

FACHHOCHSCHULE NORDWESTSCHWEIZ

MUSIK-AKADEMIE BASEL

SCHOLA CANTORUM BASILIENSIS

HOCHSCHULE FÜR MUSIK

MASTERARBEIT

# Lamentatio

Music from the Portuguese Renaissance to the Holy Week

von

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Datum des Masterkonzerts: 21.05.2021

Abgabedatum der Masterarbeit: 29.03.2021

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## Abstract

Founded in 1131 and extinct in 1834, the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra has a long-standing history that intimately intertwines with the history of Portugal. Supported by political and religious powers, it rapidly became the most important cultural establishment in the country.

When studying the 'new institution' born from the 1527 reform, one is confronted with twenty-one surviving musical sources reuniting a sum of more than a thousand works. From these sources, the P-Cug MM<sub>3</sub>, is at the center of this publication, more specifically a set of *Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophetae*, the critical edition of which is the main purpose of this thesis.

The text of this piece derives from the Book of Lamentations which consists of five poems that narrate and dwell on the destruction of Jerusalem, in 587-586 BC, which find its liturgical purpose in the Holy Week, during the *Tenebrae*, a long visual and sonic experience that depends on the music, light manipulation, and spoken word to create the desired cathartic effect on the congregation.

**Keywords:** Santa Cruz, Coimbra, Portugal, MM<sub>3</sub>, Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophetae, D. Francisco de Santa Maria, Book of Lamentations, Tenebrae

# Table of Content

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Santa Cruz: A Historical Context</b>	<b>4</b>
<i>The Medieval Period</i>	4
<i>The reform of 1527</i>	6
<i>The Catholic Reformation</i>	7
<b>The Musical Sources of Coimbra</b>	<b>9</b>
<i>An overview</i>	9
<i>The MM<sub>3</sub></i>	11
<i>The question of authorship</i>	13
<b>The Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah</b>	<b>16</b>
<i>The text</i>	16
<i>The liturgical context: Tenebrae</i>	18
<i>Sonic penance - a practical analysis</i>	21
<b>Critical Apparatus</b>	<b>23</b>
<i>Editorial Criteria</i>	23
<i>Critical Commentary</i>	24
<i>Text Translation</i>	26
<b>Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophetae - editions</b>	<b>29</b>
<i>[Lectio I – Feria V In Cena Domini]</i>	29
<i>[Lectio I – Feria VI In Passione et Morte Domini]</i>	40
<i>[Lectio I – Sabbato Sancto]</i>	47
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>Appendix I</b>	<b>61</b>
<i>Miserere mei Deus (P-Cug, MM<sub>36</sub>, f. 71v)</i>	61
<i>Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel (P-Cug, MM<sub>56</sub>, ff. 87v - 88)</i>	63
<b>Appendix II</b>	<b>66</b>
<i>Fac-simile Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophetae (P-Cug, MM<sub>3</sub>, ff. 41v - 49)</i>	66

## Introduction

There is one single idea that is common to most musicological approaches to XVI-century Portuguese music: notwithstanding the progress accomplished in recent years, the amount of research done is still scarce when compared to the vast sum of musical heritage that remains in obscurity.

With that in mind, and because no step further is ever too small, this dissertation intends to serve both as a humble contribution to the collective unveiling of one of the most fascinating periods in Portugal's musical history and a stepping-stone to future research.

The critical edition of the *Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophetae* that constitutes the main chapter of this thesis needs, therefore, to be prefaced by its multiple contexts, presented here in a perspective that travels from the general to the particular.

The journey starts in Coimbra, once the political, religious, and cultural capital of the country and home to the Monastery of Santa Cruz, probably the most prolific musical center of the Portuguese Renaissance. In this chapter, we trace the history of the Monastery since its origins and through its medieval period and subsequent reforms, so we better understand the social and cultural climate in which this music was born.

In the second chapter, we take a closer look at what's left from the monastery's *scriptorium*, in particular the manuscript P-Cug MM3, the source of the *Lamentationes*, while entertaining a theory on who might have composed it. The publication "Polyphony in Portugal c.1530 - c. 1620: Sources from the Monastery of Santa Cruz, Coimbra" by Owen Rees served as a precious guide to this section, as it is the most comprehensive source on the matter done to date.

The third chapter takes us into the text of the Book of Lamentations in its two main dimensions: the liturgical and the theological. While the former sets the atmosphere in which this piece was originally performed, the latter tries to dig into the very fabric of the poems with the intent of adding another layer to the already mesmerizing music.

Finally, it's important to point that, while the edition confined here was meant to be the first-ever published on this piece, news of another one, contained on a PhD dissertation by Prof. Dr. João Pedro d'Alvarenga reached us a few days before the completion of this work. However, as the editorial choices between the two publications are so dramatically different, it's our belief that this work remains significant and original.

A final note of acknowledgment to my thesis advisor, Prof. Dr. Thomas Drescher, for all the precious orientation and advice; to Prof. Dr. José Abreu, for introducing me to the MM<sub>3</sub> and for the valuable guidance in such tumultuous waters, and to the musicologists and very dear friends Hugo Sanches, Nuno Raimundo and Tiago Simas Freire whose useful expertise was always a phone call away.

## Santa Cruz: A Historical Context

*porque era S.<sup>ta</sup> Cruz neste tempo huma Athenas em Letras e muzica, e havia m.<sup>tos</sup> Conegos cõsumadissimos em huma, e outra sciencia<sup>1</sup>*

D. Marcos da Cruz, *Crónica de S. Vicente* (1626)

### The Medieval Period

The history of the Monastery of Santa Cruz intimately intertwines with the history of Portugal.

Its construction began in 1131 by the initiative of D. Telo - the archdeacon of Coimbra's cathedral - and the monastic life started nine months later, on February 26th of 1132. The first Canons Regular were supervised by D. Teutónio, Santa Cruz' first prior, and followed the Rule of St. Augustine. Under his priorship, which ended in 1152, values like spiritual recollection, austerity, simplicity of life, and a strong emphasis on pastoral labor were praised and cultivated, setting an example for the next generations<sup>2</sup>. D. Teutónio would die in 1162 and canonized the year after, becoming the first Portuguese saint.

At the time, Coimbra was at the center of both religious and political focus. The Iberian Peninsula, still largely occupied by the Islamic Empire, was the stage of regular Crusades attempting to claim the territory to the Catholic Kings (Fig. 1). So, a new monastery located at the border between the two clashing Empires would serve as a threshold to the Papacy. Simultaneously, the city was part of the County of Portugal, a territory that belonged to the Kingdom of Leon and Castille, but that was seeking independence. D. Afonso Henriques, the soon-to-be first King of Portugal, was seeking support from the church to his cause and viewed in the creation of this new monastic house a stepping-stone to his intent.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Because Santa Cruz was, at this time, an Athens in Arts and music, and there were many canons extremely accomplished in both sciences

<sup>2</sup> Martins, 2001

<sup>3</sup> Pinho, 1981

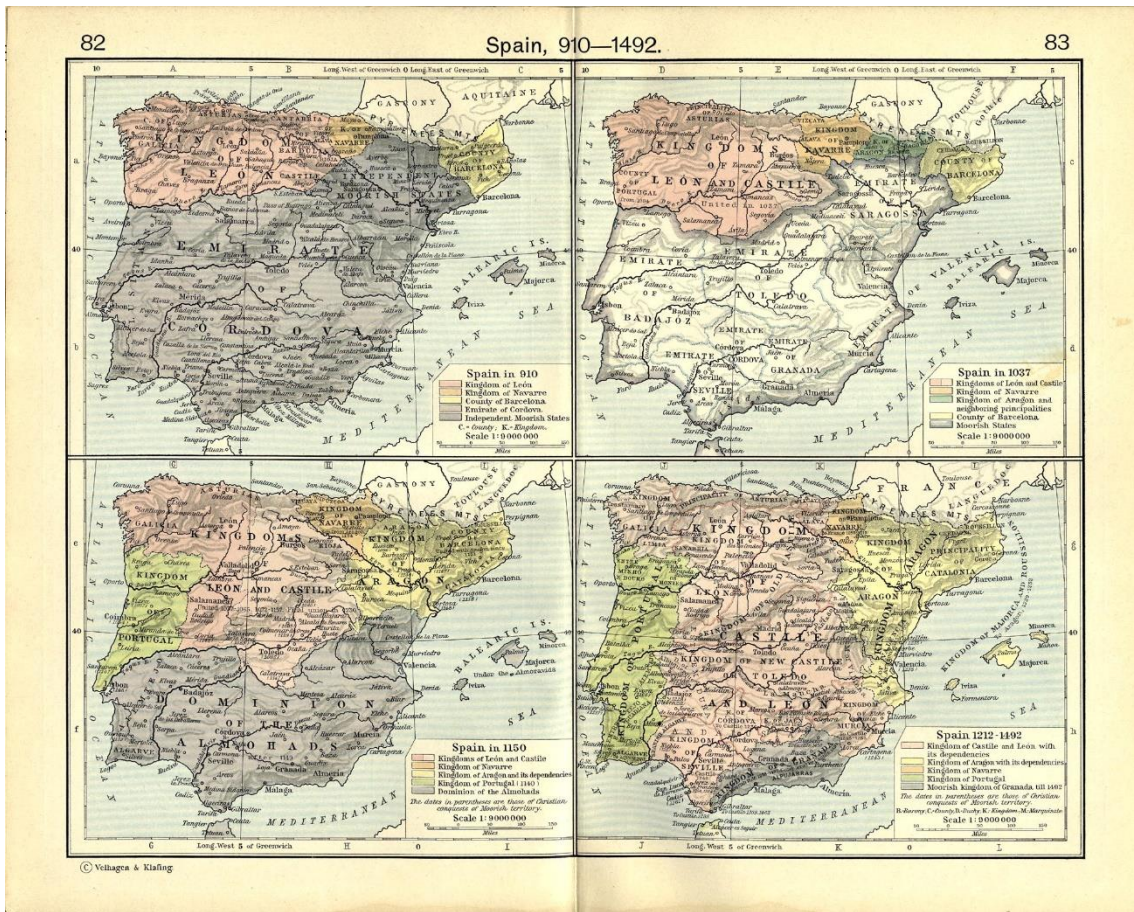


Figure 1 - The Evolution of the Catholic Reconquista of the Iberian Peninsula between 910 and 1492.

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Consequently, the monastery achieved direct papal protection with the bull *Desiderium Quod* of May 26th of 1135<sup>4</sup>, becoming independent from the local episcopal power. It also received various donations of land and rent from the Portuguese Crown (the country would finally gain its Independence in 1142) which referred to it as the "royal-monastery"<sup>5</sup>. In fact, the connection between this house and the royalty was so strong that the two first Portuguese kings, D. Afonso Henriques and his son, D. Sancho I, were buried there at the time of their deaths.

During the next few centuries, Santa Cruz would grow in influence and importance, stretching its power across the newly conquered territory by helping in the foundation and reform of new and old monasteries that would labor under

<sup>4</sup> Cruz, 1964

<sup>5</sup> Rees, 1995

the Augustinian Rule<sup>6</sup>. Its *scriptorium* also became extremely prolific and respected: it was in Santa Cruz, after all, that the Portuguese national memory was formed, as the *cruzio* monks wrote the first chronicles about the history of the new kingdom<sup>7</sup>. Moreover, this monastic house would serve as a royal archive, conserving many vital documents to the Crown.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, a long succession of intern crises, that multiple royal and papal interventions couldn't completely resolve, culminated in a serious reform that started in 1527 and lasted until 1545, performed by Frei Brás de Braga by orders of the King D. João III. This event is the most significant of the century and symbolizes the end of the medieval period of the monastery.<sup>8</sup>

### **The reform of 1527**

Brás de Braga was a Hieronymite who had studied in Paris and Leuven. That international experience had put him in contact with the cultural revolution that was happening across Europe at that time and had a serious impact on the "new institution" that would be born with the reform.<sup>8</sup>

One of the most noteworthy measures taken during that period was the organization of all the Augustinian houses in the country into a congregation that had Santa Cruz as its head. From five monasteries recognizing the authority of the *cruzos* in 1556 (when the Pope confirmed the legitimacy of the congregation) to twenty in the second decade of the next century, the influence of Santa Cruz improved greatly, which "must have facilitated the dissemination of music throughout the country"<sup>9</sup>.

There was also a serious increase of religious, all of which were taught *canto llano* and *canto de organo*. The best voices were chosen for the chapel and the monastery acquired and copied big choir books with international polyphony. The best example of that is MM 2, a manuscript probably produced in 's-

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<sup>6</sup> Gomes, 2000

<sup>7</sup> Teodoro, 2012

<sup>8</sup> Martins, 2001

<sup>9</sup> Rees, 1995, 29

Hertogenbosch, Netherlands, containing pieces by Pierre de la Rue, Jean Mouton, Josquin Desprez, Adrian Willaert, among others.<sup>10</sup>

Another important reformative action was the transformation of Santa Cruz into the educational center of the country: the University, created in 1290 in Lisbon, had already been temporarily transferred to Coimbra twice during the XIV century, but in 1537 is permanently relocated to the city and many of the courses are put under Santa Cruz' authority. Many foreign Masters came to teach at this University which increased its reputation and attracted students from important Portuguese families who until then sought specialized education abroad, especially in Paris or Salamanca.<sup>11</sup>

As a result of the reform, Coimbra became the cultural center of the country, as the presence of artists and artworks in the "Portuguese Athens" increased exponentially. Its population went from 5.200 in 1527 to 10.000 40 years later and the influence of northern European culture was felt to a great degree at least until the beginning of the second half of the XVI century.<sup>11</sup>

However, new winds of change would blow from the Vatican, and Portugal - Santa Cruz naturally not excluded - would witness another important transformation as a new paradigm would emerge.

## **The Catholic Reformation**

In the second half of the XVI century, Europe was greatly affected by the religious turmoil that culminated in the Council of Trent (1545 - 1563). Strongly devoted to Catholicism, Portugal was one of the few countries that accepted the totality of measures decided by the Council.

The Inquisition, which had been formally present in the country since the second decade of the century, although only officially recognized in 1536, had as the main purpose to identify and punish the new-Christians - supposed converts from Judaism that had their true faith questioned. However, from 1540 on, the

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<sup>10</sup> BGUC, 2018

<sup>11</sup> Rees, 1995

*Santo Ofício* (as it was known) started focusing more on fighting the rise of Protestantism.<sup>12</sup>

Consequently, many of the foreign scholars fell under the inquisitorial suspicion and were expelled from the country. At the same time, the Jesuits entered the Coimbra academic scene, taking control of prominent educational and artistic institutions, while also creating their own colleges.<sup>13</sup>

All this steered Santa Cruz away from the northern European influence and closer to the Spanish cultural trends. Such fact is particularly noted when looking at the evolution of the musical sources during this time: until 1560 there is a significant presence of Italian and northern European polyphony in the Musical Manuscripts of the monastery with only a few confirmed pieces by Portuguese composers, while from 1560 on this tendency is replaced by one of a stronger presence of both local and Spanish music.<sup>13</sup> This gravitation would only be exaggerated when the succession crisis of 1580 provoked by the death of the Portuguese King D. Sebastião, prompted the loss of the country's independence to Spain, a situation that lasted until 1640.

During this period two local composers and successive *mestres de capela* stand out: D. Francisco de Santa Maria and D. Pedro de Cristo. While we only have a few pieces officially credited to D. Francisco, his successor is the most studied and transcribed composer from Coimbra, with around 200 works being attributed to him, and the most faithful source we have when studying the Music composed in the monastery at this time.<sup>13</sup>

In the next chapter, we will analyze more in-depth the life and work of D. Francisco de Santa Maria and one of the sources where some of his work can be found, while perhaps sustaining a theory that attributes the settings of *Lamentationes* that are the subject of the present dissertation to this illustrious unknown of the Portuguese musical history.

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<sup>12</sup> Rowland, 2010

<sup>13</sup> Rees, 1995

## The Musical Sources of Coimbra

*La mar de onde he echado este libro es propriamente el reyno de Portugal, que es la mar de la música, pues en el tanto la estiman y también la entienden.*<sup>14</sup>

Luys Milán, *El Maestro* (1536)

### An overview

The XIX century brought dramatic changes to the Portuguese political scene: a Civil War, which lasted between 1828 and 1834, opposed two brothers and pretenders to the throne and ultimately gave rise to liberal constitutionalism as the dominant political philosophy in the country.<sup>15</sup>

Consequently, the Church lost much of its power and the monastic houses, in particular, were seen as enemies of the State, a thought made obvious in the words of Joaquim António d’Aguiar, who championed the decree that led to the extinction of all Portuguese Religious Orders in 1834:

Em nosso tempo, Senhor, quantas vezes não se tem urdido no claustro insidiosas tramas contra o Throno Legítimo, e contra a civilização, e liberdade nacional! (...) as Casas Religiosas foram convertidas em assembléas revolucionarias; os Pulpitos em tribunaes de calúmnias facciosas, e sanguinolentas; e o Confessionário em oráculos de fanatismo e de traição.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> “The sea into which this book is cast is properly the Kingdom of Portugal, which is the sea of music, because music is there so highly esteemed and so well understood.” (transl. by Owen Rees)

<sup>15</sup> Saraiva, 1983

<sup>16</sup> D’Aguiar, 1834, 68. Excerpt found in a collection of decrees from 1840.

(In our time, Lord [D. Pedro IV], how many times have insidious plots been woven in the cloister against the Legitimate Throne, and against civilization, and national freedom! (...) the Monastic Houses were converted into revolutionary assemblies, the Pulpits into courtrooms of divisive and bloody slanders; and the Confessional into an oracle of fanaticism and treason.)

As a result of this measure, Santa Cruz saw all its possessions being expropriated and distributed by archives throughout the country, especially in Porto and Lisbon. Most musical sources, however, remained in the city, at the Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra<sup>17</sup> (henceforth BGUC). In the subsequent years to this event, little effort was put into protecting and conserving these documents which led to the deterioration of some of them and probable destruction/loss of many others.<sup>18</sup>

Particularly important to this dissertation are the surviving polyphony manuscripts copied between c. 1530 and c. 1620, a window set by Owen Rees (1995), taking into account the year of the compilation of the first of these sources and the time of death of D. Pedro de Cristo (1618), the most important composer of Santa Cruz and the “last major exponent there of stile antico techniques”.<sup>19</sup> These twenty-one sources (with call-numbers preceded by MM) comprise more than a thousand pieces from various origins such as Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Northern Europe.

The state of conservation of these books varies, with some of them being in a very poor condition, presenting damages from water and ink corrosion. Another event that also contributed to the poor preservation of said sources was a re-binding that some of them went through at the beginning of the XX century that substantially damaged their original structure.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> General Library of the University of Coimbra

<sup>18</sup> Rees, 1995

<sup>19</sup> Rees, 1995, 4

## The MM3

From these sources, the one that interests us the most is the MM3, a choirbook conserved today at the BGUC.

The manuscript contains six masses, three settings of *Lamentationes*, three Marian antiphons, and the hymn *Te lucis ante terminum*. From all these pieces, only one has an indication of authorship: the *Missa o beata Maria* by a certain D. Franciscus, a reference to D. Francisco de Santa Maria. (Fig.2)



Figure 2 Attribution to D. Francisco de Santa Maria in *Missa o beata Maria*, P-Cug MM3, ff. 24v - 34

The MM3 was one of the manuscripts that suffered the re-binding mentioned before. As a result, part of the original foliation was lost and at least one folio is missing (the first from the first mass). The change in the structure of this book is demonstrated by the fact that the sequence of the original foliation is altered, with modern pencil foliation filling in the gaps, and by the presence of three different types of paper that are not found together in the manuscript as it is conserved today.<sup>20</sup>

The script of two different scribes is found in MM3. The first one is responsible for the masses and the settings of *Lamentationes*. In Owen Rees' (1995) opinion, he probably left enough space to copy another Mass, space that was later used by the second scribe to copy the antiphons and the hymn.

Regarding the date of origin of this choirbook, two references to the year 1575 are found written inside the initials of the bass on folio 31 and of the tenor on

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<sup>20</sup> Rees, 1995

folio 58v (Fig. 3), in two different types of paper, which suggests that at least the pieces copied by the first scribe can be located on this date.

Taking into consideration the size of this book (575x415 mm) and the formal style of calligraphy used, it's probably safe to assume that it was used in the chapel.<sup>21</sup>

Table 1 shows an overview of the structure and content of this source.



Figure 3 Initials with the year 1575. To the left f. 31; to the right f. 58v.

Folio	Piece	Attribution	Voices	Notes	Type of paper
<b>2-12</b>	[Mass]	Anonymous	4	Incomplete	I
<b>13v-23</b>	[Mass]	Anonymous	4		I
24v-34	Missa o beata Maria	D. Franciscus	4	Year reference	II
35v-43	[Mass]	Anonymous	4		II
44v-51	[Mass]	Anonymous	4		III
52v-68 <b>(24v-40)</b>	[Mass]	Anonymous	5	Year reference	I
69v-72 <b>(41v-44)</b>	[Lamentationes - Lectio I Feria V in Cena Domini]	Anonymous	4		I
72v-74 <b>(44v-46)</b>	[Lamentationes - Lectio I Feria VI in Passione et Morte Domini]	Anonymous	4		I
74v-77 <b>(46v-49)</b>	[Lamentationes - Lectio I Sabbato Sancto]	Anonymous	5		I
78v-80	Ave Regina Caelorum	Anonymous	4		II
80v-82	Regina Caeli Laetere	Anonymous	4		II
82v-84	Procul recedent somnia	Anonymous	4		II
84v-85	[Te lucis ante terminum]	Anonymous	4		II

Table 1 The structure of MM3. In the first column, the original foliation is marked in bold.

<sup>21</sup> Rees, 1995

## The question of authorship

As mentioned above, most pieces contained in MM3 have no distinguishable author. However, when considering what we know about this manuscript and the musical activity in Santa Cruz at the time, some theories may be presented.

In that regard, Owen Rees (1995) underlines a few aspects about the script of this source that are worth mentioning: the main scribe was responsible not only for copying the music, but also for the designing of the initials and the ruling of the staves; he was probably musically literate since no apparent errors on counterpoint could be found, but some discrepancies on the layout and spacing of the manuscript may suggest that he didn't have a lot of practice as a copyist - even if the script is done with great care and elegance.

At the time, the *mestre de capela* of the monastery was D. Francisco de Santa Maria, the composer of one of the masses contained in the book.

D. Francisco was born between 1532 and 1538 in Ciudad Rodrigo, Spain, where he studied under Diego Buxel. He was ordained in Santa Cruz in 1562, where he would remain until the time of his death, in 1597.<sup>22</sup> Although not a lot is known about his life and work, the words of D. Gabriel de Santa Maria, written at the time of the composer's death, shed some light on who seems to have been the most prominent and proficient *cruzio* musician of his generation:

... era consumado em sciencia de musica e contra pronto (...) e o tempo que lhe ficava gastava em compor suas obras de musica, as quais são sem conto, elle as compunha escrevia e apontava de letra, e letras de debuxo, e ponto muito perfeito, como se ve em muitos livros que compôs, e escreveo de magnificas, outro de missas, outro de motetes, os quais são infinitos muitos de todas as festas e de todos os sanctos, lamentações de todos os dias a vozes muito suaves...<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Miranda, 2001

<sup>23</sup> Santa Maria, 1597, *apud*. Azevedo, 1918, 146-147

(... he was consummate on the science of music and counterpoint (...) and he spent the time he had free composing his musical pieces, which are countless. He composed and wrote them out, with the text and the initial letters, and a very perfect script, as it can be seen in the many books he composed and wrote, one with *Magnificat* settings, another with Masses, another with motets (which are many to all the festivities and to all the saints), Lamentations to every day written in soft voices...)

D. Francisco certainly had the talent to be the scribe behind MM<sub>3</sub>. As a *mestre de capela* he would very likely be involved in the process of creation of such an important manuscript. It's even possible that this is, in fact, the book of Masses mentioned in his obituary. What about the three settings of *Lamentationes* contained there? Gabriel de Santa Maria notes that he composed at least a setting to each day of the Easter Triduum - could they be the same?

To be able to answer these questions with a relative degree of certainty, a stylistic analysis would be in order. However, the very limited number of works known to have been composed by D. Francisco does not allow any definite characterization of the composer's style. Even so, Owen Rees (1995) presents three traits which he believes are indicative of personal practice, namely: a very common use of *cambiata* figures; the existence of parallel passing notes or a passing note against a *cambiata* which may create parallel fifths or fourths; and the sounding of a suspended note against its note of resolution in another voice.

Rees goes even further and uses these characteristics to attribute with some certainty the sixth mass of MM<sub>3</sub> (ff. 52v - 68) to D. Francisco and to support the possibility that the other masses may also be his. Regarding the *Lamentationes*, however, the British author doesn't think they belong to the same composer.

On the other hand, Rees' characterization was used by João Pedro d'Alvarenga (2005) to help support the idea that the *Lamentationes* should be, in fact, attributed to D. Francisco, at least hypothetically. Alvarenga also detects some similarities in the imitative structure between this piece and the *Missa o Beata*

*Maria*, while safeguarding that this could have also been possible if the *Mass* had been used as a model to other composers.

In a deeper analysis, Pedro Miranda (2001) attempts to establish a comparison between the work of D. Francisco and Diego Buxel. For this, he presents both a Mass by Buxel and a *Missa pro defunctis* composed by Francisco Mouro - the probable name of birth of D. Francisco, according to this author - dated from a time before his entrance in Santa Cruz, when the style of his master could still have a bigger influence on him. While it's possible to find in both works common traits, which may suggest that the *cruzio* inherited some of his compositional tools from Buxel, Miranda also notes that in the period following D. Francisco's ordination in Santa Cruz, his style evolved further away from his teacher and closer to one more relatable with Josquin and Palestrina - undoubtedly influenced by the strong presence at the monastery of northern European and Italian compositions and by the rules imposed by the Council of Trent. This evolution comprises a more common use of paraphrase, paired imitation, canons, and alternation between strictly homophonic sections and extremely melismatic ones.

It is our opinion that, while a case could be made to defend the attribution of these *Lamentationes* to D. Francisco, not enough is known about the composer to be confident in that position. Moreover, composers often changed their approach depending on the genre they were writing, which could invalidate any transversal comparison that may be made. Future research might help clarify this question, as more works will be transcribed and perhaps attributed to this excellent musician.

## The Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah

*Botay fora do portal*

*Pastores não canteis vos*

*Que os músicos de Deus*

*An de ser de Portugal*<sup>24</sup>

Gaspar Fernandez, *Botay Fora* (c.1610)

### The text

The Book of Lamentations is a set of five poems that narrate and dwell on the destruction of the city of Jerusalem in the years 587-586 BC. Although different theories emerge regarding the authorship of these texts, with some scholars even attributing them to more than one poet, biblical tradition assigns them to the Prophet Jeremiah. Opinions also differ when locating these writings in time, but it seems clear that at least some of them are contemporary to the event portrayed.<sup>25</sup>

The first thing that becomes obvious when looking at the Lamentations is their form: the first four poems follow an acrostic structure where every verse or group of verses is initiated by a letter of the Hebrew alphabet, which appears fully and in order. The fifth poem doesn't follow this form but the fact that it contains 22 verses - the same number of letters in the alphabet - may indicate that the structure is, at least, being suggested. This unconventional stylistic choice may be justified for various reasons, but one arises as the most interesting and, apparently, more communal, as brilliantly exposed by Norman K. Gottwald:

It is the belief of the present writer that the author of the Book of Lamentations selected the external principle of the acrostic to correspond to the internal spirit and intention of

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<sup>24</sup> Leave the gate/Shepherds, don't you sing/Because the musicians of God/Will come from Portugal

<sup>25</sup> Gottwald, 1954; Heater, 1992 and Assis, 2009 all present convincing takes on this subject. However, Gottwald seems to have done the most thorough research, for which he may be regarded as the most trustworthy source.

the work. He wished to play upon the collective grief of the community in its every aspect, 'from Aleph to Taw', so that the people might experience an emotional catharsis. He wanted to bring about a complete cleansing of the conscience through a total confession of sin. He was also determined to inculcate an attitude of submission and a prospect of hope. By intimately binding together the themes of sin, suffering, submission and hope, he intended to implant the conviction of trust and confidence in the goodness and imminent intervention of Yahweh. That this is the case is evident in the third poem where the acrostic form is intensified at precisely the point where hope becomes the strongest.<sup>26</sup>

Consequently, it is possible to infer that the Book of Lamentationes has a certain unity to itself, which would support the claim that at least most of the poems came from the same writer. However, even that being the case, it's not improbable that these texts were written on different occasions<sup>27</sup> or at least as separate - and up to a certain point - independent entities which would allow a deeper isolated analysis of any of them without corrupting its meaning.

On that account, a brief analysis of the first three poems is in order, being those the ones contained in the transcriptions which are the focus of this dissertation: the first chapter has 22 verses, each one of them consisting of 3 lines. Heater (1992) claims that one could divide the text into two equal parts, each one of them consisting of 11 verses, a position that is justified with the existence of a shift both in theme and style. In the first half, the poet describes the state in which Jerusalem is after its destruction and how everyone was equally affected by the disaster, regardless of social status. The city is mentioned almost always in the third person. The second half positions the city as the poetic subject, personifying

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<sup>26</sup> Gottwald, 1954, 30

<sup>27</sup> Gottwald, 1954, presents the theory that they may have been written in consecutive years by the same author.

it, which is reinforced by the exclusive use of the first person as a literary device. At this point, Jerusalem identifies Yahweh as the perpetrator of its demise and recognizes its own guilt, not shying away from being a cautionary tale for all who stray from the sacred path.

The second chapter follows the same structure as the previous one. In the first half, the idea that it was by the will of Yahweh that all the destruction took place is reinforced with it being referenced in every of the first 10 verses. In the second half, starting in verse 11, the poetic subject explains to Jerusalem why the catastrophe happened and how much the behaviour of its citizens is responsible.

Chapter three follows a slightly different structure than the two previous ones, as each letter of the alphabet is repeated three times in consecutive lines, reinforcing the acrostic structure. The whole chapter is written in the first person, not as Jerusalem anymore, but as someone who lived there and who was mocked by its citizens when trying to warn them about what would happen if their conduct didn't change. The theme of hope is also introduced during this chapter, as the poet claims that only Yahweh can forgive and that one should have hope in Him. The mention of hope comes precisely at the midpoint of the poem, creating a similar division to the preceding chapters.<sup>28</sup>

### **The liturgical context: *Tenebrae***

As mentioned previously, the Lamentations are deeply connected to a feeling of penitence and submission. It is, therefore, no surprise that they assume such a central role in the Easter Triduum - the three-day period between Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday when the Catholics reflect more intensively on their own sins hoping to be cleansed through prayer and contrition.

In fact, for the early modern Catholics, these days meant an almost uninterrupted celebration, consisting not only of Masses, but also "processions, 'entombments of Christ,' depositions from the Cross, ceremonies of mourning and

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<sup>28</sup> Heater, 1992

weeping, and, less appealingly, group violence”<sup>29</sup>. The ideas of pain and remorse dominated the community’s collective mind as it mourned for the death of Christ.

A particularly important moment during these festivities was the *Tenebrae*: the combined celebration of the Offices of Matins and Lauds that took place during the Easter Triduum.<sup>30</sup> In the period during which MM3 was compiled, these long services usually started in the afternoon of the day prior to their liturgical position, ending when the natural light was already practically extinguished. This tradition would last until the XX century.<sup>31</sup>

The Matins were composed of three similar parts called Nocturnes. Each Nocturne consisted of a set of three Psalms and respective antiphons, after which three Lessons and three Responsories were alternately read or sung. The Lessons of the first Nocturne in each of the days of the Triduum were extracted from chapters of the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah. Every lesson, in this case, started with a title: “Incipit Lamentatio Jeremiae Prophetae” in the case of the one read on Maundy Thursday and “De lamentatione Jeremiae Prophetae” for the other two days, and they all ended with “Jerusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum”. The other Nocturnes followed the same structure but with different psalms, lessons and responsories.<sup>31</sup>

After the Matins, the Lauds started immediately and consisted of a succession of three psalms, one canticle, another psalm, the Canticle of Zachary: *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*, the *Christus factus est*, and the Psalm 50: *Miserere mei Deus* (which was also the first psalm of the sequence).<sup>31</sup>

During the *Tenebrae*, the darkening that came with the passing of the hours was not the only light effect taking place. There was also a ritualistic dimming of luminosity that gave meaning to this celebration, and probably its name. When the Matins started, a special candelabrum, the *hearse* (Fig. 4), was prepared with lit candles, that could vary in number from 9 up to 72, although the most typical

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<sup>29</sup> Kendrick, 2014, 1

<sup>30</sup> Caldwell, 2001

<sup>31</sup> Kendrick, 2014

was 15. Each of those candles would be extinguished in particular moments of the ceremony using a snuffer known as *mano de Judas*<sup>32</sup> until only one would resist.<sup>33</sup>



**Figure 4** A hearse, or Tenebrário

© Lisa Johnston

During the *Benedictus*, all the other candles in the church would also be extinguished and, by the final antiphon of the canticle, the last candle of the hearse would be hidden (still lit) behind the altar. The *Christus Factus est* and the *Miserere* would be sung in total darkness, at the end of which the congregation would make a loud sound known as the *strepitus*, usually with wooden sticks, and the hidden candle would be brought back.<sup>33</sup>

This ritual had a strong symbolic meaning and probably caused a strong effect on the congregation. Moreover, it also influenced the composition of the music sung throughout the Office, both in a spiritual and on a practical way: as the ceremony progressed, the lack of luminosity would undoubtedly make the reading of the musical manuscripts a challenge, especially with the last pieces, which could be solved by opting for composing simple counterpoint structures or even using *contrapunto alla mente*<sup>33</sup>. The examples of the *Miserere* and the *Benedictus* taken from the P-Cug MM36 and the P-Cug MM56, respectively, are a good illustration of that practice.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Judas' hand

<sup>33</sup> Kendrick, 2014

<sup>34</sup> See Appendix I for a transcription of both pieces.

## Sonic penance - a practical analysis

Having mentioned the theological importance of the poems and the expressive value they add to the *Tenebrae*, it's important that we conclude this chapter by establishing how can such features be observed in the *Lamentationes* of the MM<sub>3</sub>.

The verses chosen for the first lesson of each day<sup>35</sup> of the Triduum reflect well the general atmosphere connected to each poem.

The first lesson of Maundy Thursday (*Feria V in Cena Domini*) uses the first 5 verses, Aleph to He. The most notable compositional tool used here is the alternation between homorhythmic sections with its opposite. For example, the verse “Quomodo sedet sola civitas populo!”/ “How lonely sits the city that was once full of people” is introduced by a canon at a distance of one *semibrevis* that goes through all voices reinforcing the idea of solitude, which is contrasted with homophony when the words “civitas populo”/ “full of people” appear. In fact, this homophonic texture emerges every time a collective subject is mentioned.

Another device employed in this lesson is the variation of voices used. In Beth and Daleth, the 4-voice setting is replaced by 3 voices. The text in both verses implies abandonment, solitude and mourning (“among all her lovers she has none to comfort her”) which a loss of one voice mirrors perfectly.

Desolation, impotence, solitude and a great feeling of loss are the main adjectives that could be applied to this lecture. God has forsaken Jerusalem, and the defeat is absolute.

The first lesson of Good Friday (*Feria VI in Passione et Morte Domini*) applies verses 8 to 11 of the second poem. The tools noted in the first piece can be applied here but with a small variation: this time, the homophonic sections serve also to emphasise God's power as seen, for instance, in “et non avertit manum suam a perditione”/ “He didn't restrain his hand from destruction”.

As seen previously, the middle point of the second poem comes in verse 11, which is the last one used in this lesson. Again, the composer shows a full comprehension of the text by creating a contrasting section, by removing one of

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<sup>35</sup> The full text and respective translation to these pieces can be found on pages 26-28.

the voices in the first part of this verse, again with the reappearance of feelings of mourning. The 4-voice setting is re-established in the second part of the verse as a full and graphic image of chaos and destruction is painted as the lesson reaches its end.

Finally, the first lesson of Holy Saturday (*Sabbato Sancto*), introduces verses 22-30 of the third poem. We've seen previously that this poem is quite distinct from the ones that precede it: It's the most positive of all of the five texts and it has a slightly different structure to what the acrostic sequence is concerned. Consequently, the third chapter of the Lamentations found in MM<sub>3</sub> mirrors these differences, the most noteworthy of which is that we now have a 5-part composition. This may signify that, for the composer of this piece, God's mercy and love are always greater than his power to destruct, as the homophonic sections in five voices are now applied to both highlight acts of divine compassion and to support advice to every Man who wants to enjoy such mercy. Also worth mentioning is that these sections are alternated with duos and trios which undoubtedly create lightness and luminosity.

As for the acrostic sequence, the composer chose to only isolate the first letter out of every group of three, integrating the other two in the polyphonic texture, probably with the intent of not fracturing the flow of the piece too much. The exception is in the repetition of the verses prefaced by the letter Teth, as every verse introduces the same idea through three different perspectives: "the Lord is good to those who wait for him"; "It is good that one should wait quietly for the salvation of the Lord" and "It is good for a man that he bears the yoke in his youth".

It is, therefore, obvious that the aspects we analysed when describing the theological meaning of the Book of Lamentations cannot be limited to a theoretical dimension and were a crucial part of the way the congregation lived the *Tenebrae*. In that regard, music had singular importance in constructing an atmosphere where a cathartic connection with the divine could be achieved.

## Critical Apparatus

The edition of this set of *Lamentationes* was exclusively based on the manuscript P-Cug, MM3 (ff. 41v – 49) as no other source is known to contain this piece.<sup>36</sup>

The main idea that guided most of the editorial choices was the search for the balance between the philological study of the source and the modern performance practices, so it can function as a practical tool but without conceding structural aspects that are deemed essential by the editor.

This chapter means not only to present the criteria through which said balance was attained but also to comment on inaccuracies present in the source and offer possible solutions. It is, therefore, important to remind that every transcription is an interpretation of the editor and many of the decisions taken do not exclude others equally valid.

### Editorial Criteria

1. Original values were kept, except for the last note (usually a longa or a maxima), making sure every voice finished at the same time.
2. Fermatas were kept as in the original.
3. The time signature chosen to represent the mensuration *tempus imperfectum* (♩) was 2/1 with a bar line between every two *tactus* (the *tactus* being the *semibrevis*).
4. This edition chose to use the clefs conventionally found in modern transcriptions of this type of repertoire, i.e., a g<sub>2</sub> clef for the voices of the Superius, Altus and Tenor and an f<sub>4</sub> clef for the Bassus.
5. When the combination of original clefs corresponded to *chiavette*, the proper transposition was made.
6. The ambitus of each voice is shown at the beginning of each lesson.
7. Accidents placed before the note are original and are only applicable to that specific note. Accidents placed above the note also affect that note only and

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<sup>36</sup> See Appendix II for the fac-simile of P-Cug, MM3, ff. 41v-49

intend to be editorial suggestions based on the practices of the time concerning *musica ficta*.

8. The spelling, punctuation and capitals use was normalized according to the *Liber Usualis*. The few exceptions deserve no editorial commentary.
9. The text placement was decided using both what seems to be the intention of the scribe when aligning the text with the musical notation and the rules used at the time as exposed by Gaspar Stoquerus in *De musica verbali libri duo* (1570). There are, however, some instances where rules couldn't be followed, the most notable of which will be analysed later.
10. The ligatures are indicated in the conventional way, with a horizontal bracket on top of the notes.
11. The folio numbers used correspond to the original ones, as opposed to the ones added in later rebindings of the manuscript.
12. The voice names are not in the original. They were decided taking into account the voices' positioning in the choir book setting and their range. In the third lesson, the editor chose to name *Altus I* and *Altus II* the voices with the same clef (c1).
13. Other editorial additions not described above are to be discussed in the next pages and/or were signalled with square brackets in the edition.

### **Critical Commentary**

The manuscript P-Cug, MM3 is, for the most part, in a good conservation state. There are a few exceptions between ff. 42 and 43v, where ink corrosion affected the legibility of some notes, easily solved after a closer look. Also, the work of the scribe is clear, carefully done and presents no detectable counterpoint mistakes. These factors led to the process of transcription being an easy one.

However, the text placement more basic rules of the time are not always possible to follow and on one occasion the rhythm had to be changed to accommodate all the syllables. On the other hand, it is obvious that there is an intention of aligning the text with the notes in which it's supposed to be sung.

[Lectio I – Feria V In Cena Domini]

**Folio:** 41<sup>v</sup> - 44

**Original clefs:** c1, c2, c3, c4

**Voices:** 4

**Mensuration:**  $\text{c}$

**Transposition:** Quarta bassa

[Lectio I – Feria VI In Passione et Morte Domini]

**Folio:** 44<sup>v</sup> - 46

**Original clefs:** c1, c2, c3, f3

**Voices:** 4

**Mensuration:**  $\text{c}$

**Transposition:** None

**Commentary:** On bars 94 to 97 of the tenor, the rhythm had to be slightly altered because the scribe didn't write enough notes to fit all the syllables necessary. The criterium used was to maintain the homophonic structure that apparently is meant to be present in that specific part of the piece.



[Lectio I – Sabbato Sancto]

**Folio:** 46<sup>v</sup> - 49

**Original clefs:** g2, c1, c1, c3, c4

**Voices:** 5

**Mensuration:**  $\text{c}$

**Transposition:** Quarta bassa

## Text Translation

### [Lectio I – Feria V In Cena Domini]

Incipit Lamentatio Jeremiae prophetae.

1.1 ALEPH. Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo! Facta est quasi vidua domina gentium; Princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo.

1.2. BETH. Plorans ploravit in nocte, et lacrimae ejus in maxillis ejus: non est qui consoletur eam, ex omnibus caris ejus; omnes amici ejus spreverunt eam, et facti sunt ei inimici.

1.3. GHIMEL. Migravit Judas propter afflictionem, et multitudinem servitutis; habitavit inter gentes, nec invenit requiem: omnes persecutores ejus apprehenderunt eam inter angustias.

1.4. DALETH. Viae Sion lugent, eo quod non sint qui veniant ad solemnitatem: omnes portae ejus destructae, sacerdotes ejus gementes; virgines ejus squalidae, et ipsa oppressa amaritudine.

1.5. HE. Facti sunt hostes ejus in capite; inimici ejus locupletati sunt: quia Dominus locutus est super eam propter multitudinem iniquitatum ejus. Parvuli ejus ducti sunt in captivitatem ante faciem tribulantis.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum.

Here beginneth the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah.

1.1. ALEPH. How lonely sits the city that was full of people! How like a widow has she become, she that was great among the nations; She that was a princess among the cities has become a vassal.

1.2. BETH. She weeps bitterly in the night, tears on her cheeks; among all her lovers she has none to comfort her; all her friends have dealt treacherously with her, they have become her enemies.

1.3. GHIMEL. Judah has gone into exile because of affliction and hard servitude; she dwells now among the nations but finds no resting place; her pursuers have all overtaken her in the midst of her distress.

1.4. DALETH. The roads to Zion mourn, for none has come to the appointed feasts; all her gates are desolate, her priests groan; her maidens have been dragged away, and she herself suffers bitterly.

1.5. HE. Her foes have become the head, her enemies prosper, because the Lord has made her suffer for the multitude of her transgressions; her children have gone away, captives before the foe.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, return to the Lord thy God.

## [Lectio I – Feria VI In Passione et Morte Domini]

De Lamentatione Jeremiae Prophetæ.

2.8. HETH. Cogitavit Dominus dissipare murum filiæ Sion; tetendit funiculum suum, et non avertit manum suam a perditione: luxitque antemurale, et murus pariter dissipatus est.

2.9. TETH. Defixæ sunt in terra portæ ejus, perdidit et contrivit vectes ejus; regem ejus et principes ejus in gentibus: non est lex, et prophetæ ejus non invenerunt visionem a Domino.

2.10. JOD. Sederunt in terra, conticuerunt senes filiæ Sion; consperserunt cinere capita sua, accincti sunt ciliciis: abjecerunt in terram capita sua virgines Jerusalem.

2.11. CAPH. Defecerunt præ lacrimis oculi mei, conturbata sunt viscera mea; effusum est in terra jecur meum super contritione filiæ populi mei, cum deficeret parvulus et lactens in plateis oppidi. Jerusalem, Jerusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum.

The Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah.

2.8. HETH. The Lord determined to lay in ruins the wall of the daughter of Zion; he marked it off by the line; he didn't restrain his hand from destruction; he caused barbicans and walls to lament, they languish together.

2.9. TETH. Her gates have sunk into the ground; he has ruined and broken her bars; her king and princes are among the nations; the law is no more, and her prophets obtain no vision from the Lord.

2.10. IOD. The elders of the daughter of Zion sit on the ground in silence; they have cast dust on their heads and put on sackcloth; the maidens of Jerusalem have bowed their heads to the ground.

2.11. CAPH. My eyes are spent with weeping; my soul is in tumult; my heart is poured out in grief because of the destruction of the daughter of my people, because infants and babies faint in the streets of the city.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem return to the Lord your God.

## [Lectio I – Sabbato Sancto]

De Lamentatione Jeremiae Prophetae.

3.22. HETH. Misericordiae Domini, quia non sumus consumpti; quia non defecerunt miserationes ejus.

3.23. HETH. Novi diluculo, multa est fides tua.

3.24. HETH. Pars mea Dominus, dixit anima mea; propterea exspectabo eum.

3.25. TETH. Bonus est Dominus sperantibus in eum, animae quærenti illum.

3.26. TETH. Bonum est præstolari cum silentio salutare Dei.

3.27. TETH. Bonum est viro cum portaverit jugum ab adolescentia sua.

3.28. JOD. Sedebit solitarius, et tacebit, quia levavit super se.

3.29. JOD. Ponet in pulvere os suum, si forte sit spes.

3.30 JOD. Dabit percutienti se maxillam: saturabitur opprobriis.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum.

The Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah.

3.22. HETH. The steadfast love of the Lord never ceases, his mercies never come to an end.

3.23. HETH. They are new every morning; great is thy faithfulness.

3.24. HETH. "The Lord is my portion," says my soul, "therefore I will hope in him."

3.25. TETH. The Lord is good to those who wait for him, to the soul that seeks him.

3.26. TETH. It is good that one should wait quietly for the salvation of the Lord.

3.27. TETH. It is good for a man that he bears the yoke in his youth.

3.28. JOD. Let him sit alone and be silent when it is laid upon him

3.29. JOD. Let him lay his mouth in the dust if peradventure there be hope

3.30. JOD. Let him present his cheek to the smither, let him be filled full with reproach.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, return to the Lord your God.

## **Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophetae - editions**

**[Lectio I – Feria V In Cena Domini]**

**[Lectio I – Feria VI In Passione et Morte Domini]**

**[Lectio I – Sabbato Sancto]**

## Conclusion

To contextualize the history of Santa Cruz is to dive into the fabric of Portuguese Renaissance, the musical Golden Age of the country, so many times unjustly forgotten or devalued. Notwithstanding, ensembles like *O Bando do Surunyo*, *Capella Duriensis*, *Capella Sanctae Crucis*, and *Cupertinos* have led the way in the past decade, mainly propelled by the Musicological Department of the University of Coimbra, but there's still a long way to go until we have a full comprehension of the treasures kept at the BGUC.

That path certainly doesn't exclude new perspectives and methodologies, and while so much of the material remains obscured, it's already possible to suggest some of them. Consequently, the critical edition of the *Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophetae*, here presented, serves both as a practical contribute to the sum of Portuguese repertoire already studied and transcribed, and as an introduction to a new debate about the inclusion of these musical works into their liturgical framework. It's in that spirit that we wrote this dissertation.

The great power of the Historically Informed Performance practice is that it has a unique ability to show the music in a stylistic and technical context that is not only more honest to the source, but also hopefully more engaging to the audience.

What would happen, then, if more layers of context were to be added?

How to explain the effect that a celebration like the *Tenebrae* had on the community? How can we, as musicians, try to recreate such an experience outside of the religious spectrum? Is that even possible?

It's our belief that the answers to all these questions must first surge from a deep knowledge of the liturgical rules and traditions, which will ultimately inform and shape the visual and aural setting of our concerts.

As to what the music from Coimbra is concerned, there is yet to exist a comprehensive study on the musical sources from the liturgical point of view. The Holy Week, being such a rich and emotional commemoration, presents itself as a more than worthy starting point. Such extensive work is impossible to explore in a publication of this nature, but certainly deserves a closer look in the near future.

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## Appendix I

Miserere mei Deus (P-Cug, MM36, f. 71v)

Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel (P-Cug, MM56, ff. 87v - 88)

## **Appendix II**

**Fac-simile Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophetae (P-Cug, MM3, ff. 41v - 49)**

**DECLARATION OF CONSENT  
FOR MAKING YOUR MASTER THESIS AVAILABLE  
IN THE REPOSITORY IRF OF THE FHNW**

I hereby declare that I agree to make my Master Thesis, written for the conclusion of my studies at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, available in the official repository of the FHNW, the IRF.

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