Considerabam ad dexteram [...] p. Voce mea ...                                   | 7A | 143b | 001891 |
| 3                                  | a. De manu filiorum [...] p. <i>benedictus dominus deus</i> ...                     | 8G | 84a  | 002111 |
| 4                                  | ℣. acuerunt lingua[s] suas sicut serpentes ...                                      |    |      | 007931 |
| 5                                  | Ad MG. a. Cenantibus autem accepit [...] p. <i>MaGnificat</i> aen                   | 1F | 69b  | 001781 |
| 6                                  | <u>Post uesperas sacerdos compleat missa cum oratione et sic finiturum uespere.</u> |    |      |        |
| 7                                  | <u>In parasceue die omnia similiter fiant ut in quinta feria.</u>                   |    |      |        |
| 8                                  | Jn. i <sup>o</sup> . n <sup>o</sup> . a. Astiterunt reges [...] p. Qvare ...        | 8G | 84a  | 001506 |
| 9                                  | a. Diuiserunt sibi [...] p. <i>Deus deus meus</i> respice ...                       | 8G | 84a  | 002260 |
| 10                                 | a. Insurrexerunt in me [...] p. <i>Dominus</i> illuminatio ...                      | 8G | 84a  | 003358 |
| 11                                 | ℣. Diuiserunt sibi uestimenta mea p. Et super uestem meam miserunt sortem           |    |      | 008020 |
| 12                                 | He Factus est dominus uelut inimicus                                                |    |      |        |
| 13                                 | Vav Et dissipauit quasi [h]ortum                                                    |    |      |        |
| 14                                 | ℣. Om[n]es amici mei dereliquerunt                                                  | 3  |      | 007313 |

[Folio r col. b]

|   |                                  |   |         |
|---|----------------------------------|---|---------|
| 1 | me et praeualuerunt [...]        |   |         |
| 2 | Ÿ. Et dederunt in escam          | 3 | 007313a |
| 3 | Zay Repulit dominus salutare     |   |         |
| 4 | Heth Cogitauit dominus dissipare |   |         |
| 5 | Teth Defixe sunt in terra        |   |         |
| 6 | Joth Sederunt <in terra>         |   |         |
| 7 | R̃. Velvm templi                 | 2 | 007821  |
| 8 | Ÿ. Petre scisse sunt             | 2 | 007821c |

[Folio v col. a]

|   |                                                        |     |             |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------|-----|-------------|
| 1 | Coph Accinti sunt ciliciis                             |     |             |
| 2 | <L>ameth Matribus suis dixerunt                        |     |             |
| 3 | Mem Cvi comparabo te                                   |     |             |
| 4 | R̃. Vineam mea <electa>                                | 8   | 007887      |
| 5 | Ÿ. Sepivi te                                           | 8   | 007887za    |
| 6 | Jn. iiº nº. a. Vim faciebant [...] p. Domine ne in ... | 8G  | 84a 005423  |
| 7 | a. Confundantur et reuerantur [...] p. Expectans ...   | 4F  | 28d 001883  |
| 8 | a. Alieni <insurrexerunt> [...] p. Deus <in nomine>    | 4E? | 27a? 001321 |
| 9 | Ÿ. Insurrexerunt in me testes [...] p. Et mentita      |     | 008102      |

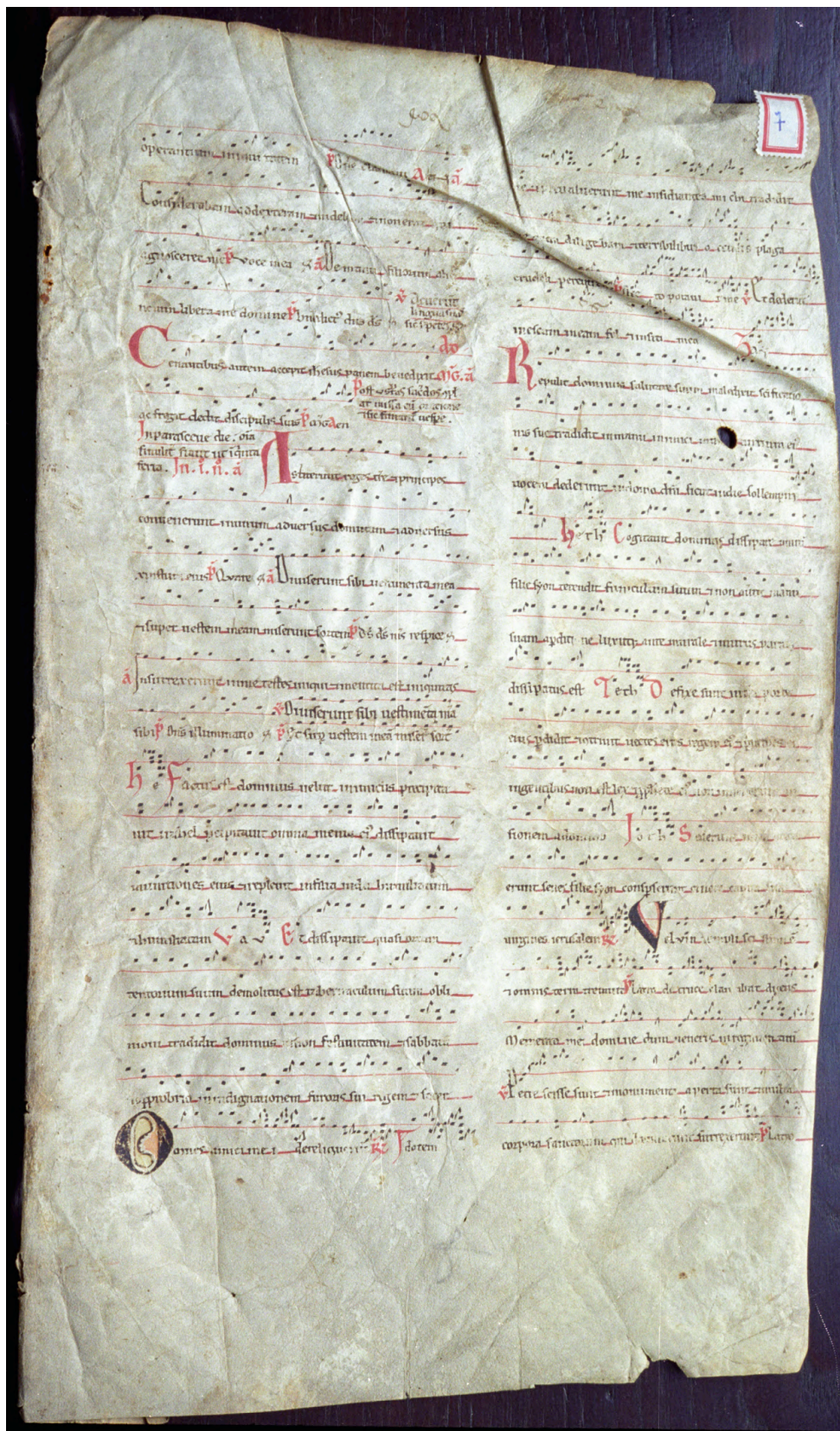
[Folio v col. b]

|   |                                                                          |   |         |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---------|
| 1 | [Lectio] iiiª Protexisti me [...] et filius dei est.                     |   |         |
| 2 | R̃. Tanquam ad latronem                                                  | 8 | 007748  |
| 3 | Ÿ. Cumque iniecissent                                                    | 8 | 007748b |
| 4 | [Lectio] vª Filius dei propter formam [...] occidere dominum ihesum xpm. |   |         |
| 5 | R̃. Tenebre facte sunt                                                   | 7 | 007760  |
| 6 | Ÿ. Cum ergo <accepisset>                                                 | 7 | 007760b |
| 7 | Lectio viª//                                                             |   |         |

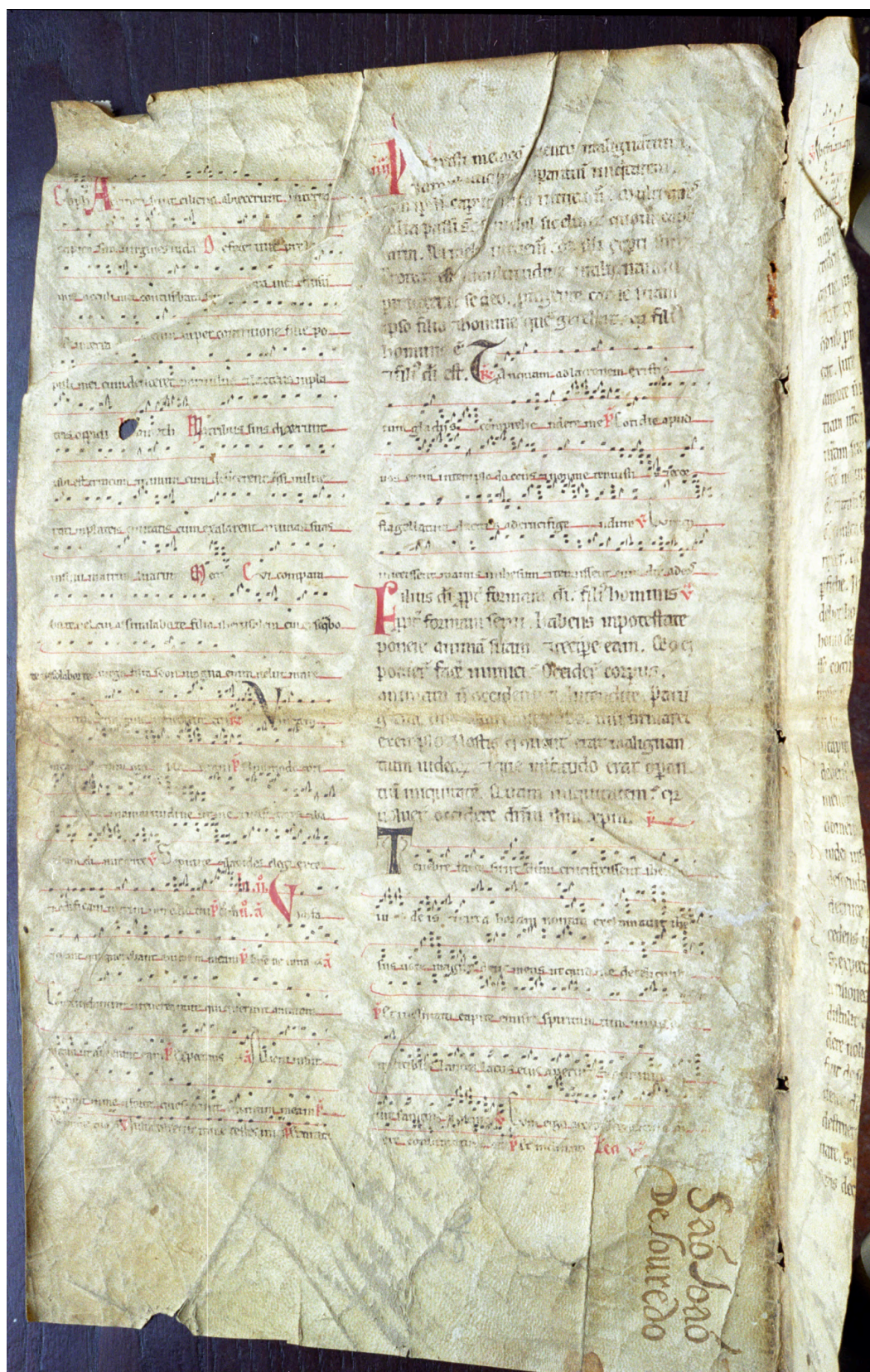


## Appendix 2

## Photographs of P-BRd Frag. 7







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