

MANUSCRIPT ÉVORA, BIBLIOTECA PÚBLICA, CÓD. CLI/1-3: ITS ORIGIN AND CONTENTS, AND THE STEMMATA OF LATE-SIXTEENTH- AND EARLY-SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PORTUGUESE SOURCES*

EL MANUSCRITO DE LA BIBLIOTECA PÚBLICA DE ÉVORA, CÓD. CLI/1-3: SU ORIGEN Y CONTENIDO, Y LOS “STEMMATA” DE LAS FUENTES PORTUGUESAS DE LOS SIGLOS XVI TARDÍO Y XVII TEMPRANO

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Abstract:

Manuscript Évora, Biblioteca Pública, Cód. CLI/1-3 is a small volume made up of two originally independent manuscripts datable respectively to c.1615 and c.1575, which were bound together sometime in the seventeenth century. The second part of the volume contains what is possibly the oldest, most persistent and widely-circulated of Holy Week series of responsories in extant late-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Portuguese sources of polyphony. The first part is dominated by the works of Manuel Mendes, a composer whose considerable reputation rested especially on his abilities as a teacher, but whose works are among the most widespread pieces in Portuguese and American colonial manuscripts in the years around 1600. In this paper I will determine the origin of Évora Cód. CLI/1-3 by following the steps of Mendes’s career, and establish the relationship between this source and several other important manuscripts as to the transmission of two exemplary pieces through the study of variant readings and the rates of agreement of the sources in the points of variation, proposing a general *stemmata* for pieces in late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth-century Portuguese sources of polyphony.

* This article partially draws on different parts of chapter 2 of the present author’s PhD dissertation (ALVARENGA, João Pedro d’: *Polifonia portuguesa sacra tardo-quincentista: estudo de fontes e edição crítica do Livro de São Vicente, manuscrito P-Lf FSVL IP/H-6*. Universidade de Évora, 2005). An early version of it was read at the *xvii Convegno della Società Italiana di Musicologia* in Pisa, Italy, October 2010. I acknowledge the assistance of the CESEM (Centre for the Study of Sociology and Aesthetics of Music) at the Universidade Nova, Lisbon, and the FCT (Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology), and I warmly thank Owen Rees and Manuel Pedro Ferreira for their comments on the Portuguese original, the anonymous readers for this journal for their suggestions, and my wife, Isabel, for her support.

Key Words:

Source study; study of variant readings; transmission of music; Portuguese manuscript sources; Polyphonic responsories; Polyphonic Alleluia; Évora; Manuel Mendes.

Resumen:

El Cód. CLI/1-3 de la Biblioteca Pública de Évora es un pequeño volumen compuesto por dos manuscritos originalmente independientes fechados hacia 1615 y 1575, respectivamente, los cuales fueron encuadernados juntos en algún momento del siglo XVII. La segunda parte del volumen contiene una serie de responsorios de Semana Santa, posiblemente la más antigua, duradera y de mayor circulación de entre las fuentes portuguesas de polifonía de finales del siglo XVI y del siglo XVII conservadas. En la primera parte sobresalen las obras de Manuel Mendes, un compositor cuya considerable reputación se debe sobre todo a sus habilidades como maestro, pero cuyas obras se encuentran entre las piezas más difundidas en los manuscritos portugueses y americanos datados en torno a 1600. En este trabajo se determinará el origen de Évora Cód. CLI/1-3 siguiendo los pasos de la carrera de Mendes, y se establecerá la relación entre esta fuente y otros importantes manuscritos en cuanto a la transmisión de dos piezas ejemplares, a través del estudio de variantes y de los grados de concordancia entre las fuentes, proponiendo un *stemma* general para las piezas contenidas en las fuentes portuguesas de polifonía de finales del siglo XVI y principios del siglo XVII.

Palabras Clave:

Estudio de fuente; Estudio de lecturas variantes; Transmisión de repertorio; Fuentes portuguesas manuscritas; responsorios polifónicos; Alleluia polifónico; Évora; Manuel Mendes.

Manuscript Évora, Biblioteca Pública, Cód. CLI/1-3 [Évora CLI/1-3] is a small volume made up of two originally independent manuscripts (current ff. 1-38 and 39-89, respectively; henceforth labelled Ms A and Ms B, respectively) which were bound together sometime in the seventeenth century¹. A brief codicological note and inventory are given at the end as Appendix I. There is nothing to add as to the volume's physical description, specific features and deplorable condition, and just the identification of the watermark type apparent in the paper of Ms A suggests to place the date of its copying in the years around 1615. Ms B is datable to c.1575².

The contents of each of the manuscripts that currently make up Évora CLI/1-3 deserves some special comment. The anonymous set of twenty-seven responsories for the *Triduum* that occupies Ms B, allegedly of Spanish origin³, is possibly the oldest, the most widespread and most persistent of Holy Week series of responsories in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Portuguese extant sources. Because it uses the texts of the Breviary of Pius v, it might have been written soon after 1568. But it could also have been composed in an earlier date and, in this case, originated from a church that, before Trent, has adopted the Breviary of the Roman Curia⁴. Other Portuguese manuscripts where this set of responsories

1 Évora CLI/1-3 was the object of an earlier study dealing mainly with Duarte Lobo's *Gloria, laus* therein included; see ALVARENGA, João Pedro d': "Uma obra perdida de Duarte Lobo recuperada (e algumas notas sobre a melodia do hino *Gloria, laus, et honor*", in *Estudos de Musicologia*. Lisbon, Colibri, 2002, pp. 89-103.

2 See ALVARENGA, João Pedro d': "Uma obra perdida de Duarte Lobo...", *op. cit.*, p. 90.

3 ALEGRIA, José Augusto: *Biblioteca Pública de Évora: catálogo dos fundos musicais*. Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1977, p. 138, refers to the occurrence of this set of responsories in manuscript E-Bbc 283, but the concordance cannot be easily ascertained because, according to informations from Biblioteca de Catalunya, that signature corresponds at present to a completely different content.

4 Owen Rees considers this series factitious, because he assumes a different composer for Responsories IV, V and VI in Holy Thursday; see REES, Owen: *Polyphony in Portugal c. 1530 - c. 1620: Sources from the Monastery of Santa Cruz, Coimbra*. Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities. New York & London, Garland, 1995, p. 204 n. 4.

occurs are: Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MM 25 [Coimbra MM 25] (complete series) and MM 47 [Coimbra MM 47] (incomplete series); the so-called *Livro de Óbidos*, Lisbon, Arquivo da Fábrica da Sé, IPSP0 1/H-2 [*Livro de Óbidos*] (incomplete series); and Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, MM 40 [Oporto MM 40] (only Responsory I in Maundy Thursday, incomplete).

Manuscript Coimbra MM 25 presumably originated in the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, where it seems to have been in use for many years. It was dated by Owen Rees from c.1570-c.1590, being probably written in the 1580s⁵. The contents of Coimbra MM 25 and that of Évora CLI/1-3 Ms B are identical: both manuscripts include just this same set of responsories for the *Triduum*.

Manuscript Coimbra MM 47 originated in the Convent of São Francisco in Santarém. It is entitled *Livro da quaresma e Somaná Santa* and was compiled possibly by the end of 1665⁶. In this manuscript, the series of responsories is concordant up to Responsory V in Holy Saturday.

The small choirbook known as *Livro de Óbidos*, now housed in Lisbon, Arquivo da Fábrica da Sé, but presumably from the Collegiate Church of São Pedro in Óbidos, was compiled between 1590 and 1605⁷. The set is here incomplete due to truncation suffered by the manuscript.

Oporto MM 40, also a small but voluminous choirbook originated in a Benedictine monastery of the Diocese of Oporto, possibly São Bento in Santo Tirso, and compiled c.1590, should have contained at least the whole Maundy Thursday series, but the corresponding folios (ff. 356-64) are now missing and only the first and third voices of Responsory I remain⁸.

It thus seems that this set of responsories for the *Triduum* was extensive and consecutively used in Portugal for a long period of almost one hundred years, being replaced by other sets more aesthetically updated only in those institutions with sufficient capacity to acquire new repertoires, such as Santa Cruz in Coimbra, where the series composed by Pedro de Cristo began to be regularly performed probably in the years around 1600⁹.

Ms B shows signs of long-term use: grease spots in the bottom of the folios and dripping wax stains, erasures and recompositions, copying errors amended, and, with the exception of Responsory VI in Good Friday (clearly because of lack of space), the addition of a third voice in the verses of the responsories, which were originally written for two voices (the same kind of addition can also be seen in Coimbra MM 25 and the *Livro de Óbidos*, and was possibly also present in Oporto MM 40).

5 On this manuscript, see REES, Owen: *Polyphony in Portugal...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 and 201-204.

6 At the end of the volume, the contents of ff. 52v-71r are thus identified: 'Estas uesporas de Sanctis E nossa Srª fes o Pº fr. guilhelmo de saõ Diogo. Sendo morador neste conutº de S. Frº de sanctar aos 20 de setembro. 1665' [These Vespers of the Saints and Our Lady made Father Brother Guilherme de São Diogo, being resident in this Convent of St Francis in Santarém, on 20 September 1665].

7 On this manuscript, see ALVARENGA, João Pedro d': *Polifonia portuguesa sacra...*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 106-123 and 169-176.

8 On Oporto MM 40, see especially ALVARENGA, João Pedro d': *Polifonia portuguesa sacra...*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 136-152 and 180-187; and ID.: "Manuscripts Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, MM 40 and MM 76-79: Their Origin, Date, Repertoires, and Context", in *Pure Gold: Sacred Music of the Iberian Renaissance. Pure Gold: Golden Age Sacred Music in the Iberian World. A Homage to Bruno Turner*, ed. Tess KNIGHTON and Bernadette NELSON. Kassel, Edition Reichenberger, 2011, pp. 27-58.

9 On Pedro de Cristo's series of responsories, see ALVARENGA, João Pedro d': *Polifonia portuguesa sacra...*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 54-57.

The relationship between the different manuscripts regarding the transmission of this series of responsories is complex and suggests the loss of a considerable number of intermediate sources. The case can be exemplified with the study of variants found in Responsory 1, *In monte Oliveti* (see Example 1)¹⁰. The first point of variation corresponds to the word 'potest'. The original version of the first voice is found in the *Livro de Óbidos* and Évora CLI/1-3: *e'-f'*. In Coimbra MM 25 and Oporto MM 40, the version *e'-a* is apparently intended to provide a progression of two complete triads (C-d). Over erasure, Évora CLI/1-3 still presents distinct readings in the second and third voices, in order to eliminate voice-crossing on '(pot)-est' and provide a progression of triads truly supported by the fourth voice: C-F-d instead of the original C-d-d. The second point of variation is on 'in-fir(ma)'. At this point, Oporto MM 40 is different from the other manuscripts because it introduces, or retains the syncopated form of the *clausula cantizans* (producing on the second syllable — hypothetically, given the lack of the fourth voice — the retarding of the octave for the 9th).

Évora CLI/1-3
Óbidos 1/H-2 (original version)

Coimbra MM 25
Óvora CLI/1-3
Óbidos 1/H-2

Coimbra MM 25
Oporto MM 40

si fi-e-ri pot-est, tran-se-at au-tem in-fir-ma:

si fi-e-ri pot-est, tran-se-at au-tem in-fir-ma:

si fi-e-ri pot-est, tran-se-at au-tem in-fir-ma:

si fi-e-ri pot-est, tran-se-at au-tem in-fir-ma:

Évora CLI/1-3 (2nd version)

Oporto MM 40

si fi-e-ri pot-est, tran-se-at au-tem in-fir-ma:

si fi-e-ri pot-est, tran-se-at au-tem in-fir-ma:

si fi-e-ri pot-est, tran-se-at au-tem in-fir-ma:

si fi-e-ri pot-est, tran-se-at

Example 1. *In monte Oliveti*, responsory: variant readings.

¹⁰ I leave out Coimbra MM 47, which dates back to the second half of the seventeenth century. In any case, it should be noted that this source transmits versions far removed from the originals, certainly the result of successive adaptations and recompositions.

The situation of the added voice in the verse seems particularly revealing: it is basically the same in Évora CLI/1-3 and the *Livro de Óbidos*, and different in Coimbra MM 25. The *Livro de Óbidos* has *e'* instead of *f'* on 'et (orate)' (perhaps just a slip of the copyist, which went unnoticed because of the consonant relationship kept with the other voices) and, in relation to Évora CLI/1-3, changes the tonal and temporal relationship between the two upper voices in the small point of imitation leading to the final cadence. In the two original voices of the verse, the point of variation corresponds to this final cadence (see Example 2). Évora CLI/1-3 and the *Livro de Óbidos* agree once again with each other, as they both show a cadence on *A/a*, with a plain *cantizans* formula in the upper voice; Coimbra MM 25 has the *cantizans* formula ornamented with an anticipation, or 'portamento'; Oporto MM 40 presents a completely different reading: cadence on *A/e*, or *e/e*, with the fourth voice, which is missing in this manuscript, necessarily divergent from the other sources.

The image displays a musical score for the verse 'In monte Oliveti'. It features four distinct musical readings from different sources, presented in a multi-staff format. The top section shows three staves of music with lyrics: 'Vi-gi-la-te, et o-ra-te, ut non in-tre-tis in'. The bottom section shows four staves of music with lyrics: 'ten-ta-ti-o-nem. in ten-ta-ti-o-nem.' The sources are labeled as follows: Évora CLI/1-3, Óbidos 1/H-2, Coimbra MM 25, and Oporto MM 40. The score includes vocal lines and a basso continuo line.

Example 2. *In monte Oliveti*, verse: variant readings.

Regarding responsory *In monte Oliveti*, we can thus conclude the following: Évora CLI/1-3 and the *Livro de Óbidos* are closely related in the same line of transmission, with the first manuscript occupying the highest position in the *stemma textum*. The *Livro de Óbidos*, however, preserves the original readings, since the amendments to Évora CLI/1-3 seem to be later than the process of transmission. Coimbra MM 25 and Oporto MM 40 belong to a parallel line of transmission, with a common ancestor in which the reading in the first point of variation, *e'-a* in the upper voice, was introduced, but standing in collateral position, each with hypothetically separate direct ancestors, where the variant readings in the final cadence were introduced.

Ms A contains pieces mainly by Manuel Mendes and three of his presumed pupils: Duarte Lobo, Simão dos Anjos de Gouveia, and António de Oliveira.¹¹ The texts are proper to Lent, Palm Sunday and Easter time. This manuscript does not seem to have had the same type and level of use as Ms B, to which it was appended in the same binding. The concordances found for Ms A — four out of eight with the *Livro de Óbidos* — again point to a certain degree of dependance of the Collegiate Church of São Pedro in Óbidos on Évora for the acquisition of repertory, which in this case cannot be properly ascertained given the extent of the lacunae caused by ink oxidation in the first four gatherings of Évora CLI/1-3. Nevertheless, Ms A remains as one of the main sources for the identification of Manuel Mendes's works. This is of course relevant, especially given the mythic role still granted to Mendes in the common perception of the history of music in Portugal, and even in contemporary, modern historiography, as *fons et origo* of a supposed 'School of Évora',¹² or, as in the words of Father Tomé Álvares in a letter to the Antwerpian printer Balthasar Moretus, as 'mestre [...] de toda a boa musica deste Reino'.¹³ And although the biography of Manuel Mendes still has to be accurately established,¹⁴ it is now possible, partly on the basis of authorship attributions in Évora CLI/1-3, and considering the full contents of the manuscript additions to the copy of the 1551 Jacques Moderne printing of Cristóbal de Morales's *Missarum liber secundus* from Lamego Cathedral,¹⁵ to give a complete list of his extant works, here presented as Appendix II.

11 For a notice on these composers, see respectively BORGES, Armindo: *Duarte Lobo (156?-1646): Studien zum Leben und Schaffen des portugiesischen Komponisten*. Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung, 132. Regensburg, Gustav Bosse, 1986; STEVENSON, Robert, ed.: *Antologia de polifonia portuguesa: 1490-1680*. (Portugaliae Musica; xxxvii). Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982, pp. xvii-xviii; and NERY, Rui Vieira: *A música no ciclo da "Bibliotheca Lusitana"*. Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1984, pp. 182-183.

12 On this issue, see my remarks in *Estudos de Musicologia*, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110.

13 'master [...] of all good music in this Kingdom'; Tomé Álvares, letter to Balthasar Moretus, 11 March 1610; facsimile in BORGES, Armindo: *Duarte Lobo...*, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

14 The most serious attempt, although with several errors and excessive extrapolation, is ALEGRIA, José Augusto: "A música em Évora no século XVI (tentativa de esboço histórico)", in *A Cidade de Évora*, 6 (1944), pp. 25-43, and 7-8 (1944), pp. 118-132.

15 On the contents of this source, which is now housed in the former Episcopal Palace in Lamego with the signature Lv. 143, see JOAQUIM, Manuel: "A Missa 'pro defunctis' de Manuel Mendes", in *A Cidade de Évora*, 25-26 (1951), especially at p. 262 n. 10, and p. 270.

[Altus 1º]

[Altus 2º]

[Tenor]

[Bassus]

6

12

Example 3. Manuel Mendes, *Alleluia* (i) (source: P-EVP Cód. CLI/1-3, ff. 7v-8r).

Mendes's *Alleluia* (i) — no. 1 in Appendix II (and see the edition in Example 3) — was one of the most widespread pieces in the years around 1600, still existing in eight manuscripts with origins as diverse as Braga, Portugal, and Puebla, Mexico. These manuscripts are: Puebla, Catedral, LC XIII [Puebla XIII];¹⁶ Arouca, Museu de Arte Sacra, choirbook without signature [Arouca s.s.];¹⁷ Coimbra, Biblioteca

¹⁶ On Puebla choirbooks, see STEVENSON, Robert: *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas*. Washington D.C., Organization of American States, General Secretariat, 1970, pp. 208-221.

¹⁷ On this manuscript, see RIBEIRO, Mário de Sampaio: "Sete 'Alleluias' inéditos", in *Sete "Alleluias" inéditos (dum códice do Mosteiro de Arouca)*, ed. Mauro M. FÁBREGAS. Oporto, Ora & Labora, 1949-50, pp. 5-11.

Geral da Universidade, MM 36 [Coimbra MM 36];¹⁸ Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, LC 57 [Lisbon LC 57];¹⁹ Braga, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital, Ms. 967 [Braga 967];²⁰ and Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, MM 76-79 [Oporto MM 76-79], besides Oporto MM 40 and Évora CLI/1-3. The study of variants (see Table 1) and the establishment of percentage rates of agreement in the points of variation (see Table 2) may help to correlate the complex of manuscripts that transmit this work.

TABLE 1. Manuel Mendes, *Alleluia* (i): readings in the points of variation.²¹

(A) Puebla XIII²²; (B) Arouca s.s.; (C) Coimbra MM 36; (D) Évora CLI/1-3; (E) Lisbon LC 57; (F) Oporto MM 40; (G) Oporto MM 76-79.

1a	A2 1 ² -3 ¹	ligature	E		A B D F G	
1b	A2 2 ¹ -3 ¹	ligature	C			
2	T 4 ⁴ -5 ¹	ligature	C		A B D E F G	
3	A1 8 ¹		E	flat sign	A B C D F G	
4	A1 9 ²⁻³		C	flat sign	A B D E F G	
5	A1 9 ²⁻³	Br	B	Sb, Sb	A C D E F G	
6	B 9 ³	sharp sign	D		A B C E F G	
7	A1 11	sharp sign	D		A B C E F G	
8	T 13 ¹⁻²	Br	E	dotted Sb, M	A B C D F G	
9	A2 13 ²	a'	A	e'	B C D E F G	
10	A1 15 ¹	f'	A	g'	B C D E F G	
11	B 18 ⁴		C E	flat sign	A B F G	D lac.
12	A1 20 ¹⁻²	Br	E	dotted Sb, M	A B C D F G	
13	A2 22 ²	Br rest	A	Br	B C D E F G	
14	B 24 ¹⁻²	ligature	C		A B D E F G	
15	B 24 ⁴		D	flat sign	A B C E F G	
16	B 25 ²	sharp sign	D		A B C E F G	
17	T 25 ³	flat sign	C		A B D E F G	
18	A1 25 ² -26 ¹	Sb, Sb	G	Br	A B C D E F	

18 This manuscript is a Pedro de Cristo's autograph in almost its entirety; see REES, Owen: *Polyphony in Portugal...*, op. cit., pp. 8 and 247-253.

19 On manuscript Lisbon LC 57, see REES, Owen: *Polyphony in Portugal...*, op. cit., pp. 437-443; and ALVARENGA, João Pedro d': *Polifonia portuguesa sacra...*, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 124-135 and 177-179.

20 The text in Braga 967 is an addition dating back to 1615, and consists of only the first part of the piece (bb. 1-11). The reading is exactly the same as that of the group of sources that includes Oporto MM 40, Oporto MM 76-79, and Puebla XIII, making it irrelevant in this context. On Braga 967, see ALVARENGA, João Pedro d': "Polifonia na liturgia bracarense: o *Liber introitus*, primeiro testemunho quinhentista", in *Estudos de Musicologia*, op. cit., pp. 35-87; ALVARENGA, João Pedro d', and LOPES, Rui Cabral: "A polifonia na liturgia bracarense (primeira metade do século XVI)", in *A Catedral de Braga: Arte, Liturgia e Música, dos fins do século XI à época tridentina*, ed. Ana Maria S. A. RODRIGUES and Manuel Pedro FERREIRA. Lisbon, Arte das Musas, CESEM, 2009, pp. 152-195; and ALVARENGA, João Pedro d', and FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro: "The *Liber introitus* of Miguel da Fonseca, and a Possible Improvisatory Model", in *Heinrich Isaac and Polyphony for the Proper of the Mass in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. David J. BURN and Stefan GASCH. Turnhout, Brepols, 2011, pp. 81-121.

21 Data on each line, in the columns from left to right is as following: 1-The order of occurrence of the point of variation; 2-Its location, mentioning the voice with the usual abbreviation, the bar number(s), and the position within the bar with superscript numerals; 3-Its respective reading; 4-The source, or sources transmitting it; 5-The corresponding variant reading; 6- The source, or sources transmitting it; 7-The source, or sources lacunal at the point of variation. Abbreviations used: Br- Breve; Sb- Semibreve; M- Minim.

22 For the readings in this source, I faith in STEVENSON, Robert, ed.: *Antologia de polifonia portuguesa...*, op. cit., pp. 57-58.

TABLE 2. Manuel Mendes, *Alleluia* (i): percentage rates of agreement of the sources in the points of variation.²³

	A		B		C		D		E		F		G		
A				77,7		50,0		52,9		55,5		83,3		77,7	18
B	14	77,7				61,1		70,6		66,6		94,4		88,8	18
C	9	50,0	11	61,1				47,1		55,5		66,6		61,1	18
D	9	52,9	12	70,6	8	47,1				52,9		76,5		70,6	17
E	10	55,5	12	66,6	10	55,5	9	52,9				72,2		66,6	18
F	15	83,3	17	94,4	12	66,6	13	76,5	13	72,2				94,4	18
G	14	77,7	16	88,8	11	61,1	12	70,6	12	66,6	17	94,4			18

From a survey of Table 2 above one should note the following:

—The clear emergence of a group of sources including Oporto MM 40, Oporto MM 76-79, and Arouca s.s., which I will call the ‘monastic group’ because of their provenances, with very high rates of agreement, within the range 88,8-94,4;

—The closeness of Puebla XIII to the ‘monastic group’, and particularly to Oporto MM 40, with rates of agreement within the range 77,7-83,3;

—The seeming closeness of Évora CLI/1-3 to the ‘monastic group’ (76,5-70,6), particularly to Oporto MM 40;

—The seeming closeness of Lisbon LC 57 (with provenance in the Convent of Santa Clara in Guimarães, but compiled in Coimbra) to Oporto MM 40 (72,2) and the other manuscripts of the ‘monastic group’ (66,6), and its corresponding separation from Coimbra MM 36 (55,5) and Évora CLI/1-3 (52,9);

—The low rates of agreement of Coimbra MM 36 with all other sources, not exceeding 66,6 (with Oporto MM 40);

—The divergence of Évora CLI/1-3 and Coimbra MM 36, with a rate of agreement below 50,0.

These observations, which fall on purely statistical data, have yet to be qualified with the characterization of the variant readings presented on Table 1. Of these, we must consider the ones consisting in:

—Simply notational differences (points of variation 1a, 1b, 2, and 14) — the presence of ligatures opposes Coimbra MM 36 and, in just one case (point of variation 1a), also Lisbon LC 57 to the other sources;

—Differences that modify the rhythmic profile (points of variation 5, 8, 12, and 18) — they may result from the adaptation of texts in each case different (have in mind the two functions assigned to this piece: Lent tract in Évora CLI/1-3 and Oporto MM 40, and *Alleluia* in the other sources);

²³ The number of concordances found is shown for each pair of sources (referred to with capital letters as in the preceding table) perpendicularly in the table grid and, in italics, the corresponding percentage rate of agreement, calculated on the basis of the number of points of variation shown in the right-most column.

—Differences that modify the melodic contour (points of variation 9, 10, and 13) — they are unique to Puebla XIII (but some can consist on an error in the modern edition and, in this case, it would result in an even greater closeness of this source to the ‘monastic group’, and particularly to Oporto MM 40);

—Differences in the notation of B-fa (points of variation 3, 14, 11, 15, and 17) — the absence of the flat sign opposes now Coimbra MM 36 (point 4), now Lisbon LC 57 (point 3), now both manuscripts (point 11) to the other sources; in one case, it is the presence of the sign that isolates Coimbra MM 36 (point 17); in another case (point 15), it is again its absence that produces the same effect to Évora CLI/1-3; manuscripts of the ‘monastic group’ and Puebla XIII always notate the flat sign when the melodic intervals are ut-fa, re-fa, and mi-fa; Évora CLI/1-3 tends to omit it when the interval is re-fa;

—Differences in *ficta* notation (points of variation 6, 7, and 10) — the presence of the sharp sign is exclusive to Évora CLI/1-3.

At every point of variation, the variant readings are thus disjunctive, because they separate a given source from the others, with the exception of points 1 and 11, where Coimbra MM 36 and Lisbon LC 57 significantly agree (these readings being then conjunctive to the said sources, and disjunctive in relation to the others). For Manuel Mendes’s *Alleluia* (i) I therefore propose a tripartite stemma, with the following lines of transmission, all equidistant from the now-lost archetype:

1) That of Oporto MM 40, head of the ‘monastic group’, and hypothetical ancestor of the version in Puebla XIII;

2) That of a hypothetical ancestor of Coimbra MM 36, to which can also be linked, because of its conjunctive readings, Lisbon LC 57, with provenance in Guimarães, but compiled also in Coimbra; and

3) That of Évora CLI/1-3.

The coexistence of these three lines of transmission in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Portuguese sources — one related to the Benedictines of the Diocese of Oporto and possibly also to Braga, another to Coimbra, including the Augustinian Monastery of Santa Cruz, and still another to Évora — was foreseen by Rees,²⁴ and can be further checked with the study of other, different pieces.²⁵

Although an origin in Évora is certain for at least Ms A, the provenance of Évora CLI/1-3 and of each of the originally independent manuscripts that make it up today cannot be unquestionable established.²⁶

²⁴ See REES, Owen: “Manuscript Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, CIC 60: The Repertories and their Context”, in *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, 4-5 (1994-5), pp. 53-93 at pp. 61-62, and n. 24; and ID., *Polyphony in Portugal...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 204 and 441-442.

²⁵ See, for example the case with António Carreira’s motet *Dicebat Jesus turbis Judeorum* and its sources, in ALVARENGA, João Pedro d’: *Polifonia portuguesa sacra...*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 132-134.

²⁶ When I studied Évora CLI/1-3 for the first time, I supposed it has come from Évora Cathedral (see ALVARENGA, João Pedro d’: “Uma obra perdida de Duarte Lobo...”, *op. cit.*, p. 89). This is not my current view, as I shall try to argue in the next paragraphs.

The small size of the volume, which makes it suitable for just a small number of singers (conveniently, no more than four), is not an indication that it was not used in the Cathedral. The polyphonic choir there was composed of a maximum of fourteen and a minimum of seven men (in 1537 and 1651 respectively) and four treble young boys,²⁷ but the singers did not serve simultaneously as a rule and 'singelo' (presumably one-singer-a-part), 'duo' and 'terno' (three-singers-a-part, or three-part polyphony with one-singer-a-part) performances were apparently common.²⁸ However, as Ms A is dominated by the music of Manuel Mendes, we can tread the trail of the institutions that the composer, hypothetically or actually served. It is in this way that one should rule out the Cathedral, to whose service Mendes was attached between 16 August 1585 — when he took possession of a bachelor's preferment which had become vacant on the death of Francisco Velez (the same man who succeeded Mateus de Aranda as master of the cloister in 1544²⁹) — and 24 September 1605 — when he died in his apartments, in the Terreiro de Santa Mónica, in front of the Church of São Mamede, Évora.³⁰ Actually, the ecclesial functions related to that kind of benefice tended to exclude the holding of any teaching position or music practice, as indeed confirm the documents from the Chapter that refer to Mendes in this long period of twenty years: he is always and only referred to as 'padre Manoel Mendes Bacharel',³¹ and on many occasions appointed or elected to as varied duties as recorder of the farms's cellar, proxy for the Cathedral's Chapter in monitories, or distributor of fish in Lent time.³²

In the inquiry made to the Cathedral by Archbishop Teotónio de Portugal on 4 June 1593, on the same occasion that Mendes stated to be 'mais de quarenta e cinco anos',³³ the 'quartanário'³⁴ Vicente Guerreiro, who at the time served as rector of the College of Choirboys, said that, having the Cathedral 'muita necessidade de hum liuro onde este[ja]m as glorias E Credos e chirios [...] se deuem commetter a Manuel mendes que faça e componha estas cousas e que veja outros liuros que o sobchante apontar'.³⁵ Although suggested by this reference, the hypothesis of a provenance of Évora CL1/1-3 in the College of Choirboys (where, as requirement of the regulation, there was always a book of polyphony along with the Psalter for the training of boys in singing and counterpoint³⁶) also seems

27 ALEGRIA, José Augusto: "A música em Évora no século XVI...", *op. cit.*, p. 52; Id., *História da escola de música da Sé de Évora*. Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1973, pp. 74-75.

28 See the 1565 'Regimento para a Capella da See' [Regulation for the Chapel of the See] and the 1634 'Regimento dos Cantores da Sê de Euora' [Regulation for the Singers of the See of Évora], published in ALEGRIA, José Augusto: *História da escola de música...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-132 and 133-139 respectively. The meaning of such words as 'singelo' and 'terno' in the context of music performance is nevertheless still subject to discussion.

29 Master of the Cloister ('Mestre da Crasta') was the title given to the music teacher in Évora and other Portuguese cathedrals, because of the place where the classes initially functioned.

30 ALEGRIA, José Augusto: *História da escola de música...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 and 41; Id.: "A música em Évora no século XVI...", *op. cit.*, p. 126.

31 'Father Manuel Mendes, Bachelor'.

32 ALEGRIA, José Augusto: "A música em Évora no século XVI...", *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125.

33 'more than forty-five years old'.

34 That is, a beneficiary that earned the quarter part of the preferment of a canon.

35 'much need of a book where the Glories and Creeds, and Kyries would be [...] Manuel Mendes should be appointed to do and compose these things and to inspect other books that the sub-chanter may indicate'; ALEGRIA, José Augusto: *História da escola de música...*, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

36 Article [32] of the 1617 *Regulamento do Colégio dos Moços do Coro* [Regulation of the College of Choirboys]; quoted in ALEGRIA, José Augusto: *O Colégio dos Moços do Coro da Sé de Évora*. Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1997, pp. 109-110.

remote, since Mendes's connection to this institution and to the cloister mastership in the Cathedral is merely conjectural.³⁷

We are thus left with the Church of Santo Antão, in whose collegiate Mendes held a benefice between 1575, the year he attained priesthood — by the way granted 'ad titulum beneficii', and in which record of the Order of Subdeacon he is said to be, at the time, 'mestre da Capella do Cardial Infante'³⁸ — and 1584 at least. In this church, of which the archbishops of Évora were inherently priors, there was an organized musical activity, although we do not know exactly in what form and extent, but it seems that in the dependence of the Cathedral, given that at least the organist was regularly paid by the Cathedral's Chapter.³⁹ Mendes is referred to in two records of baptism of the Church of Santo Antão in the following way: 'padre manoel mendes mestre da cappella' in 24 January 1582, and, similarly, 'padre Manuel mendes mestre da Capella' in 15 July 1584.⁴⁰ The systematic absence of a determinative strongly suggests that he was in fact chapelmaster of that church.⁴¹ It is therefore possible that Évora CLI/1-3 had been in use in the Church of Santo Antão, and had its origin there.

37 See ALEGRIA, José Augusto: "A música em Évora no século XVI...", *op. cit.*, p. 120.

38 'Master of the Chapel of the Cardinal Prince'; see ALEGRIA, José Augusto: "A música em Évora no século XVI...", *op. cit.*, pp. 119 ff. Alegria's extrapolations are not based on any documentary evidence, but precisely on the absence, or want of knowledge of references that make explicit the date in which Filipe de Magalhães began functions as master of the cloister in Évora Cathedral, inexplicable assuming that Mendes's fate of being 'master [...] of all good music in this Kingdom' could only have been accomplished in the Cathedral, or in its direct connections. The gap in the documents is between 1585, the date of death of Francisco Velez, and 1589, when a record of baptism refers to 'felipe de magalhães mestre da crasta desta See' [Filipe de Magalhães, Master of the Cloister of this See] (see ALEGRIA, José Augusto: *História da escola de música...*, *op. cit.*, p. 40).

39 See ALEGRIA, José Augusto: *História da escola de música...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, and 47-48 n. 42.

40 'Father Manuel Mendes, master of the chapel'; see ALEGRIA, José Augusto: *História da escola de música...*, *op. cit.*, p. 48 n. 43.

41 Mário de Sampaio Ribeiro reached otherwise a similar conclusion, but as he insists that Mendes was master of the cloister, he supports the idea (which seems to me totally unlikely) that 'o colégio dos meninos-de-coro deve inicialmente ter sido instituído para que o esplendor litúrgico do culto em Santo Antão corresse parilhas com o da Sé' [the College of Choirboys must have been initially instituted so that the splendour of liturgical worship in Santo Antão were comparable to that in the Cathedral]; see RIBEIRO, Mário de Sampaio: "Manuel Mendes e o mestrado-de-capela da Sé de Évora", in *A Cidade de Évora*, 21-22 (1950), pp. 35-42. Given such skewed interpretation, it seems obvious the need to rewrite the history of music in Évora, but grounded in sound and systematic archive work and textual criticism.

APPENDIX I

Manuscript Évora, Biblioteca Pública, Cód. CLI/1-3: A Brief Codicological Note and Inventory

Choirbook, 89 ff., paper, 265 × 205 mm.

Condition: heavily damaged by use and, more markedly, by ferrous ink oxidation with extensive damage of text, especially in the four initial gatherings; all folios trimmed on top.

Gathering structure: a¹⁰, b¹², c⁸, d¹⁰⁽²⁾, e⁶⁺¹, f⁸, g⁴⁺¹, h¹², i⁶, k⁸, l⁶. Gatherings a-d and e-l originally constituted two independent manuscripts: the first, Ms A, with 40 folios, occupies the current ff. 1-38 (the last two folios, which were presumably blank, were cut off); the second, Ms B, with 51 folios, occupies the current ff. 39-89.

Numbering system: by folios, recent, on the top of recto faces, in pencil: 1-89; vestiges of original foliation, both manuscripts beginning with number '1'.

Page layout: Ms A 5+5 staves per page, staff height = 13,0 mm; Ms B 4+4 staves per page, staff height = 15,0 mm.

Watermarks:⁴² Ms A *trefoil/ellipse* (≈ MELO no. 120, Lisbon, 1616 ≈ GRAVELL SPH.007.1, 1622; see Figure 1); Ms B *star/circle* (≈ REES MM 3 paper 2, and MM 31 paper 1 ≈ BRIQUET no. 1131, Florence, 1529).⁴³

Copyists: Ms A one single scribe; Ms B one single scribe, with additions.

Decoration: Ms A plain red initials on ff. 30v-33r; Ms B plain initials and inscriptions in red, and poorly executed caligraphic initials, some in cadels, some with figures, monochromes, in black and red.

Binding: original, seventeenth-century, from the time when the two manuscripts were joined together, complete in parchment with no boards (270 × 212 mm), with vestiges of straps and of a front flyleaf.

Inscriptions and marks: on the front cover, in ink, under erasure: 'Masso 4º Nº 5'; in another, more recent hand: 'Cod CLI/ 1-3 // '.

Dating: Ms A 1590-1620, most probably c.1615; Ms B c.1575.

History of the manuscript: Ms A copied in Évora; probably from the Collegiate Church of Santo Antão; became part of the collection of Évora Public Library perhaps before the middle of the nineteenth century.

References: ALEGRIA, José Augusto: *Polifonistas portugueses: Duarte Lobo, Filipe de Magalhães, Francisco Martins*. Biblioteca Breve, 86. Lisbon, Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1984, p. 55; Id.: *Biblioteca Pública de Évora: catálogo...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 69-71, 74, and 138; ALVARENGA, João Pedro d': "Uma obra perdida de Duarte Lobo...", *op. cit.*, pp. 89-103; Id.: *Polifonia portuguesa sacra...*, vol. 1,

42 References: BRIQUET, Charles-Moïse: *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*. Leipzig, Karl W. Hiersemann, 1923; GRAVELL *Watermarks Database* <<http://gravell.org>> [last accessed 29 March 2010]; MELO, Arnaldo Faria de Ataíde e: *O papel como elemento de identificação*. Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, 1926; REES, Owen: *Polyphony in Portugal...*, *op. cit.*, "Appendix 1: Types of Paper Occurring in the Polyphonic Sources", pp. 367 ff.

43 P-Cug MM 3 dates from 1575 for the most part; see REES, Owen: *Polyphony in Portugal...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 151 and 214.

pp. 69-87, and 163-166; BORGES, Armindo: *Duarte Lobo (156?-1646)...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-178; JOAQUIM, Manuel: “A ‘Missa de féria’ do Padre Manuel Mendes (1547?-1605)”, in *Música: revista dos alunos do Conservatório de Música do Pôrto*, 2 (1942); ID.: “A Missa ‘pro defunctis’ de Manuel Mendes”, in *A Cidade de Évora*, 23-24 (1951), pp. 95-108, and 25-26 (1951), pp. 275-288; RIBEIRO, Mário de Sampaio: *Os manuscritos musicais n.ºs 6 e 12 da Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra: (contribuição para um catálogo definitivo)*. Achegas para a História da Música em Portugal, v. Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, 1941, p. 108; STEVENSON, Robert, ed.: *Antologia de polifonia portuguesa...*, *op. cit.*, pp. xiv, xvii, xxxv, and xxxviii; VIEIRA, Ernesto: *Diccionario biographico de musicos portugueses: historia e bibliographia da musica em Portugal*. Lisbon, Lambertini, 1900, vol. 1, p. 35, and vol. 2, pp. 42, 83, and 137.

Editions: ALEGRIA, José Augusto: “A música em Évora no século XVI (tentativa de esboço histórico)”, in *A Cidade de Évora*, 6 (1944), pp. 25-43, and 7-8 (1944), pp. 118-132 (hors-text between pp. 124-125), and STEVENSON, Robert, ed.: *Antologia de polifonia portuguesa...*, *op. cit.*, p. 70 (Simão dos Anjos de Gouveia, *Pueri hebræorum vestimenta*); ALVARENGA, João Pedro d’.: *Estudos de Musicologia*, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-103 (Duarte Lobo, *Gloria, laus, et honor*); ID.: *Polifonia portuguesa sacra...*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 427, 431-432 (Manuel Mendes, *Alleluia i*); JOAQUIM, Manuel: “A ‘Missa de féria’ do Padre Manuel Mendes”, *op. cit.* (Manuel Mendes, *Missa de feria*).

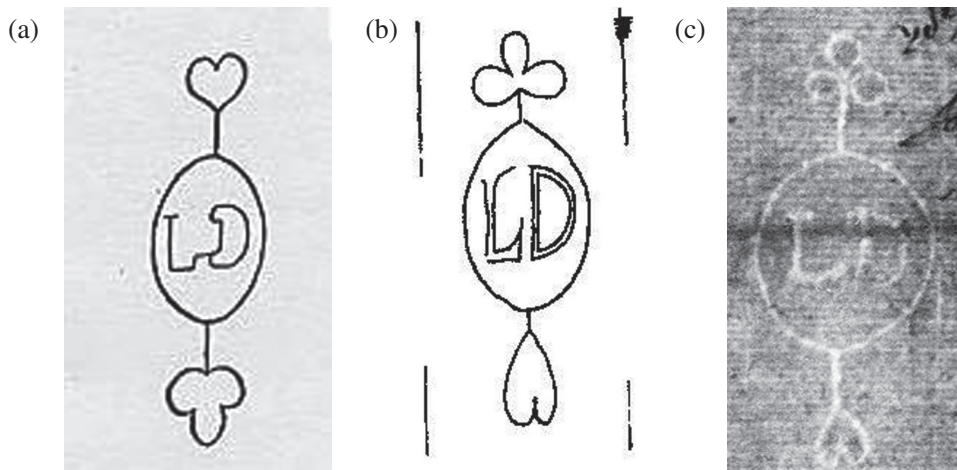


Figure 1. (a) MELO no. 120; (b) P-EVp Cód. CLI/1-3; (c) GRAVELL SPH.007.1

Inventory⁴⁴

No.	Folio(s)	Text Incipit ⁴⁵	Voices	Inscriptions and Attributions	Notes and Concordances
Ms A					
1	1r 1v-4r	[blank] (Asperges me) Domine Jsopo... (Miserere...) Secundum magnam... (Gloria patri...) Sicut erat	4	De Manoel Mendes. lusitano	=P-AR LC s.s., ff. 30v-32r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 51v-52r; P-Lf FICV 1/J-3, ff. 1v-2r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H- 2, pp. 9-11; P-Pm MM 76-79, pp. 1-2; P-TNp, ff. 1v-3r, ' <i>MISSA DE DOMINICA</i> '
2.1	4v-7r	Kyrie... (Kyrie...) Christe... (Christe...) Kyrie... (Kyrie...)	4	Missa de Quadrages[ima] cum 4 vocibus Emmanuel Mendez [=Manuel Mendes]	=P-Cug MM 47, ff. 1v-2r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 209-14
2.2	7v-8r		4	Tractus [Manuel Mendes]	textless =MEX-Pc LC XIII, ff. 122v-123r; P-AR LC s.s., ff. 58v-59r; P-BRd Ms. 967, ff. 66v-67r; P-Cug MM 36, ff. 70v-71r; P-Ln LC 57, ff. 25v-26r; P-Pm MM 40, ff. 189v-190r; P-Pm MM 76-79, p. 15
2.3	8v-22r	Patrem omnipotentem [Credo]... Sanctus... Benedictus... Agnus Dei... (Agnus Dei...) Agnus Dei... Deo gratias [Benedicamus Domino]	4	[Manuel Mendes]	=P-Cug MM 47, ff. 2v-9r (<i>partim</i>); P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 215-32
3	22v-23r 23v-26r	[blank] Gloria laus... Israel est tu rex... Coetus in excelsis	4/3	<i>Dominica</i> Palmarum Eduardus lupus [=Duarte Lobo]	
4	26v-29r	Kyrie... Christe... Kyrie... Kyrie... (Sanctus) Sanctus... (Pleni sunt) Cæli, et terra... (Benedictus) Qui uenit... (Agnus Dei) Qui tollis... (Agnus Dei) Qui tollis	4	Missa de Feria. Emmanuelis Mendes [=Manuel Mendes]	=P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 249-54

44 Library sigla in the inventory and Appendix II follow RISM norm. Additional sigla: P-TNp Portugal, Torres Novas, Private Collection; P-LAp Portugal, Lamego, Paço Episcopal (nowadays the Lamego Museum).

45 The text of the sections in plainchant is enclosed in round brackets.

No.	Folio(s)	Text Incipit ⁴⁵	Voices	Inscriptions and Attributions	Notes and Concordances
5	29v-30r	Pueri hebreorum uestimenta	4	De Simão dos Anjos [de Gouveia]	
6	30v-33r	(Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel) Quia visitauit	4		
7	33v-37r	(Vidi aquam) Egredientem... (Confitemini...) Quoniam in saeculum... (Gloria patri...) Sicut erat	4	Tempore paschali. De Antonio d'Oliueira	
8	37v-38r	Alleluia	4	De Antonio d'oliueira	=P-AR LC s.s., ff. 59v-60r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 235-36; P-Ln Ms addition in Duarte Lobo, <i>Liber missarum</i> , 1621, CN 1 R.
	38v	[blank]			
Ms B					
9	39r	uolentes lapidem [Sepulto Domino]	[?]		In a different hand; only the B part, with no more text
10	39r	Miserere mei Deus	[?]		In a different hand; only the B part
11.1	39v-41r	IN monte oliueti... Vigilate	4/3	R/.j.	A part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 1v-2r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 28v-29r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 93v-94r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 93-4; P-Pm MM 40, f. 355v (incomplete)
11.2	41v-43r	Tristis est... Ecce appropinquat	4/3	R/.ij.	A part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 2v-3r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 29v-30r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 94v-95r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 95-6
11.3	43v-45r	Ecce vidimus... Vere langores	4/3	R/.iij.	T part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 3v-5r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 30v-31r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 95v-96r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 97-8
11.4	45v-47r	Amicus meus... Bonum erat	4/3	R/.iiij.	B part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 5v-7r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 31v-32r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 96v-97r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 99-100
11.5	47v-49r	Iudas mercator... Melius illi erat	4/3	R/.v.	S part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 7v-8r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 32v-33r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 97v-98r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 101-2

No.	Folio(s)	Text Incipit ⁴⁵	Voices	Inscriptions and Attributions	Notes and Concordances
11.6	49v-51r	UNUS ex discipulis... Qui intingit	4/3	R/.vj.	B part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 8v-9r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 33v-34r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 98v-99r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 103-4
11.7	51v-53r	Eram quasi agnus... Omnes inimici	4/3	R/.vij.	A part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 9v-11r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 33v-35r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 99v-100r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 105-6
11.8	53v-55r	Una hora... Quid dormitis	4/3	R/.viii.	B part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 11v-12r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 34v-35r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], f. 100v (incomplete); P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 107-8
11.9	55v-57r	Seniores populi... Colegerunt	4/3	R/.ix.	T part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 12v-13r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 35v-36r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 109-10
	57v				In a different hand; textless fragment in c3 clef
	58r				
12.1	58v-60r	Omnes amici... Inter iniquos	4/3	In 2. ^a nocte. R/.I.	S part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 13v-14r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 36v-37r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 71-2
12.2	60v-62r	Uelum templi... Petre scisse sunt	4/3	R/.2.	B part added in the verse, in a different hand =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 14v-15r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 36v-38r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 73-4
12.3	62v-63r	Unea mea... Sepiui te	4/3	R/.iiij.	B part added in the verse, in a different hand =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 15v-16r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 37v-39r; P-Lar s.s. [XX], ff. 101v-102r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 75-6
12.4	63v-65r	Tanquam ad latronem... Cumque iniecissent	4/3	R/.iiij.	B part added in the verse, in a different hand =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 16v-18r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 38v-39r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], f. 101r (incomplete); P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 77-8
12.5	65v-67r	Tenebre facte sunt... Exclamans Jesus	4/3	R/.V.	B part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 18v-20r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 39v-40r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 102v-103r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 79-80

No.	Folio(s)	Text Incipit ⁴⁵	Voices	Inscriptions and Attributions	Notes and Concordances
12.6	67v-69r	<i>Animam meam... Insurrexerunt in me</i>	4/2	R/.Vi.	=P-Cug MM 25, ff. 20v-22r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 40v-42r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 103v-105r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 81-4
12.7	69v-71r	<i>Tradiderunt me... Alieni insurrexerunt</i>	4/3	R/.Vii.	A part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 22v-23r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 41v-42r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 105v-106r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 85-6
12.8	71v-73r	<i>Jesum tradidit... Adduxerunt autem</i>	4/3	R/.Viiij.	S part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 23v-24r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 42v-43r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 106v-107r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 87-8
12.9	73v-75r	<i>Caligauerunt... O vos omnes</i>	4/3	R/.Viiij.	B part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 24v-25r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 43v-44r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 107v-108r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 89-90
	75v	[blank]			
	76r				
13.1	76v-78r	<i>Sicut ouis... Tradidit in mortem</i>	4/3	Tertia nocte R/.i. in 3 ^a noc.	B part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 25v-26r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 44v-45r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 108v-109r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 123-4
13.2	78v-79r	<i>Hierusalem surge... Deduc quasi torrentem</i>	4/3	R/.ij.	S part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 26v-27r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 44v-46r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 109v-110r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 125-6
13.3	79v-80r	<i>Plange quasi virgo... Accingite vos</i>	4/3	R/.iij.	A part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 27v-28r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 45v-46r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 110v-111r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 127-8
13.4	80v-82r	<i>Recessit pastor... Destruxit quidem</i>	4/3	Jn .2. no. R/.iij.	S part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 28v-29r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 46v-47r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 111v-112r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 129-30
13.5	82v-83r	<i>O vos omnes... Attendite</i>	4/3	R/.V.	T part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 29v-30r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 46v-48r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 112v-113r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 131-2

No.	Folio(s)	Text Incipit ⁴⁵	Voices	Inscriptions and Attributions	Notes and Concordances
13.6	83v-85r	Ecce quomodo moritur... Tanquam agnus	4/3	R/.Vj.	B part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 30v-32r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 113v-114r; P-Lf IPSP0 1/H-2, pp. 133-6
13.7	85v-86r	Astiterunt reges... Quare fremuerunt	4/3	R/.Vij.	S part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 32v-33r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 114v-115r; P-Lf IPSP0 1/H-2, pp. 137-8
13.8	86v-87r	Estimatus sum... Posuerunt me	4/3	R/.Viiij.	A part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 33v-34r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 115v-116r; P-Lf IPSP0 1/H-2, p. 139 (incomplete)
13.9	87v-88r	Sepulto domino... Accedentes principes	4/3	R/.Viiiij.	A part added in the verse =P-Cug MM 25, ff. 34v-35r; P-Lma s.s. [XX], ff. 116v-117r
14	88v-89r	Sepulto domino... Accedentes principes	4/2		
15	89v	Accedentes Principes [Sepulto Domino]	4		In a different hand

APPENDIX II

The Extant Works of Manuel Mendes and their Sources

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|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1 | Alleluia (i), 4 vv | MEX-Pc LC XIII, ff. 122v-123r; ⁴⁶ P-AR LC s.s., ff. 58v-59r, 'Manuel mendez'; ⁴⁷ P-BRp Ms. 967, ff. 66v-67r, 'Trato da Coresma. A 4' (only the first part, bb. 1-11); P-Cug MM 36, ff. 70v-71r; P-EVp Cód. CLI/1-3, ff. 7v-8r, 'Tractus' (from Missa de <i>Quadragesima</i>); ⁴⁸ P-Ln LC 57, ff. 25v-26r; P-Pm MM 40, ff. 189v-190r, 'Jn quadragesima. Tractus. Manoel mendez'; P-Pm MM 76-79, p. 15, 'ma[nuel] m[endes]', [index in MM 79:] 'm ^{el} mendez' |
| 2 | Alleluia (ii), 4 vv | P-Pm MM 40, ff. 147v-148r, 'manoel mendez' |
| 3 | Asperges me, 4 vv | P-AR LC s.s., ff. 30v-32r; P-Cug MM 47, ff. 51v-52r; P-EVp Cód. CLI/1-3, ff. 1v-4r, 'De Manoel Mendes. lusitano'; P-Lf FICV 1/J-3, ff. 1v-2r; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 9-11 (incomplete); P-Pm MM 76-79, pp. 1-2; P-TNp, ff. 1v-3r |
| 4 | Asperges me, 8 vv (original for 5 vv) | P-Lf Ms. 137/1; P-LAp Lv. 143, additional front gathering, f. [2]v (original version, incomplete); P-VV J.15/A.9, ff. [i]v-3r, [index:] 'Quinque tantum vocibus cōpositum ab Emmanuele Mendes Lusitano [...] reliquas tres addidit Pater Emmanuel Soares' ⁴⁹ |
| 5 | Vidi aquam, 5 vv (incomplete) | P-LAp Lv. 143, additional front gathering, ff. [1]r-[2]r |
| 6 | Missa de feria, 4 vv | P-EVp Cód. CLI/1-3, ff. 26v-29r, 'Missa de Feria. Emmanuelis Mendes'; ⁵⁰ P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 249-254 |
| 7 | Missa de <i>Quadragesima</i> , 4 vv | P-Cug MM 47, ff. 1v-2r; P-EVp Cód. CLI/1-3, ff. 4v-7r + 8v-22r, 'Missa de <i>Quadrages[ima] cum 4 vocibus Emmanuel Mendez</i> '; P-Lf IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 209-232 |
| 8 | Missa pro defunctis, 4 vv | P-LAp Lv. 143, additional back gathering, ff. [1]v-[11]r + [13]v-[15]r, 'Emanuelis lusitani. Pro defunctis' (with two settings of the gradual); ⁵¹ eight-voice version of the introit, <i>Kyrie</i> , <i>Sanctus</i> and <i>Agnus Dei</i> in MEX-Pc LC III, ff. 46v-67r, 'Gonçalo Mendes Saldanha' (with a three-voice setting of the introit verse; offertory in the original four-voice version) ⁵² |

46 Modern edition in STEVENSON, Robert, ed.: *Antologia de polifonia portuguesa...*, op. cit., pp. 57-58.

47 Modern edition in FÁBREGAS, Mauro M., ed.: *Sete "Alleluias" inéditos...*, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

48 Modern edition in ALVARENGA, João Pedro d': *Polifonia portuguesa sacra...*, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 431-432.

49 Modern editions in *Música: revista dos alunos do Conservatório de Música do Pôrto*, 3 (February 1943), and 4 (January 1945); NELSON, Bernadette, ed.: *Manuel Mendes: Asperges me a8*. Mapa Mundi, A/254. Lochs, Vanderbeek & Imrie, 2008; and, including an edition of the incomplete, original Mendes's version, ALVARENGA, João Pedro d': "To Make of Lisbon a New Rome": The Repertory of the Patriarchal Church in the 1720s and 1730s", in *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 8/2 (2011), pp. 179-214.

50 Modern edition in JOAQUIM, Manuel: "A 'Missa de féria' do Padre Manuel Mendes (1547?-1605)", in *Música: revista dos alunos do Conservatório de Música do Pôrto*, 1 (December 1941), and 2 (October 1942).

51 Modern edition in JOAQUIM, Manuel: "A Missa 'pro defunctis' de Manuel Mendes", in *A Cidade de Évora*, 23-24 (1951), pp. 95-108, and 25-26 (1951), pp. 275-288.

52 Modern edition in STEVENSON, Robert, ed.: *Antologia de polifonia portuguesa...*, op. cit., pp. 71-87.

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| 9 | Circumdederunt me, 5 vv | P-LAp Lv. 143, additional back gathering, ff. [11]v-[13]r (from Missa <i>pro defunctis</i> , copied between the <i>Sanctus</i> and <i>Agnus Dei</i> ; authorship attribution illegible due to trimming) |
| 10 | Libera me... de morte, 4 vv | P-LAp Lv. 143, additional back gathering, ff. [15]v-[17]r |
| 11 | Memento mei Deus, 4 vv | P-LAp Lv. 143, additional back gathering, ff. [17]v-[18]r |

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