

AN INTRODUCTORY DESCRIPTION AND COMMENTARY CONCERNING THE IDENTIFICATION OF FOUR TWELFTH CENTURY MUSICO-LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE CISTERCIAN MONASTERY OF LAS HUEL GAS, BURGOS

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INTRODUCTION, AIMS AND ORIENTATION

The study centres on the investigation of four medieval musico-liturgical manuscripts now located in Spain and Portugal. The manuscripts, which appear to be approximately contemporaneous, show many French characteristics. However, the evidence available indicates they were written and decorated in a Castilian scriptorium by French clerics who had been trained at the Cistercian Monastery of Cîteaux and sent to the Royal Monastery of Las Huelgas, in Burgos, as scribes and chaplains to the nuns and noble ladies.¹

The aim of this study is not to present a complete technical analysis of the four manuscripts, but rather to formulate a hypothesis concerning their probable chronology, provenance and tradition, and to show why three of them are now in Portugal. Such a project requires evaluation of the historical links between the Cistercian houses of Cîteaux and Las Huelgas during the late twelfth century, and the reforms of the Portuguese Monasteries of Arouca and Lervão, which brought about the need for Cistercian liturgical manuscripts. The study makes reference primarily to those technical matters which are relevant to the identification of the manuscripts, although other topics of interest requiring more detailed and lengthy investigation have been suggested. Passing references to matters such as the Cistercian love of order, proportion and mathematics, Castilian ink formulas and the mudéjar decoration at Las Huelgas may at first appear peripheral and perhaps a little out of context, but they do in fact contribute considerably to justification of the provenance and history of the manuscripts. Many relevant biographical details have also been included, some of which have not been previously put to paper. The author's theories are for the most part based on documentary evidence, but taking into consideration the era concerned and the incomplete nature of the primary sources and spatial

limitations which must be applied to the essay itself, the information given here cannot claim to be absolutely complete or unequivocal. In the end it is up to the reader to decide whether the evidence supports the hypothesis. Essentially, the aim of this essay is simply to reveal the existence of these important sources of Cistercian Office and Mass chants to other scholars, in conjunction with useful, but hitherto unpublished information relating to their past history.

The four manuscripts as a group are referred to in this study as the Las Huelgas Manuscripts. They consist of the temporal section of an antiphoner, with the arbitrary number VIII, in the monastic archives of Las Huelgas which herein is referred to as *Hu.T*. A medieval temporale and sanctorale now preserved in the archives of the Cistercian Monastery of Arouca, Portugal, have no formal *siglae* and are referred to in this study as *Ar.TI* and *Ar.SI*. From the viewpoint of format, design and colouring of the decorations, calligraphy and notation, these manuscripts appear to be closely related to the temporale at Las Huelgas. The fourth manuscript relevant to this discussion because of stylistic resemblance to the three antiphoners is held in the Portuguese national archives in Lisbon. It has the identification numbers 15 and 102.² The manuscript is usually referred to as the Gradual of Lorrvão, although there is no documentary proof to support the traditional belief that it was ever owned by the Cistercian Monastery of SS. Mamede and Paio, Lorrvão. In this study it is referred to as *L.Gr*.

The *Las Huelgas Manuscripts* thus consist of four manuscripts which appear to be stylistically and historically related. Three of the collection are at present in Portugal but almost certainly were not written there. The other manuscript is at Las Huelgas, where it could have been written, although it does not conform to Castilian scribal criteria. The common link is that the manuscripts are all in archives of Cistercian convents at either Las Huelgas, Arouca or Lorrvão. It can be shown that throughout the medieval era, but particularly c.1200, there were strong ties between these institutions because of the marriages of the Portuguese Princesses Mafalda and Teresa to the Spanish Princes Enrique I of Castile and Alfonso IX of Leon respectively, the annulling of their marriages by Pope Innocent III, their return to Portugal, and the subsequent conversion of the Monasteries of Lorrvão and Arouca to royal Cistercian señoríos, similar to the abadengo of Las Huelgas.³

The manuscripts are exceptional because their elaborate and colourful decorations conflicts with their Cistercian use and the austere Cistercian attitude to manuscript illumination in the latter half of the twelfth century. The three manuscripts in Portugal are stylistically quite dissimilar to contemporaneous manuscripts documented as being of Portuguese compilation. Moreover, the Monasteries of Arouca and Lorrvão had not been converted to Cistercianism when these manuscripts were written. Even so, there is no evidence that after they became royal nunneries and señoríos, these institutions produced their own liturgical books. Consequently, from the practical and historical viewpoints, it is difficult to propose a Portuguese scriptorium which could have produced them.

The theory that *Ar.Tl*, *Ar.Sl* and *L.Gr* were not written in Portugal is also supported by various technical matters to be discussed presently.

In the search for a possible origin for the first manuscript in the group, *Hu.T*, it should be noted that the present Abbess, Presentación Balbas, is of the opinion that *Hu.T* is one of the oldest books in the archives, and that it was written at Las Huelgas, despite the fact that many of the liturgical books at Las Huelgas were written at the nearby Monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña. Two difficulties accompany this theory. The first is that other liturgical manuscripts similar to *Hu.T* have yet to be discovered at the monastery, so on stylistic grounds alone, it is difficult to prove that it was written at Las Huelgas. The second is that from technical and decorative viewpoints, *Hu.T* does not resemble manuscripts produced in Castile in the era concerned. If indeed it was written at Las Huelgas, exceptional circumstances must have inspired the project.

THE USE AND CHRONOLOGY AND PROVENANCE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

The Cistercian *use* of the *four Las Huelgas Manuscripts* can be confirmed by comparing their conservative festal cycles with contemporaneous Cistercian liturgical calendars in addition to the calendars used by other monastic orders, especially the Benedictines, and with the Roman calendar, which by the year 1300, contained approximately 200 feasts.⁴ Throughout the three Office manuscripts, the ordo of antiphons, responses and canticles in the three nocturnes of matins, (the Cistercian *Night Office*, *Office of Readings or Vigils*), conforms exactly to Cistercian criteria. The texts and unique usages of the so-called Ambrosian hymns, originally chosen by the Cistercian Fathers with little regard for seasonal or festal suitability, compare with counterparts in manuscripts known to represent the Cistercian hymnological tradition adopted in 1147 following the reforms of the Second Recension.⁵ Non-Ambrosian importations to the original Cistercian hymnal also appear in this manuscript, as for example, *Quem terra, pontus aethra*.⁶ Many other Cistercian traits are apparent, such as the use of the same versicle melody throughout the temporale and sanctorale. The Arouca temporale, *Ar.Tl*, sets out the complete weekly ordo of psalms during the week before Septuagesima. This reference section begins on Sunday before Septuagesima and ends on the next Saturday. Although not an unequivocal basis for identification, comparison of the cursus of psalms in *Ar.Tl* with a variety of Cistercian and Benedictine exemplars reveals only a few minor differences.⁷ The reference section includes a special antiphon for the second nocturne, rubricated *in xl*, and a special response for the first nocturne is rubricated *in estate* or for summer (the location and use of these special agenda can best be appreciated by studying the disposition of the manuscripts, shown in appendix 4). In consideration of the former practice, it must be explained that an antiphon based on melismatic repetitions of an Alleluia theme was normally used by the Cistercians for the first antiphon of the

second nocturne, but because the Cistercians did not use the Alleluia during this period, it was necessary to use a replacement antiphon, not based on the Alleluia. The Cistercian predilection for antiphons based on the Alleluia is also evident in the third nocturne and the lesser hours. These Alleluia antiphons, consisting of from three to eight melismatic repetitions of the Alleluia text, were used throughout the liturgical year, the number of repetitions depending upon the season.⁸ The use of the in estate response relates to the need for a longer work period during summer.⁹ Because of the difference in summer and winter hours, for example, in medieval France, 75 minutes compared to 45 minutes, and the number of hours in the day, which changed monthly, the length and complexity of the liturgical ritual had to be varied appropriately.¹⁰ Accordingly, the Cistercians used a modified version of Psalm 94 on ferias and ordinary days in summer. The invitatory antiphon was sometimes omitted and in place of three lessons and great responses a short Old Testament lesson and a brief response was substituted. This response was rubricated in the manuscript as in estate and it was sung from memory, even in later eras. In addition, the historical bases of the texts used in the nocturnes conforms to Benedictine and Cistercian usage, involving scripture for the first nocturne, legends for the second nocturne and patristic fathers and homilies for the third nocturne. Whilst the precedents for many Cistercian Office practices came from the Rule of St. Benedict, the unequivocal usages and rubrications in the manuscripts are typically Cistercian.¹¹ Many of the Cistercian practices adopted from St. Benedict are reiterated in various statutes of the General Chapter, but any thought that the manuscripts could be Benedictine rather than Cistercian can be dispelled by comparing the copious sanctoral calendar of the former with the modest and traditional calendar of the latter.

Ar. TI contains the tonary for both temporale and sanctorale sections of the Arouca antiphoners, a fact which requires further comment presently. For the purposes of identification of use and denomination, textual and musical similarities with Cistercian tonaries are of most significance. In the manuscript, the list of antiphons in each mode is preceded by a rhyme or verse in catechism style, *Primum querite Dei/Secundum ante simile/Tercia dies est quo/Quarta vigilia venit/Quinque prudentes intraverunt ad nuptias*, etc.¹² These cues correspond exactly to the texts used in the Tonale S. Bernardi.¹³ Furthermore, textual comparison of the Las Huelgas tonary with the Bernardine tonary reveals that the antiphons listed in both sources correspond exactly with regard to modes 4 and 8. In the mode 1 list, however, the order of the cues sometimes does not correspond and the antiphons *Salve Regina* and *Angelus Domini* do not appear in the Bernardine tonary. In mode 2, there are three extra antiphons in the Las Huelgas list, (*Genuit, Inclina and Ante luciferum*). In mode 3, *Ihesu Xpisti* and *Ex omni corde* do not appear in the Bernardine tonary and the scribe erroneously omitted to list *Quoniam* in the Las Huelgas tonary. In mode 5, *Me suscepit, Elevamini and Exultabunt* do not appear in the Bernardine tonary. Absent also in the list of mode 6 antiphons are *Notum fecit* and *Elegit eos*, and in mode 7

Assumpta est, is missing from the Bernardine tonary. Confusing as this comparison might appear, in essence it reveals the important fact that all the old antiphons in the Bernardine tonary are present in the Las Huelgas tonary in virtually the same order. The few titles in the Las Huelgas tonary which are not in the Bernardine precedent occur simply as a result of additions approved by the General Chapter during the period of approximately half a century between the compilation of the two sources. The fact that so few new antiphons were added, and that the ordo of the tonary itself remained virtually unchanged for so long is quite remarkable.

The two sets of musical cues in the tonaries also correspond closely and in many cases exactly. Exceptions involve the use of an occasional liquescent symbol and use of a distropha as the first note against a monosyllable, such as *Cum (sublevasset)*, in the Las Huelgas tonary. A normal quadratic breve occurs in the corresponding position in the Bernardine tonary.

PROVENANCE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

The manuscripts lack inscriptions which could be useful to the identification of chronology or provenance. The earliest signature relates to the rebinding of the Arouca sanctoral, *Ar.S1* by the sacerdote, Johannes Alverez. It is dated July 13, 1483 and appears on folio 172v, which is the final folio of the original manuscript.¹⁴

Considering the matter of provenance and tradition from the technical aspect, the cursus of hymns in the Arouca antiphoners does not conform exactly with counterparts in any of the accepted Cistercian sources. For example, the two melodies for the hymn at terce, *Nunc sanctæ nobis*, on folio 195v of *Ar.T1*, and rubricated as *dominicus diebus et festis quibus non laboramus*, and *privatis diebus et festis quibus laboramus*, are in reverse order to the usual. The hymns, *Christe qui lux* and *Te lucis*, numbers 8 and 9 in the *Cistercian Hymnal*, are in the order 9 and 8 in *Ar.T1*.¹⁵ Many other discrepancies in the texts, notation and rubrics of the hymnal suggest that the Las Huelgas hymnals were not copied from any of the usual and more favoured exemplars.¹⁶ However, the difficulties involved in attempting to trace traditions solely from manuscript comparisons are considerable, as pointed out by Chrysogonus Waddell during his reconstruction of the early Cistercian antiphoner.¹⁷

Most scholars are of the opinion that even if recognized, errors in the manuscripts were seldom corrected by the scribes, because the manuscripts were considered as sacred objects. Because many variations in rubrification occur, this opinion must be questioned, so perhaps the anathema applied only to the liturgical texts and music. An accessible source of evidence supporting this tenet appears in the hymn rubrics in Waddell's edition of the *Cistercian Hymnal*.¹⁸ Errors and inconsistencies which occur in *Ar.T1* do not occur in *Hu.T* and *vice versa*. Accordingly, it is probable that *Ar.T1* and *Hu.T* were not copied one from the other, but rather, that they were copied independently from an as yet

unidentified exemplar. The same conclusion almost certainly applies to the copying of *Ar.S1* and *L.Gr*. It is worth noting, however, that the decorated majuscules in the Arouca and Las Huelgas temporales occupy approximately similar positions and areas on their respective folios, although the decorative compositions themselves are dissimilar.

The manuscripts contain some technical characteristics which are useful from the identificative viewpoint. Solange Corbin observed that in Hispanic and Portuguese musico-liturgical manuscripts based on Aquitanian models, and dating later than the eleventh century, the section of the responses which was repeated after the verse, usually the first phrase, was indicated by use of a rubric, either *p* or *ps* (*presa*), at the end of the section to be repeated.¹⁹ The investigation by the present author of diverse musico-liturgical manuscripts and fragments in Iberian tradition in Portuguese archives at Guimarães, Viseu, Braga and Oporto, etc., confirms consistent use of both the *presa* rubric and occasional capitalization for the purpose of defining this repeated section.²⁰ The *presa* was not used in the three Office manuscripts from Las Huelgas and the repetition was defined in the French tradition, by heightening or capitalizing the first letter of the text following the repeated section.

In support of this line of reasoning, the noted gradual *L.Gr* can be compared usefully to the noted Portuguese gradual at Arouca, copied at Lamego in 1485, possibly in the Cistercian Monastery of St. John, Tarouca, by the Spanish Abbot of Santa Marinha de Trepeço, Illefonso Martinez.²¹ This manuscript is referred to herein as *Ar.Gr*. The inclusion of a feast for St. Julian of Cuenca in the sanctorale of *Ar.Gr* would have necessitated the use of a Spanish exemplar, probably from Cuenca or Burgos. In *L.Gr*, the hymn, Benedictus es Domine, is written out in its entirety, with no use of the *presa*, whereas in *Ar.Gr*, the repeats of the section commencing, *Et laudabilis...* are indicated by use of the *presa* symbol and a short cue, as might be expected in a manuscript in Iberian tradition. The omission of the *presa* and the use of the French means of indicating the repeated part of the response, suggests that the Las Huelgas Manuscripts were copied from French exemplars by scribes who were not aware of the Iberian tradition or chose to ignore it.

Comparing the four manuscripts with *Ar.Gr* and allowing for such differences as the use of a five line staff in the latter, which occurs because it belongs to a much later era and is in the style of a *liber corali*, it will be noticed that the notation throughout the five manuscripts is generally similar, except for the construction of the *pes* or *podatus*. Relevant to this discussion is the fact that the development of Iberian quadratic notation was almost certainly influenced by the Aquitanian *semi-diastematic* precedent, which affected predominantly the shape of the *quadratic pes*. The difference in construction of the French and Aquitanian *pes* is, in fact, usually cited when the evolution of quadratic notation is discussed, because the earliest examples of this type of notation are held to have derived from a French rather than an Aquitanian neumatic predecessor. This is because in the French *pes*, especially the Northern French or Norman

subspecies, known as *notation à points liés*, the note heads appear on the same side of the stem, whereas in the Aquitanian tradition they are on opposite sides of the stem.²² Both forms of the *pes* were used in *Ar.Gr*, but the quadratic form derived from the Aquitanian neumatic predecessor occurs more frequently due to the Iberian origins of the manuscript. *L.Gr* is also in quadratic notation, but the here *pes* follows French tradition. According to Corbin *et al.*, French notation was virtually unknown in Iberia in the late twelfth century, but Clairvaux and Cîteaux were in a geographical area where French notation predominated.²³

Discussion concerning the significance of the musical notation can be continued somewhat further. The considerable number of fragments in Aquitanian notation and the derivative form which Corbin referred to as Portuguese notation which survive in north-Iberian archives, suggests that these were the predominant forms of musical notation in Portugal and much of northern Spain in the post-Visigothic period. Considering the quantity, chronology and provenance of these manuscript fragments, semi-diastematic quasi-quadratic notation on a single staff line based on Aquitanian notation may still have been commonly used in the same geographical area until the end of the fifteenth century. Considering the types of notation contained in surviving Iberian manuscripts and fragments dating from around the end of the twelfth century and somewhat later, it would appear that the quadratic notation found in the *Las Huelgas Manuscripts* was virtually unknown in Portugal, and probably in the north of Spain. The fact that the *Las Huelgas Manuscripts* are in quadratic notation suggests that they are related more to French than Iberian tradition, and that even if they were copied in Spain or Portugal, the exemplars were French.

F or C clefs based on stylizations of the original letter shapes occur most frequently throughout the *Las Huelgas Manuscripts*, but other letters, such as G and D, were used when necessary to keep the notation within the confines of the staff. The shape of the F clef is very similar to the form used in French notation.²⁴

CHRONONOLOGY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

The chronology of the manuscripts cannot be easily or accurately determined from an evaluation of their festal cursus and by comparison of the inclusion or omission of various feasts with their official dates of recognition, as noted in the statutes of the Cistercian General Chapter. Nonetheless, in spite of difficulties, the exercise produces some useful results concerning both the manuscripts themselves and the provincial Cistercian attitudes to the statutes. Accordingly, we might ask, how many monasteries complied with the new statutes in particular those considered irrelevant or unacceptable, and how quickly? Did the nunneries, including those under royal patronage, observe any or all of the statutes (prior to 1213, the General Chapter

denied any jurisdiction over the female houses, and even after this date, enclosure was the primary requisite for affiliation)?²⁵ Even if new feasts were recognized and observed, how often were manuscripts rewritten and their cursus modified to include new feasts?

Many factors must be taken into consideration concerning suitable responses to these questions. For example, abbots did not always attend the Cistercian General Chapters. Moreover, the representatives at the synods were often not the same in successive years and prior to 1180, the resolutions were most often conveyed orally. Reiterations of abbatial decrees could have been intended to ensure that all abbots eventually became familiar with them, but they may also have been necessary because of a slow rate of compliance.²⁶ There is an alternative explanation: the General Chapter could not physically enforce reforms. Consequently, the frequent reiterations of decrees may have been intended as a form of condemnation or protest against resistance to the new statutes and a casual attitude to them adopted by some houses.²⁷

In the large French houses, it is possible that compliance with new statutes was prompt and unequivocal, but the belief by some scholars that this situation prevailed in the smaller and peripheral houses cannot be supported by evidence when subjected to close scrutiny. Compliance, quite apart from acceptance, may not have always been possible. In larger monasteries which had scriptoria, alterations and new editions of manuscripts could have been undertaken without extensive delay, provided suitable exemplars were available. In the provinces, however, there were significant difficulties involving familiarity with, and the uses of different types of notation, which could have resulted in delays. The fact that the inclusion of new feasts and additional chants in a manuscript involved recasting all the folios which followed the alteration must also be considered. Concerning this matter, Stephen van Dijk and Joan Walker in their study of the Roman liturgy imply that changes, especially to the manuscripts, occurred slowly and in some cases were never included.²⁸ Physical evidence in this regard, such as the repeated cropping of margins, rebindings, additions and supplements, suggests that many manuscripts were in use for centuries and were never recopied.²⁹ Furthermore, the *De constituendis abbatiis*, in the earliest Cistercian *Instituta Generalis Capitula*, c.1134, obliged a male mother-house to supply its daughters with choir books.³⁰ These presentation manuscripts often appear to have consisted of superseded copies which needed adaptation and the use of supplements. Presumably, but not certainly, the same obligation existed on the part of the nunneries.³¹

The preceding facts suggest that the medieval Cistercian administration was not as rigid as is often thought. Hence, a chronological determination based only on the calendars of these manuscripts is unlikely to be completely accurate outside the ambit of a decade at best. For example, in 1174 the Cistercian General Chapter prescribed the use of several new antiphons for vespers, the Magnificat and octaves, in addition to various chants for use during the octaves of Epiphany, Septuagesima, the Assumption and St. Laurence.³² Despite the

proposed date of their compilation, c.1200, the *Las Huelgas Manuscripts* reflect only partial conformity with these statutes. In this particular case, the major difficulty is to distinguish those chants in the statutes which are part of new directives, from those which represent reiterations of directives given previously.

Continuing the matter of inclusions and omissions in more detail, we find that *Ar.SI*, in folios 71r-75v (93r-97v), contains the proper Office composed by Pope Alexander III for St. Bernard's beatification on January 18, 1174. This Office, with two masses rubricated *et fratres laborent*, was ratified by the General Chapter in 1175.³³ Examination of the Office antiphons confirms that the musical modes follow a numerical sequence: Antiphon 1 in mode 1, antiphon 2 in mode 2 and so on, according to Roman custom at that time.³⁴ The compass of the chant melodies generally does not exceed the Cistercian compass, documented as ten notes, and generally interpreted in practice as an octave plus one or two notes.³⁵ Unnoted cues for the solemn octave of the Feast of the Assumption appear on folios 70v and 71r. Chants for the Assumption and unnoted incipits for its octave are also included in *L.Gr.* There is no evidence in *Ar.SI* of the antiphons *Benedictio Domini* and *Consurgens diluculo*, the third and fourth antiphons respectively for the first nocturne of the Office for St. Bernard, approved in 1200 for Bernard's commemoration, *fiat in horis beatæ Mariæ*, used at vespers and lauds during the octave of the Assumption. The collect *Adesto supplicationibus nostris*, approved contemporaneously, is not included.³⁶ Commemorations for the saints Martialis, approved in 1191, Juliani (1193), Antonii (1198) and Undecim milium virginum (1221) are not included, there is no mention of SS. Jacob or Bartholomeus, nor is there evidence of the vespers response *Sint lumbri vestri*, for St. Nicholas.³⁷ The manuscript lacks the Office for St. Barnabas, approved in 1204.³⁸ Also missing is the commemoration for St. Catherine, approved in 1207.³⁹ There is no indication in *Ar.SI* of a feast 12LM for the Octave of the Nativity of the Virgin, approved in 1245, although some unnoted marginal texts on folio 81v may relate to an early unofficial Office.⁴⁰

The gradual manuscript *L.Gr.*, contains a few marginal cues which pertain to feasts introduced after it was written. For example, SS. Malachie, Petri epi. et conf., Nicomedis, Juliani,⁴¹ and Undecim milium virginum appear on folios 131r, 134r, 136v, 139r and 182v. Vilel III ep. quere in Sancti Nicolai (sic) is noted on folio 106v.⁴² The Feast for SS. John and Paul, CM, but elevated to 12LM in 1214, is included. One of the most significant feasts is that for the Assumption, commencing on folio 159v (182v), comprised of two Masses, a major sermon, an octave and a vigil. This feast was ratified in this format by the General Chapter in 1220 following widespread popularity.⁴³ The unnoted cues for the octave of the Assumption were written in the manuscript following those for the octave of St. Laurence. In 1202, the General Chapter revised the Mass for St. Bernard, *In medio*, adding a new secret, post-communion, and the collect, *Perfice, quæsimus, Domine pium in nobis sanctæ*.⁴⁴ The collect *Perfice*, does indeed appear in the inner panel of folio 162v of the manuscript with the gospel and epistle, which are only partially legible. The handwriting used for the collect,

although similar to that used for the gospel and epistle, is a little darker and larger and it is likely that the original cue was overwritten. These revisions did not involve changes to any of the chants; traditionally, the secret and post-communion were not specified in the gradual so only the change to the collect is relevant here. In 1204, the Alleluia verse *Non vos me elegistis*, and the gospel *Hoc est praeceptum meum*, were specified for St. Barnabas, *si tempore Resurrectionis evenierit*.⁴⁵ The relevant gospel incipit on folio 138r of the manuscript is only partly legible and appears to have been changed. *Hoc est* is faintly recognizable. There is no evidence of the vigil for St. Bartholomeus.⁴⁶ Proper feasts for SS. Thomas of Canterbury, (12LM in 1185; MM, in 1191),⁴⁷ Malachie (12LM),⁴⁸ and Robert of Cîteaux (12LM, in 1222) are not included in the original cursus of the Manuscript.⁴⁹ Omission of the latter is somewhat surprising in view of the proposed provenance of the Las Huelgas Manuscripts, their exemplars and compilers. Unnoted texts for *privatis diebus* (days without feasts), within the octave of the Nativity of the Virgin are given as marginal additions. The inclusion of feasts for the Assumption and SS. John and Paul cannot be taken as proof that the manuscript was written after 1214 or 1220, because official approval of feasts or their elevation often came about only as a result of widespread popularity and general use.

Because it is a gradual, *L.Gr* contains a minimal amount of unnoted text, but incipits or cues for the collects, epistles and gospels for some feasts were included in the original compilation. Those omitted in the main corpus were written in the outer panels of the folios, probably not by the original scribes. These marginal additions arguably contain more calligraphic archaisms than appear in the main corpus of the codex, such as the high letter s used as a final, which suggests that the additions were probably written in not long after its completion. Because collects, epistles and gospels were texts intoned by the clergy, they were not technically a part of the gradual, which contained the choral chants. The real significance of the added text cues is that they suggest that the manuscript might have been intended for use by a reformed community, whose clergy did not have previous experience with collects, graduals and epistles as prescribed by the Cistercian rite. Such circumstances could have existed at the Monasteries of Arouca and Lorvão following the liturgical reforms and their conversion to Cistercianism.

The most meaningful interpretation which can be made by comparing the comments concerning compliance with the statutes against the omission or inclusion of feasts ratified by the General Chapter from c. 1175-1225, is that this manuscript was also written around the turn of the century.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

The parchment used was of reasonable quality and consistency, with an average thickness of .025 mm. The latter folios tend to be thicker and are less well prepared than those in the early part of the manuscripts, and there is a noticeable

difference in colour and texture between the *cuero* or hair face and the *piel vuelta* or obverse face. The gatherings consist of four bi-folios, arranged so that the first and last folios of each quire are *cuero* faces. During rebinding, the gatherings appear to have been cropped individually and have not been cut straight. For example, on folio 66r of *Ar.T1*, the measurement of the top panel varies from approximately 12mm. on the left to 8.83mm. on the right. In other gatherings, the top panel no longer exists and the upper line of the musical staff has been cut away. The lower panels have also been cut back to such an extent that the descenders of some of the foliate majuscules are now incomplete and some of the large coloured catchnumbers and catchwords have been almost entirely cut away. The original dimensions of the folios could have been up to 20-30mm. greater than at present.

overall height	375 mm
overall width	250 mm
top panel	15-20 mm
lower panel	67 mm
outer panel	37 mm
inner panel	30 mm
distance between base lines	32 mm
distance between staff lines	6 mm

The distances between the individual staff lines varies throughout each manuscript and the figures given above are averages. The endings of the staves tend to be irregular, which suggests that they were not ruled by use of a raster. In none of the manuscripts are the music blocks defined by visible ruling or pricking. The dimensions of the panels do not suggest use of any of the common mathematical ratios of the era, from which panel widths and text blocks could have been determined. The chant folios appear to have been composed using the distance between successive text base lines. The bindings of the antiphoners are now so tight that measurement of a flat surface is impossible and as a result, the dimensions which are given are only approximations. It will be noticed, however, that the inner margin, which cannot be trimmed, has almost the same dimension in each of the manuscripts.

In consideration of the ruling of the folios of unnoted texts, we find that these manuscripts include only the lesson, *Benigistis (sic) est enim Spiritus* on folio 141v of *Ar.T1* and several pages of canticles, which begin on folio of 212r of *Ar.T1* and folio 170v of *Ar.S1*. For the latter, the scribe used two vertical rulings to define the right and left panels.⁵⁰ The text was set in a two column block, the left column aligned to the vertical ruling. A horizontal base line was ruled for every fourth line of text. The vertical alignment of the right column and even the spacing of the lines of text appears to have occurred mostly as a result of scribal skill. The rulings confirm retention of the concept of text-above-top-line technique.⁵¹

There is no evidence of original foliation in any of the manuscripts. For convenience throughout this study, each of the volumes has been given foliation

according to the collation of the original manuscript, but also according to the collation of the codex as it now appears. This latter foliation includes various leaves which are later tip-ins.

Further descriptive details are as follows:

MS VIII (Hu.T): The manuscript is in reasonable condition but lacks occasional folios and the final leaves, which contained the last two hymns and the canticles. The covers are in poor condition, especially in the area of the spine, and the backing cords are deteriorating. The parchment is nonetheless in good condition and the ink and colours remain exceptionally bright. The original manuscript would have consisted of approximately 200 folios gathered in quaternions.

Ar.TI: This manuscript consists of 216 folios, collated:

$(26 \times 8) + (1 \times 6) + 2 = 216$. It appears to be original except for the two endpapers. The final hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, lacks the last three lines.

Ar.SI: The manuscript now consists of 204 folios, collated:

$(1 \times 14) + (1 \times 8) + (21 \times 8) + (1 \times 8) + (1 \times 4) + (1 \times 2) = 204$. The first 22 folios are later additions and consist of 14 folios of unnoted lessons followed by 8 folios of chants. The first folio of the original manuscript commences on folio 23r of the present collation. Eight folios between the main corpus of 168 folios and the four final folios consist of chants written by Illefonso Martínez, who copied the gradual manuscript, *Ar.Gr*, for the Monastery of Arouca in 1485. *Ar.SI* in its original form consisted of $(21 \times 8) + (1 \times 4) = 172$ folios.

The leather covers of the three antiphoners were originally protected by brass corners, studs and clasps, but most of these have been removed. The embossing on the covers is typical of late fifteenth century Iberian design.⁵² The French joint was not used to attach the covers to the backing piece. A colophon written by the sacerdote or *capellán*, Johannes Alvarez, on July 13, 1483, survives on the last folio, 172v, now folio 202v, of the manuscript. It records that he bound many books by order of the Abbess, Leonor Coutinho, and that he worked at the Monastery for at least three years, from 1483-1486. This colophon considered in conjunction with the use of bosses and the style of the covers and the type of hinge to the backing piece suggests that the manuscripts were last rebound by Alvarez.

In these manuscripts the complete version of each chant was written only once with repeated occurrences being indicated by short musical cues and abbreviated text incipits. In the sanctorale, the complete composition is sometimes to be found in the Commons at the end of the manuscript, rather than as part of a proper feast or according to chronological occurrence in the calendar.

L.Gr: Two numeric series have been pencilled in Arabic in the centre of the lower panel on the *recto* face of each folio. One series of numbers takes into account the loss of the first three gatherings in the manuscript and commences at folio 25r, following what was probably the original sequence of foliation. The other numeration indicates the folios as they now occur, but neither series takes

into account the losses from quires six and nineteen. The sanctoral section shows a third numeration in lower case Roman letters, written in ink and situated towards the right corner of the lower panel. This series appears to be of earlier date than the pencilled Arabic numbers. Taking into account the three gatherings totalling 24 folios lost from the commencement of the manuscript, the original collation probably would have been:

$(8 \times 8) + (1 \times 10) + (1 \times 8) + ([1 \times 8]) + (3 \times 8) + (1 \times 9) + (13 \times 8) = 228$. This formula takes into account ten folios in the original ninth gathering, two single leaves constituting folios 60 and 63 in place of a bi-folio in the eleventh gathering, that is, $1 \times 8 = 2 + 1 + 2 + 1 + 2$, an extra folio tipped-in in the fifteenth gathering (1×9) and the probable loss of at least one gathering from the end of the manuscript. This would have contained the remainder of the feast for St. Thomas and chants for the Commons. *L.Gr* has modern covers, probably added during repairs undertaken after its arrival at the National Archives in Lisbon.

Returning to matters which could indicate the provenance of the manuscripts, clear evidence of French influence occurs in the unnoted canticle texts in the antiphoners, which show use of a new system of punctuation developed at Clairvaux in the latter part of the twelfth century. This was based on the classical *distinctiones*, indicating the clauses or phrases within a sentence.⁵³ It was intended to improve the comprehensibility of texts when read aloud, as at meal times, thereby contributing to the elevation of the mind above the physical action of eating. The system consisted of three devices: The *punctum*, used to define the final element of a sentence, the *metrum*, consisting of a tick and point superimposed, used to denote the penultimate element, and the *flexus*, consisting of a quasi-continental seven or two above a point, used to indicate the antepenultimate element.⁵⁴ Although opinion varies, John Beers and other scholars believe that this system, practical though it may have been, was uncommon in the French Cistercian scriptorium before 1200.⁵⁵ This may have been due to the scribes' continued preference for the literary rather than the rhetorical aspect in their consideration of texts.

Of many interesting calligraphic characteristics which occur throughout the manuscripts, a few may usefully be mentioned in this part of the discussion, in support of the hypothesis that the manuscripts were written at Las Huelgas by French scribes from Cîteaux. Some of the other traits will be mentioned presently, but these are of more technical than historical relevance. Comparisons of the Las Huelgas calligraphy with examples of transitional Iberian Carolingian-Gothic calligraphy dating from 1208-1246 and identified by recognized authorities such as Zacaria Villada and A.M. Carlo, suggest that the manuscripts are indeed of Castilian origin.⁵⁶ Use of the Spanish *z* based on the Visigothic precursor, and also the *x*, would not appear in French calligraphy. It would be unusual to find the Spanish decoration used from c.1180, involving exaggerated heightening of ascenders, and applied especially to medial letters, in French manuscripts of the period. Nonetheless, it is frequently used in *L.Gr*,

especially in the rubrics, it often occurs in *Hu.T* but is unusual in the other two manuscripts. Comparison of the Las Huelgas built-up letters or versals with counterparts from Cîteaux, such as occur in the manuscript *Dijon 114*, which was written c.1185 as an exemplar, reveals many similarities.⁵⁷

Alternatively, characteristics which indicate that the manuscripts could have been written in Spain include the suspension *oru-* used as a substitution for the genitive plural ending. This seems to have been preferred in Spain c.1225, although the *looped-r* was by this time usual in French manuscripts. The *looped-r* was adopted by the northern Spanish scribes at a somewhat later date. Nonetheless, the fact that it was known to the textors of the Las Huelgas Manuscripts is evidenced by its occurrence once in a rubric on folio 198r of *Ar.T1* and, in *Ar.S1*, several times in rubrics on folios 7v, 51v, 82r and 115v and once in the black-letter text on folio 115v.

Although the calligraphy and notation superficially appear to be uniform, this is not the case. Many differences become apparent when the manuscripts are compared. In *Ar.S1*, for example, the ampersand was extensively used, both as a substitution for the conjunction, and as a substitution for *et* within a word, for example, *veni& = veniet*, *viv& = vivet*, etc. This type of abbreviation also occurs in *Hu.T*. In *Ar.S1*, the Tironian substitution for *et* occurs on folios 24r and 75v (in *et cetera*), and also within the rubrics on folios 44v, 51v and following. By contrast, the ampersand was used very sparingly in *Ar.T1* and the Tironian symbol rarely occurs, although it was not unknown to the scribes; it occurs on folio 212r. In *L.Gr*, two or three forms of the ampersand often appear in adjacent positions, for example, on folios 9v, lines 5 and 8, and folio 27r, lines 1,2 and 9. The ducti and basic outlines of these occurrences appear uniform but the scribe has terminated the pen movements differently. Careful comparisons suggest that the change of shape does not indicate a new scribal hand.

By the later twelfth century, use of the Carolingian *e-caudata* or *e* with tail as a replacement for the diphthong, *ae* or *oe*, as in *cæli*, was becoming uncommon. In the antiphoner manuscripts, the diphthong is not indicated by the *cauda* or elision. *L.Gr*, however, shows a few examples of the *e-caudata*. Some are incorrect; for example, the *cauda* occurs on folio 63r, *Pater cum essem*, yet it does not occur in a repetition of this text on folio 65r. It was, however, used correctly to indicate the genitive *meæ* (*mee*) on folios 23r, 23v, 49r, 58v, and 81v. Bernhard Bischoff remarks that incorrect usage of this device was very common in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and ultimately, it was omitted because, for the most part, it was used incorrectly and had become meaningless.⁵⁸ Christopher de Hamel suggests that use of the *cauda* was discontinued between 1170 and 1450 approximately, but the process of omission would have been gradual and haphazard.⁵⁹ Another reason for its disappearance could be that in Gothic *textura script* it destroyed the uniform appearance of the text.

Although both upright and uncial forms of the letter *d* occur throughout these manuscripts, the uncial construction is more common. In *Ar.S1*, butting of

the doubled p is common. Butting of the doubled b is less common, probably because the letter in repetition rarely occurs. These characteristics are not apparent in *Ar.TI*, for example, the doubled d as it occurs on folio 58r, line 6, *Addandam* has a different appearance from that of its counterpart in *Ar.SI*. Occurrences of the repeated b, in *sabba* on folios 37r and 92v and in a rubric on folio 151v, and of the doubled p, in *apparuit*, on folios 37r and 60r, show the two letters as separate entities. It is difficult to draw useful conclusions from the use of the letters v and u. In these manuscripts they appear to have been generally considered interchangeable in the black letter text. However, in the antiphoners, v was preferred for use in the cue for the invitatory psalm and the antepenultimate vowel of the abbreviation of the *seculorum amen*, *euouae*. Both U and V occur as outlines for decorated letters for the seven settings of psalm 94, *Venite*, *Ar.TI*, folios 183r-188v, but U predominates. In *Ar.SI*, folios 149r-154r, the V form does not occur in the settings of the *Venite*. In the early folios of *L.Gr*, u seems to occur more than v, but v in place of u often seems to be preferred before s or o. Interchangeability of the letters seems to have been normal custom in Latin texts, in spite of the explanation that the v was intended for use in positions adjacent to u,m,n, etc., to avoid confusion and increase legibility but in reality, it is difficult to prove any systematic use of the two forms throughout these manuscripts. In the local dialect of Galicia, Spain and the north of Portugal, however, v and b were the interchangeable letters, because v was pronounced as a soft labialized b.⁶⁰ There are, in fact, few cases of dialectic influence in these manuscripts, which proves that they were copied from conventional Latin originals.

In *Ar.SI*, in line 7 on folio 56r, there is a change of shape of the rubricated flat which resembles a lower case b, and also the natural, which appears as an h with an almost square minim member. The shapes revert to the earlier form on folio 83v. A heightened and slightly modified f is used as a rubric for the Gloria on folio 46r. This is the first folio which shows rubrification of the Gloria. The shape of the rubricated letter b changes simultaneously with the introduction of the Gloria rubric and so it seems that at least two rubricators worked on this manuscript. Abbreviations and contractions which might normally occur in contemporaneous codices of northern European origin occur infrequently in the black-letter text throughout the *Las Huelgas Manuscripts*. Because they are more noticeable in the rubrics, however, it may be possible that they were incorporated in the black-letter text only after they had become accepted in the rubrics. Accordingly, the suffix *bus*, and *con* as a prefix are only occasionally contracted to b̃ and ̃n, the latter as in ̃nspectu. The *tur* abbreviation consists of three diagonally ascending strokes beginning at the level of the upper *serif* of the final letter before the abbreviation. General omissions are shown by use of a *macron* over the letter following the omission: *noster*: n-̄. *Que* is usually replaced by q̄.

The significance of the preceding information is that it suggests that the four *Las Huelgas Manuscripts* may be contemporaneous within the period of approximately a decade, perhaps a little more. The calligraphic and

orthographic differences, especially the abbreviations and the use of the *cauda*, are of more importance because they suggest that each manuscript was the work of a different scribe, each with a slightly different knowledge of, and attitude to calligraphy. Evidence in favour of this hypothesis occurs in the variety of scribal differences which become apparent when *Ar.T1* is compared to *Ar.S1*. The two antiphoners, however, were almost certainly written as a set. The evidence for this is the fact that the tonary for both manuscripts is included on folios 190r-192r of *Ar.T1*.

Concerning the matter of scribal uniformity, there is some evidence that scriptoria of most of the religious orders adhered to basic procedures and styles concerning calligraphy and musical notation. This may have occurred more at a regional than international level. In a professional scriptorium, however, a higher level of stylistic and calligraphic uniformity would have been expected, despite the transitional nature of the script involved.⁶¹ The evidence indicates that the textors had a knowledge of the basic transitional style, but included their own individual traits, some of which are noted above. Comparison of the musical notation, especially the clefs, indicates the work of a different hand in each manuscript. Usual procedure would have been to rule the musical staves with a raster, but uneven distances between the staff lines and untidy endings of the groups of staff lines indicate that the lines were drawn individually. These weaknesses detract from the overall appearance of the page and give the impression that the scribes may not have been completely familiar with the copying of musical manuscripts. Supposing that the *capellanes* at Las Huelgas came from Cîteaux, and that previously they had been secular priests, it is highly unlikely that they came from the same area prior to training at Cîteaux. Their ages and familiarity with scribal matters could have varied considerably. Although they were clerics, and possessed scribal skills, they were not professional scribes. Almost certainly they had not been trained in the same scriptorium to produce uniform script; consequently, inconsistencies in their work can be expected. For example, in *L.Gr*, the letter e often has a different appearance because of change of angle of the diagonal hairline and the position of the opening. The letter m also tends to vary in final shape, mostly because of the prominence of a diagonal pedal or angling off of the final minim. The final shape of the letter a also changes, although the *ductus* remains almost uniform, as can be seen in lines 2 and 3 on folio 33r. These letters appear to be different because of variation in detail and finishing points, as opposed to variation in construction.

Another curious piece of evidence in support of this proposed scribal individuality occurs on folio 141v of *Ar.T1*. Complete lessons were infrequently included in noted manuscripts, although cues are relatively common. The manuscript includes part of the lesson, which is based on Sap.1:6: *Benignus est enim Spiritus*. The text however, shows use of a very unusual orthographic variation involving the superlative, *Benigistis*, for which parallel usages have yet to be identified.⁶²

In the Middle Ages, Castilian ink was famous because of its superior black quality. Some of the ink in these manuscripts actually appears closer to a paint because of its intense black quality and glossy appearance. Accordingly, it is almost certainly of Castilian formulation, and therefore of significance to the proposed identification of the manuscripts. The existence of a scriptorium at Las Huelgas, which produced legal and administrative documents for which a fast legible ink was required, is well documented.⁶³ One Castilian formula was based on tannin of pomegranate or Arabian Punic Apple, and gum of acacia or Egyptian Lotus. A later formulation of Asiatic or Arab derivation, referred to as *tinta galla* or shoemaker's black, was based on tanno-gallate of iron made from iron sulphate or copper sulphate (Roman vitriol), and tannin from the gall-nuts of oak trees. A glossy appearance was obtained by the inclusion of plum or apple gum in the formulation.⁶⁴ Both compounds were superior to the Northern medieval inks, which were made from lamp black, gum and vinegar or strong wine.⁶⁵ The rubricating ink used throughout the four manuscripts is still bright and fast, but the formula is difficult to identify; it could have been Spanish madder or *granza*, which was derived from *rubea tinctorum*, or lake, produced from ivy sap, or less likely, *brexilium*, from Brazil-wood.⁶⁶

An investigation of the Las Huelgas decorated majuscules confirms the influence of decorations used at Cîteaux in the early part of the twelfth century, particularly during the tenure of the second official Abbot, Stephen Harding, from 1109-1133. There is, however, one noticeable difference between the early French style used at Cîteaux and the Castilian manuscripts. This relates to the use of zoomorphic or historiated initials, which incorporate animal and human figures. Decorations of this type were popular in the manuscripts produced at Cîteaux before 1134 and could have been inspired by the Abbot's familiarity with and liking for English decorations.⁶⁷ Some of the miniatures from Cîteaux are more convincing than others, depending upon the skill of the artists, but generally speaking, the work is similar to the paintings throughout the four volumes of Stephen Harding's Bible. The purpose of these historiated or zoomorphic initials was both functional, ornamental and didactic, and by 1200, decorative elements from them had become part of an international style in use in monastic and secular ecclesiastical manuscripts. The decorations had an historic origin which will be discussed presently; their revival and development in twelfth century Burgundy seems to have been inspired by counterparts in astronomical tables, scripture - the Old Testament parables in particular - and several well known medieval eschatological explanations, including the *Seven Terraces*, the *State of the World* and variations on the basic concept of the *Ladder to Heaven* (the Guidonian ladder, which was applied to the musical hexachord and which was constructed around the inner meanings of the first syllables of lines from the Hymn to St. John, *Ut queant laxis*, is one familiar application of the ladder concept).⁶⁸ Representations of the letters B and P which occur in many manuscripts, and which are used frequently as illustrations in facsimile reproductions, often show figures struggling up the rungs of a

ladder, which forms part of the minim or descender. These figures represent man striving for the higher spheres and ultimately, Heaven and Eternity.

St. Bernard himself made no unequivocal statement about manuscript decorations, except that they should be non depictæ. It seems that his complaints, set out in the *Apologia ad Guillelmum* of c.1124, were probably provoked partly by the art and sculpture of Cluny and St. Denis, in which he apparently failed to see any didactic properties, despite their justification by the Abbot Suger.⁶⁹ Although Bernard may have considered art a distraction, his complaints were likely precipitated by the amount of time taken in painting and drying polychromatic decorations. This time could have been better spent writing texts which, in his opinion were more important.

The Cistercian proscriptions of 1122-1134, 1159 and 1182 restricted the use of stained glass and sculpture, whether didactic or decorative, but permitted geometric designs on ornamental tiles.⁷⁰ Two explanations can be offered to justify the exemption of fleurons and geometrical designs from these proscriptions. Both are relevant to this discussion. Firstly, fleurons and botanic majuscles may have been permitted because they were non-depictive. Secondly, the intricate white vine and acanthus designs which constitute the majuscles, such as the letter A of the Advent response, *Aspiciens a longe*, on folio 1r of *Hu.T*, were based on ancient usages, some of which were symbolie. Acanthus leaf as a decorative form was used in ancient times and occurs in bas-relief from Amphipolis, Macedonia, dating 500 BC, as well as in the second-century mosaics of Dion, the Forum of Trajan, the Lateran, Ars Pacis and in a multiplicity of other locations. Use of vine decorations in pagan Rome symbolized Paradise, and in early Christian times it represented Eternity and the Kingdom of Heaven. The spirals and quasi-maze designs found near the entrances of the Newgrange caves and at Tintagel may represent the vine of life. The famous 13-metre maze and central rosette in the nave of Chartres Cathedral which was installed during the rebuilding after the fire of 1194 may have been inspired by the spiral. The reconstruction was supervised by the Cistercians.⁷¹ The maze was popular in this era as an allegorical representation of the circuitous journeys of man on earth and his soul in the realms of the dead. Consequently there is no reason why the spiral designs in stone should not have been transferred to parchment and in fact there are examples in many manuscripts of inhabiting figures woven into the two spirals constituting the bow of the letter B. The inspiration was almost certainly the maze and the figures wandering within it. It is easy to justify the retention by the Cistercians of decorative mathematical designs and decorations, given their fascination with mathematics, proportion and acoustics. For example, it can be shown that the Bernardine Abbeys were conceived as acoustic resonators, intended to transform a human choir into celestial music. The concave squinches and the sounding vases in the Abbeys of Sénanque and Fountains respectively were probably based on Roman or Arabian knowledge; they were used by the Cistercians to enhance the quality of the music and overcome acoustical

problems in the pursuit of Heavenly perfection.⁷² From a more mundane viewpoint, until the time of Copernicus the circle and circular movements were considered to pertain to the heavens and eternal order, whereas the straight line represented secular or earthly movement. It seems likely that circular representations in late medieval art were inspired by a renewed interest in ancient Greek philosophy relating to the circle of living matter, Plato's circle of souls, the harmony of the spheres, the perfection of heavenly music and Boethian *musica mundana*, referred to as *musica divina* in the thirteenth century.⁷³ Tangible manifestations of this revival include the wheel windows of Romanesque churches such as at Las Huelgas, the rose windows of the Gothic cathedrals, and in a later era, the canonic rondeau, *Tout pas compas suy composés* by Baude Cordier and Machaut's motet, *Ma fin est mon commencement*. The medieval Cistercian fascination with symbolism and mathematical proportions, geometric series and designs based on spirals could well explain the intricate spiral designs in many of the Las Huelgas majuscules, just as the north window in Chartres has been shown to be constructed around a spiral design.⁷⁴ Further study of some of the Las Huelgas designs may well reveal the influence of the Fibonacci series and gnomonic spirals.⁷⁵

C.R.Dodwell is of the opinion that in spite of proscriptions by the General Chapter, Cistercian polychrome manuscript decorations continued in the second half of the twelfth century.⁷⁶ This is a reasonable assumption, given the fact that the decorated majuscules, whether didactic or non-depictive, were an essential part of medieval manuscripts. They served the same purpose as the carpet pages in the insular Irish manuscripts, which acted as permanent bookmarks dividing the manuscript into sections or gospels which could easily be located. The convention, which was followed in the *Las Huelgas Manuscripts*, was that in graduals, the first letter of the introit of each feast was decorated. In the antiphoners, the first letter of the first response of the first nocturne of vigils (matins) of each feast was decorated. The manuscript *Dijon 114* proves beyond doubt that some of the colourful non-depictive elements of the Cîteaux style were either maintained or revived, but additional evidence exists. The gradual fragment, *Dixson Q3/1*, of somewhat later date, possibly from San Stefano, Corfu, Lodi in Lombardy, now in the State Library of New South Wales, contains initials of the Cîteaux genre. These were much less carefully executed than the originals, but they nonetheless suggest that the Cîteaux fleuron style was used internationally for a considerable period.⁷⁷ Reiterations of proscriptions in the early Cistercian statutes relevant to polychromatic art and polyphony suggest that it was difficult to suppress decorative and creative art forms. Abbots had to be reminded regularly of the need to purge these infiltrations from the liturgy.⁷⁸

The salient differences between the decoration of the early Cîteaux manuscripts and the Las Huelgas style of some sixty years later relates to zoomorphic or depictive qualities, or use of the decorated letter to illustrate specific aspects of the texts. These traits do not occur in the later style of

decoration, for which there is an interesting precedent in the hymn texts, which were chosen without much consideration of the suitability of the texts for their application. The reason for avoidance of historiated or zoomorphic initials may in part relate to observation of the Cistercian proscriptions, but almost certainly it can be traced to another influence, linked to the founding and construction of Las Huelgas itself. Many mudéjar workmen were used on this project in its early stages, and the effects of Islamic artistic philosophy, which must have influenced the workers, are easily discernible in the decorations, such as the thirteenth century mudéjar ceiling in the Chapel of Santiago.⁷⁹ Although there was no Koranic proscription against art-depicta, animal and human representations were generally avoided in Islamic art, especially in masonry, in favour of abstract or botanical designs. It is possible to find design elements common to both the Las Huelgas manuscript fleurons and various rustic botanical designs on capitals around the Romanic cloister, although these were little different to their counterparts at Sénanque and elsewhere. The theory that the decorative botanical designs in stone could also have affected manuscript decorations is certainly not unique: at Cluny, the musical tones were portrayed allegorically in stone on the ambulatory capitals on the Third Abbey Church.⁸⁰ There are many examples of decorations which are common to both stained glass and manuscripts, so there is no reason to believe that the Las Huelgas masonry could not in some way have affected manuscripts written within the same walls.⁸¹

The manuscript decorations used at Las Huelgas towards the end of the twelfth century appear to be derived, at least in part, from the polychrome and white-vine technique, which was often used as a border or repeat in the Harding-Cîteaux style. The original Cîteaux style was not used at Las Huelgas, probably because of modification by the Islamic influence, which resulted in omission of depictive characters, except for the occasional mythical lacertine or dragon. Concerning the latter, Otto Pacht has shown that it was the Romanesque artists of Cîteaux who revived the early seventh century ribbon and interlace lacertine style of manuscript decoration seen in the carpet pages of the Books of Kells, Durrow and the Lindisfarne Gospels. They developed it into a biological strain consisting of biting, entwining animals, as seen in the beast-columns and beast-initials fashionable at Cîteaux from c.1125.⁸² The inclusion of the occasional dragon in the Las Huelgas decorations seems to have occurred perhaps because it was a mythical creature and therefore theoretically non-depictive, but perhaps also because of an ancient and established tradition which began with the use of lacertine interlaces by the Northumbrian illuminators. The Las Huelgas dragons, in French style, with two legs, as opposed to the English variety which usually have four, are usually quite well disguised and blend in with the surrounding foliage.⁸³ A variety of torso decorations occur; some are scaled, others banded, yet others have stripes. There is however, another reason to explain the retention of the dragon form in some of the decorated letters. Creations involving interlocking, gymnastic and head-and-tail biting dragons almost certainly relate to symbolism involving the circle itself, and other

allegorical representations, such as good coming from the mouth of evil, the descent and ascent, etc.⁸⁴ As an example, the design of the majuscule on folio 1r of *Hu.T* involves circular spirals set in a square. This could represent the incessant circular movement of the universe yielding to comprehensible order, as depicted by the square. Nonetheless, a comparison of the same letter to the interwoven spirals and leaves used as corner infills on the Banner of Las Navas de Tolosa, taken as a trophy by Alfonso VIII in 1212, proves that spirals and leaf designs were also a part of Moorish decoration. The supine dragons in the manuscript designs were also perhaps inspired by scriptural references found in popular sermons of the era, for example, Honorius of Autun, *Speculum ecclesie*, based on *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, Et conculcabis leonem et draconem* from Psalm 90.

Another factor contributing to the use of fleurons or botanical and geometrical designs at Las Huelgas, was perhaps that these were much easier to draw than representations involving human figures, which required artists skilled in the use of proportion and perspective. Medieval artists often seem to have been uncomfortable when trying to represent human likenesses. Fleurons were also easier to colour. For example, one basic technique involved the original drawing, then application of the background wash, the darker colours and white highlights, and if necessary, outlining of the drawing in ink or a dark colour as required. Washes and lighter tints were easily produced by dilution of the darker colours. In reality, a scribe of moderate skill with basic facilities and ingredients could produce a relatively impressive fleuron majuscule. Martinez was able to execute the calligraphic initials in *Ar.Gr* with the utmost dexterity so it is quite possible that the capellanes at Las Huelgas possessed these similar attributes.

The incipits of several of the major feasts have been decorated by use of painted, incised letters, each word in a different colour. Shared or common members of the letters and a variety of fanciful designs give them a chrismatic or monogrammatic appearance, as can be seen in the figures 5, 13-16 and 18. Many of the versals or coloured capitals used at the beginning of individual chants also occur in the same form as capitals within the black-letter text, where they are used to divide both the responses and the versicles into their two component sections. In this regard, the letters B, R, M, N, and A, are particularly useful for the purpose of comparison. The *quasi-bastarda* B and R are similar in both black and coloured forms but they are noticeably angular and compressed, showing the influence of early French Gothicism. An unusually shaped letter M was formed by inscribing a compressed circle, to which was attached another member in the shape of an arc to form the final minim stem.⁸⁵ The capitals A, N and U, are similar in that they consist of two members, a straight ascender with noticeable thickening leading to a clear serif, to which was attached an elongated tapered cabriole member, possibly a Visigothic trait, with a pin-head termination.⁸⁶ The N is a mirror image of A and U is simply an inverted A, the latter often lacking the horizontal bar.⁸⁷ Normally, liturgical manuscripts involved the services of several scribes who were specialist rubricators, black-

letter textors, painters and illuminators. Painters and illuminators, especially those capable of zoomorphic representations, would not have been required in the legal scriptorium at Las Huelgas. Accordingly, if the manuscripts were written by capellanes (chaplains or confessors), it is probable that most of the work in each manuscript was by necessity undertaken by the one scribe.

A comparison of the monochromatic initials and the position and application of supplementary decorative features, including the white triballs and tracery used as highlights and relief, such as occur in the multiplicity of designs on folio 134v of the manuscript *Dijon 114* and throughout the *Las Huelgas Manuscripts*, reveals an amazing number of similarities. The same comparison indicates that the monochromatic versals and capitals in *L.Gr* are closest in design and colour to those in *Dijon 114*.

If the *Las Huelgas Manuscripts* had been written at Cîteaux, it is possible that the decorations would have been more elaborate, perhaps incorporating depictive and zoomorphic elements. There are two justifications of this statement: the first is that the earlier decorative traditions at Cîteaux might have influenced the later work, the second is that there would have been no Islamic influence there. In addition, at Cîteaux the different species of letters, such as rubrics and black letters would have been undertaken by different specialist scribes. Conversely if the manuscripts had been written by Castilian scribes and illuminators, the decorations should not show the salient Cîteaux characteristics which have been mentioned.⁸⁸

THE FOUNDATION AND EARLY COMMUNITY OF LAS HUELGAS

In proposing that these manuscripts had their origin at Las Huelgas, it is necessary to consider the historical circumstances surrounding the foundation of Las Huelgas by Alfonso VIII of Castile and his wife Eleanor of England, whose mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, was patron of the Monastery of Fontevraud. It is also necessary to investigate the origins of the early community and the administration of the new institution, which was planned as a Cistercian convent, residence and mausoleum for the royal family, somewhat similar to the Monasteries of Santa Creus, Aragon and Poblet.⁸⁹ The foundation was formally approved by Pope Clement III in January, 1187 and the official privilege is dated June 1, 1187. Because this document states, *we have built...*, it is thought that the Monastery could have been commenced as early as 1180.⁹⁰ From the very beginning, it was the wish of the founder that Las Huelgas should be affiliated with Cîteaux. The original bull and two letters from William, Abbot of Cîteaux, confirm the intended ligation of the Monastery with Cîteaux, although Tulebras was the natural mother-house. The formal affiliation of Las Huelgas with Cîteaux was effected by a *doação* (donation) in December 1199, given by the founder to Guy, Abbot of Cîteaux. The link between Las Huelgas and Cîteaux was maintained until the bull of Pope Martin V, in 1425. After this year, as a member of the *Federación de San Bernardo en España* or Congregation of

Regular Observance of Castile (O.C.R.) (presently consisting of 26 houses), the community of Las Huelgas was exempted from the jurisdiction of Cîteaux.⁹¹

The first Cistercian nuns came to Spain from the Monastery of Fabas, which until c.1250, was known as Lumen-Dei, in Gascony, near St.Gaudens in Haut-Comminges. They established the house of Santa María de la Duenas at Tudela in Navarre in 1149, but moved sometime before November 21, 1150 to the Monastery of Nuestra Señora de la Caridad at Tulebras, which was one of the eighteen dependencies of the Monastery of Tart near Dijon. The latter was founded in 1132 by nuns from Jully, in Langres, during the epoch of St.Bernard's sister Humberlina.⁹² Jully itself was established previously, in 1112, during the era of Stephen Harding.⁹³ The first nuns to inhabit Las Huelgas left Tulebras in 1187, under the care of Martin de Finojosa, Bishop of Sigüenza and formerly Abbot of Huerta.⁹⁴ The founding community included the Abbess D.Misol (a contraction of María Sol or María o Sol), the prioress, Major Fernandez, and the first Chantress, Sancha García Hoza y Villamayor, all from established families in Burgos. The Chantress, Sancha García, was Abbess from 1207-1230, during the time Mafalda was at Las Huelgas.⁹⁵ It is significant to the proposed link between Cîteaux and Las Huelgas that the founding community of Las Huelgas could claim both French and Spanish origins. The adjoining Hospital del Rey, founded shortly after the monastery, was also under the jurisdiction of the Abbess of Las Huelgas from 1212. It functioned as a hospital and hospice for the care of pilgrims on the route to Compostela, and brought Las Huelgas into constant contact with the northern centres of culture and learning. Reciprocally, the fabric in the Church of Sant'Iago de Compostela would have provided unlimited inspiration to visiting artists and illuminators through its myriad allegorical decorations derived from Celtic, Germanic, Oriental and Koranic culture.

The powers of the Abbess of Las Huelgas were only slightly less than those of the Castilian King himself and ranged from the privilege of minting coins to the hearing of confessions. Because most of her powers were based only on tradition and royal decree, they were at times contested by the Abbots of Cîteaux and the Bishops of Burgos; ultimately, they were confirmed by Pope Urban VIII (1623-44) and were not abolished until the bull, *Quam Diversa*, of July 14, 1873. The fortunes of Las Huelgas in the medieval era were advanced by a long succession of erudite and scholarly abbesses. Most of the nuns were from wealthy and noble families and were well educated. The foundation privileges bestowed on the Monastery however, were so generous that the nuns did not need to consider their temporal needs and could retain their own patrimonies.⁹⁶ The monastic properties included 64 towns and villages, producing sufficient income in the thirteenth century for Las Huelgas to both pay its secular workers and lend money.⁹⁷ The numbers in the community increased so rapidly that they had to be limited to 100 nuns and 40 *conversi* by a statute enacted in 1257.⁹⁸ This restriction was probably imposed in an attempt to avoid problems relating to discipline which had occurred at Pontigny, where at one time there had been 300 *conversi* but only 100 monks.⁹⁹

Alfonso VIII had established Las Huelgas as a medieval *abadengo*, and declared it to be the mother-house of Cistercianism in Castile and Leon. This produced unfavourable reactions from the Bishop of Burgos and other religious institutions. The other now subservient Spanish Cistercian convents sent abbesses to the first Castilian Chapter held at Las Huelgas on April 27, 1189, with reluctance, but the Abbesses of Perales and Gades, maintaining correctly, that Tulebras not Las Huelgas was their legitimate mother-house, did not attend at all.¹⁰⁰ Their boycott is proof of the difficulties and friction between Las Huelgas and the other Cistercian houses. The many material benefactions and privileges bestowed on Las Huelgas caused jealousies in other quarters, such that throughout the Middle Ages Las Huelgas was in a state of turmoil with both its secular and liturgical neighbours.¹⁰¹ Traditionally, the Abbess was herself a royal princess or at least related to royalty, yet the need for a señora or princess in residence to ensure royal protection and immunity from interference outside the *abadengo* confirms that the tradition was apocryphal and that the turmoil between Las Huelgas and its neighbours was real.¹⁰² There also existed the custom at Las Huelgas whereby the infantas and widows of the royal family of Castile lived at the monastery and did not travel with the court during its peregrinations.¹⁰³ It will be shown that these traditions and practices and the social order at Las Huelgas could have indirectly influenced the production of the manuscripts.

Apart from the nuns, the social structure at Cistercian monasteries consisted of *freyres*, *capellanes*, *conversi*, *donati* and *jueces*. The latter was a general term used for men of authority, but in this era the preceding terms were actually used imprecisely, and titles and duties varied, especially in the nunneries.¹⁰⁴ In the male monasteries, the *conversi* were in effect lay-brothers who were not recruited merely as menials or labourers, but were viewed as a part of the monastic community. They underwent a novitiate of one year, then took vows of obedience to the abbot. From the liturgical aspect, they were below the status of choir monks and they took part in the choral liturgy only on Sundays and holy days.¹⁰⁵ They had no abbatial vote nor could they hold important positions. Generally, they were involved in domestic and manual duties and farming; those engaged in the latter often lived remote from the monastery, in the grange.¹⁰⁶ The *conversi* were not allowed to read books and their repertoire of prayers and chants was recited from memory, although Anne Lawrence suggests that the *conversi*, not the choir monks, acted as the librarians.¹⁰⁷ At Las Huelgas and probably elsewhere, the *conversi* could have been male, female or married. For example, in January 1188, Juan de Palacio and his wife, Marina, entered the convent as *conversi*.¹⁰⁸

Theoretically, the *freyres* belonged to the same group as the *conversi*, the former term being applied to those *conversi* who held administrative positions, similar to the secular clerici. There are, however, many references in the chronicles from Las Huelgas to *freyres* who were carpenters, dispensers, porters, and stewards. The Hospital del Rey was run by *freyres*, many of whom were members of a *quasi*-military order. These *freyres-hospitalier* made their profession to the Abbess of Las Huelgas in the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene

and they elected a prefect, the *comendador*, whose appointment had to be approved and confirmed by the Abbess.¹⁰⁹ This is evidence that the lower orders or *diáconos* at Las Huelgas consisted of several categories or social levels of *conversi* and *freyres*. The *donati* were somewhat similar to tertiaries in that they were neither hired workmen nor *conversi*, but devout laymen or seculars who were supported by the abbey in return for food and lodging. They supplied manual labour, promised obedience to their superior and were treated as brothers, but they did not take any other vows.¹¹⁰ (The Cistercian *donati* or *oblato* should not be confused with the secular and Benedictine systems of child adoption, involving the foundlings and *oblato* respectively. The latter was one aspect of Benedictine rule which was abandoned by the Cistercian monks.)¹¹¹

Cistercian male monasteries accepted only adults as novices. This was perhaps the reason for a noticeable decline in their numbers during the late twelfth century, such that they were unable to maintain sufficient numbers of chaplains, confessors and *protectoras* for the nunneries. This situation necessitated the acceptance into the monasteries of secular clerics and priests to be trained for this work.¹¹² The clerics were accepted as novices and educated in the Cistercian philosophy. They wore the Cistercian habit although technically they did not belong to any male monastery, and they vowed obedience to an abbess. Those at Las Huelgas demonstrably possessed a variety of specialist skills, including the ability to read and write: the *capellán*, Pelayo is described as a *capellán y notario*, the scribe Domingo Ibñez from Revilla de la Fuente, is referred to both as a *clérigo* and *capellán* and as a *freyre* and *clérigo-confessor* to the married ladies of Las Huelgas.¹¹³ In 1279 he is cited as scribe to the *mayora*.¹¹⁴

The Cistercian nunneries normally obtained their clergy from a proximate male abbey. Under normal circumstances, Las Huelgas would have obtained its chaplains and clerics from a local male monastery or perhaps from the Diocese of Burgos. The strained relationships during this period between the *abadengo* and its neighbours, and the direct affiliation of the Castilian nunnery with Cîteaux suggest that some, perhaps most of the *capellanes* at Las Huelgas by necessity came from the French Monastery. Moreover, there is another side to this argument; this involves the duties of the *capellanes* at Las Huelgas relative to the celebration of Anniversary or Foundation Masses. Some of the exemptions and privileges accumulated by the *abadengo* of Las Huelgas from its inception related to property. Others bestowed by the Roman pontiff and the Cistercian General Chapter, gave permission for use of an extraordinary liturgy involving special feasts, dress and indulgences, for example, the Feast for SS. Justa and Rufina, which was approved by the General Chapter before 1231.¹¹⁵ In addition, Pope Innocent IV instituted a procession on All Saints Day in 1250 and in the same year, he gave permission for the inclusion of Feasts for St. Francis and St. Antony with twelve lessons.¹¹⁶ In 1253 he conceded an indulgence of one year for those assisting with the commemorations (attending the Anniversary Masses) for the Kings of Castile and León.¹¹⁷ The exceptional

liturgy mentioned in the Las Huelgas documents might refer to these special feasts, but the reference could equally be interpreted as indicating an ornamented and decorated liturgy which included polyphony and mensural music.¹¹⁸ Evidence in support of this latter theory involves the existence of the *Las Huelgas Motet Codex*. At the time of its compilation, this codex was an exceptional collection of polyphonic compositions which would, at the least, have been very useful in Foundation or Anniversary masses. In the male monasteries, the Foundation Masses were the duty of the monks,¹¹⁹ but as the number of foundations increased and the number of monks decreased, the obligations became difficult to fulfil. The capital funds or income from the endowments or *ligados perpetuos* were, however, often a necessary part of monastic finances, particularly in the female houses, where income from agricultural activities was not as significant as in the male houses.¹²⁰ At Las Huelgas, the Foundation or Chantry Masses were not a burden on the nuns because they were the duty of the *capellanes*. Moreover, the Masses at Las Huelgas were especially popular because of the pomp and ceremony involving the use of polyphony and measured music and it is known for certain that the monastery derived considerable income from endowments. The *capellanes*, who were not bound by the monastic vows of individual poverty as were the monks, also derived considerable income from the Masses. They spent much of this income buying houses and property in Burgos.¹²¹ The somewhat similar practice of paid penance is also relevant. Normally, the monks were paid for this service. The nuns could not fulfil this obligation, so the obligation and some of the income almost certainly went to the *capellanes*.¹²² In somewhat similar vein, it is difficult to decide if the *capellanes* were sent to Las Huelgas by Cîteaux, solicited by the *abadengo* or whether they volunteered. It is not known how many *capellanes* were active at Las Huelgas at the end of the twelfth century or how many were of French origin, but it is clear that because of their diverse skills as priests, scribes and liturgists, they were a very important part of liturgical life at the monastery.

Because of its status as a *señorío* and royal residence, the diplomatic and legal scriptorium was essential to the administration of Las Huelgas. Despite the fact that the monastery derived considerable income from notarial services offered to the public, this activity decreased during the thirteenth century, possibly because of the increasing number of Foundation Masses, decreasing need for the monetary proceeds and reluctance on the part of the community to provide witnesses.¹²³ The early legal scribes and *capellanes* in the late thirteenth century are infrequently named; more familiar are those Spanish scribes belonging to the later period, such as Domingo Ibáñez.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS TO PORTUGAL

One final fact concerning the founder of Las Huelgas should be mentioned here, because it explains the link between the Castilian monastery and the Portuguese Monastery of Arouca. It also represents an important part of the

theory concerning the translation of three of the manuscripts to Portugal. Alfonso VIII and his wife both died in 1214, leaving as heir their son, Enrique I, a feeble boy then twelve years of age. The other contender for the Castilian throne was Enrique's sister, Berenguela, Queen of León. Alfonso's tutor and guardian, Alvaro de Lara, suspected plots against the young King involving Berenguela, Lopo de Haro and his son, Gonçalo Rodrigues Gyron and nobles of this house sympathetic to her. In an effort to resolve the matter, Alvaro de Lara sought a politically acceptable wife of more mature years for Enrique, to act on his behalf until he attained manhood.¹²⁴ In the light of medieval attitudes to chivalry and courtly function, whereby the running of the household was left entirely to the lady when the lord was unavailable, the action of Alvaro de Lara was quite natural. The Portuguese princess, Mafalda, daughter of Sancho I, was offered the hand of the King of Castile because she possessed all the qualities and attributes considered necessary for this role.

Mafalda left the Portuguese Ribadouro and was initially received at Palencia, but the marriage itself was celebrated in Medina. The date is not recorded and it is difficult to trace all the movements of the medieval Castilian court, which in the absence of a royal palace, was impermanent and nomadic. The chronicles do not give any useful details for the month of August, but considering the above facts and Mafalda's arrival in Castile prior to September 4, the marriage was almost certainly celebrated in August of 1215.¹²⁵

In her own interest, Berenguela protested against the union of Enrique and Mafalda and questioned the authority of Alvaro de Lara. With the threat of civil war looming, she petitioned Pope Innocent III to make the marriage invalid on the grounds of consanguinity. The parentage of Mafalda could be traced through the genealogy of Sancho I and Afonso Henriques, first king of Portugal, to Teresa, daughter of Alfonso VI of Castile. Enrique was also related to Alfonso VI by his father, Alfonso VIII, his grandfather, Sancho III and great-grandfather, Alfonso VII who was the son of Urraca, the other daughter of Alfonso VI. Mafalda and Enrique I were in fact, cousins, related in antiquity, both of them descendents of the two daughters of Alfonso VI of Castile.¹²⁶

Pope Innocent III, considering the future political implications of the marriage and not wishing to see the considerable Kingdoms of Portugal and Castile united, decided in Berengaria's favour. He declared the marriage invalid on the grounds of consanguinity and instructed the Bishops of Burgos and Palencia to resolve the politics of the situation. Mafalda left Burgos via Valladolid to return to Portugal shortly after July 12, 1216. On May 26, 1217, Enrique I was accidentally struck on the head by a stone during a hunt. He collapsed, and following trepanning died during a game on June 6, probably as a result of encephalitis.¹²⁷

Mafalda returned to Arouca because the village and monastery were part of her paternal inheritance, noted in the will of Sancho I in 1210.¹²⁸ The village was of pre-Roman origin and the monastery itself was then old, having been founded in the early eighth century.¹²⁹ The female monastic community at Arouca was established in the early tenth century in the era of the Abbot Hermengildo, when

Helena or Eleva established a small refuge for recluse or *beatus* nuns.¹³⁰ C.1114, after her death, this community was incorporated with the main monastery, which became a double house, populated by both nuns and monks who lived in separate areas but shared the church.¹³¹ The mixed Monastery reverted to a single convent probably about the time Elvira Annes replaced Toda Viegas as Abbess c.1154, but possibly earlier, during the rule of Abbess Gontina, c.1091.¹³² When Mafalda returned to Arouca, she found that the institution had become morally and liturgically lax, although the community included a number of ladies of high birth. As part of many reforms at the monastery, she instituted strict Cistercian rule. This was approved at the provincial level by Paio or Palegio, Bishop of Lamego, in August of 1224 and was confirmed by Pope Honorius III, on June 4 (?), 1226.¹³³ Following Cistercian convention, the monastery was rededicated to the Virgin, although the church retained the double dedication to SS.Peter and Paul and to Cosme and Damien.¹³⁴

The first Cistercian Abbesses at Arouca in the era of Mafalda were probably Aldara, Dordia and Maria Lourenço, whose name appears in a document dated 1231, followed by Maior Martins.¹³⁵ A famous painting in the Monastery of Arouca shows Mafalda in the vestments of an abbess, holding a crosier and an open book to signify her status and her stature as a scholar and administrator. A medieval crown signifies her royal genealogy. In the nuns' choir, one of the *predelas* (paintings used to decorate the backs of the *caderais* or choir-stalls), shows Mafalda on her deathbed, dressed as a Cistercian nun. The accuracy of these eighteenth-century paintings is questionable, however. In her will, Mafalda requested to be buried in the Monastery, an automatic privilege for a nun. Accordingly, we can surmise that she did not take any religious vows and was never an Abbess of Arouca.¹³⁶ Furthermore, as a patron, she could not take the necessary vows of poverty and obedience although she may have attended the Office and dressed in a manner similar to the nuns. The financial and administrative documents collected by Professor Maria Coelho as part of her study of the medieval *señorío* of Arouca also imply that Mafalda acted simply as patron and administrator of the monastery and its properties and benefactor to the religious order.¹³⁷

Mafalda's grandfather Afonso Henriques, the first king of Portugal, established the Monastery of Alcobaça following his victory over the infidels at Santarém. He presented it to the Cistercians, and by 1220, it was one of the most enlightened, productive and influential monasteries in Portugal. It follows that there was an association between the Portuguese monarchy and Cistercianism, but the only evidence of a liturgical connection between Arouca and Alcobaça in Mafalda's time is the mention of a decorated bible which was a gift from Alcobaça, in an inventory of her possessions made shortly after her death in 1256.¹³⁸

Prior to the era of Mafalda, various rules and observations had been used at Arouca, including those of Martin of Dume, Leandre, Isidore and Frutueux of Braga.¹³⁹ The rule of Benedict, used by the Cistercians as the basis for their own

rite, was adopted by the nuns at Arouca in 1091, after the monks had left the monastery and established themselves at Cucajães.¹⁴⁰

The change of liturgical rule at Arouca would have necessitated the acquisition of Office and Mass manuscripts according to Cistercian custom and these must have been at the monastery before ratification of the rite in 1224. With the exception of Las Huelgas and Alcobaça there would have been few places from which Mafalda could have obtained liturgical manuscripts in Cistercian tradition. She may have chosen strict Cistercian rule for use at Arouca in an attempt to reform the laxities mentioned, but her choice may have been based at least in part on her knowledge of the rite used at Las Huelgas. In reality, it is probable that the liturgical manuscripts could have been obtained from Alcobaça and this institution would have been the logical and convenient place to turn to for assistance with her liturgical reforms. There is another important fact which requires mention in this regard and which could well explain why Mafalda turned to Burgos not Alcobaça for the manuscripts. She had been married to the underage son of the founder of Las Huelgas and extensive canonic examination of her vita, prior to her being proclaimed a saint on July 27, 1792, declared the union *nuptiae non consummatae*.¹⁴¹ Unlike the male houses, the Cistercian nunneries could accept girls of any age and were obliged to educate them.¹⁴² Mafalda's interest in scholarship and the school which existed at Las Huelgas must thus be taken into account. Considering also the peregrinative nature of the Castilian court and the custom, already mentioned, whereby the royal princesses lived at the monastery, it is probable that while she was in Castile, Mafalda stayed at Las Huelgas and did not travel with the royal household. Accordingly, she would have been familiar with the liturgical rites and customs of the nuns at Las Huelgas. Although both the conclusions linking Mafalda and the reforms at Arouca to Las Huelgas have been arrived at independently by the present author, they are supported by the researches of Dom Cocheril.

Apart from the connection between Mafalda, by virtue of her marriage to Las Huelgas, the *De constituendis abbatiis*, in the earliest Cistercian *Instituta Generalis Capitula*, c.1134, obliged a mother-house to supply its daughter-houses with choir books. However, these manuscripts often appear to have consisted of superseded copies requiring adaptation and the use of supplements. The statute mentioned applied specifically to the male houses but it is possible that the same obligation may have existed concerning the nunneries.¹⁴³ Moreover, the Monastery of Arouca was converted to Cistercianism by Mafalda, not founded by a diaspora of pilgrim nuns. Theoretically, it follows that it had no mother-house. There is no evidence that Arouca was ever under the protection of a local male monastery as was normal custom, and as a royal señorío it remained relatively independent and aloof.¹⁴⁴ The situation may have been different at Lorvão, where until the eighteenth century the financial affairs of the monastery were administered by five *frades bernardos* who lived in an opulent residence near the monastery.¹⁴⁵

The Monastery of Arouca was affiliated with Cîteaux, but the date of formalization is not known for certain. Circumstances suggest it is likely to have been c.1250.¹⁴⁶ Cîteaux, as a major centre of Cistercianism, had to maintain its own requirements in addition to its obligations to its daughters. It would not have been obliged to supply liturgical books to Arouca, particularly before affiliation. Moreover, considering the Cistercian attitude to austerity, it is likely that the administrations of the traditional French Cistercian abbeys viewed the wealthy Iberian *abadengos*, their royal entourages and numerous benefactions and exemptions, with some scepticism.¹⁴⁷ There is a surprising lack of correspondence between the Monastery of Arouca and other liturgical houses, so it is difficult to make a conclusive assessment of the situation, but considering the general attitude of the Cistercian General Chapter to the female houses, it is likely that the Monastery of Arouca was more interested in Cistercianism than the General Chapter was interested in the Monastery.¹⁴⁸

In addition to their liturgical and historical significance, the Las Huelgas Manuscripts are exceptional works of art by virtue of their intricate polychrome decorations. Coloured majuscules such as that used for the first Advent response, *Aspiciens a longe*, on folio 1r of *Hu.T*, justify the opinion that these manuscripts were intended as presentation pieces or gifts rather than working copies. It is conceivable that the manuscripts were intended for Mafalda; she may have been given them as a gift on the occasion of her wedding or when she left Las Huelgas.

THE MYSTERY OF THE GRADUAL OF LORVÃO

The historical link between Las Huelgas, Arouca and the three antiphoners is clear, but alternatives surrounding the history of the *Gradual of Lorvão* have yet to be explained. It is possible that this manuscript did once belong to the Cistercian nunnery at Lorvão, because this monastery was reformed and converted to Cistercianism in 1211 by Mafalda's sister, Teresa, who returned to Portugal in 1195 following the dissolution of her marriage to Alfonso IX. Consequently, the more important circumstances surrounding the Monastery of Lorvão, its conversion to Cistercianism and its links with Las Huelgas and Arouca are important to the discussion of the origin and later history of the *Las Huelgas Manuscripts*.

The history of ownership of the Monastery of Lorvão is complex; it was certainly once royal property, although in 1109 it was listed as part of the Diocese of Coimbra.¹⁴⁹ It was inhabited by monks from c.878, who from 1051 had followed Benedictine rule.¹⁵⁰ Shortly before 1200 the monks, under the Abbot Julian, were expelled on the grounds of bad conduct and were forced to move. Some went to Pendrosa, near Porto, others went to Rome to appeal to the Pope for justice. Pope Innocent III considered their expulsion to be illegal and having no special favours toward the Portuguese kings, used the Bishop of Santiago as an intermediary to order return of the monastery to the monks and

payment of compensation for their costs. The monks never returned, however, and as far as can be ascertained, Teresa eventually settled with the monks for the sum of 500 *cruzardos*. She made formal entry into the monastery during vespers on Christmas Eve of 1200.¹⁵¹ At this time, she commenced a series of liturgical reforms which incorporated the strict Cistercian rite. The bulls formalizing Cistercianism and the possession of the Monastery itself are dated November 15, 1210 and July 8, 1211.¹⁵² The documents from this era imply affiliation with Cîteaux, although this was not formalized until 1250.¹⁵³ Dom Cocheril observes that at the Monastery of Celas, Coimbra, the rite used by Sancha, a younger sister of Teresa and Mafalda, was based on the rite of Cîteaux. He also remarks that Sancha went to Lorvão to witness the rite introduced by her sister, Teresa.¹⁵⁴ This information implies that the ritual used at Lorvão was dissimilar to that of Cîteaux as used by Sancha, and, at least before affiliation with Cîteaux, the rite used at Lorvão could have been a copy of the Cistercian rite used in Castile. Whilst there may have been some differences between the ceremonies used at Las Huelgas and Cîteaux in the early twelfth century, it has not yet been possible to identify these differences.¹⁵⁵

Reading between the lines of documents which are all too often ambivalent or incomplete, we can infer that relationships between Afonso II and his sisters were often less than harmonious. Sancho I had been excessively generous to his daughters, to the detriment of his son, Afonso II, who, if he had not challenged his father's will, would have had no property and little influence outside of Lisbon. A dispute thus arose between Afonso and his sisters, Teresa and Sancha, over the distribution of their father's estate. Some minor skirmishes took place, in which an occasional chevalier was killed. The documents of this time make few references to Mafalda, but the other sisters, fearing that their inheritances would be appropriated by their brother, appealed to the King of Leon for assistance, resulting in the threat of civil war.¹⁵⁶ The dispute was not finally resolved until 1223, in the era of Sancho II, but during the intervening period, the community of Lorvão was affected because of their patron, Teresa. The monastery suffered considerably, losing much of its property and the income from rents.¹⁵⁷ The dispute confirms that Sancho I had included the Monastery of Lorvão, which was then known as SS. Mamede and Paio, as part of Teresa's inheritance and that it was royal property, similar to Arouca.

The founding community at Lorvão consisted of 40 nuns, including Dulce, Princess of Leon, and Branca and Berengária, the two youngest daughters of Sancho I.¹⁵⁸ Following the tradition of Las Huelgas and many other monasteries under royal patronage, the community included a number of ladies and widows of noble lineage, who although they did not actually become nuns, retired to a life of contemplation and charitable work.¹⁵⁹ The considerable number of members of the Portuguese royal family who entered the Monasteries of Lorvão and Arouca, especially the descendants of Ines de Castro and Pedro I is proof of the close ties between these institutions and the Lusitanian monarchy. These alliances parallel those between Las Huelgas and the Castilian royal family.¹⁶⁰

There is considerable evidence of close individual ties between Lorvão and Las Huelgas. Various authors have stated that Branca, the daughter of Afonso III, born in 1259 and niece of Teresa the founder of Lorvão, became nineteenth Abbess of the Monastery of Lorvão, but resided at Las Huelgas between 1283 and 1294 where she died at an unknown time.¹⁶¹ The letters of the Abbesses of Lorvão state that Branca went to Las Huelgas to reform the monastery and that she became tenth Abbess of Las Huelgas in 1305, although the latter part of this statement is not true.¹⁶² The documents of Las Huelgas show that between 1339 and 1340 there was a prioress at Las Huelgas named Blanca Alfonso and this could refer to Branca, the former Abbess of Lorvão.¹⁶³ The explanation for the presence of Branca at Las Huelgas seems to relate to the custom already mentioned, of residence of a princess as the *señora* or *mayora* at the Castilian monastery, to ensure royal protection. In the time of Sancho IV, King of Castile and Leon from 1284-1295, a clever piece of diplomacy had brought two princesses to the Monastery of Las Huelgas, both with the title of *mayora*.¹⁶⁴ Branca was one of them, the other was Spanish.

There is other evidence of close ties between the Monasteries of Lorvão and Arouca. For example, Ana Coutinho, the twenty-second perpetual Abbess of Lorvão, moved from Lorvão to Arouca and then back to Lorvão, and the twenty-third Abbess, Melicia de Melo, went to Lorvão from Arouca.¹⁶⁵ Additionally, the inscriptions in *Ar.Gr.*, and the Arouca sanctorale, *Ar.SI*, suggest a relationship between Melicia de Melo, the house of Marialva, and the community of Arouca. It is interesting that the Abbess of Arouca in 1485 was Leonor Coutinho, one of the daughters of Beatriz de Melo, wife of the Conde of Marialva.¹⁶⁶

In the Benedictine era, the Monastery of Lorvão was clearly a medieval Portuguese *señorío*, with extensive properties and income. Although its affairs and fortunes fluctuated, the eleventh century was probably the most difficult. A high point certainly occurred in the era of the Abbot Eusebius, 1086-1118, and continued for a short time after his death in the latter year.¹⁶⁷ During this era, diplomatic scribes and book-keepers would have been required for administrative purposes. The monastery, when occupied by Benedictine monks prior to the era of Teresa, had a long tradition of manuscript production and some manuscripts written by the Benedictine monks survive from this era. Correia Borges notes that at Lorvão, the copying of the *Livro das Aves* was completed in 1183, and in 1189, Frei Egas completed the last copy of the *Commentário do Apocalipse* to be made at Lorvão.¹⁶⁸ It is said that the prototype of this work had been written by Beatus, a monk at San Martin de Liébana, in the eighth century, and that the original codex had been copied 23 times at Lorvão. It is a mystery why the Benedictine monks who went to the Minho c.1200 did not take with them their most important and ancient manuscripts when they left the monastery. Perhaps they were expecting to return or they took only the originals with them.

António Cruz suggests that the Benedictine scribes at Lorvão came from the scriptorium of the Cathedral of Coimbra and that the scriptorium of Santa

Cruz, Coimbra, was founded by scribes from the scriptoria of the Cathedral and Lorvão. He suggests further that the first scribes at Alcobaça came from both these institutions.¹⁶⁹ The calligraphic and ornamental styles, and the method of page ruling used by these three Conimbricense houses are well known, and are available for comparison. Stylistic differences confirm that the *Gradual of Lorvão* is unlikely to be the work of any of the Conimbricense scriptoria.¹⁷⁰

The importance of these facts, which seek to differentiate between the circumstances at Arouca and Lorvão is that there is no evidence of a scriptorium at Arouca but there had been one at Lorvão. Some of the Benedictine manuscripts could have been used by the founding nuns in the temporary absence of Cistercian manuscripts. To the present time it has not been possible to identify any other musico-liturgical manuscripts such as antiphoners and graduals which can be linked to the Monastery of Lorvão in the early Cistercian era. In spite of the evidence which shows cultural and liturgical ties between Las Huelgas and Lorvão, it is possible to propose a more convincing theory concerning the medieval history of *L.Gr.*

The collection of noted medieval liturgical manuscripts at Arouca includes the antiphoners *Ar.T1* and *Ar.S1*, and a collectarium. There is now no medieval gradual at the monastery. However, it is possible that this gradual, which would have been required at the same time as the antiphoners, may have been at the Monastery of Arouca until the nineteenth century and it is, as a result of diverse circumstances, now known as the *Gradual of Lorvão*.

Following the Decree of Secularization of the Monasteries in 1790, the male Portuguese houses were disbanded immediately; the female communities were allowed to remain in their buildings, although novices could not be accepted. The last nun at Arouca, Maria José Gouveia Tovar e Meneses, died on June 3, 1886, when the Real Irmandade de Rainha Santa Mafalda was established to maintain the Monastery and its artifacts. Early in the present century, the buildings were inhabited by the Salesians. Consequently, the monastery was occupied, or under protection, from the medieval era to the present day, and as a result, much of the monastic property has survived.

In 1854, the historian Alexandre Herculano visited Arouca to gather information for a report about ecclesiastic archives in Portugal. He returned in 1857 and 1858 to gather artifacts of exceptional interest for display in Lisbon. His attempts to remove monastic property from Arouca were fiercely resisted by the townspeople, actually necessitating the use of troops to quell the riot, but he did manage to remove some documents, books and furniture. The same process was repeated at Lorvão to some extent. We know that the last nun at this monastery, Luisa Madelena Tudela, died July 3, 1887, and at that time, the monastery was in a lamentable state.¹⁷¹ Herculano visited it in 1853 and discovered the community consisted of 18 or 20 nuns, cold, hungry, frightened and without spirit. Their condition prompted his famous letter to António de Serpa Pimental for assistance on their behalf.¹⁷² Herculano returned to Lorvão in 1884. The few remaining nuns were in poor health and starving but they asked

nothing for their treasures and simply gave Herculano some manuscripts, including the *Livro das Aves* and a twelfth century copy of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (the Bishop of Coimbra, later realizing the loss, thereafter attempted to prevent reoccurrence of the events and to keep other items in local museums in Coimbra).¹⁷³ The dispersal of monastic property occurred in this way many times throughout the country and as a result, the origins, owners and final locations of many items are now not certainly known. Today, for example, some of the property from Arouca is in Lisbon, and some is in Aveiro.¹⁷⁴

The monastic possessions were removed from Arouca under disorganized circumstances and it is possible that the manuscript, now known as the *Gradual of Lorvão*, was one of the artifacts taken by Herculano from Arouca, and that its origin was later confused with manuscripts obtained from the sister Monastery of Lorvão. Numerous reasons can be proposed to explain why the gradual was taken from Arouca while the antiphoners remained. For example, they may have been stored in different places, or Herculano may have wanted only one representative copy.

There are various alternatives. For instance, it is conceivable, in view of the close relationship between the sisters Mafalda and Teresa and the completion in 1486 of the new Gradual, *Ar.Gr* for the Monastery of Arouca, that at the time of Herculano's visit, *L.Gr* was at Lorvão on loan, or as a gift from the nuns of Arouca.

Although the matter concerning *L.Gr* cannot be resolved at present, there is somewhat more evidence in favour of the theory that the gradual came to Arouca with the antiphoners than there is to support the theory that it belonged to Teresa at Lorvão. Regardless of the preceding theories, there is little doubt that on stylistic and historical grounds, *L.Gr* is related to the three Las Huelgas antiphoners and that it is also related to the translation to Portugal of the two antiphoners now at Arouca.

THE WIDER SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

Whilst liturgical calendars and indices of chants are undeniably useful to liturgists and musicologists, detailed study of these manuscripts with different criteria in mind might produce interesting results of a more general nature. Such studies cannot be undertaken in this short essay, but one or two salient features can be given here as illustrations, even though they have only a small bearing on the identification, use and chronology of the codices.

Although the manuscripts are for the most part original, at some time attempts were made to transpose various chants by adding different clefs to the staff. From the aspect of unaccompanied performance of any one chant, this would have had no real effect, because absolute pitch of the music was not a consideration and the moveable clef simply ensured that the notation remained within the limits of the staff. A change in the clef of one chant in a series of

several, for example, in *L.Gr*, folio 101v(125v), where the altered clef pertains to the offertory, did naturally change its pitch relative to those around it. However, the choral Mass chants were not sung as a continuous series. Accordingly, excepting a cantor with absolute mental pitch retention, the clefs would still have had little significance, unless the chants were accompanied by an instrument. The added clefs suggest that in later eras the chants were accompanied by the organ or another instrument, and some required transposition.

There is another side to this theory. Many occurrences of *liquescence* or decorative ornamentation in the Lorvão manuscript have non-liquescient counterparts in the Arouca manuscript, *Ar.Gr*. Using the hymn *Benedictus es Domine* as a basis for comparison, we find that in *L.Gr*, each repetition of *Et laudabilis* begins with a liquescent *torculus* and a liquescent *clivis* or *cephalicus*, but virtually all of the occurrences of the *cephalicus* in *L.Gr* have been replaced in *Ar.Gr* by a normal *clivis*, except on folio 9r, line 1, following the *presa*, where a liquescent *cephalicus* is clearly evident. This proves that the *cephalicus* was still known, even if no longer in frequent use. The *torculus* is more problematical; occurrences of its liquescent form in *L.Gr* appear in *Ar.Gr* in the form of a non-liquescient *podatus*. There are many examples of a *podatus* used in *L.Gr* and a *torculus* used in the corresponding position in *Ar.Gr*. This discrepancy and others of a similar nature could easily have developed as a result of scribal misreading through several transmissions from an original manuscript.

The preceding information shows that liquescent or decorative neumes which occur in *L.Gr* often do not have liquescent counterparts in *Ar.Gr*, which is of much later date. This suggests that some of the more detailed aspects of the performance traditions were discontinued over a period of time, possibly as a result of the small monastic populations or declining standards of authenticity. It is very interesting to note, however, that when the hymn melodies in *Ar.Tl* are compared with counterparts of earlier date, such as were used by Waddell for his edition of the Cistercian Hymnal, it becomes obvious that occurrences of *non-liquescient pes* and *clivis* in the hymnals are often replaced by ornamental liquescent counterparts in *Ar.Tl*. This could indicate that use of *liquescence* varied according to geographical area, similar to the pronunciation of the Latin itself.¹⁷⁵ Two explanations can be offered to explain these anomalies concerning *liquescent* symbols. One relates to geographical usage, the other to chronological usage. Concerning the former, a somewhat parallel theory involving chant dialects, or chants bearing the imprint of a particular geographic region, was proposed by Peter Wagner.¹⁷⁶ On the other hand, the ornamental embellishments of the Office chants by use of *liquescence* could be chronologically explained. *Liquescence* became popular towards the beginning of the thirteenth century, but its usage gradually waned during successive eras, possibly because of the use of the organ or other instruments of fixed pitch as accompaniment.¹⁷⁷ In view of the diminished sizes of monastic communities in post-medieval eras, it is likely that organ accompaniment did indeed become a part of chant performance by necessity.¹⁷⁸ This is itself interesting; in the earlier years of Christianity, the organ was not

popular because it had been associated with pagan festivals and its most infamous performer was none other than Nero himself.

Another interesting example pertains to the versicles, whose cue was sung by the invitor, with the response sung by the choir. In comparing the Cistercian versicles with their earlier Benedictine precursors, it is immediately noticeable that the Cistercian texts are on whole more extensive than those given in the Benedictine sources. The Benedictine versicle often consists of a simple phrase. The Cistercian counterparts however, have been expanded into a meaningful statement, perhaps in keeping with the Bernardine preoccupation with the comprehensibility and didactic value of the text.¹⁷⁹

A survey of the rubrics throughout these manuscripts, especially those for vespers, prompts many interesting questions relating to evolution of the liturgical calendar. Theoretically, the monastic day began with vigils, popularly referred to as matins, and proceeded through the hours to vespers. A comprehensive consideration of texts used for major feasts and Sundays reveals that vespers on the day preceding the feast, or on the Saturdays, tended to preempt the sentiment of the feast or the Sunday. Ultimately, the festal or Sunday Office included a vigil or vespers on the eve of the feast. This was known as first vespers. The second vespers occurred on the feast day itself. First vespers were used on days of feasts of sermon, which included feasts of D.N.J.C., all the major feasts of the Virgin, Sundays and important local feasts. In this regard, it appears that three methods of rubrication of Sundays and feasts were used in these manuscripts: 1: first vespers and the feast itself were rubricated independently, 2: the rubrics for first vespers, or vespers on the eve of the feast, and those for the feast itself were combined. This type of rubric was probably more applicable to universal feasts. 3: the rubric refers only to the Saturday or first vespers and implies the Sunday or Festal Office. For example, towards the end of the *Ar.T1*, on folios 151r, 151v, 160v, 164v, 168r and 172r, the Saturday vespers were rubricated, but no rubric was given for the following Sunday Office. The rubrics for the Trinity, on folio 144v of *Ar.T1*, show what is perhaps the second or transitional phase, wherein the Saturday rubric is combined with that of the Sunday feast, for example, *Sabbato ante primam Dominicam post Pentecostem. De Sancta Trinitate. Ad vespas*. This indicates that theoretically the feast day had already begun with the Saturday vespers. The time around Trinity and Pentecost was and still is complicated from the aspect of chronology and description. Rubrication, especially in the manuscripts as opposed to printed books, tends to vary according to their genre and use. Observations and comparisons suggests these manuscripts were compiled in a transitional era, when a mixture of traditions was in use.

By 1300, concurrence of feasts had become a problem in the Roman calendar, which contained approximately 200 feasts. The problem was not so evident in the Cistercian calendar, to which additions were made sparingly.¹⁸⁰ There is some evidence that ferial and festal Offices and vespers were occasionally truncated, added together, or said concurrently, but usually, the proper or festal Office displaced the ferial Office.¹⁸¹

The overall historical significance of these observations is that as the eve of feasts assumed greater importance, the cursus of chants used for the Offices on the eve had to be revised. *Ar. Tl* shows an expanded cursus of chants for the eve of the Nativity based on material from the first two nocturnes of the day itself. This is representative of an evolving liturgical practice. To cite an example, in the early Christian era, vigils for the Nativity were confined to the evening before the feast, manifest in the texts for first vespers. As the importance and popularity of the Nativity increased, the vigil for Christmas eve took up the whole of the preceding day, necessitating the listing of special chants for the minor hours of the day before Christmas. Ultimately, the sentiment of the actual chants changed about five days before the Nativity and the vigil for Christmas itself began with Matins of the day before.

To the present, only four musical manuscripts have been located in the tradition referred to Las Huelgas. The collectarium once at Arouca and referred to by Manuel Joaquim as the *Collectario de Rainha Santa Mafalda* because of apocryphal ownership by Mafalda, seems to have been the fifth manuscript in the group, but its present whereabouts are unknown and the author possesses only a few old photos of the first few folios.¹⁸² The two lectionaries at Arouca, although unnoted, seem to be related to the musical manuscripts by virtue of their location and decoration. The major difficulty is that their calligraphy is different to that throughout the musical manuscripts because of more noticeable Gothic compression of the letters. In actual fact, the lectionaries could have been written in France. In many respects, the calligraphy throughout the lectionaries is similar to that in the manuscripts now in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon and known as the *Missal of Alcobaça* and the *Bible of Alcobaça*. These manuscripts must be mentioned here, if not discussed in detail, because they contain some decorations which are in the Las Huelgas style.¹⁸³ Several observations should be made concerning these codices. Firstly, they are predominantly non-musical manuscripts, so an in-depth discussion of them is not warranted here. Secondly, they do not duplicate the musical manuscripts and in spite of the different calligraphies, they could be a part of what was once a complete set of Cistercian musical books, consisting of antiphoners, gradual, lectionaries, collectarium, missal and bible. Thirdly, their origin is far from certain and there is no proof that they were even found at Alcobaça, let alone written there. No strong liturgical relationship existed between Alcobaça and Cîteaux and the fact that there was a scriptorium at Alcobaça is not of great importance to the credibility of the author's hypothesis concerning the origin and history of the noted manuscripts.

It is not logical that the *Gradual of Lervão*, the *Missal* and *Bible of Alcobaça* and the antiphoner manuscripts at Las Huelgas and Arouca were written individually or in isolation at several monasteries. Although possible, it is very unlikely that a number of books decorated in the Las Huelgas-Cîteaux style were written at the four monasteries and that all of these books, except for one example of each genre, have been lost. Considering the matters mentioned

concerning the secularization of the monasteries, especially the very rapid evacuation of the male houses, the ascription of the *Bible* and *Missal* to Alcobacense origin is not based on fact even if these are the manuscripts mentioned in the chronicles of Bernardo de Brito. It is probable that these manuscripts were not written at the Monastery of Alcobaça and at least some of the comments made concerning the origin and history of the *Gradual of Lorvão* could equally apply to the *Missal* and *Bible of Alcobaça*. Furthermore, the musical manuscripts are of primary interest. The origin and history of the unnoted sources must be held to be of peripheral interest and in spite of the existence of these manuscripts, the most credible origin for the noted manuscripts is without doubt that based on the vita of Mafalda, the Monastery of Arouca, the *abadengo* of Las Huelgas and the *capellanes* from Cîteaux.

In spite of the theory that the manuscripts mentioned above are all a part of one set of liturgical books brought to Portugal by Mafalda, it is possible that other stylistically similar manuscripts were produced at Las Huelgas and that these still exist and await discovery. It is unlikely, however, that they will be discovered in Portugal. Of the considerable number of Cistercian monasteries which arose in Portugal, it appears that only those at Arouca and Lorvão had any relationship or connection with Las Huelgas. Dom Cocheril's studies of the traditions and affiliations of the Hispano-Portuguese monasteries in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries show that this conclusion is almost certainly correct. Also, the extant manuscripts in Portuguese archives are known and most have been catalogued in one way or another, even if many of them have not been subjected to detailed study.

Whilst a random search of the Spanish monasteries and archives would be very complicated, if for no other reason than the size of the territory and the number of institutions which would have to be surveyed, a specific search involving only those monasteries associated with Las Huelgas still involves many difficulties. Twenty-four daughter houses were founded from Las Huelgas, one of which, the Monastery of Las Huelgas in Valladolid, founded by María de Molina in 1282, was intended as an exact liturgical replica of its Castilian counterpart.¹⁸⁴ We can only guess if this or any of the other daughters were provided with liturgical books from Las Huelgas. Even if some of the Las Huelgas daughters were given manuscripts from the mother-house, these manuscripts could have been passed on to other houses by the daughters. Identification of provenance thus becomes a difficulty.

The fact that no other manuscripts have yet been located in Spain or Portugal suggests that the *Las Huelgas Manuscripts* could be unique. This in turn inspires argument which is based on one of two theories. The first is based on the Cistercian direction regarding provision of liturgical books to daughters and leads to the conclusion that manuscripts may have been provided by Las Huelgas to at least some of its daughters as a matter of course. These manuscripts may have been written for, rather than at Las Huelgas, or they may have been written under very different circumstances from those which have

been proposed concerning the *Las Huelgas Manuscripts*. The other theory follows the assumption that the manuscripts are the products of exceptional circumstances at Las Huelgas and were written by scribes from Cîteaux for some special purpose. We do not know this purpose but of many possible purposes, the more usual, gifts or presentations, have been mentioned. We do not know how many scribes came from Cîteaux to Las Huelgas, or for how long this arrangement lasted. If special circumstances gave rise to the copying of the *Las Huelgas Manuscripts*, these may never have been repeated. Moreover, there is certainly a precedent for the production of unique copies of manuscripts at Las Huelgas, the *Las Huelgas Motet Codex* being perhaps the most famous.¹⁸⁵ The possibility that other manuscripts in the Las Huelgas style may still exist and may one day be recognized is interesting, but in no way detracts from the technical value of those which have already been identified, nor would it undermine the evidence presented here justifying the present hypotheses and conclusions.

APPENDIX 1

CURSUS OF ANTIPHONER OF AROUCA (AR.T1), TEMPORAL SECTION

The orthography throughout the appendices follows the original manuscript characters and texts as closely as possible.

1r	Dominica i Aduentus Domini
5r	Priuatis diebus per Septimanam
5v	Feria ii
5v	Feria iii
5v	Feria iiii
6r	Feria v
6r	Feria vi
6r	Sabbato
6v	Dominica ii Aduentus Domini
9r	Priuatis diebus per totam Ebdomadam
9v	Feria ii
9v	Feria iii
10r	Feria iiii
10r	Feria v
10r	Feria vi
10v	Sabbato
10v	Dominica iii Aduentus Domini
13v	Feria ii
14r	Feria iii
15r	Feria iiii
16r	Feria v
16v	Feria vi
17v	Sabbato
19r	Dominica iiii Aduentus Domini
21v	Priuatis diebus usque ad uigiliam Natalis Domini
22r	Eisdem priuatis diebus
22v	Diebus vii proximis ante diem ante uigiliam Natiuitatis Domini ad magnificat
23v	Quinta die ante Natalem Domini
23v	Si uigilia Natiuitatis Domini die Dominica
23v	Commemoratio de Dominica
24r	In uigilia Natalis Domini
26r	In die Natalis Domini
31v	Priuatis diebus usque ad Epiphaniam
33r	Quinta et vi die a Natali Domini
34r	Dominica post Natalem Domini
34r	Commemoratio de Dominica
34v	Quando hec Dominica post Circumcisionem celebratur
34v	In Circumcisione Domini
37r	In uigilia Epiphanie
37r	(In Epiphania)
43r	Priuatis diebus per octauam
43r	Dominica infra octauam
43r	Commemoratio de Dominica
44v	In octauam Epiphanie
45r	Antiphonas post octauam Epiphanie in Sabbatis ad magnificat
45r	Dominica i post octauam Epiphanie
45v	Dominica ii post octauam Epiphanie
45v	Dominica iii post octauam Epiphanie
46r	Dominica iiii post octauam Epiphanie
46r	Sabbato ante i Dominicam post octauam Epiphanie

46r	Dominicis diebus usque ad lxx
50v	Ad completorium
50v	Feria ii
52v	Feria iii
54v	Feria iiii
56v	Feria v
58v	Feria vi
61r	Sabbato
63r	Sabbato ante lxx
63r	Dominica in lxx
67r	Sabbato ante lx
67r	Dominica in lx
67v	Sabbato ante l
67v	Dominica in l
71r	Feria iiii
71r	Feria v
71r	Feria vi
71v	Sabbato
71v	Dominica i in xl
76r	Feria ii
76r	Feria iii
76v	Feria iiii
76v	Feria v
76v	Feria vi
77r	Sabbato
77r	Dominica ii (in) xl
81v	Feria ii
81v	Feria iii
82r	Feria iiii
82r	Feria v
82r	Feria vi
82v	Sabbato
82v	Dominica tertia (in xl)
87v	Feria ii
87v	Feria iii
87v	Feria iiii
87v	Feria v
87v	Feria vi
87v	Sabbato
88v	Dominica iiii
92v	Feria ii
92v	Feria iii
93r	Feria iiii
93r	Feria v
93r	Feria vi
93v	Sabbato
93v	Dominica v in Passione Domini
97v	Priuatis diebus usque ad Pascham
97v	Feria ii
98r	Feria iii
98r	Feria iiii
98r	Feria v
98v	Feria vi
98v	Sabbato
99r	Dominica in Palmis
103v	Feria ii
105v	Feria iii
106r	Feria iiii
107v	Feria v in Cena Domini

109r	Ad Mandatum in Cena Domini
111v	Feria sexta in Parasceue
113r	Sabbato
114v	In uigilia Pasche
114v	In die Pasche
119v	Priuatibus diebus per Resurrectionem
120r	Feria ii
120v	Feria iii
120v	Feria iiii
120v	Feria v
121r	Feria vi
121r	Sabbato
121v	In octauam Pasche
121v	Per totam Resurrectionem priuatibus diebus
121v	(Feria ii)
121v	Feria iii
122r	Feria iiii
122r	Feria v
122r	Feria vi
122v	Sabbato
122v	Sabbato ante primam Dominicam post Octauam Pasche
123r	Dominica i et ii post octauam Pasche
126v	Sabbato ante ii Dominicam
126v	Dominica ii post octauam Pasche
126v	Sabbato ante iii Dominicam
127r	Dominica iii et iiii post octauam Pasche
129v	Dominica iii
129v	Sabbato ante iiii Dominicam
130r	Dominica iiii
130r	In uigilia Ascensionis
130v	In die Ascensionis
134v	Priuatibus diebus usque ad Pentecostem
134v	Feria vi
135r	Sabbato
135r	Dominica infra octauam
135r	Commemoratio de die Dominica
135v	Feria ii
135v	Feria iii
136r	Feria iiii
136r	In octauam Ascensionis
136r	Feria vi
136r	Sabbato
136v	In uigilia Pentecosten
136v	In die Pentecosten
141v	Priuatibus diebus per octauam
143r	Feria ii
143r	Feria iii
143v	Feria iiii
143v	Feria v
144r	Feria vi
144v	Sabbato
144v	Sabbato ante primam Dominicam post Pentecostem
144v	De Sancta Trinitate
151v	Sabbato ante secundam Dominicam post Pentecostem
151v	(Dominica ii post Pentecostem)
155r	Antiphona post Pentecostem in Sabbatis ad magnificat
156r	Antiphona a calendis Augusti in Sabbatis ad magnificat
157r	Sabbato
157r	(Dominica)

160r	Antiphone a kalendis Septembris in Sabbatis ad magnificat
160v	Sabbato
160v	(Dominica)
164r	Antiphone a medio Septembri in Sabbatis ad magnificat
164v	Sabbato
164v	(Dominica)
167v	Antiphone a kalendis Octobris in Sabbatis ad magnificat
168r	Sabbato
168r	(Dominica)
171v	Antiphone a kalendis Nouembris in Sabbatis ad magnificat
172r	Sabbato
172v	(Dominica)
172v-182v	Dominicas i-xxv post Pentecostem (magnificat and benedictus antiphons)
183r-189r	Uenite exultemus
190r-192r	Tonary (antiphon incipits from temporale and sanctorale cycles)
192r-193v	Doxologies
193v	Dismissals (Benedictions)
193v-212r	Hymnarium
212r-214r	Cantica Dominicis diebus et Festiuitate S.Micahelis
214r	Feria ii
214r	Feria iii
214v	Feria iiii
214v	(Feria V)
214v	Feria VI

APPENDIX 2

CURSUS OF ANTIPHONER OF AROUCA (AR.S1), SANCTORAL SECTION

The foliation of Ar.S1 takes into account later folios bound into the manuscript. The present foliation of the manuscript, which includes the extraneous leaves, is given in brackets, adjacent to the foliation of the manuscript as it would have been originally.

1r(23r)	In Natali Sancti Stephani prothomartiris
4v(26v)	In Natali Sancti Iohannis euangeliste
7v(29v)	In die Sanctorum Innocentium
11r(33r)	In Natale Sancte Agnetis
14v(36v)	Agnetis commemoratio secundo ad uesperas et in laudibus
14v(36v)	In Conuersione Sancti Pauli
19r(41r)	In Purificatione Beate Marie
24v(46v)	In Natale Sancte Agathe
28v(50v)	Scolastice Uirginis, commemoratio ad uesperas et in laudibus
28v(50v)	In Cathedra S.Petri ad uesperas
28v(50v)	In Natali Sancti Benedicti abbatis
34v(56v)	In Annuntiatione Beate Marie
40r(62r)	Quando Festum Sancti Ambrosii post Pascham (magnificat and benedictus antiphons)
40v(62v)	Unius Martyris uel Confessoris per Resurrectionem commemoratio
40v(62v)	Plurimorum Martyrum per Resurrectionem commemoratio
40v(62v)	In Natali Marci euangeliste
41v(63v)	In Natali Apostolorum Philippi & Iacobi
44v(66v)	In Inuentione Sancte Crucis
46v(68v)	Iohannis apostoli ante portam latinam commemoratio ad uesperas et in laudibus
46v(68v)	In Natiuitate Sancti Iohannes baptiste
51v(73v)	In Natali Apostolorum Petri & Pauli
57r(79r)	De sancto Paulo ad uesperas commemoratio
57r(79r)	De Sancto Petro commemoratio ad uesperas et in laudibus
57r(79r)	Per Octauam Apostolorum commemoratio ad uesperas et in laudibus
57r(79r)	In Translatione Sancti Martini commemoratione ad uesperas et in laudibus
57r(79r)	In Octauam Apostolorum
57r(79r)	In Natali Beate Marie Magdalene
60r(82r)	Ad Uincula Sancti Petri
60r(82r)	In Inuentione Sancti Stephani
60r(82r)	In Natali Sancti Laurentii
65r(87r)	In Assumptione Beate Marie
70v(92v)	Priuatim diebus per Octauam Assumptionis Beate Marie
70v(92v)	Sabbato infra octauam
71r(93r)	Dominica infra octauam
71r(93r)	In Natali Sancti Bernardi abbatis
75v(97v)	In Decollatione Sancti Iohannis Baptiste
78r(100r)	In Natiuitate Beate Marie
81v(103v)	Priuatim diebus per octauas
81v(103v)	Dominica infra octauam
81v(103v)	In Exaltatione Sancte Crucis
83v(105v)	In Festiuitate Sancti Michaelis
88v(110v)	In Solempnitate Omnium Sanctorum
94v(116v)	In Natali Sancti Martini
99v(121v)	In Natale Beate Cecilie
103v(125v)	(I)n Natali Sancti Clementis ad uesperas
103v(125v)	De Sancta Cecilia (ad uesperas) commemoratio
103v(125v)	(Sancti Clementis)
105r(127r)	In Natali Sancti Andree apostoli

110r(132r)	In Natali Apostolorum
114r(136r)	De Duobus Apostolis
114v(136v)	De Duobus Apostolis
115v(137v)	In Natali Euangelistarum
121r(133r)	In Natali Unius Martyris
126r(148r)	In Natali Plurimorum Martyrum
131r(153r)	In Natali Unius Confessoris Pontificis
135v(157v)	In Natali Unius Confessoris non Pontificis
138v(160v)	In Natali Unius Uirginis
143r(165v)	In Dedicatione Ecclesie
148v(170r)	Uenite exultemus
154v(176v)	Doxologies and Benedictions
155v(177v)	Dismissals (Benedictions)
155v(177v)	Sequentia Sancti Euangelii secundum Lucam
155v(177v)	Final benedictions
156r(178r)	Dismissals
156v(178v)	Hymnarium
169r(199r)	Hymnarium continues in facsimiles
170v(200v)	Cantica
172v(202v)	Colophon

APPENDIX 3

CURSES OF THE GRADUAL OF LORVÃO (L.GR) AND GRADUAL OF AROUCA (AR.GR)

The feasts contained in the missing section of the L.Gr have been supplied from the Arouca Gradual, Ar.Gr. The foliation used throughout the index of L.Gr takes into account the lost pages, which were overlooked when the pages were numbered in Arabic. Hence the folio numbered 49 in the manuscript is actually folio 50. Note, however, that for convenience, references to foliation numbers for examples cited throughout the discussion always pertain to the pencilled numeration on the pages, which assumes the present first folio to be 1 and which does not take into account the lost folios. The foliation of L.Gr in the index which follows follows the present sequence of the manuscript and the foliation as it would have been in the original manuscript is shown in brackets.

TEMPORALE

GRADUAL OF LORVÃO (L.GR)

1r(25r)	(feria vi)
1v(25v)	Dominica i in xl
4r(28r)	feria ii
4v(28v)	feria tertia
5v(29v)	feria quarta
7r(31r)	feria quinta
7v(31v)	feria vi
8v(32v)	Sabbato in xii Lectiones
11r(35r)	Dominica ii
12v(36v)	feria secunda
13v(37v)	feria tertia
14r(38r)	feria quarta
15r(39r)	feria quinta
16r(39r)	feria vi

GRADUAL OF AROUCA (AR.GR)

1r	(Dominica i in Adventus)
2r	Dominica ii de Adventu
3r	Dominica iii de Adventus
4r	feria iv in iii ^{or} tempo
5v	feria vi
6v	Sabbato in xii lectiones
9v	dominica quarta
10v	In uigilia natalis domini
11v	missa in nocte
12	vmissa de luce
13v	In die ad missam majorem
15r	dominica i post natale
16r	In epiphania
17r	dominica i post epiphaniaz(sic)
18r	dominica ii post epiphaniam
19v	dominica ii(i) post epiphaniam
20v	Dominica in lxx
22r	dominica in lx
23v	dominica in l
25v	feria iiii in capite cinerum
26r	feria iiii ad missam
28r	feria v tabs 1.5 6 and 6.5
28v	feria vi et (sabbato)
29v	dominica prima in xl
32v	feria ii
33v	feria iii
34r	feria iiii
36r	feria v
37r	feria vi
37v	Sabbato
39r	Dominica ii
39v	feria ii
40v	feria iii
41r	feria iiii
42r	feria v
42v	feria vi

16v(40v)	Sabbato	43v	Sabbato
17v(41v)	Dominica iii	44v	dominica iii
19r(43r)	feria secunda	46r	feria ii
20r(44r)	feria iii	47r	feria iii
21r(45r)	feria iiiii	48r	feria iiiii
21v(45v)	feria v	49r	feria v
22v(46v)	feria vi	50r	feria vi
23v(47v)	Sabbato	51r	Sabbato
24r(48r)	Dominica iiiii in xl	52r	dominica iiiii
25v(49v)	feria secunda	53r	feria ii
26r(50r)	feria tertia	54r	feria iii
27r(51r)	feria iiiii	55r	feria iiiii
28v(52v)	feria quinta	56v	feria v
29r(53r)	feria vi	57v	feria vi
30r(54r)	Sabbato	58r	Sabbato
31r(55r)	Dominica v in passione domini	59r	dominica in passione
32v(56v)	feria secunda	61r	feria ii
33r(57r)	feria iii	62r	feria iii
34r(58r)	feria quarta	62v	feria iiiii
35r(59r)	feria v	64r	feria v
36r(60r)	feria vi .& Sabbato	65r	feria vi
36v(60v)	Dominica in palmis, processio	66r	dominica in ramis palmarum
41r(65r)	feria secunda	69r	feria ii
42r(66r)	feria tertia	70r	feria iii
43r(67r)	feria iiiii	71r	feria iiiii
44v(68v)	feria v	73v	feria v
45v(69v)	feria vi	74r	feria vi
47r(71r)	Adoratio Crucis	76r	(Adoratio Crucis)
50r(74r)*	Ad missam(* numbered 49[r] in ms)	80v	ad missam
51r(75r)	In Die Sancte Resurrectionis	80v	In die resurrectionis
52r(76r)	feria ii	82r	feria ii
53r(77r)*	feria iii (numbered in ms 52(75)[r])	83r	feria iii
54r(78r)	feria iiiii	84r	feria iiiii
55r(79r)	feria v	85v	feria v
56r(80r)	feria vi	86v	feria vi
57r(81r)	Sabbato	88r	Sabbato
58r(82r)	Dominica In octavam Pasce	89r	dominica in octavam pasche
59r(83r)	Dominica i post octavam pasce	90r	dominica i post octavam pasche
59v(83v)	Dominica Secunda	91r	dominica ii post Pasche
60v(84v)	Dominica iii	92r	dominica iii
61v(85v)	Dominica iiiii	93r	dominica iiiii
62v(86v)	Ferias ii & iii 93v	93v	ferias ii et iii in rogationibus
63v(88v)	In Vigilia Ascensionis	94v	In vigilia ascensionis
64v(88v)	In Die (Ascensionis)	95v	In die ascensionis
65v(89v)	Dominica Post ascensionem	97r	dominica post ascensionem
66r(90r)	In Vigilia Pentecostem		
67v(91v)	Ad missam		
68v(92v)	In Die (Pentecostem)	98v	In die (Pentecosten)
69v(93v)	feria ii	100r	feria ii
70v(94v)	feria iii	100v	feria iii
71r(95r)	feria iiiii	101v	feria iiiii
72r(96r)	feria v	102v	feria v et feria vi
72r(96r)	feria vi		
73r(97r)	Sabbato	103r	Sabbato
74v(98v)	In Die (Trinitatis)	104r	dominica de trinitate
		105r	In festo corporis Xpisti
75v(99v)	Dominica ii Post Pentecostem	106r	dominica ii post penthecosten
76v(100v)	Dominica iii	106v	dominica iii
77r(101r)	Dominica iiiii	107r	dominica iii(sic) (iv)

78r(102r)	Dominica v	108r	dominica v
79r(103r)	Dominica vi	108v	dominica vi
80r(104r)	Dominica vii	109v	dominica vii
80v(104v)	Dominica viii	110r	dominica viii
81v(105v)	Dominica ix	110v	dominica ix
82r(106r)	Dominica x	111r	dominica x
83r(107r)	Dominica xi	112r	Dominica xi
84r(108r)	Dominica xii	112r	dominica xii
85v(109r)	Dominica xiii	112v	dominica xiii
86v(110v)	Dominica xiiii	113v	dominica xiiii
87v(111v)	Dominica xv	114r	dominica xv
88r(112r)	Dominica xvi	114v	dominica xvi
89r(113r)	Dominica xvii	115v	dominica xvii
90r(114r)	Dominica xviii	116r	dominica xviii
91r(115r)	feria iiii	116v	feria iiii
92r(116r)	feria vi	117v	feria vi
93r(117r)	Sabbato in xii lectiones	117v	Sabbato i in xii lectiones
95v(119v)	Dominica xix	118r	dominica xix (et xx)
96v(120v)	Dominica xx		
97v(121v)	Dominica xxi	119r	dominica xx(i)
98v(122v)	Dominica xxii	119v	dominica xxii
99v(123v)	Dominica Vicesima Tertia	121r	dominica xxiii
100v(124v)	Dominica xxiiii	122r	dominica xxiiii
101v(125v)	In dedicatione ecclesie	123r	In dedicatione ecclesie
102r(126r)	si post pascha euerit		
102r(126r)	si post lxx		

SANCTORALE

103r(127r)	In natali Sancti Stephani	124v	In natali sancti stephani prothomartiris
104r(128r)	In natali Sancti Iohannis euuangeliste	125v	In natali sancti iohannis, apli et euuangeliste
105r(129r)	In natali Sanctorum Innocentum	127r	In natali sanctorum innocentum
106r(130r)	Thome epi. & mris.	128r	In natali sancti thome, mris
106v(130v)	Sci Siluestri	128r	In sancti siluestri
107v(131v)	Felcis in pincis	129r	felecis in pincis
108v(132v)	Marcelli pp. & mr	130r	marceli pape et mris
109v(133v)	Prisce, virginis	131v	prisce, vg.
111r(135r)	Fabiani & Sebastiani	132v	fabiani & sebastiani
111v(135v)	Si post lxx euerit		
112r(136r)	Sce Agne, vg	134v	In sancte agnetis, vg.
113r(137r)	Si post lxx euenerit	135r	Si post lxx euerit
113v(137v)	Sancti Vincentii, mris	135r	In sancti uincentii
115r(139r)	In conuersione Sancti Pauli aptli.	136v	In conuersione sancti pauli
116r(140r)	Agnetis secundo	138r	agnetis, ij
117r(141r)	Ypapanti Domini*		
	Juliani, (<i>later marginal addition</i>)	139r	Iuliani, epi
		139r	In purificatione marie Virginis*
120r(144r)	In Sce Agate, mris	141r	In sancti agathe v. & mr
121r(145r)	Sci Valentini, mris	142r	In sancti valentini mris
122r(146r)	In cathedra Sci Petri	143r	cathedri sancti petri
123r(147r)	Sci mathie, aptli	143v	Mathie apli
		144r	Thome de Aquino
124r(148r)	Sancti Gregorii, pp	144r	Gregorii pp
125r(149r)	Sancti Benedicti, abbatis	144v	benedicti abbatis
126v(150v)	In Annuntiatione Dominica	145v	In annuntiatione virgine marie
127v(151v)	Si post pascha euerit		
128r(151r)	ambrosii epi.	147r	In sancti ambrosii

129r(153r)	Tiburti, Valeriani & maximi.	147r	Tiburtii et ualeriani et maximi
129v(153v)	Sancti Georgii mr.	147v	In sci georgii mtis
130r(154r)	Sci Marci	148v	marci evangeliste
131v(155v)	Sancti Vitalis martiris.	149v	vitalis mtis
		149v	petri mris
132r(156r)	Sanctorum Philippi & Iacobi	149v	philippi et iacobi
133r(157r)	Alexandri, Euentii & Theodoli	150v	alexandri, eventii et theodoli
133v(157v)	Inuentio Sce Crucis	151r	Inventione sancte crucis
134v(158v)	Sci Iohannis ante Portam latinam	152v	Iohanis ante portam latinam
135r(159r)	Gordiani & epimachi	152v	Geordiani et epimachi
135v(159v)	Nerei, Achillei atque Pancracii	153r	nerai, achilei atque pancratii
136v(160v)	Urbani, pape	153v	vrhani, epi.
137v(161v)	Marcellini & Petri	153v	Marcelline et petri
138v(162v)	Primi & Feliciani, mr.	154r	primi et feliciani
139r(163r)	Sci Barnabe, apostoli.	154v	Barnabe apostoli
140r(164r)	Basilidis, Cirini & Naboris & Nazarii	155v	basilidus, cirini, naboris et nazarii
141r(165r)	Marci & Marcelliani	156v	marci et marceliani
141v(165v)	Geruasii & Protasii	157r	gervasii et protasii
142v(166v)	In vigilia Sci Iohannis Babtiste	157v	In uigilia sancti iohannis babtiste
143v(167v)	In Die, ad I ^a missam	158r	In die ad missam
144v(168v)	Ad maiorem missam	159r	(Ad missam maiorem)
145r(169r)	Iohannis & pauli, mr	160v	Iohania & pauli mris
146r(170r)	Vigilia Apostolorum Petri & Pauli	161r	In vigilia apostolorum petri & pauli
147r(171r)	In die	161v	In die
		162v	In conversione sancti pauli
		162v	processi et martinianii
149r(173r)	In translatione Sancti Martini	163r	In translatione sci martini
149v(173v)	Post octavam Apostolorum & in octauis	163v	post apostolorum & in octauis
150v(174v)	Septem Fratrum	163v	septem fratrem
		164r	In translatione sancti benedicti abbatis
151v(175v)	Sce Marie Magdalene	164r	In sancte marie magdalene
152v(176v)	Apollonaris, mris	164r	Apolinaris mris
153r(177r)	Sci Iacobi, aptli	164v	Iacobi, apli
154r(178r)	Sci Felicis, Simplicii, Faustini & Beatricis	164v	felecis, simplicis, faustini et beatricis
155r(179r)	Abdon & Senes	165v	abdon & senen
155v(179v)	Ad uincula Sci Petri	165v	vincula sancti petri
156r(180r)	Sci Stephani, pp.	165v	Stephani, pp & mris
156v(180v)	Inuentione Sci Stephani	165v	Invention sci stephani
156v(180v)	Sixti, pape & mris	165v	Sixti pp & mris
157v(181v)	Ciriaci sociorumque eius	166r	Ciriaci sociorumque eius
158v(182v)	Vigilia Sci Laurentii mris	166v	In vigilia sancti laurentii
159r(183r)	In die	167v	In die
160r(184r)	Tiburcii, mr	168v	Tiburtii mris
		168v	missa corone domini
160v(184v)	Ypoliti, mris, sociorumque eius	169v	ypoliti sociorumque eius
161v(185v)	In vigilia Assumptionis Sce Marie	169v	In vigilia assumptionis beate marie
162r(186r)	In die Assumptio...	171r	In assumptione virginis marie
163r(187r)	Ad maiorem missam	171v	Ad maiorem missam
163v(187v)	In octavas Sancti Laurentii	172v	sancti laurentii
164v(188v)	In octauam assumptionis Scte Marie & per octauas & per octauas	172v	In octauam assumptionis beate marie
		172v	In dominica die & in octauas
		172v	bartholomei, ap.
164v(188v)	Scti Bernardi, abbatis	172v	Lodovici ep (Louis rex francorum)
165r(189r)	Bartholomei, apostoli	172v	Bernardi abbatis
166r(190r)	Augustini, epi.	172v	Augustini ep

167r(191r)	Sabine, vg	172v	Sabine virginis
167v(191v)	In decollatione Sci Iohannis Babbiste	173r	In decollatione sancti iohannis babbiste
168v(192v)	Felcis & Adaucti	173v	felecis & audacti
169v(193v)	In Nativitate Se Marie	173v	In nativitate sancte marie
170v(194v)	Gorgonii, mris	174r	gorgonii mris
171v(195v)	Proti & Iacinti, mr	174v	proti & iacincti
172r(196r)	Cornelii & cipriani	174v	Corneli & cipriani
173r(197r)	In exaltatione s.Crucis	174v	Exaltatio sancte crucis
174r(198r)	Nichomedis, mris	174v	Nichomedis mris
174v(198v)	Eufemie, vgnis	175r	Eufemie, virginis
175v(199v)	In Vigilia Sci Mathei eugliste	175r	In vigilia sancti mathi
176v(200v)	In Die	175v	In die
177v(201v)	Mauritii sociorumque eius	175v	mauritii & sociorumque eius
178r(202r)	Cosme & Damiani, mr	175v	Cosme et damiani
179r(203r)	Sancti Michaelis Arcangeli	176r	Michaelis archangeli
180v(204v)	Iheronimi presbiteri	177v	Ihronymi, pres.
181r(205r)	Sci Remigii, epi.	177v	Remigii, epi.
182r(206r)	Marci, pape	177v	Martii, pp.
183r(207r)	Dionisii sociorumque eius	177v	Dionisii & sociorumque eius
184r(208r)	Luce, euangeliste	177v	Luce evangeliste
184v(208v)	In vigilia Apostolorum Simonis & Iude	177v	In vig. ^a apostolorum simonis & iude
185v(209v)	In Die	177v	In die
186v(210v)	In vigilia omnium Sanctorum	177v	In vigilia omnium sanctorum
187r(211r)	Omnium Sanctorum	177v	In die
188r(212r)	Malachie epi & conf (<i>in margin</i>)	178r	De Sancto Melchia
		178r	sancti nicholai
188r(212r)	Quatuor Coronatorum	178r	In iiij ^{or} coronator
189r(213r)	Theodori, mris	178r	theodori mris
189v(213v)	Sancti Martini, epi.	178r	martini epi.
190v(214v)	Sce Cecilie vg & mr.	178r	Cecilie vg & mris
191v(215v)	Clementis pp.	178v	Clementis pape
192v(216v)	In vigilia Sci Andree aptli.	179r	vigilia sancti andree
193v(217v)	In Die	179v	In die
194v(218v)	Sci Nicolai epi & confessoris	180r	Nicholai
195r(219r)	Lucie vg & mr.	180r	lucie
195v(219v)	Thome apli	180r	Thome apli
		180r	In natali unius martiris
		180r	In plurimorum martyrum
		180r	In unius confessoris pontificis
		180r	In confessoris non pontificis
		180r	De virginibus
		180r	In commemoratione sancte crucis
		180r	In commemoratione beate virginis
		181r	(Pro defunctus)
		183v	Ordinarium
		187v	In festo beati iacobi
		188r	In Sanctee anne
		188v	Doxologies

* Ypapanti Domini = Purificatione Marie Virginis

APPENDIX 4

The tables set out the arrangement of chants and/or incipits and show the structural organization of temporale at Arouca, Ar.T1. Sections without musical notation are shown in italics. The section for the week before Septuagesima shows the weekly ordo of psalms, which are usually not shown elsewhere. (V= vespers, N.1=first nocturne, a= antiphon, ben.a= benedictus antiphon, cant.= canticle, R/V= response, v= versicle, etc.)

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2
DOMINICA I		inv								
ADUENTUS DOMINI	a/ps	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
	v	v	v	v	v		v	v	v	v
	R/V	4R/V	4R/V	4R/V	R/V					R/V
	mag.a				ben.a					mag.a
PRIUATIS DIEBUS		inv								
PER SEPTIMANAM			a		a	a	a	a	a	
		v	v		v		v	v	v	v
					R/V					R/V
FERIA II					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA III					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA IV					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA V					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA VI					ben.a					mag.a
SABBATO										v
										R/V
					ben.a					mag.a
DOMINICA II		inv								
ADUENTUS DOMINI	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
	v	v	v	v	v		v	v	v	v
	4R/V	4R/V	4R/V	4R/V	4R/V					R/V
					ben.a					mag.a
PRIUATIS DIEBUS PER		inv								
TOTAM EBDOMADAM					a	a	a	a	a	
	v	v			v		v	v	v	v
					R/V					R/V
FERIA II					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA III					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA IV					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA V					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA VI					ben.a					mag.a
SABBATO										v
										R/V
					ben.a					mag.a

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2
DOMINICA III ADUENTUS DOMINI		inv a v 4R/V	a a v 4R/V	a a v 4R/V	a a v R/V ben.a	a a v	a a v	a a v	a a v	a v R/V mag.a
FERIA II		inv v	a v		a v R/V ben.a	a a v	a a v	a a v		v R/V mag.a
FERIA III		inv v	a v		a v R/V ben.a	a a v	a a v	a a v		v R/V mag.a
FERIA IV		inv v 3R/V			a v R/V ben.a	a a v	a a v	a a v		v R/V mag.a
FERIA V		inv v	v		a v R/V ben.a	a a v	a a v	a a v		v R/V mag.a
FERIA VI		inv v 3R/V	v		a v R/V ben.a	a a v	a a v	a a v		v R/V mag.a
SABBATO		inv v 3R/V	v		a v R/V ben.a	a a v	a a v	a a v		v R/V
DOMINICA IIII ADUENTUS DOMINI		inv a v 4R/V	a a v 4R/V	a a v 4R/V	a a v R/V ben.a	ad horas diei allia sicuti in prima dominica Aduentus				a v R/V

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2
PRIUATIS DIEBUS USQUE AD UIGILIA NATALIS DOMINI		inv v	v		a v R/V	a	a v	a v	a v	v R/V
EISDEM PRIUATIS DIEBUS					4ben.a					
DIEBUS VII PROXIMUS ANTE DIEM ANTE UIGILIAM NAUITATIS DOMINI					7 mag. antiphons					
QUINTA DIE ANTE NATALE DOMINI					(ben.)a					
SI UIGILIA NATIUITATIS DOMINI DIE DOMINICA EUENERIT ITA CELEBRETUR		inv a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a/ps v R/V ev col ben.a	v	v	v		(a) v R/V mag.a ev col hym
COMMEMORATIO DE DOMINICA				a	Ad horas diei dicatur allia, uersicli v autem de uigilia erunt col					
IN UIGILIA		inv								
NATALIS DOMINI		v 3R/V	v		a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	4a v R/V mag.a
IN DIE NATALIS DOMINI		inv 6a/6ps v 4R/V	6a/6ps v 4R/V	a/cant v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	4a v R/V mag.a
PRIUATIS DIEBUS USQUE AD EPIPHANIAM		inv 3a v 5R/V								

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2
QUINTA ET VI DIE A NATALE DOMINI					a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a	a v R/V mag.a
DOMINICA POST NATALE DOMINI		inv 3a/ps v 4R/V	3a/ps v 4R/V	a/cant v 4R/V	a/ps v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a
COMMEMORATIO DE DOMINICA										(mag.)a
QUANDO HEC DOMINICA POST CIRCUMCISIONEM CELEBRETUR					ben.a					mag.a
IN CIRCUMCISIONE DOMINI		inv 6a/6ps v R/V mag.a	6a/6ps v R/V	a v R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a
IN UIGILIA EPIPHANIE (IN EPIPHANIA)		inv 6a/6ps v R/V mag.a	6a/6ps v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	4a v R/V mag.a
PRIUATIS DIEBUS PER OCTAUAM		inv 3a v	a v		a v R/V ben.a	ad horas diei et ad uesperas sicuti in die Epiphanie				mag.a
DOMINICA INFRA OCTAUAM		inv 3a/ps R/V	3a/ps	a/cant	a/ps ben.a	a	(a)	(a)	(a)	a/ps mag.a
COMMEMORATIO DE DOMINICA										(mag.)a
IN OCTAUAM EPIPHANIE		inv, antiphona et responsoria sicuti in die Epiphanie				a v R/V ben.a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2
INCIPIUNT ANTIPHONAS POST OCTAUAM EPIPHANIE IN SABBATO AD MAGNIFICAT										2mag.a (mag.)a
DOMINICA I POST OCTAUAM EPIPHANIE					ben.a					mag.a
DOMINICA II POST OCTAUAM EPIPHANIE					ben.a					mag.a
DOMINICA III POST OCTAUAM EPIPHANIE					ben.a					mag.a
DOMINICA IIII POST OCTAUAM EPIPHANIE					ben.a					mag.a
SABBATO ANTE I DOMINICA										v
POST OCTAUAM EPIPHANIE										R/V
DOMINICIS DIEBUS USQUE AD LXX	inv 3a/6ps	3a/6ps	a 3cant		a/4ps cant	a/ps	a/ps	a/ps	a/ps	a/4ps
	v 4R/V	v 4R/V	v 4R/V		v R/V	v	v	v	v	v R/V
	Ad completorium:3ps				v					
FERIA II	inv 4a/6ps	3a/6ps			a/4ps cant	a/3ps	a/2ps	a/ps	a/ps	4a/5ps
	v 3R/V	v			v R/V	v	v	v	v	v R/V
					ben.a					mag.a
in estate*	R/V									
in xl**		a								
FERIA III	inv 3a/6ps	3a/6ps			a/4ps cant	a/3ps	a/3ps	a/3ps	a3ps	4a/4ps
	v	v			v	v	v	v	v	v
	3R/V				R/V					R/V
					ben.a					mag.a
in estate	R/V									
in xl		a								

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2
FERIA IIII		inv 3a/6ps v 3R/V R/V	3a/6ps v a		a/4ps cant v R/V ben.a	a/3ps v	a/ps v	a/ps v	a/ps v	4a/4ps v R/V mag.a
in estate in xl										
FERIA V		inv 4a/6ps v 3R/V R/V	3a/6ps v a		a/4ps cant v R/V ben.a	a/3ps v	a/ps v	a/ps v	a/ps v	3a/4ps v R/V mag.a
in estate in xl										
FERIA VI		inv 3a/6ps v 3R/V R/V	3a/6ps v a		a/4ps cant v R/V ben.a	a/3ps v	a/ps v	a/ps v	a/ps v	3a/4ps v R/V mag.a
in estate in xl										
SABBATO		inv 3a/6ps v 3R/V R/V	3a/6ps v a		a/3ps 2cant v R/V ben.a	a/3ps v	a/3ps v	a/ps v	a/ps v	4a/4ps v R/V mag.a
in estate in xl										
SABBATO ANTE LXX										v R/V mag.a
DOMINICA IN LXX		inv a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	ad horas diei allia				a v R/V mag.a
SABBATO ANTE LX										(mag.)a

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2
DOMINICA IN LX					ben.a					(mag.)a
SABBATIS ANTE L										v R/V mag.a
DOMINICA IN L		inv v 12R/V			v R/V ben.a	ad horas diei allia				R/V mag.a
FERIA IIII					(ben.)a					mag.a
FERIA V					(ben.)a					mag.a
FERIA VI					ben.a					mag.a
SABBATO										v R/V mag.a
DOMINICA I IN XL		inv a v 4R/V	a/ps v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V (ben.)a	a 	a v 	a v 	a v 	a v R/V mag.a
FERIA II					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA III					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA IIII					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA V					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA VI					ben.a					mag.a
SABBATO										v R/V mag.a
DOMINICA II (IN) XL		inv a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V	a 	a v 	a v 	a v 	R/V mag.a
FERIA II					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA III					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA IV					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA V					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA VI					ben.a					mag.a
SABBATO										v R/V mag.a
					ben.a					

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2
DOMINICA TERTIA		inv								
		a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	
	v	v	v	v	v		v	v	v	v
	R/V	4R/V	4R/V	4R/V	R/V					R/V
	mag.a				ben.a					mag.a
FERIA II					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA III					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA IV					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA V					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA VI					ben.a					mag.a
SABBATO					ben.a					
DOMINICA IIII (IN XL)		inv								
		a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	
	v	v	v	v	v		v	v	v	
	R/V	4R/V	4R/V	4R/V	R/V					R/V
	mag.a				ben.a					mag.a
FERIA II					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA III					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA IV					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA V					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA VI					ben.a					mag.a
SABBATO										v
										R/V
					ben.a					mag.a
DOMINICA V IN PASSIONE DOMINI		inv								
				a	a	a	a	a	a	
	v	v	v	v	v		v	v	v	v
	R/V	4R/V	4R/V	4R/V	R/V					R/V
	mag.a				ben.a					mag.a
PRIUATIS DIEBUS USQUE AD PASCHE		inv								
		v	v		v	ad iii et vi et ix et ad uesperas uersicli sicuti in superiori Dominica				
FERIA II					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA III					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA IIII					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA V					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA VI					ben.a					mag.a
SABBATO										v
										R/V
					ben.a					mag.a

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2
DOMINICA IN PALMIS		inv a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	v R/V mag.a
FERIA II	3R/V				a ben.a	a	a	a	a	mag.a
FERIA III		3R/V			a ben.a	a	a	a	a	mag.a
FERIA IIII		3R/V			a ben.a	a	a v	a	a	mag.a
FERIA V IN CENA DOMINI		3R/V			a ben.a	a	a	a	a	3a mag.a
AD MANDATUM IN CENA DOMINI		17 antiphons listed								
FERIA SEXTA IN PARASCREUE		3R/V			a ben.a	a	a	a	3a	mag.a
SABBATO		v 3R/V	v		a v ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	
IN UIGILIA PASCHE										a/ps v R/V mag.a
IN DIE PASCHE		inv a/6ps v 4R/V	a/6ps v 4R/V	a/cant v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	a/ps v R/V mag.a

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2
PRIUATIS DIEBUS PER RESURRECTIONEM	inv a v R/V	a v			a v R/V	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V
FERIA II					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA III					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA IIII					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA V					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA VI					ben.a					mag.a
SABBATO					ben.a					mag.a
IN OCTAUAM PASCHE	inv				ben.a					mag.a
PER TOTAM RESURRECTIONEM PRIUATIS DIEBUS										
FERIA II					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA III					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA IIII					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA V					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA VI					ben.a					mag.a
SABBATO					ben.a					mag.a
SABBATO ANTE PRIMAM DOMINICAM POST OCTAUAM PASCHE										v R/V mag.a
DOMINICA I ET II POST OCTAUAM PASCHE	inv a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	allia sicuti in die Pasche ben.a					mag.a
SABBATO ANTE II DOMINICA										mag.a
DOMINICA II POST OCTAUAM PASCHE						ben.a				mag.a
SABBATO ANTE III DOMINICA										v R/V mag.a
DOMINICA III ET IIII POST OCTAUAM PASCHE	inv a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	In laudibus et ad horas diei et ad uesteras allia et uersicli sicuti in die Pasche					

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2
DOMINICA III					ben.a					mag.a
SABBATO ANTE IIII DOMINICA										mag.a
DOMINICA IIII					ben.a					mag.a
IN UIGILIA ASCENSIONIS										a v R/V mag.a
IN DIE ASCENSIONIS		inv a/6ps v	a/6ps v	a v	a v	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a
PRIUATIS DIEBUS USQUE AD PENTECOSTEM		inv a v R/V lect	a v			In laudibus et ad horas diei et ad uesperas allia et R. et uersicli sicuti in die Ascensionis				
FERIA VI					ben.a					mag.a
SABBATO										a v R/V mag.a
DOMINICA INFRA OCTAUAM		inv a/ps								
	a									a/ps, et cetera omnia sicuti in die Ascensionis
COMMEMORATIO DE DIE DOMINICA					(ben).a					(mag.)a
FERIA II					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA III					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA IIII					ben.a					
IN OCTAUAM ASCENSIONIS		inv a v R/V mag.a	a/(ps)							
FERIA VI					ben.a					mag.a

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2
SABBATO					ben.a					
IN UIGILIA PENTECOSTEN										a v R/V mag.a
IN DIE PENTECOSTEN		inv a/6ps v 4R/V	a/6ps v 4R/V	a/cant v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a
PRIUATIS DIEBUS POST OCTAUAM		inv 3a v lect R/V	a v		a v R/V	a	a v	a v	a v	4a v R/V
FERIA II					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA III					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA IIII					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA V					ben.a					mag.a
FERIA VI					ben.a					mag.a
SABBATO					ben.a					
SABBATO ANTE PRIMAM DOMINICAM POST PENTE- COSTEM	4a v	inv 6a/6ps v	6a/6ps v	a/cant v	a v	a	a v	a v	a v	a v
DE SANCTA TRINITATE	R/V	4R/V	4R/V	4R/V	R/V ben.a					R/V mag.a
SABBATO ANTE SECUNDAM DOMINICAM POST PENTE- COSTEM										a/ps v R/V mag.a
(DOM. II POST P/COSTEM)		inv 4R/V	4R/V	4R/V						
INCIPIUNT ANTIPHONE POST PENTECOSTEM IN SABBATIS AD MAG.: 9 antiphons										
INCIPIUNT ANTIPHONE A CALENDIS AUGUSTI IN SABBATIS AD MAG.: 5 antiphons										
SABBATO										R/V
(DOMINICA)		inv 4R/V	4R/V	4R/V						

V.1 N.1 N.2 N.3 L. I III VI IX V.2

INCIPIUNT ANTIPHONE A KALENDIS SEPTEMBRIS IN SABBATIS AD MAG.: 2 antiphons

SABBATO R/V

(DOMINICA) inv
4R/V 4R/V 4R/V

INCIPIUNT ANTIPHONE A MEDIO SEPTEMBRI IN SABBATIS AD MAG.: 3 antiphons

SABBATO R/V

(DOMINICA) inv
4R/V 4R/V 4R/V

INCIPIUNT ANTIPHONE A KALENDIS OCTOBRIS IN SABBATIS AD MAG.: 3 antiphons

HEC ANTIPHONE BIS DICATUR CUM NECESSE FUERIT: 1 antiphon

SABBATO R/V

(DOMINICA) inv
4R/V 4R/V 4R/V

INCIPIUNT ANTIPHONE A KALENDIS NOUEMBRIS IN SABBATIS AD MAG.: 5 antiphons

SABBATO R/V

(DOMINICA) inv
4R/V 4R/V 4R/V

DOMINICA POST PENTECOSTEN	ben.a	mag.a
DOMINICA II POST PENTECOSTEM	ben.a	mag.a
DOMINICA III	ben.a	mag.a
DOMINICA IIII	ben.a	mag.a
DOMINICA V	ben.a	mag.a
DOMINICA VI	ben.a	mag.a
DOMINICA VII	ben.a	mag.a
DOMINICA VIII	ben.a	mag.a
DOMINICA IX	ben.a	mag.a
DOMINICA X	ben.a	mag.a
DOMINICA XI	ben.a	mag.a
DOMINICA XII	ben.a	mag.a
DOMINICA XIII	ben.a	mag.a
DOMINICA XIIIII	ben.a	mag.a
DOMINICA XV	ben.a	mag.a
DOMINICA XVI	ben.a	mag.a
DOMINICA XVII	ben.a	mag.a
DOMINICA XVIII	ben.a	mag.a
DOMINICA XVIIIII	ben.a	mag.a

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2
DOMINICA XIX					ben.a					mag.a
DOMINICA XX					ben.a					mag.a
DOMINICA XXI					ben.a					mag.a
DOMINICA XXII					ben.a					mag.a
DOMINICA XXIII					ben.a					mag.a
DOMINICA XXIII					ben.a					mag.a
DOMINICA XXV					ben.a					mag.a

APPENDIX 5

The tables set out the arrangement of chants and/or incipits and show the structural organization of the sanctorale at Arouca, Ar.S1. (V= vespers, N.1= first nocturne, a= antiphon, ben.a= benedictus antiphon, cant.= canticle, R/ V= response, v= versicle, etc.)

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2
IN NATALE SANCTI STEPHANI PROTHOMARTIRIS	a v	inv 6a/6ps v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a/cant v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a
IN NATALE SANCTI IOHANNIS EUANGELISTE	a	inv a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V	a v 4R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a
IN DIE SANCTORUM INNOCENTII	a v	inv a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	4a v R/V mag.a
IN NATALE SANCTE AGNETIS	v R/V mag.a	inv 6a v 4R/V	6a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a
AGNETIS COMMEMORATIO SECUNDO AD VESPERAS ET IN LAUDIBUS COMMEMORATIO					ben.a					mag.a
IN CONUERSIONE SANCTI PAULI	v R/V mag.a	inv 6a/v v 4R/V	6a/v v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a/v v	a/v v	a/v v	4a v R/V mag.a

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2	
IN PURIFICATIONE BEATE MARIE	4a v R/V mag.a	inv 6a v 4R/V	6a v 4R/V	a/cant v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a	
IN NATALE SANCTE AGATHE		inv 6a v	6a v	a v	a v	a	a v	a v	a v	4a v R/V mag.a	
SCOLASTICE UIRGINIS COMMEMORATIO	(mag.)a				ben.a						
IN CATHEDRA S. PETRI	hym v R/V mag.a	inv, cetera omnia sicuti in natali eiusdem									
IN NATALI SANCTI BENEDICTI ABBATIS	4a v R/V mag.a	inv 6a v 4R/V	6a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a	
POST PASCHE	a	inv a	a	a	a R/V	ad horas diei allia sicuti in Pascha				a R/V	
IN ANNUNTIONE BEATE MARIE	4a v R/V mag.a	inv 6a v 4R/V	6a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a	
POST PASCHE	a	inv a	a	a	a R/V	ad horas diei allia sicuti die Pasche				a R/V	
SANCTI AMBROSII POST PASCHE	mag.a	inv R/V	R/V	R/V, R sicuti unius confessoris pontificis							ben.a
UNIUS MARTIS VEL CONF PER RES COMMEMORATIO	(mag.)a				(ben.)a						

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2
PLURIMORUM MART ^S PER RESM COMMEMORATIO	3 antiphons ?(mag. & ben.)?									
IN NATALI MARCI EUANGELISTE	hymn a v R/V mag.a	inv a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	ad horas diei sicuti in Pasche				a v R/V mag.a
IN NATALI APOSTOLORUM PHILIPPI & IACOBI	a v R/V mag.a	inv a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	ad horas allia sicuti in pasche				a v R/V mag.a
IN INUENTIONE SANCTE CRUCIS	hym a v R/V mag.a	inv hym a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a/cant v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a v	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a
IOHANNES APOSTOLI ANTE PORTAM LATINAM COMMEMORATIO	mag.a									ben.a
IN NATIUITATE SANCTI IOHANNES BAPTISTE	3a v R/V mag.a	inv 6a v 4R/V	6a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a
IN NATALI APOSTOLORUM PETRI & PAULI	4a v R/V mag.a	inv 6a v 4R/V	6a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a
DE SANCTO PAULO, COMMEMORATIO	inv, cetera omnia sicuti in conuersione eiusdem (mag.)a									
DE SANCTO PETRO COMMEMORATIO									(ben.)a	(mag.)a
PER OCTAUAM APOSTOLORUM COMMEMORATIO									(ben.)a	(mag.)a

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2
IN TRANSLATIONE SANCTI MARTINI COMMEMORATIO	(mag.a)				(ben.a)					
IN OCTAUAM APOSTOLORUM	hym v R/V mag.a	inv a		a	a v R/V ben.a	ad horas diei sicuti in natali apostolorum				a mag.a
IN NATALI BEATE MARIE MAGDALENE	v R/V mag.a	inv 6a v 4R/V	6a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	4a v R/V mag.a
AD UINCULA SANCTI PETRI	hym v R/V mag.a	inv a, et cetera sicuti in natali ipsius								
IN INUENTIONE SANCTI STEPHANI	hym v R/V mag.a	inv a								
IN NATALI SANCTI LAURENTII	v R/V mag.a	inv 6a/v v 4R/V	6a/v/ps v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a
IN ASSUMPTIONE BEATE MARIE	4a v R/V mag.a	inv 6a v 4R/V	6a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a
PRIUATIS DIEBUS PER OCTAUAM ASSUMPTIONIS BEATE MARIE		3a v lectio R/V	a v		a v R/V ben.a	ad horas diei & ad uesperas super psalmos antiphona sicuti in die Assumptione				mag.a
SABBATO INFRA OCTAUAM										mag.a

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2
DOMINICA INFRA OCTAUAM		inv 3a/ps v R/V	3a/ps v	a v cant	a/ps v R/V ben.a	(a)	(a)	(a)	a	a v R/V mag.a
IN NATALI SANCTI BERNARDI ABBATIS	a v R/V mag.a	inv 6a v 4R/V	6a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a
IN DECOLLATIONE SANCTI IOHANNIS BAPTISTE	hym v R/V mag.a	inv a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a
IN NATIUITATE BEATE MARIE	4a v R/V mag.a	inv a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a
IN EXALTATIONE SANCTE CRUCIS	hym v R/V mag.a	inv, a, et cetera omnia sicuti in plurimorum martyrum usque ad cantica excepto quod iiii viii R a/cant v 2R/V		a/cant v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	4a v R/V mag.a
IN FESTIUITATE SANCTI MICHAELIS		inv 6a/6ps v R/V mag.a	6a/6ps v 4R/V	a/cant v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a
IN SOLEMPNITATE OMNIUM SANCTORUM	4a v R/V mag.a	inv 6a/6ps v 4R/V	6a/6ps v 4R/V	a/cant v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	4a v R/V mag.a
IN NATALI SANCTI MARTINI		inv 6a v 4R/V mag.a	6a v 4R/V	a/ v 4R/V	a v R/V ben.a	a	a v	a v	a v	a v R/V mag.a

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2
IN NATALE BEATE CECILIE		inv 6a	6a	a	a	a	a	a	a	4a
	v	v	v	v	v					
	R/V	4R/V	4R/V	4R/V	R/V					
	mag.a				ben.a					
IN NATALI SANCTI CLEMENTIS		inv a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
	v	v	v	v	v		v	v	v	v
	R/V	4R/V	4R/V	4R/V	R/V					R/V
	mag.a				ben.a					mag.a
DE SANCTA CECILIA COMMEMORATIO	(mag.)a				(ben.)a					
IN NATALI SANCTI ANDREE APOSTOLI		inv 6a	6a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
	v	v	v	v	v		v	v	v	v
	R/V	4R/V	4R/V	4R/V	R/V					R/V
	mag.a				ben.a					mag.a
IN NATALI APOSTOLORUM		inv 6a/6ps	6a/6ps	a/cant	a	a	a	a	a	4a
	v	v	v	v	v		v	v	v	v
	R/V	4R/V	4R/V	4R/V	R/V					R/V
	mag.a				ben.a					mag.a
DE DUOBUS APOSTOLIS				R/V						
				ben.a						
IN NATALI EUANGELISTARUM		inv 6a/ps	6a	a/cant	a	a	a	a	a	a
	v	v	v	v	v		v	v	v	v
	R/V	4R/V	4R/V	4R/V	R/V					R/V
	mag.a				ben.a					mag.a
IN NATALI UNIUS MARTYRIS		inv 6a/6ps	6a/6ps	a/cant	a	a	a	a	a	4a
	v	v	v	v	v		v	v	v	v
	R/V	4R/V	4R/V	4R/V	R/V					R/V
	mag.a				ben.a					mag.a
IN NATALI PLURIMORUM MARTYRUM		inv 6a/6ps	6a/6ps	a/cant	a	a	a	a	a	4a
	v	v	v	v	v		v	v	v	v
	R/V	4R/V	4R/V	4R/V	R/V					R/V
	mag.a				ben.a					mag.a

	V.1	N.1	N.2	N.3	L.	I	III	VI	IX	V.2
IN NATALI UNIUS CONFESSORIS PONTIFICIS		inv a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	4a
			antiphone & psalmi in utroque nocturno sicuti in in natali unius martiris dicatur							
	v R/V mag.a	v 4R/V	v 4R/V	v 4R/V	v R/V ben.a		v	v	v	v R/V mag.a
IN NATALI UNIUS CONFESSORIS NON PONTIFICIS		inv a	a	a/cant	a	ad horas diei & ad uesperas sicuti in die unius confessoris pontificis				
	v R/V mag.a	v 4R/V	v 4R/V	v 4R/V	v R/V ben.a					
IN NATALI UNIUS UIRGINIS		inv 6a/6ps	6a/6ps	a/cant	a	a	a	a	a	4a
	v R/V mag.a	v 4R/V	v 4R/V	v 4R/v	v ben.a		v	v	v	v 4R/V mag.a
IN DEDICATIONE ECCLESIE		inv 4a	6a/6ps	6a/6ps	a/cant	a	a	a	a	4a
	v R/V mag.a	v 4R/V	v 4R/V	v 4R/V	v R/V ben.a		v	v	v	v R/V mag.a

APPENDIX 6

COMPARISON OF SOME OF THE CALLIGRAPHIC IDIOSYNCRASIES

Use of the doubled high (long)s (*ff*):

Ar.Tl: the second ascender is higher.

Ar.Sl and *Hu.T*: examples occur wherein ascenders are similar, but other occurrences show a higher second ascender.

L.Gr: the ascenders are usually of equal height.

Occurrences of the ampersand:

Ar.Tl: the ampersand appears not to have been a part of the usual scribal calligraphic repertoire and is infrequently used.

Ar.Sl, *Hu.T*, *L.Gr*: the ampersand is frequently used as substitution for *et* in the context of a conjunction.

Occurrences of the ampersand when used as a scribal contraction of *et* within a word:

Ar.Tl: no identifiable usages.

Ar.Sl: used most frequently in later folios.

Hu.T: infrequent occurrences.

L.Gr: infrequent occurrences.

Usage of the Tironian symbol as a substitution for *et*:

Ar.Tl: used infrequently, for an isolated example refer folio 212r.

Ar.Sl: it occurs throughout in both text and rubrics as an alternative to the ampersand.

L.Gr: it is infrequently used in the first section of the manuscript but more usual in the sanctorale section.

The ductus of the letter *e*:

Ar.Tl, *Ar.Sl*, *L.Gr*: the *ductus* is similar, the diagonal hairline and the letter are of approximately similar shape. Occasional examples in *Ar.Tl* are somewhat similar to those in *Hu.T*.

Hu.T: the ductus is somewhat similar with little or no evidence of the hairline.

Use of the *ct* ligature:

Ar.Tl: there is some evidence of the high *t* whereby the ascender is above minim height, and consequently, the influence of the old *ct* ligature.

Ar.Sl, *Hu.T*: the *t* is relatively subdued and shows little influence of the *ct* ligature.

L.Gr: the high *t* often occurs and the construction suggests influence of the *ct* ligature formation.

Construction of the letter *x*:

Ar.Tl: the diagonal members do not extend below the base line.

Ar.Sl: The left member descends below base line, especially in later folios, and is similar to occurrences in *Hu.T* and *L.Gr*.

Construction of the letter *g*:

Ar.Tl, *Hu.T*: the descender is almost vertical.

Ar.Sl, *L.Gr*: the descender has a more pronounced diagonal direction.

Rubrics:

Ar.Tl, *Ar.Sl*: the lettering is generally similar to that used for the *black-letter text*.

Hu.T: some examples are similar to *Ar.Tl* and *Ar.Sl* but there is a noticeable preference in later folios for initial letters and ascenders heightened in the Kufic or Visigothic manner.

L.Gr: heightened initial letters and ascenders are used extensively.

Clefs:

Ar.Tl and *L.Gr* show use of *f* clefs which in most occurrences are similar. Those used in *Ar.Sl* are closest to those used in *Hu.T*

Catchwords and catchnumbers:

Ar.Tl and *Hu.T*: the design is similar, with use of enlarged numbers, but catchwords in very small lettering.

Ar.Sl: there is no visible evidence of either.

L.Gr: small numbers are used.

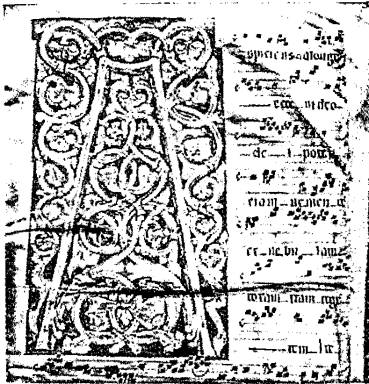


Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5

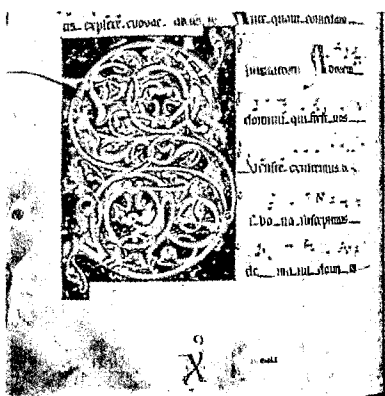


Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14



Figure 15



Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18



Figure 19



Figure 20



Figure 21

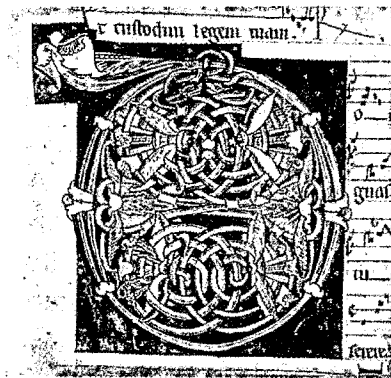


Figure 22



Figure 23



Figure 24

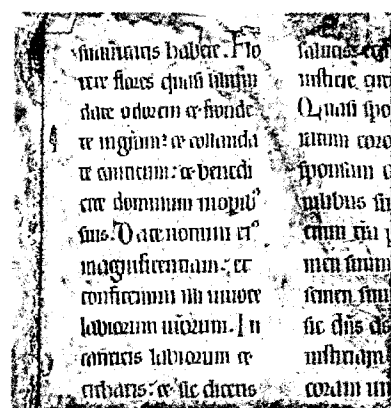


Figure 25

CAPTIONS FOR THE FIGURES

Figures 1-6 from *Ar.T1* are reproduced by permission of the Irmandade de Rainha Santa Mafalda, Arouca and the Instituto Português do Património Cultural. Figures 7-12 from *Ar.S1* reproduced by permission of the Irmandade de Rainha Santa Mafalda, Arouca and the Instituto Português do Património Cultural. Figures 13-18 from *L.Gr* are reproduced by permission of the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. Figures 19-24 from *Hu.T* are reproduced by permission of the Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid.

Figure 1, fol.1v: *Aspiciens a longe* is the first response of vigils (matins), on the first Sunday of Advent. This text captures the sentiment of the Christmas story, but it is not taken directly from scripture, which is unusual. The letter is based entirely on white-vine decoration and is modest when compared to the elaborate counterpart in *Hu.T*. The colors involve a red background and void vine outlined in a medium shade of green.

Figure 2, fol.27r: *Hodie nobis celorum Rex* is the first response for the Nativity Office and is based on the Gospel of Luke 2:11f. The bow of the letter is outlined with a supine dragon. The design used as an infill for the ascender is of Greek origin. The color scheme is based on russet and various shades of brown.

Figure 3, fol.67v: *Quadragesima dies*. The design of this exquisite letter suggests the number 40 and the text is related to the Sunday of Quinquagesima and Lent by this number. The text is based on scriptural references mentioning 40, for example, the flood in Gen.7:4. The final text is typical of many Office chants, which were formed by linking together small diverse scriptural phrases. The frontal acanthus leaf possibly suggests the leaf mentioned after the flood, in Gen.8:11, but could also symbolize the first day of the Lenten fast. The letter is coloured using russet, the infill ground is Prussian blue, the outer ground is violet.

Figure 4, fol.77v: *Tolle arma tua*, is the first response for the second Sunday in Lent. The text, from Gen.27:3, records the words of the aged Isaac: *Now take your quiver and your bow; go into the country and hunt some game for me. Make me the kind of savoury I like and bring it to me that I might eat...* The use of this text is interesting because in the part of the year it was used, the single daily monastic meal, which was taken around 6 pm after vespers, was even more meagre than usual. The monks must have been starving when they sang this text at around 2 am, and it was almost certainly intended as a form of bodily temptation, which had to be resisted. The initial is moulded from vine in void and green which is set against a brilliant red background.

Figure 5, fol.115r: *Angelus Domini*, is for the Resurrection Office on Easter Sunday. The text is from Math.28:2,5,6. The interlocking scaled dragons and the overwritten and inscribed letters are amongst the best in this manuscript. The background is coloured using a very deep Prussian blue, the infill and dragons are outlined in brown. These have green wings, heads and feet.

Figure 6, fol.160v: *Si bona suscepimus*. The text is taken from one of the Books of Wisdom, Job 2:10. The large catchnumber and small catchword are visible in the lower panel, but the number should be XX, to indicate the last folio of the twentieth quire. The letter and foliage is typical of many constructions in these manuscripts and consists of laminates or segments, here in red, orange and white, against a Prussian ground and black border.

Figure 7, fol.42v (20v): *Adorna thalamum tuum*, for the Feast of the Purification. The text is typically Marian. The first section is an original composition, the second part is from Is. 52:1. The composition is based on a rectilinear wooden letter with bosses or caps and vine infills coloured red and void, these set against a violet ground.

Figure 8, fol.47r (25r): *Agathe leticie*, is for the Feast of St. Agathe. The letter is moulded from two banded, entwining dragons, drawn in black, with beige heads and wings, set against a deep red/brown background.

Figure 9, fol.88v (66v): *Vidi speciosam*, for the Assumption. The cult of the Virgin greatly affected the course of late medieval art, but was of special importance to the Cistercians. All their monasteries were dedicated to the Virgin. The various components of this elaborate initial are outlined in black. The spirals are laminates, that is, two or more colours used adjacent to fill in the diameter of the vines of which they are composed. The lower spirals are coloured using dark and mid-greens and white. The centre vines are red, orange and white. The uppermost designs are blue, pink and white. The infill is uncoloured, the outer background is dark blue.

Figure 10, fol.100v (78v): *Nativitatis tua Dei*. This is one of the best examples in the sanctorale, incorporating acanthus leaf, white-vine and lacertine heads. The coloring is similar to figure 9, but the vines are comprised of two coloured segments or laminates only, either red and white, blue and white and two shades of green.

Figure 11, fol.128r (106r): *Dum per ambularet*, for St. Andrew, from Math. 4:18. This letter possibly symbolizes the calling of the apostles, Simon and Andrew. The interlocking spirals possibly represent the two brothers, the ten leaves represent the remaining ten apostles, etc. The two spirals are green and red and white; the infill ground is brilliant orange, the outer background is dark blue with a thin red border. The letter is very similar to another, in *Hu.T*, *Dignus es Domine*, for the first and second Sunday after the octave of Easter.

Figure 12, fol.22v (1v) *Hesterna die*, for the Feast of St. Stephen. Some aspects of this letter, such as the shape of the dragon, its lacertine head and the chevron infill of the ascender, can be compared to figure 10 and also figure 19 from *Hu.T*. The vine, dragon and border are outlined in black. The decoration is in mauve and pale green, which are now very faded, these colours set against a red ground.

Figure 13, fol.50r (73r) *Resurrexi et adhuc*. The letter is based on the colour blue. The dragon and white vines are laminates of dark and mid-blue with a thin white highlight along one edge. The wings are brown. The 14th century Iberian

black-letter text duplicating the decorative painted-letters, in green, red, blue and brown, was probably added because the coloured letters were difficult to read. Note the contraction of *tecum*, at end of line 2; the macron used to denote omission of the letter *m* occurs in the Holy Ghost *chrismon* and was also used astrologically as a Libran symbol.

Figure 14, fol.67v (90v): *Spiritus Domini replevit*, is taken from Sap. 1:7. In this decoration the color seems to be related to the season. Leaves and the color green were the symbols of immortality and the Resurrection and were used throughout Pentecost until the 17th Sunday. The dragon is brown, with blue wings and a decoration of blue berries. The background is green set within a blue border.

Figure 15, fol.73v (97v): *Benedicta sit sancta Trinitatis*, for Trinity Sunday. The text is from the historical narrative in Tobit 12:6. This letter is very similar to a counterpart in *Benedicat nos Deus*, on folio 146r of Ar.T1. Both letters show use of a central mask or clasp. Orange, chestnut and brown were the favoured colors for the letters in these manuscripts, but this example appears to have been painted using an imitation gold, perhaps obtained from one of the processes involving mercury and egg yolk, or alternatively, urpurinus, made by heating mercury, tin or brass, with sulphur. The gold coloured powder was applied with gum or white of egg.

Figure 16, fol.118v (140v): *Suscepimus Deus misericordiam*. By the twelfth century many texts and majuscules had become associated with specific texts and Masses, for example, the Mass for the Feast of the Dedication was known as *Terribilis est*. The Mass for which this text forms the introit was known as *Suscepimus*. The mid-green letter is set against a red ground, with pink foliate infill and a maroon and pink border.

Figure 17, fol.146r (168r): *Nunc scio vere*, is from Acts 12:11. The headless dragon moulded to form the outline of the letter possibly symbolizes the decapitation of St.Paul under Nero in 67 AD, but it could also have been inspired by the words of St.Peter concerning the Massacre of the Innocents by Herod. The body of the dragon is a composite design of buff and maroon colouring. The wings are blue and buff and the background is dark green.

Figure 18, fol.160v (183v) (lxv): *Gaudeamus omnes in Domino*. This text was used for a variety of feasts, but here it is for the Feast of All Saints. The spiral construction of this letter was perhaps prompted by a two dimensional representation of natural helix designs based on the *Nautilus Pomphius*. The initial is coloured with brown, pink and white with green foliage against a deep blue ground.

Figure 19, fol.1r: *Aspiciens a longe*. Cf. figure 1. This is the opening page in the *Las Huelgas Antiphoner* and is the most elaborate decoration in the four Manuscripts. The chevron border is in pale green and beige, the dragons are pink and maroon with multicolored wings and the acanthus leaves and vines are based on the same greens, blues, red and beige.

(folio numbers are not available for figures 20-24)

Figure 20: *Hodie nobis in celorum Rex*. Cf. figure 2. The green and blue spirals are set against a maroon background. The leaves are blue and red. The infill of the ascender, which compares to that in figure 2, is set against a red ground.

Figure 21: *Hodie in Jordane* is an Epiphany response based on Luke 3:22. The initial is outlined in blue against a red ground. The spirals are predominantly blue with green flowers. The infill of the ascender is somewhat similar to that used in figure 2.

Figure 22: *Domine me in ira tua arguas*, is from the opening of psalm 6 and is the first response for vigils (matins), on the Sunday before Septuagesima. The letter is formed by use of a red vine against a blue background. The infills consist of the usual void vines edged with reds, greens and blues. The general design of this initial is very similar to that of figure 9.

Figure 23: *Tolle arma tua*. Cf. figure 4. The background is dark maroon, with blue and white spirals. The frontal lobed acanthus is green with a pink centre. The design compares with that of figure 3.

Figure 24: *Adaperiat Dominus cor vestrum* is a response text used during October in the time after Pentecost. The text is from the historical chronicle, Mach. 2,1:4. The letter is designed around spirals and leaves coloured red, green and purple, these set against a blue base.

Figure 25, fol.202r (172r): is an example of unnoted text from the canticles for the third nocturn of matins, in Ar.S1. Left: *De virginibus*, from Ecc.39:17-21, right: *Gaudens gaudebo*, from Is.61:10-63. The symbols used in the system from Clairveaux and referred to in the main text can be seen in context in lines 4, 5, and 7.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ In this study the terms monastery and nunnery appear according to modern usage, as references to houses of monks and nuns respectively. The ancient, traditional usage was quite different. Monasteries were houses of monks and nuns who had solemnly professed stability; nunneries were houses of mendicants, such as Dominicans, Augustinians and Franciscans, who took no solemn vows of stability.

² P. A de Azevedo and A. Baião, *O Arquivo da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, 1989, 78. The description, dating c.1905, lacks useful historical details.

³ An *adadengo* was an independant liturgical empire ruled by an abbess or abbot and within a secular dominion. Thus, Las Huelgas had its own administration, laws and the Abbess possessed the right to mint her own coins. The *señorio* was similar, but the ruler was usually not in holy orders, e.g., Arouca was controlled by the Princess Mafalda who had not taken solemn vows.

⁴ Useful comparisons of monastic calendars and the date of official introduction of feasts are given by V. Leroquias, *Les Bréviaires Manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France*, 5 vols, 1934, Paris, vol.1, xcvi-cxvii. The chronology of the evolution and reform of the Cistercian calendar, (from J. M. Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, 7 vols, Louvain, 1933, et al.), is given by Fr. M. B. Backaert in «L'Evolution du Calendrier Cistercien», *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatum*, year XII, no.2, April, 1950, 82-94, 302-316, and «La

- Révision du Calendrier Cistercien», *op. cit.*, vol. XIX, fasc. 2, April-June 1957, 108-127. Ref. also *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 13 vols, 1982f., New York; vol.3, 67, article: P.Rorem, «canonical hours».
- ⁵ Cf. J. M. Beers, *A Commentary on the Cistercian Hymnal, Explanatio super hymnos quibus utitur ordo cisterciensis*, vol. 102, Henry Bradshaw Society, London, 1978-82, vii-viii. Cf. also C.Waddell, *The Twelfth-Century Cistercian Hymnal*, 2 vols, (Cistercian Publications) Kentucky, 1984; vol. I: *Introduction and Commentary*, Kentucky, 1984, 76f.
- ⁶ C.Waddell, *The Origin and Early Evolution of the Cistercian Antiphonary, The Cistercian Spirit: a Symposium in Memory of Thomas Merton*, (CS 3), Shannon, 1970, 220.
- ⁷ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols, London, 1986; vol.15, 382, article: R. Steiner, «psalter, liturgical». When this reference information was included in antiphoner manuscripts, it was set out in either the first or fifth weeks after Epiphany, because these times were uncluttered by feasts. Ref. also *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 4, 221-231, article: R. E. Reynolds, «divine office».
- ⁸ The Cistercian use of the Alleluia is based at least in part, on Benedictine precedence. The practical use of the Alleluia by both Benedictines and Cistercians differed a little from the theoretical use as given by Benedict, who, in his Rule, does not actually specify that the Alleluia was not to be used from Septuagesima to Lent. Cf. *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, trans. Card. Gasquet, New York, 1966, cap.15, 44 and *The Rule of St. Benedict*, trans. J. McCann, London, 1970, ch.15, 27.
- ⁹ R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, London, 1983, 171, suggests that usage of an approximately similar term arose in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.
- ¹⁰ Sr. D. Choisselet and Fr. P.Vernet, *Les Ecclesiastica Officia Cisterciens du XIIème Siècle*, Reiningue, 1989, 35.
- ¹¹ Cf. Gasquet, *op. cit.*, cap.8-10, 36-38, Choisselet and Vernet, *op.cit.*, 40, 152 (83.3), from Benedict, 10.2, but cf. *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 4, 221-231, article: R.E. Reynolds, «Divine Office», 226 and R.W. Southern, *The Middle Ages*, The Pelican History of the Church, 6 vols, vol.2, 250-252.
- ¹² Waddell, «The Origin and Evolution...», *op. cit.*, 194, 208.
- ¹³ J.-P.Migne, *Patrologia Latine*, 221 vols, Paris, 1844-1864, vol.182 1153-1166.
- ¹⁴ *Era do nasc-mento de noso senhor jh (X)o mill < iiij lxxxiii anos xxx dias dos [(sic) mez?] de jullhu Eu joham alvarez i-digno sacerdote e-cadernai este livo co- muitos deste mosteiro p ma-do à dona lianor coutinho adbesa darouq < f' do co-de de m-alva do-gro e da sua esposa dona briatriz de melo sua molher. In the era of Our Lord, on the thirteenth day of July, 1483, I, Johann Alvarez, unworthy sacerdote, bound this book and many (others) in this monastery by order of the Abbess of Arouca, Senhora Dona Leonor Coutinho, daughter of Don Gregorio, Conde of Marialva and his wife, Dona Beatriz.*
A somewhat similar inscription by Alvarez was written on a fragment of parchment which was bound into *Ar.Gr.* It records the arrival in 1486 of this manuscript following its completion at Lamego by the Spanish abade and scribe, Illefonso Martini:
Era do nascimento de noso senhor Ihu Xo de mill < iiij < lxxxvi anos vi dias andados do mes de abril. Eu Ioham alvarez indigno sacerdote encaderney este livro com outros muytos deste mosteiro p (per) mandada da Excelentissima Senhora Lionor Coutinha abadesa d'Arouqua et filha do Conde de Marialva. Dom Gregorio e da Condessa Dona Biatriz de Meelo sua mollyer.
- ¹⁵ Cf. Waddell, *The Twelfth-Century Cistercian Hymnal*, *op. cit.*, 2, v-viii, 1, 81-86 *et seq.*, based on Pavia (*Aldini 171*), Colmar (*441-2*) Vatican (*Chigi C.V.138*) and Erlangan (*Irm.401*).
- ¹⁶ Orthographical variants are given in Waddell, *op. cit.*, *passim* and Beers, *op. cit.*, 94.
- ¹⁷ Waddell, «The Origin and Early Evolution...», *op. cit.*, 213. Cf. sources given in note 15.
- ¹⁸ Cf. note 5.
- ¹⁹ S.Corbin, *Essai sur la Musique religieuse portugaise au Moyen Age (1100-1385)*, Paris, 1952, 241-2.
- ²⁰ E.g., Arquivo Distrital de Viseu: fragments 171,732, Arquivo Municipal Alfredo Pimenta:

- fragments B12-2-9, A1-3-63, A 2-3-14, B12-2-21, A10-1-32, A10-1-55, A5-2-149, A10-1-31 etc.
- ²¹ The scribe signs himself using the Latin spelling, Martini, but in the text uses the Spanish, Martinez:
- Este libro fue escripto illuminado en Lamego xx dias del mes de Noviembre ano del nascimiento de Nuestro Salvador, Ihesu Xpisto, de mill < iiii y lxxxv anos. El qual libro mando fazer el devoto rreligioso (sic) frey Antonio de Mota para el monesterio de Aroca, y pago por el x myll reales. Siendo adadesa de dicho monasterio la muy noble Excelentissima Senhora Dona Leonor Coutinha. El qual libro escrevy e illumine yo Affonso Martinez, abade de Sancta Marinha do Trepeco y corriji punto por punto, estando presentes las devotas religiosas cantoras Ysabel de Almeyda y Blanca de Almeyda < Maria de Almeyda < Leonor Pinta. E por que as vida fize aqui mi senal, Illefonsum Martini.*
- ²² *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols, London, 1986, vol.13, 142, article: S. Corbin, «Neumatic Notations IV, 6: Western Europe-French», 141-2. The term French notation requires qualification. Corbin, *ibid.*, 141 admits that several species of French notation evolved but does not discuss the subspecies in her articles in Grove, loc. cit., or in her article, «Die Neumen», *Palæographie der Musik*, vol.1: *Die einstimmige Musik des Mittelalters*, Köln. 1979, 73f. The relationship between original French notation and quadratic notation appears somewhat tenuous from the appearance of the early note forms, (cf. *ibid.*, 131). A most convincing comparison is given by C. Parrish, *The Notation of Medieval Music*, New York, 1978, 6,23 and examples, passim, where Norman neumatic notation, i.e., *notation à points liés*, is shown as a separate form. This type of notation is referred to as North French by W. Apel, in *Gregorian Chant*, 4th ed., London, 1970, 120. Norman or North French notation almost certainly evolved from the original French genre. The relationship between Norman and quadratic notation is much closer than that between French and quadratic; however, because of the relationship between Norman and French styles, the statement that quadratic notation evolved from French notation remains valid. Cf. also B. Stäblein, *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik*, Leipzig, 1975, 32,118.
- ²³ Corbin, «Neumatic Notations...» *op. cit.*, 138-9, maps 1 and 2.
- ²⁴ Cf. R. Rastall, *The Notation of Western Music*, London, 1982, 34.
- ²⁵ L.J. Lekai, *The Cistercians, Ideals and Reality*, Kent State, 1977, 349.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 50.
- ²⁷ However, the most serious threats appear to have involved only periods of fast or a diet of bread and water, e.g., Canivez, *op. cit.*, 91 (statutes of 1182, ch.11.)
- ²⁸ S. J. P. van Dijk and J.H. Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy*, London, 1960, 347-8. Supplements are still used even in the modern era: the Australian Anzac and Anniversary Masses are only available in this form.
- ³⁰ D. F. L. Chadd, «Liturgy and liturgical music: the limits of uniformity», *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. C. Norton and D. Park, Cambridge, 1986, 299, note 2 but cf. note 68, also Van Dijk and Walker, *op. cit.*, 347 and Waddell, «The Origin and Early Evolution...», *op. cit.*, 210 and notes 49.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³² Canivez, *op. cit.*, 81,82.
- ³³ *Ibid.* 82, A.A. King, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders*, Milwaukee, 1955, 121: In 1200, Pope Innocent III composed and sent to Clairvaux a collect, secret and postcommunion for St. Bernard for use in the commemoration at Mass.
- ³⁴ M. T. Levey, *Migration of the Liturgy of the Divine Office of the Roman Rite into Portugal using as example Codex 4* of Arouca*, Sydney, 1991, 198. The examples given by this author are from a different manuscript at Arouca, referred to here as *Ar.S2*, and probably written at Alcobaça. *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, 402, article: C. Waddell, «Cistercian chant», (...a tenth...), this article is summarized in Waddell, «The Origin and Early Evolution...», *op. cit.*, note 44, (...ten notes...), but cf. Levey, *op. cit.*, 197-8.

- ³⁶ Canivez, *op. cit.*, 250.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 234, this statute also specified the lessons from St. Augustine, *Ait Dominus discipulis suis...* and the gospel, *Hoc est praeceptum meum...*
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, 298.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, 334.
- ⁴⁰ *Collectanea...*, *tomus XIX*, *op. cit.*, 121.
- ⁴¹ Cf. *Ar.Gr* fol. 139r. The reference in *L.Gr* is to Juliani of Cuenca, b. c. 1113 in Burgos patron and second Bishop of Cuenca who was not included in the Roman martyrology until 1589. His name in this manuscript thus indicates a link with either Cuenca or Burgos, less likely Palencia or Toledo.
- ⁴² This is perhaps a reference to the tenth century Bishop of Coimbra, Vilulfo or Viliulfus and the feast date is approximately correct. Ref. A. Brito Cardoso, *Cátalogo dos Bispos da Diocese de Coimbra*, Coimbra, 1985, 3. Canivez, *op. cit.*, 234: St. Nicolai was elevated in 1199 from 12 LM to MM (2 Masses, and the *conversi* work).
- ⁴³ King, *op. cit.*, 109.
- ⁴⁴ Canivez, *op. cit.*, 275. The original Mass used the collect, secret and post-communion for St. Benedict: *Intercessio nos...*, *Sacris altaribus...* and *Protegat nos Domine...* The new secret and post-communion were *Grata tibi sit Deus...* and *Suum in nobis...*
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 298.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 148.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 102.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 143.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁰ *Benigistis* represents an unusual superlative of the original, *benignus* and could be useful from the identificative aspect. (St. Bernard was fond of such superlatives.)
- ⁵¹ N.R. Kerr, «'From above top line' to 'below top line': A change in scribal practice», *Celtica*, vol. 5, 1950, 13-16.
- ⁵² Cf. H. Wood, *Early Spanish Bookbindings*, XI-XV Centuries, London, 1939.
- ⁵³ J. Moreau-Marechal, «Recherches sur la ponctuation», *Scriptorium*, 22, 1968, 63.
- ⁵⁴ Beers, *op. cit.*, xxxiii.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.* The resistance may have been geographical: cf. C. de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, Oxford, 1986, 92, who quotes usage in an English manuscript dating c.1167 from Buildwas Abbey.
- ⁵⁶ Z.C. Villada, *Paleografía Española*, 2 vols, Barcelona, 1974, vol.1 (texts) 281, 286, vol. 2, fac.75, 76 pages L, LI, dating 1208-1218, also A. M. Carlo, *Tratado de Paleografía Española*, 3 vols, Madrid, 1983, vol. 1, 185, vol. 2, ex. 182, 183, dating 1222-1246.
- ⁵⁷ Discussed by in detail by Y. Zaluska, *L'enluminure et le Scriptorium de Cîteaux au XIIe siècle*, in *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cisterciense: Studia et Documenta IV*, Achel, 1989, 63f. *et passim* and Fr J-B Auberger, *L'Unanimité Cistercienne Primitive: Mythe ou Réalité?*, Achel 1986, 183-222, 246-249. An earlier attempt at comparison of the styles is to be found in the article by J. Porcher in M.A. Dimier, *L'Art Cistercien*, Paris, 1962, 320-329 and 343. Ref. also C.R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066-1200*, Cambridge, 1954, plates 1-72, *et passim*, where useful examples from Canterbury and Rochester are given, but note 6f., where the author points out the influence of French scribes on the English scriptoria.
- ⁵⁸ B. Bischoff, (trans. D.O. Cróinin and D. Ganz) *Latin Paleography*, Cambridge, 1990, 64.
- ⁵⁹ De Hamel, *op. cit.*, 94.
- ⁶⁰ Bischoff, *op. cit.*, 130.
- ⁶¹ Cf. Chadd, *Liturgy and liturgical music, Cistercian Art and Architecture...*, *op. cit.*, 302, note 23 and M. Huglo, «Règlement du XIII siècle pour la transcription des livres notés», *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Ruhnke, Kassel 1967, 121-133.

- ⁶² Berhard himself was fond of the use of such superlatives.
- ⁶³ J.M. Lizoain and J.J. García, *El Monasterio de Las Huelgas*, Burgos, 1988, 382-385. The same authors, *ibid.* 76, note that Alfonso Díaz and Juan Ruiz were still working at the monastery as public scribes in 1329 and 1365 respectively.
- ⁶⁴ D. N. Carvalho, *Forty Centuries of Ink*, New York, 1904, 77-80, also M.P. Merryfield, *Original Treatises on the Arts of Painting*, 2 vols, New York, 1967, vol.1, 68, vol.2, 561, 588, 590, 676, etc., where translations of interesting formulas from various theoretical writings are given.
- ⁶⁵ Merryfield, *op. cit.*, 618.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 54, 192, 234. Note that none of the theorists actually gives a comprehensive formula for the manufacture of rubricating ink.
- ⁶⁷ Many examples suitable for comparison are given by Zaluska, *op. cit.*, plates following 310 and Dodwell, *op. cit.*, plates following 129.
- ⁶⁸ H. Whone, *Church Monastery Cathedral, An Illustrated Guide to Christian Symbolism*, London, 1990, 46.
- ⁶⁹ The two schools of thought at the time were supported by opposing philosophies. Cf. Migne, *op. cit.*, vol.182, 914-916, A. Lawrence, «English Cistercian Manuscripts of the twelfth century», *Cistercian Art and Architecture...*, *op. cit.*, 285, and O. van Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, New York, 1955, 43f.
- ⁷⁰ C. Norton, «Early Cistercian tile pavements», 229, *et passim* and «Table of Cistercian legislation on art and architecture», *Cistercian Art and Architecture...*, *op. cit.*, 324, 328, cf. Canivez, *op. cit.*, 17, 70, 91.
- ⁷¹ The Chartres maze and the divine geometry underlying the designs of wheel windows, rose windows and the maze, is discussed, with diagrams, by P. Cowen in *Rose Windows*, reprinted London, 1990. Of many useful sections, 81f. is particularly relevant to this study.
- ⁷² A. Stock, «A Sounding Vase at Fountains Abbey», *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, vol.23, 190-191 and «Resonances from the Sounding Vases», *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, vol. 24, 1989, 154-160.
- ⁷³ R. Lawlor, *Sacred Geometry - Philosophy and practice*, London, 1982, 83, cf. Plato's *Timeus*.
- ⁷⁴ Cowen, *op. cit.*, 124.
- ⁷⁵ Lawlor, *op. cit.*, 67-81. A popular usage involved 3 leaves in 5 spirals, 5 leaves in 8 spirals, etc. (Cf. figures 19 and 22.) An investigation into the use of spirals and other geometrical designs used in liturgical art, especially stained glass, is given by Cowen, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
- ⁷⁶ Dodwell, *op. cit.*, 109.
- ⁷⁷ M.M. Manion and V.F.Vines, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Australian Collections*, London, 1984, 31, 39, 40, ref. also F. van der Meer, *op. cit.*, XII.
- ⁷⁸ Complaints concerning polyphony are given by Canivez, *op. cit.*, 232, 472, King, *op. cit.*, 96 and W.Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe*, London, 1972, 70, also, the complaint of Pope John XXII in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, 2 vols, Graz, 1959, 1255-7, *Extravagantes communes*, lib. III, tit. I, cap.I.
- ⁷⁹ This matter is discussed by I. de las Cagigas, *Los Mudejars*, vol.1, Madrid, 1948, 297, *et passim* and L. Torres Balbas, *Una fase de austeridad artistica en el cristianismo y en el Islam occidental - Cistercienses y Almohades, Al-Andalus*, 1956, fasc.2. Ref. also Cf. A.B. Correa, *Monasterios Reales del Patrimonio Nacional de España*, Madrid, (undated), figs.35, 171.
- ⁸⁰ W. Fleming, *Arts and Ideas*, seventh ed., New York, 1980, 126-7.
- ⁸¹ Discussed with examples, by G. Duby, in *History of Medieval Art*, 980-1440, Geneva, 1986, II.26-II.33, also Dodwell, *op. cit.*, plates 35-40.
- ⁸² Otto Pacht, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1984, 58-61 also C.T. Davidson, «Sources for the Initials of the Cîteaux Moralia in Job», *Cistercian Art and Architecture*, *Cistercian Studies*, no.89, vol.3, 46-69.
- ⁸³ L.N. Valentine, *Ornament in Medieval Manuscripts*, London, 1965, 90.

- ⁸⁴ Cowen, *op. cit.*, 133. Cf. Carlo, *Tratado...*, vol.1, 185, vol.2, ex.182.
- ⁸⁶ F.W. Goudy, *The Alphabet*, London, 1918, 62.
- ⁸⁷ Zaluska, *op. cit.* The designs of the various monochromes are given on 171-190, foliate and historiated initials constitute examples 312-447. Examples 302, 303 and 309 are from *Dijon 114*. Ex. 302 (fol.1v) and two other pages including fol.134v, are reproduced in Choisselet and Vernet, *op. cit.*, plates 1-3. Figure 19 in this study and other examples from *Hu.T* are given in color by S. H. Gonzalez in *Codices Miniados en el Monasterio de Las Huelgas*, Madrid, 1988, viii, 71-79. These initials can be compared with Benedictine work from San Pedro (81-91) from the *Biblia Antiga* and examples in the comparative table of decorative forms, 119,120.
- ⁸⁸ *Las Edades del Hombre - Libros y Documentos en la Iglesia de Castilla y León*, Burgos, 1990, 176-177, ex.119, also 169f., *et passim*. This publication contains many useful examples of decorative and calligraphic styles.
- ⁸⁹ Correa, *Monasterios Reales*, *op. cit.*, discusses also the royal monasteries of Santa Clara, Tordesillas, the Discalced Carmelites of San Martin, Madrid and El Escorial.
- ⁹⁰ The foundation privilege is reproduced in A. R. Lopez, *El Real Monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos y el Hospital des Rey*, Burgos, 1907, vol.1, doc. 2, 325-6. The construction dates have never been completely resolved. Basing his comments on original documents and comments by J. L. y Monteverde, Dm. Maur Cocheril suggests that a start on the actual monastic quarters had been made by 1187 but the foundation date of the enterprise itself was earlier, in 1180. Ref. also E. Connor, «The Royal Abbey of Las Huelgas and the Jurisdiction of its Abbesses», *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, vol. 23, 1988, 128-155. This reference is from her unpublished essay, note 10.
- ⁹¹ King, *op. cit.*, 91(1). The influence of Cîteaux on the Iberian houses is discussed by Dm. Maur Cocheril in «Recherches sur l'Ordre de Cîteaux au Portugal», *Bulletin des Etudes Portugaises et de l'Institut Francais au Portugal*, nouvelle serie, vol.22, Lisbon, 1959-60, 31-102.
- ⁹² A. J. Luddy, *The Order of Cîteaux*, Dublin, 1932, 37-41.
- ⁹³ Connor, *op. cit.*, 5.
- ⁹⁴ «Coronica de los Senores Reyes de Castilla, cap. xxxv de la Coronica de Rey de Castilla Don Alfonso Octavo», fol.173, Madrid, 1665, in J. M. Escriva de Balaguer, *La Abadesa de Las Huelgas*, Estudio Teologico Juridico, Madrid, 1974, 18.
- ⁹⁵ Anon.(?Alberic Wulf) *Compendium of the History of the Cistercian Order*, Kentucky, 1944, 94-96 and H. Anglès, *El Còdex Musical de Las Huelgas (Música a veus dels segles XIII-XIV)*, 3 vols, Barcelona 1931, vol.1, v-xii, also Connor, *op. cit.*, *passim*. The wider scene of affiliations of the Portuguese houses was investigated by Cocheril, in «Recherches sur l'Ordre de Cîteaux...» *op. cit.* The accompanying maps and charts on pages 33, 57, 62, 63 etc., are particularly useful. The circumstances, populations, and a list of the houses and affiliations are given by the same author in «Les Abbayes cisterciennes portugaises do XIIe siècle», from «Actas do Congresso Histórico de Portugal Medievo», *Bracara Augusta*, vols 14-15, 1963, 281-300.
- ⁹⁶ Lizoain and García, *op. cit.*, 349, 369. This was normal procedure, cf. Southern, *op. cit.*, 228f.
- ⁹⁷ Southern, *ibid.*, 238, gives a good explanation of the workings of the system. Lizoain and García, *op. cit.*, 261-2 and 406.
- ⁹⁸ The female religious community would have consisted of the *velatio*, who were maidens consecrated to religion, and who followed a contemplative life, and widows whose activities were more concerned with alms and charitable works.
- ⁹⁹ *History of the Church*, ed. H. Jedin, 10 vols, New York, 1986, vol.4, 14.
- ¹⁰⁰ The houses obliged to attend the first Castilian Chapter held at Las Huelgas on April 27, 1189, included Canas, Carrizo, Fonte Calenti, Torquemada, San Andrés de Arroyo, Vilena, Villamayor de Los Montes, Avia (now Santo Domingo de la Calzada) and Renuncio (San Bernardo de Burgos).

- ¹⁰¹ Lizoain and García, *op. cit.*, 413, 414. The difficulties for the most part came from the secular *señoríos* around Las Huelgas, in the form of legal action or by conflict involving the molesting of the Las Huelgas workers in the fields.
- ¹⁰² Dm. M. Cocheril, «Les Abbesses de Lorvão», *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol.55, no.4, 1960, 930, note 1, quoting from A. Rodriguez, A. Maria Escriva *et al.* Cf. Lizoain and García, *op. cit.*, 375.
- ¹⁰³ Dm. M. Cocheril, *Routier des Abbayes Cisterciennes du Portugal*, Paris, 1978, 141.
- ¹⁰⁴ Cf. Lizoain and García, *op. cit.*, 385.
- ¹⁰⁵ *History of the Church*, *op. cit.*, 14.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 334.
- ¹⁰⁷ Lawrence, *op. cit.*, 288, but cf. Braunfels, *op. cit.*, 70, 76.
- ¹⁰⁸ Lizoain and García, *op. cit.*, 378.
- ¹⁰⁹ A copy of this profession survives, ref. J. Morris, *The Lady was a Bishop*, London, 1973, 89.
- ¹¹⁰ Lekai, *op. cit.*, 341.
- ¹¹¹ *History of the Church*, *op. cit.*, 13.
- ¹¹² Useful information concerning priests in the cenobria is given by A. de Vogüé, *Community and Abbot in the Rule of Saint Benedict*, 2 vols, Michingan, 1988, vol.2, 300 and 291-303 *et passim*. Lekai, *op. cit.*, 352, Lizoain and García, *op. cit.*, 384-5.
- ¹¹⁴ Lizoain and García, *op. cit.*, 385.
- ¹¹⁵ Lizoain and García, *op. cit.*, 370, 373.
- ¹¹⁶ The feast of St. Francis was elevated from Com. to 12LM in 1259; St. Antony was elevated from Com. to 12LM in 1260; ref. Backaert, «L'Evolution du Calendrier...», *op. cit.*, vol.19, 121.
- ¹¹⁷ Lizoain and García, *op. cit.*, 373.
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 373, 374.
- ¹¹⁹ It is the theory of this author that the present manuscript is not the original and is a copy perhaps accumulated by Johannes Rodriguez. Cf. note 154.
- ¹²⁰ Lekai, *op. cit.*, 254.
- ¹²¹ Lizoain and García, *op. cit.*, 382. Southern, *op. cit.*, 226.
- ¹²² Lizoain and García, *op. cit.*, 76, 382. The documents record that Alfonso Díaz and Juan Ruiz, public scribes, were still working at the Monastery in 1329 and 1365 respectively.
- ¹²⁴ A. Acacio, «O Mosteiro de Arouca», *O Occidente*, no.174, 1884, 237.
- ¹²⁵ Some records relating to the activities of the court exist and Mafalda is mentioned for the first time in these documents after the seventh day of July, 1215. The entourage later moved to Medina del Campo, but the itinerary included the towns of Palencia on March 19, 1215 and Avila in April, the territories of Avila, Segovia, Luego and Burgos during May and June, Palenzuela on July 7, San Salvador del Moral on September 4, Valladolid on September 17 and by December 20, it was back in Segovia. This information was provided personally by the Abbess of Burgos, 19.12.1990 from the official records of the royal court, Burgos.
- ¹²⁶ *Nobreza de Portugal e do Brazil. Bibliografia, biografia, cronologia, filatelia, genealogia, heráldica, histórica, nobiliarquia, numismática*, ed., A. E. Martins Zúquete, Lisbon, 1960-1984, vol.1, 128, 133-138. Important references are also given in *Monarquia Lusitana*, 3 vols, Lisbon, 1973.
- ¹²⁷ This information is from the same source as note 117.
- ¹²⁸ Fortunato de S.Boaventura, *Memórias para a Vida da Beata Mafalda*, (with additions by Fr. Bernardo de Brito), reprinted, Porto, 1986, 12.
- ¹²⁹ Cocheril, *Routier...*, *op. cit.*, 138.
- ¹³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹³¹ A. de Almeida Fernandez, *Arouca na Idade Média pré-nacional*, Aveiro, 1965, 120f.

- ¹³² Ibid., 139, also Cocheril, *Routier...*, *op. cit.*, , 139-40.
- ¹³³ P. M. de Oliveira, «Origens da Ordem de Cister em Portugal», *Revista portuguesa de História*, vol. 5, Coimbra, 1951, 349, also M. H. Coelho, *O Mosteiro de Arouca*, Coimbra, 1977, 59, and notes 1 and 2, 368, doc. 239 and 374, doc. 246, but cf. Fortunato de S. Boaventura, *op. cit.*, 65, and M. B. Branco, *História das Ordens Monásticas em Portugal*, 3 vols, Lisbon, 1888, vol.2, 18.
- ¹³⁴ The statute is given in Canivez, *op. cit.*, 17, (XVIII) The dedication to the latter pair of saints was made in 951.
- ¹³⁵ Cocheril, *Routier...*, *op. cit.*, 141 and Branco, *op. cit.*, 22.
- ¹³⁶ Cf. Cocheril, *Routier...*, *op. cit.*, 141.
- ¹³⁷ Coelho, *op. cit.*, 104, gives a map showing the acquisitions and properties of the monastery from the time of Hermengildo to c.1225.
- ¹³⁸ A. C. Sousa, *Provas da História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa, tiradas dos instrumentos dos Archivos da Torre do Tombo, da Serenissima Casa da Bragança, de diversas cathedraes, Mosteiros e outros particulares deste Reyno*, 6 vols, Lisbon, 1739-1748, vol.1, doc.17.
- ¹³⁹ Ibid., 139.
- ¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 140.
- ¹⁴¹ Fortunato de S. Boaventura, *op. cit.*, 12.
- ¹⁴² Cocheril, *Routier...*, *op. cit.*, 140-1. The Cistercian nunneries also accepted children of the wheel, named after the barrel-shaped device near the main door in which the babies were placed when abandoned. The nunneries naturally preferred girls, which suited the landholders, who often had to break up their estate to provide a dowry for the daughter when she married.
- ¹⁴³ Chadd, «Liturgy and liturgical music: the limits of uniformity», *Cistercian Art and Architecture*, *op. cit.*, 299, note 2, cf. note 68, also Van Dijk and Walker, *op. cit.*, 347, and Waddell, «The Origin and Early Evolution...», *op. cit.*, 210, cf. notes 49 and 157.
- ¹⁴⁴ One of the early documents of donation, from the Abbot Hermenigildo to Gontina, dated December 26, 1153, specifies that the Monastery was always the property of the community who were living there. In reality, the religious community had the perpetual right to live in the monastery although the property itself belonged to the monach or his designate. Cf. A. Herculano, «As Freiras de Lorvão», *Opusculos*, vol.I, third ed., Lisbon, 1880, 200.
- ¹⁴⁵ Ibid.. Herculano, in his not very flattering description of their extravagant life style, does not say that the frades came from Alcobaça, although this would have been the logical place.
- ¹⁴⁶ Cocheril, *Routier...*, *op. cit.*, 140. Many of the documents from Cîteaux were destroyed in the French Revolution and no details are given in the few original documents available from Arouca itself nor in the much later histories by Boaventura and de Brito. The date proposed is based on a greater than normal number of liturgical celebrations which took place at Arouca c.1200 (Fortunato de Boaventura, 88f.) and the date of affiliation of Lorvão. Also, Cocheril, «Recherches sur l'Ordre de Cîteaux...», 64-5, and 66 note 30.
- ¹⁴⁷ Cf. Ibid., 65.
- ¹⁴⁸ F. van der Meer was of the personal opinion that the Monasteries of Arouca and Lorvão, at least prior to affiliation, were best described as independent houses which used the Cistercian rite. Ultimately, they were omitted from his charts showing affiliations in the *Atlas de l'Ordre Cistercien*, Brussels, 1965.
- ¹⁴⁹ *Benedictina Lusitana*, 2 vols, Lisbon, reprinted 1974, vol.2, 334f., from the original edition in 2 vols, 1644. Useful information concerning the matter of title is given by Cocheril, *Routier...*, *op. cit.*, 192..
- ¹⁵⁰ There is uncertainty about this date, given in various sources as 1109 and 1116. Cf. Cocheril, *Routier...*, *op. cit.*, 192.

- ¹⁵¹ T. Lino de Assumpção, *As Freiras de Lorvão*, Coimbra, 1899, 15-16.
- ¹⁵² Oliveira, «Origens da Ordem de Cister...», *op. cit.*, 348, also C. Borges, *O Mosteiro de Lorvão*, Coimbra, 1977, 14 and Cocheril, *Routier...*, *op. cit.*, 195.
- ¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 192, but cf. Cocheril, «Recherches sur l'Ordre»..., *op. cit.*, 64..
- ¹⁵⁴ Cocheril, *Routier...*, *op. cit.*, 163.
- ¹⁵⁵ Cf. note 15. The unpublished study of the Cîteaux Gradual by Dm. Maur Cocheril, *Le graduel de Cîteaux et le tradition grégorienne*, Port-du-Salut, 1955, would permit comparison of the Mass texts. A comparison of the Office chants would be more difficult. Cf. note 17.
- ¹⁵⁶ F. de Almeida, *História de Portugal*, Coimbra, 1922, vol.1, 192, Branco, *op. cit.*, 18 and Cocheril, *Routier...*, *op.cit.*, 140..
- ¹⁵⁷ Lino d'Assunção, *op. cit.*, 13, Borges, *op. cit.*, 15.
- ¹⁵⁸ Cocheril, *Routier...*, *op. cit.*, 184-5, also Oliveira, «Origens da Ordem de Cister...», *op. cit.*, 350.
- ¹⁵⁹ Cocheril, *Routier...*, *op. cit.*, 192.
- ¹⁶⁰ Cocheril, «Les Abbesses de Lorvão...», *op. cit.*, 920.
- ¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 929.
- ¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 930, note 1, The names of all the perpetual abbesses of Las Huelgas have been identified (*Diccionario de Historia Ecclesiastica de España*, 5 vols, Madrid, 1972, vol.3, 1575-6, article: «monasterios», D. Yáñez: «Las Huelgas») and on the surface, excepting that she changed her name when she went to Spain, it is impossible that Branca became Abbess of Las Huelgas. However, Yáñez, *op. cit.*, quotes the abbesses as María González (1326-1332) and María Rodríguez de Rojas (1332-1351). J. J. Rodriguez in a personal communication from the Departamento de Historia Medieval del Colegio Universitario de Burgos, states that in the Las Huelgas documentation of 1339 and 1340, there is no mention of the Abbess, only the priora, Blanca and the sospiora, Anderquina Pérez. It seems that María González died towards the end of 1339 and that the next Abbess may not have been elected until 1341. Also, the administration of the Monastery from 1326 seems to have been in the hands of the princess Leonor, and therefore, it is possible that for a time Branca acted in the capacity as Abbess, perhaps because of her position as prior and her experience at Lorvão. (The original documents are Archivo Palacio Real de Madrid, *Caja 3061, no.31*, 1326, June 29, and Archivo Monasterio Huelgas de Burgos, *Leg.13, no.432-F*, 1328, June 30.)
- ¹⁶³ The documents of Las Huelgas record that the prioress Blanca Alfonso had a son Johan Rodriguez. This was probably the child born to her as a result of the well known liaison with the chevalier, Pero Esteves Carpinteiro, when she was Abbess of Lorvão. The real interest of the matter lies in the fact that the name Johannes Rodrigues (with the Portuguese and other spellings) appears throughout the *Las Huelgas codex*. Anglès and Anderson in their studies of the *Las Huelgas Motet Codex*, considered that Rodrigues was a redactor or compilor. The preceding information is in a personal communication from Juan José Rodriguez, Departamento de Historia Medieval del Colegio Universitario de Burgos, November 6, 1991, who has examined the original documents.
- ¹⁶⁴ Cocheril, «Les Abbesses...», *op. cit.*, 930.
- ¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 931.
- ¹⁶⁶ Lino d'Assumpção, *op.cit.*, 77f, also Cocheril, «Les Abbesses...», *op. cit.*, 929-931.
- ¹⁶⁷ R. de Azevedo, «O Mosterio de Lorvão na reconquista cristã», *Arquivo Histórico de Portugal*, Lisboa, 1933, 19f. The monastic territories are defined on page 27.
- ¹⁶⁸ Borges, *op. cit.*, 12.
- ¹⁶⁹ A. Cruz, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Cultura Portuguesa da Idade Média*, vol.1, Porto, 1964, xiv.
- ¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 137 and examples, 419f. etc.

- ¹⁷¹ Anon. Bispado de Coimbra: *Os Mosteiros de Lorvão e de Santa Clara e o Templo da Sé velha*, Coimbra, 1893, 7.
- ¹⁷² Herculano, *op. cit.*, 195-196.
- ¹⁷³ J. Gil, *As Mais Belas Igrejas em Portugal*, 2 vols, Lisbon, 1988, vol.1, 240.
- ¹⁷⁴ Cocheril, *Routier...*, *op. cit.*, 144.
- ¹⁷⁵ The various geographical pronunciations, which must have affected chant singing, are discussed by H. Copeman, *Singing in Latin*, Oxford, 1990, 181. Different pronunciations of syllables such as *mihi* or *mihi* could perhaps have affected the use of *liquescence*.
- ¹⁷⁶ P. Wagner, *Neumenkunde*, Fribourg, 1905, 280-286.
- ¹⁷⁷ Cf. Parrish *op. cit.*, 10-11. This relates to change in performance practice; from the thirteenth century, performance from the manuscript themselves became more common. Originally, the manuscripts were only a mnemonic aid.
- ¹⁷⁸ Cf. monastic populations as given by Lekai, *op. cit.*, 467: in 1531-33 there were eleven monks at Alcobaça and only two in the Estrela, Lisbon. Southern, *op. cit.*, 234, gives some interesting comparisons at St.Gall and Fulda.
- ¹⁷⁹ Waddell, «The Origin and Early Evolution...», *op. cit.*, 192.
- ¹⁸⁰ *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, article: «Canonical Hours», *op. cit.*, 67.
- ¹⁸¹ *The New Grove Dictionary...*, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, 508-509, article: R. Steiner, «Divine office».
- ¹⁸² M. Joaquim, in *O Colectário de Arouca e os seus Textos Musicais*, Porto, 1957, 21, gives a theoretical date 1231 or era 1269, derived from the calendar by Leclercq, but the calendar consisted only of the months May, June, November and December. There was evidence of a very old inscription on one of the end papers which referred to the establishment of the Monastery of Monte de Ramo, which became a Cistercian foundation from 1153. It is possible that the Book of Hours referred to in Mafalda's will refers to this manuscript.
- ¹⁸³ Martim de Albuquerque, et.al., *Tesouros da Biblioteca Nacional*, Lisbon, 1992, 29-32 contains useful facsimiles in colour which can be compared with examples given by Gonzalez, *op. cit.* and W. Jordan, «Gems from 13th Century Ecclesiastical Art», *The Australian Collector's Quarterly*, May-July, 1990, 76-80.
- ¹⁸⁴ *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 17 vols, Washington, 1967, vol. 7, 186, article: D. W. Lomax, «Huelgas de Burgos».
- ¹⁸⁵ Cf. note 163.