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WRITTEN PRACTICES *NA MAIA*: A NEWLY DISCOVERED SOURCE OF OLD HISPANIC NOTATION FROM PORTUGAL¹

*Práticas de escritura na Maia: uma nova fonte com notação
hispânica antiga de Portugal*

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ABSTRACT: This study introduces a manuscript kept in the Arquivo da Torre do Tombo which represents the third source with Old Hispanic notation found in Portuguese territories, and the first recovered from a charter. This unique document is significant given the paucity of extant sources with this type of notation, and because few are securely dated whilst this one allows for a better chronological contextualisation. Likewise, this source is relevant because it is linked to a context of rural and mostly secular written production in a period of change towards monastic rule. Focusing on this peculiar charter, in the following pages we will introduce the most significant aspects of its materiality, shedding light on the world of scribes operating in northern Portugal and opening up new possibilities for a better understanding of the patchy scenario of diffusion and use of Old Hispanic notation.

Keywords: Old Hispanic notation; Monastery of Moreira; written practices; Visigothic script.

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RESUMEN: Este estudio presenta un manuscrito conservado en el Arquivo da Torre do Tombo que constituye la tercera fuente con notación musical hispánica antigua encontrada en territorio portugués; la primera recuperada de un diploma. Es éste un documento único dada la escasez de fuentes existentes con este tipo de notación, especialmente, además, porque solo algunas de ellas están fechadas con seguridad mientras que ésta permite una contextualización cronológica concreta. Asimismo, esta fuente es relevante por su vinculación a un contexto de producción rural y mayoritariamente secular justo en el período de cambio hacia el control monástico. Centrándonos así en este peculiar diploma, en las siguientes líneas abordaremos los aspectos más significativos de su materialidad, arrojando luz sobre el mundo de los escribas que operaban al norte del Duero y abriendo nuevas posibilidades para comprender el desigual escenario de difusión y uso de la notación hispánica antigua.

Palabras clave: notación hispánica antigua; monasterio de Moreira; prácticas de escritura; escritura visigótica.

SUMMARY: 0 Introduction. 1 The Monastery of Moreira and Moreira's *cartório*. 1.1 Historical context. 1.2 Moreira's *cartório*. 2 Analysis of the text of Moreira, maço 3, doc. nº 43. 2.1 Recto (Text A). 2.2 Verso (Texts B, C, D). 3 Analysis of the notation. 4 Conclusions. 5 References.

0 INTRODUCTION

Early music scripts were conceived as a mnemonic tool to help the reader recall a melody already known by heart; as such, modern scholars grasp only some basic musical information conveyed by the early music symbols (aka «neumes»). Old Hispanic (henceforth OH) notation puzzles early music scholars for several reasons. It can be regarded as «music for the eye», beautiful to look at but silent to modern ears since it is not pitch—readable and cannot be transcribed into a modern score and performed. When other early music scripts across medieval Europe developed into more precise (and pitch-based) forms in the eleventh century, OH did not follow suit. The replacement of the OH rite with the Gregorian liturgy in the eleventh century prompted a cultural revolution that entailed the replacement of OH notation with the Aquitanian notation that arrived from southern France². In medieval Iberia, the copying of OH notation ceased almost completely after the eleventh century; at the beginning of the thirteenth century only a small group of parishes in Toledo were allowed to practise the OH rite³.

OH notation is found in about forty manuscript sources of OH chant, both codices and fragments. OH chant is the local liturgical tradition peculiar to the Iberian Peninsula. The creation and shaping of OH chant antedate the establishment of the Gregorian

² De Luca, «From Old Hispanic to Aquitanian notation». On the parallel graphic change from Visigothic to Caroline see Castro Correa, «Leaving the Past Behind».

³ The OH notation found in thirteenth-century Toledo-related manuscripts shows a dramatic drop in the quantity of musical nuances, which means that they offer little to no cues on the meaning of the earlier neumes. Furthermore, the Toledan examples of OH notation show a peculiar and strong inclination to the right in the axis of the notation, and hence have often been called «horizontal».

(aka «Franco-Roman») chant, which spread throughout the Frankish kingdom under the impulse of the Carolingian Renaissance at the turn of the ninth century. It is only in the late eleventh century that the Gregorian liturgy was eventually imposed and gradually took over in the Iberian Peninsula. The OH chant is a fascinating and enigmatic area of early music studies; it shows little or no influence from coeval Gregorian practice, thus representing a window on the pre-Gregorian mindset and local variations in early European chant practices. In addition, the study of OH chant is crucial to understand the relationship between orality and writing, sound and its graphical representation, and between creativity and tradition.

Mapping the history and changes in the way music was written in early medieval scriptoria is not an easy task, not only for the dearth of surviving sources which, inevitably, offer only a patchy reflection of the reality, but also because only a few manuscripts (either codices or fragments) are securely dated and their origins clearly established⁴. From a palaeographical point of view, scholars have identified a notation strongly slanted to the right in a group of manuscripts commonly associated with Toledo⁵. Sources from the north of the Peninsula instead, show a much more vertical axis, both in the way individual neumes were written and in the movement of the neumes above the text. Since slanted neumes are generally found in later sources (up to the thirteenth century) associated with Toledo, scholars have speculated about the diffusion and development of OH notation across space and time⁶. Scholars have often stressed the dichotomy of vertical notation in the north versus horizontal notation in Toledo, but this does not truly represent the reality of the OH sources due to the mobility of scribes and books across the Iberian Peninsula.

Until recently, only two sources with OH notation, both fragments, had been found in Portugal. The fragment Lamego, Arquivo da Sé Caixa 2, Fragmento 017 (olim ver s I - II)⁷ displays a vertical ductus⁸ and is dated to the second half of the tenth century or the early eleventh⁹. The origins of this fragment are unknown, but the musical contents strongly point towards the León milieu¹⁰. Palaeographical analysis reveals that the

⁴ With the exception of the manuscripts associated with the Abbey of Santo Domingo of Silos (cf. Castro Correa, «The Scribes of the Silos Apocalypse») and a few others.

⁵ On the Toledan manuscripts see Santana Cañas' Master's thesis, *Los códices toledanos*. We would like to thank him for sharing some preliminary results of his ongoing doctoral research on the Toledan manuscripts, see Santana Cañas, *Los códices toledanos del Canto Hispánico*.

⁶ Rojo and Prado, *El canto mozárabe*, 40-58; Brou, «Notes de paléographie musicale mozarabe»; González Barriónuevo, «Algunos rasgos paleográficos»; Ferreira, «Three Fragments from Lamego»; Zapke, «Notation Systems in the Iberian Peninsula» and «Dating Neumes According to their Morphology».

⁷ The fragment Lamego, Arquivo da Sé Caixa 2, Fragmento 017 (olim ver s I - II), can be consulted at <http://pemdatabase.eu/source/204>.

⁸ The *ductus* refers to the general movement of the neumes in the space above the text and to the inclination of the vertical axis of each neume.

⁹ Ferreira, «Three Fragments from Lamego».

¹⁰ The examination of the musical contents (namely the neume shapes and the melodic contour of the chants) of the fragment now in Lamego allows its attribution to the so-called «Leonese tradition», along with the León, Antiphoner; Santiago de Compostela, Biblioteca Universitaria (E-SCu) Ms 609 (Res. 1); and Salamanca, Biblioteca General Universitaria (E-SAu) Ms. 2668. On the «Leonese tradition», see Randel, *The Responsorial Psalm Tones*, 10-52.

notation is similar in many respects to that found in the León Antiphoner for the same chants¹¹. The other fragment with OH notation found in Portugal is Coimbra, Arquivo Distrital e da Universidade IV-3^a Gav. 44 (22)¹². It shows neumes slanted to the right and was probably written around the eleventh century¹³. Its origins are unknown, too, although most scholars have assumed that it comes from Toledo on account of the notation's characteristics¹⁴. This fragment with horizontal ductus in the notation generated a lot of discussion and speculation. Indeed, if the fragment now in Coimbra was produced locally, this would prove that horizontal notation was employed outside of Toledo (specifically, on the western coast of the Iberian Peninsula). However, a recent fortunate archival discovery of a new source with OH notation in Portugal sheds light on the world of music scribes operating in the northern regions of Portugal. Furthermore, it opens up new possibilities for better understanding the diffusion and use of Old Hispanic notation—a scenario that remains largely conjectural.

The charter Moreira, maço 3, doc. n. 43 (ca-PT-TT-MSM-A-M03-43)¹⁵ is unique in many aspects. OH notation is commonly found in liturgical books and the only acknowledged connection between OH notation and the world of charters in Visigothic script to date was the existence of a cryptographic system based on neume shapes employed for scribal signatures and, occasionally, on monograms¹⁶. This charter is significant due to the paucity of other sources with OH notation but also because few are securely dated. Here, however, we have a *terminus post quem* (20 April 1073) for the addition of musical notation, thus allowing for a better chronological contextualisation. Last but not least, this charter is also important for local studies because it is clearly linked to a context of rural and mostly lay written production and indicates the early existence of a scriptorium in the monastery of Moreira from around the 1070s.

In the following sections we highlight the historical context in which the charter was produced and present a palaeographical analysis of the text. This examination paves the way for the scrutiny of the notation found in the charter and the explanation of its wider significance for our understanding of the dissemination of OH notation in Portugal.

¹¹ The scribes used similar graphic varieties of basic neume shape and the same kind of graphic elements placed near the notation (with the purpose of adding musical information). On the notation of the León Antiphoner see De Luca, «A Methodology».

¹² The fragment can be consulted at <http://pemdatabase.eu/source/286>. It is also reproduced in Ferreira, *Antologia de Música em Portugal*, 11 and Plates I–II.

¹³ Several dates have been hypothesised for this fragment: the tenth century (Vasconcelos, «Fragmento precioso»), the early eleventh century (Rojo and Prado, *El canto mozárabe*, followed by others), or c. 1000 (Ferreira, «Three Fragments from Lamego»).

¹⁴ Ferreira, «Three Fragments from Lamego», 458–9.

¹⁵ This discovery was made during the photographic survey in the Archive of Torre do Tombo conducted under the project «The Secret Life of Writing: People, Script, and Ideas in the Iberian Peninsula (c. 900–1200)» (ERC-StG grant agreement No. 850604). <http://peopleandwriting.usal.es>.

¹⁶ De Luca, «Royal Misattribution».

1 THE MONASTERY OF MOREIRA AND MOREIRA'S *CARTÓRIO*

1.1 *Historical context*

The Monastery of Divino Salvador de Moreira is located in the *uilla* of Moreira, in *Terra da Maia*¹⁷, some 10 km to the north of Oporto. The extant and mostly original manuscript sources from its earlier period suggest that it is one of the oldest known Portuguese rural (or suburban) monasteries, and equally one of the first to adopt the rule of St Augustine for its daily life.

Although there must have been older eremitic congregations in the area centuries earlier, undaunted by political changes and following their own independent rule, the first reference to an ecclesiastic foundation in Moreira is dated to the late ninth century. It is linked to a shrine dedicated to San Jorge which seems to have been a short distance from the monastery's current location¹⁸. This first reference to the shrine, dated to 862, was thought by earlier scholars to be the foundation charter of the monastery of Moreira itself¹⁹; however, current scholarship has disproved that theory, advocating for the existence of both a shrine and a local church in the area, which seems to be endorsed by the sources²⁰. The shrine's location, allegedly in Gontão, has also been contested; some scholars have placed it 1 km north of the present monastery²¹, which seems more plausible, while others state a correspondence between Gontão and Moreira de Cónegos, 37 km to the northeast²².

Later, in 1027, the extant manuscript sources from Moreira inform us that there was indeed some sort of ecclesiastic foundation newly dedicated to San Salvador. Most likely it was a local church, founded either by the local community or the local elite, passed (together with its revenue) from heir to heir over generations, and located near the shrine, explaining the initial misunderstanding²³. That church seems to have eventually absorbed the shrine by mid-century thanks to the early donations received by its

¹⁷ The first recorded mention of «Terra da Maia» is dated to 1009 (Herculano, *Portugalia Monumenta Historica. Diplomata et Chartae*, doc. 209). The use of this appellation to encompass the area in which the monastery is located becomes frequent in the second half of the eleventh century (Carvalho, *O Mosteiro de San Salvador de Moreira*, 18 n. 3).

¹⁸ Carvalho, *O Mosteiro de San Salvador de Moreira*, 16-7, 19-20; Pinho Leal, *Portugal Antigo e Moderno*, 543-5 (545).

¹⁹ Santa Maria, *Crónica da Ordem dos Cónegos Regrantes*, liv. VI, cap. II, 272-78 (272).

²⁰ Until a much-needed revision of the ecclesiastical institutions active in the area around that time is published, the main reference remains Carvalho, *O Mosteiro de San Salvador de Moreira*. The document from 862 has not been preserved, hindering further study. Likewise, it is worth highlighting that Carvalho approaches the monastery's alleged first documents slightly differently in *O Mosteiro de San Salvador de Moreira* (published in 1969) and *Subsídios*, 46-9 (published in 2012, but written in 1964) in terms of their usefulness as sources of information on its foundation.

²¹ Carvalho, *O Mosteiro de San Salvador de Moreira*, 19.

²² Azevedo, *Ordem dos Eremitas de Santo Agostinho*, 55 (from a catalogue by Fr Domingos Vieira dated to 1835).

²³ Herculano, *Portugalia Monumenta Historica. Diplomata et Chartae*, doc. 262. Cf. Carvalho, *O Mosteiro de San Salvador de Moreira*, 19-20, 22, 29-31; Pinho Leal, *Portugal Antigo e Moderno*, 544. On local churches linked to the see, see Marques, «A autoridade episcopal», 184-8.

patrons, among which it was included²⁴. Particularly significant was the support that came from the *infançon* Trutesendo Guterres and his wife Gontrode, who bought part of the church-monastery in 1069²⁵ and left —and encouraged their family to leave²⁶— all their inheritance to the foundation, which they claimed «to have built» (most likely a self-aggrandising figure of speech) as recorded in Trutesendo's will dated 1087 and confirmed in 1092²⁷. Also crucial, albeit unclear²⁸, was the support of Don Mendo, son of the patrons of the initial shrine, who had inherited it together with the land on which the monastery was later built —or finally established as such— and of which he may have been the first abbot²⁹.

Once established, around 1112-1113 the monastery of Moreira was consecrated by the bishop of Oporto, the Compostelan Don Hugo³⁰. As a newly appointed bishop, restorer of the see, the consecration of the monastery of Moreira would have perfectly served his interests in consolidating the reorganisation of the diocesan space³¹. The monastery must have replaced its traditional *regula communis* soon thereafter, becoming a monastery of regular canons of St Augustine most likely around the 1130s³².

²⁴ According to Pinho Leal, *Portugal Antigo e Moderno*, 544, the bequest of Soeiro Mendes da Maia to the monastery, dated 1085 but non-extant (lost or never existed) in Moreira's *cartório*, stated that in 1060 Egas Trutesendes and Ermesenda Gonçalves, patrons of the shrine of St Jorge de Gontão, had given it to their son, Don Mendo, together with the land on which he would establish the monastery under the patronage of the Divino Salvador.

²⁵ Herculano, *Portugalia Monumenta Historica. Diplomata et Chartae*, doc. 478. A tenth of the church-monastery was bought from Gudina (*prolix* Zalama Arianiz and Palla), who had it from her (deceased) husband Diego Donaniz, for a mare and a cow.

²⁶ For example, Herculano, *Portugalia Monumenta Historica. Diplomata et Chartae*, doc. 716. Last will of Menendo Trutesendes to the Monastery of Moreira, dated 1088.

²⁷ Herculano, *Portugalia Monumenta Historica. Diplomata et Chartae*, doc. 681. In 1087 Trutesendo Guterres donated to the monastery all his estates in honour of the Holy Cross of Christ on the altar. *Ibidem*, doc. 783. In 1092 Trutesendo Guterres and his wife Gontrode expressly declared that they had built the monastery. Cf. Carvalho, *O Mosteiro de San Salvador de Moreira*, 21, 33, 46-7.

²⁸ Following n. 21, it is also worth highlighting that Carvalho's perspective on Don Mendo's connection to the monastery changed: in *O Mosteiro de San Salvador de Moreira* (published in 1969), he states that Don Mendo was Moreira's first abbot, and in *Subsídios*, 79-85 and 81 n. 6 (published in 2012, but written in 1964), he refers to him as abbot in 1117 but not before.

²⁹ Pinho Leal, *Portugal Antigo e Moderno*, 544. See n. 25.

³⁰ Herculano, *Portugalia Monumenta Historica. Diplomata et Chartae*, doc. 387. Cf. Carvalho, *O Mosteiro de San Salvador de Moreira*, 21, 23 n. 1.

³¹ Amaral, «A restauração», 44-5. Don Hugo also built the cathedral chapter and organised the episcopal chancery, which emitted its first document in 1116 (cf. Silva, «A escrita», 121-2).

³² Carvalho, *O Mosteiro de San Salvador de Moreira*, 25-6. In 1133-1134 Don Afonso Mendez was elected as prior of the Monastery of Moreira by Teotónio, prior of the recently founded (1131) Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, a community of the Canons Regular of the Holy Cross (Carvalho, *O Mosteiro de San Salvador de Moreira*, 25-7). The Monastery of Moreira was a double house until 1147, when the nuns left for the Benedictine Monastery of San Cristóbal de Río Tinto, near Oporto (Carvalho, *O Mosteiro de San Salvador de Moreira*, 22, 28-9; Santa Maria, *Crónica da Ordem dos Cônegos Regrantes*, liv. VI, cap. II, 275).

1.2 *Moreira's cartório*

The historical context sketched out, a closer contextualisation of the charter is called for. Moreira, maço 3, doc. n. 43 is one of the 339 extant charters dated between 907 and 1196 connected to the monastery and its area of influence in *Terra da Maia*³³. Since the text it contains is dated to 1073³⁴, it belongs to that initial period in which the monastery seems to have been already located on its current place but was still, in practice, a local church rather than a monastery; at least part of it was owned by a long list of lay patrons who did not grant their *chartae libertatis* until 1145³⁵. We are, therefore, dealing with a collection of charters, the *cartório* of Moreira, which, instead of being the regular monastic collection full of donations received by the institution, is mostly formed by the private, lay, archives of the patrons and rural elite *da Maia*, as our charter attests³⁶. Building from that fact, it can be suggested that the extant charters must have been produced by local priests³⁷, at least prior to the consolidation of Moreira as a monastery. Two questions arise from such institutional transformation: first, what happened to the priests who had been producing the charters which make up the *cartório* at that point? Were some of them «absorbed» by the monastery's church? and How did the newly established monastery undertake its basic duties regarding the production of manuscripts? Moreover, where did the quite large number of priests we find working as scribes in the area get their essential books before the monastery was fully operational?

Regarding the first question, a workable method would be to interrogate the *cartório* in order to assess whether the scribes we find producing extant charters for the local lay families of the area were also writing charters for the monastery once it was established in the late eleventh century, or even from the first extant reference to it in 1027. Unfortunately, ecclesiastic charters (documents that directly involve or mention the monastery) are scarce. Leaving aside that first reference to *frater, soror, sacerdos, deuote et dignus qui ibi fuerit auitante* in Moreira, the first charter expressly addressed to the monastery is dated 1086³⁸, recording the last will of Gonzalo González, son of Gonzalo Trutesendes, followed by another will by Trutesendo Guterres dated 1087³⁹. The scribe of the first

³³ Two hundred and twenty-five of which date to before the consecration of the monastery (dated to around 1112).

³⁴ One hundred and thirty extant charters in the *cartório* are from before that date.

³⁵ Carvalho, *O Mosteiro de San Salvador de Moreira*, 31. [Moreira, maço 7, nº 30 y 31]. Afonso Enriques granted the privilege of reserve to the monastery some time before 1170 (cf. *idem*, 31, 38-40) as mentioned/confirmed in a charter issued by Afonso IV dated 13 November 1335. On the extension of the monastic reserve, see Carvalho, *O Mosteiro de San Salvador de Moreira*, 37-40, 42-3. On its administration, see *idem*, 53-62.

³⁶ Carvalho, *O Mosteiro de San Salvador de Moreira*, 19-20; Barros, *Geographia d'entre Douro e Minho*, 43.

³⁷ A general approach to the context of pragmatic literacy to which these early medieval priests gave voice can be found in Godoy, «*Et relegendo cognovimus*». A more detailed approach is the objective of the ERC project.

³⁸ Moreira, maço 4, doc. nº 29 (unedited).

³⁹ Herculano, *Portugalia Monumenta Historica. Diplomata et Chartae*, doc. 681.

charter is a priest named Gundisalvo, the second a *converso* named Atane. Gundisalvo is also the name of several scribes working in lay charters around that date, but a graphic comparison of their hands shows no evident match. A more detailed investigation of the scribes working in the area of the *villa* of Moreira and which ecclesiastic institution—shrine, local church, monastery?—they were most likely linked to is required.

As for the second question, and pending said study focused on Moreira's priests, it can be suggested that Moreira could have had some kind of informal scriptorium already in the early eleventh century, since there must have been an urgent need to provide the community, once established, with at least the basic manuscripts for Mass and Office⁴⁰, let alone producing charters. We should also consider that these books could have been in the church's library already, having been produced elsewhere and brought to Moreira, commissioned by its patrons. Unfortunately, there is no reference to full codices being produced or arriving at the monastery around that date. Current scholarship on the topic has proposed a date for an active scriptorium in Moreira: at least around 1086 due to certain codicological features not normally employed in charters, like pricking and ruling, which are usually explained by the scribe's use of discarded pieces of parchment prepared for codices to write or copy legal texts⁴¹. Indeed, if we look at these elementary procedures undertaken in preparing the writing support, we could push the date slightly forward. Charter Moreira, maço 3, doc. n° 34, dated to 1069, shows both pricking and ruling; both charters number 39 and 40 from the same *maço* (bundle) and dated to 1071, show pricking; charter maço 4, doc. n° 10, dated to 1077, shows ruling. Based on this evidence, there seems to have been an active scriptorium in Moreira since at least 1069.

2 ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT OF MOREIRA, MAÇO 3, DOC. N° 43

Having presented the context of production, it is time to focus on our charter. To fully appraise its significance, we must proceed by itemising and, subsequently, analysing the distinct stages in which it was written, before suggesting a proper contextualisation of the musical notation the charter holds.

2.1 *Recto* (*Text A*)

On the recto side of the parchment, the flesh side, we find the main reason for the charter's existence and preservation: a text recording a sale from Osoredo and Animia to Gonçalvo Guterres and his wife Elvira Gonçalves of a piece of land in Ossela, a *villa*

⁴⁰ For the basic books required for the OH liturgy see Pinell, *Liturgia Hispanica*, 41-51.

⁴¹ Guerra, *Os diplomas privados*, 157.

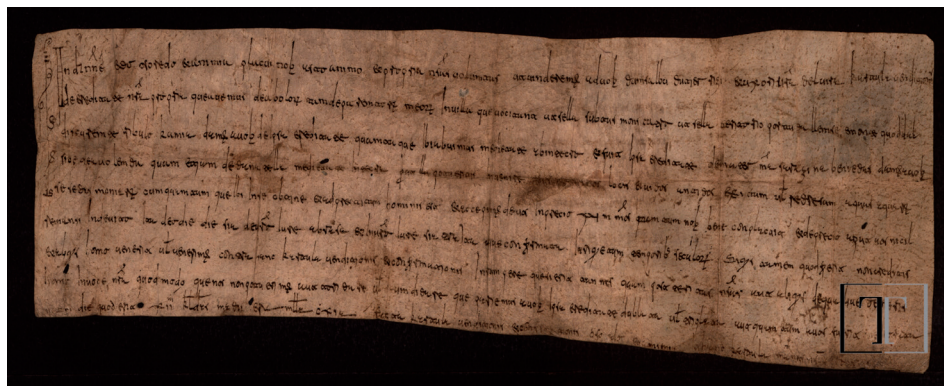


Figure 1. Recto of the charter with the text of the sale of land in Ossela. Arquivos Nacionais / Torre do Tombo, OSB, Mosteiro de S. Salvador de Moreira, maço 3, n.º 43 (cód. de referência: PT-TT-MSM/A/3/43). Imagem cedida pelo ANTT.

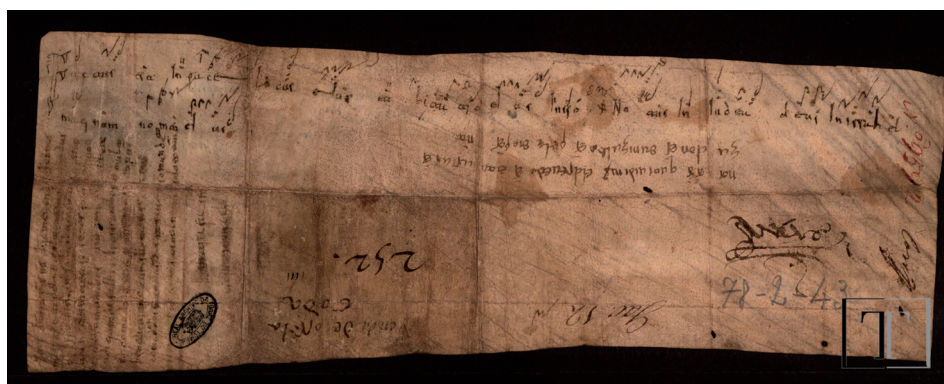


Figure 2. Verso of the charter with the addition of a chant in OH notation. Arquivos Nacionais / Torre do Tombo, OSB, Mosteiro de S. Salvador de Moreira, maço 3, n.º 43 (cód. de referência: PT-TT-MSM/A/3/43). Imagem cedida pelo ANTT.

some 60 km south of Moreira. This is a private document involving the local elite of the area since Gonçalvo Guterres was Trutesendo Guterres' brother. As already mentioned, many documents of these local groups ended up being kept in the monastery's archive, curator of the family archives that might have likewise existed. We will refer to this first stage of writing on the parchment as Text A. There are two aspects of this document that must be highlighted to understand the other texts inscribed on the parchment: its scribe and its *mise en page*.

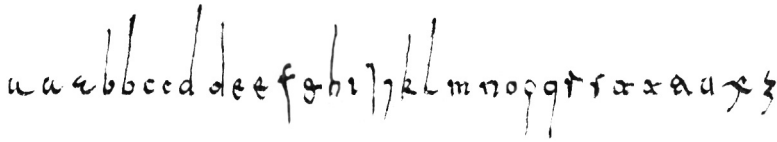


Figure 3. Morphology of the alphabet (Text A).

The scribe who wrote this charter—who might be identified as the priest Pelayo, considering the notes on the verso side of the parchment to which we will refer later⁴²—used a Visigothic cursive script, slightly bent to the right, quite formal and elegant, with long ascenders and descenders. His script can be classified as calligraphic by grade or degree of perfection. It was written quite quickly with a high level of dexterity, as shown by the fluidity with which ligatures and nexuses were traced, reflecting his good training most likely at an established centre. The text opens with a 5-line Chi-rho, following a personal design developed from the typical form found in attestations. The fact that the style of this symbolic invocation is personal and not formal (either monogrammatic or «nuevo asturleonés»)⁴³ could point to a parish school rather than a monastic one. Could he have been trained at the local church mentioned above? A 2-line initial *I* with double stroke begins the text. There are no upper-case letters bar an *S* in *Siquis*. The lower-case alphabet is drawn as expected (open upright *a*, although there are some scattered examples of the Visigothic minuscule form, too; closed *g*; three allographs of *i*; *m/n* with the last stroke to the right on the base line; cursive *p*; inverted-beta *t*; and *z* «copetuda»), as are the ligatures (*e+g/m/n/r/t/o*, *f+u*, *g+alolu*, *o+m/n/r/s*, *r+alei/olt*, *t+al/jlu*) and nexuses (*e+t*, *f+i*, inverted-beta *t+e/r*). Regarding the abbreviation system, the abbreviation stroke takes the form of a ribbon, abbreviations signs (a sign similar to G-clef for the ending *-us* after *m*, a vertical stroke crossing the last stroke of *r* «cuadrata» or minuscule *r* for the ending *-um*, Visigothic cursive *per* and *qui*, a stroke below *b* for the ending *-is*) and abbreviations are as one would expect (*kldas* for *kalendas*, *ma* for *mea*, *mlla* for *millesima*, *mos* for *modios*, *nne* for *nomine*, *nsas* for *nostras*, *ul* for *uel*), bar five cases of *noster/uester* with theme in *r* (line 2, line 1 respectively)—probably Caroline minuscule influence—and one Visigothic minuscule sign for *-us* (superscript *s*) in line 6. Aspects that could help us individualise this hand are the very thin ascenders and descenders (the lightness of the stroke showing the proficiency of the scribe), ligatures (*o+n*, *r+e/i*) and nexuses (*e+t*, inverted-beta *t+e/r*), and abbreviation signs. All the graphic aspects noted above point to a well-developed mid-eleventh-century northwestern Portuguese monastic or parish church hand, thus matching the date of the text and confirming its status as original document.

⁴² We have compared this hand with others from around the same date active in Moreira looking for a match, without success.

⁴³ See Castro Correa, *La escritura visigótica*, 765-76. This variation is also typical in eleventh-century hands from Galicia.

How Pelayo adapted his text to the piece of parchment he chose to write the 9-line document, with very broad, albeit irregular, interlinear spaces, is likewise significant. It has been suggested that it was common practice for scribes to write a document before cutting the parchment to fit it⁴⁴. In this case, we have evidence that the parchment was already cut to size when Pelayo used it; it was a discarded piece of parchment, prepared for writing on its two sides. At the end of the first line we can read *kartula uenditionis* with the final *s* of the second word in superscript, having reached the lateral margin of the writing surface. Interestingly, considering the social status of the addressees and the graphic quality of the hand, the margins, with the exception of the top, are very narrow in this charter; this is quite frequent in Moreira's *cartório*. More significantly, the bottom margin is absent for Pelayo made the most of the space available to write the last line where one can read the date and the beginning of the validation clauses, leaving the attestations out. Looking closely at that final line we can see how the descenders were adapted, shortened to fit. Why was the document not written out in full?

2.2 *Verso* (Texts B, C, D)

On the verso side of the parchment, the hair side, we find three further (more or less coeval) major interventions, including that with the musical notation. Near the middle, upside down, there are two lines of text with a quick note of the attestations lacking on the recto; running parallel to the top margin, there are two lines of musical notation, the object of study in this article; and, parallel to the left-hand margin, there is a short text that is barely legible due to wear. We will refer to these three stages on the parchment's surface as Text B, Text C, and Text D. These interventions are complemented by several modern annotations with older archival references for the charter as well as a short 2-line dorsal note, in a modern hand, stating the document's context (*Venda de Ossela*) and, interestingly, the type of script (*Godá*). It is noteworthy that these archival notes are, as noted, not coeval to the text, for it suggests the charter's incorporation into a lay or parochial archive instead of a monastic one, as happened with many of the charters from the *cartório*⁴⁵. Finally, it is worth noting that the parchment has some ruling, albeit faint: the beginning of two parallel lines can be glimpsed, perpendicular to the text, framing the old archival reference «43».

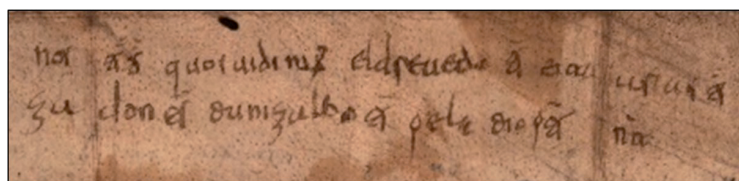


Figure 4. Caption Text B. Visigothic cursive script.

⁴⁴ Ruiz Asencio, «Notas», 96.

⁴⁵ Guerra, *Os diplomas privados*, 214-23 n. 19.

Text B: As mentioned, Text B closes the document on the recto: *nos testes quos uimidimus eldreuedo testis eita arias testis / zadon testis gumzalbo testis pelagio presbiter notuit*. Its hand, although semi-rudimentary (by grade) and usual (by training), shares enough similarities with that of Text A, particularly the duct of letters *g* and *z*, which the latter wrote with a certain flourish, to allow us to ascribe them both to the same scribe: the priest Pelayo. But, if Pelayo needed more space to finish the document, why did he write in the middle of the verso instead of near one of the margins, as one would expect? And why did he write the text as a short note instead of in full, as was appropriate to a charter connected to the elite (albeit rural)? Text B seems to have been written carefully, avoiding the folds of the parchment, made after Text A (sequence Text A > Text B). However, a closer look tells a slightly different story: what we see are not intentional spaces left by the scribe to avoid the folds already made, but a syllabic separation of one name, *Zadon*, similar to the separation we see in the name *Pelagio*, which accidentally coincides with the fold. Thus, the folds not helping to answer our questions, we have two options: either the priest Pelayo did indeed write the charter and finished it on the verso, very briefly without expanding on the attestations (sequence Text A > Text B), or he wrote Text B as a note from memory before writing Text A (sequence Text B > Text A).

Supporting the first option, we find similar occurrences in other charters of the *cartório*. In one dated to 1047, priest Gundisalbo wrote the charter on the recto (flesh) side of the parchment, completed with the *roboratio* by the grantor of the document, and added the witnesses on the verso in a brief note⁴⁶. Exactly the same is found in another charter dated to 1071, written by a priest also called Gundisalbo⁴⁷.

Supporting the second option, in his study on extant Portuguese lay charters, Guerra proposed that some scribes employed the verso of parchments destined for charters, already cut, to make quick notes about the content of the document they had been commissioned to write, particularly drafting the names of the witnesses to the act. Moreover, he explains how in the few extant examples of this practice, it could be argued that the same scribe wrote both texts but produced that on the verso with less finesse most likely due to the lack of a writing surface to lean on and steady his hand⁴⁸. We can see the same practice in at least one charter from Moreira dated to 1044⁴⁹, although in this case there were two scribes working together: one (Gondulfu —rudimentary hand) took the notes and the other (Sando —calligraphic hand) wrote the full charter, which his colleague had begun —and abandoned— on the recto of the parchment (flesh).

Pondering both options and the peculiarities of the *cartório* of Moreira, sequence Text A > Text B seems more likely. We can suggest the scribe of our charter wrote Text A and finished it on the verso side of the parchment as Text B, the difference in execution of the script being due to either the lack of support —maybe the witnesses were added

⁴⁶ Moreira, maço nº 2, doc. nº 33 (Herculano, *Portugalia Monumenta Historica. Diplomata et Chartae*, doc. 351) dated 14 February 1047.

⁴⁷ Moreira, maço nº 3, doc. nº 40 (Herculano, *Portugalia Monumenta Historica. Diplomata et Chartae*, doc. 497) dated 8 June 1071.

⁴⁸ Guerra, *Os diplomas privados*, 186-9.

⁴⁹ Moreira, maço nº 2, doc. nº 30 (Herculano, *Portugalia Monumenta Historica. Diplomata et Chartae*, doc. 338) dated 27 November 1044.

when they came together physically to attest to the transaction— or collaboration with another scribe—in which case, Text A's scribe might not have been the priest Pelayo and if so, remains unnamed.

Text C: Having solved the problem of Text B, let us move on to Text C, one line and three words of text with the Psalmo *Factus est in pace* copied in another hand: *Factus est In pace locus elus et abitatjo elus in Sio | VR Notus In Iudaea deus In israhel / magnum nomen elus*. Text C begins with an initial letter *F*(actus), highlighted by double stroke (see Figure 2). The graphic model the scribe was replicating was that of Visigothic minuscule, so not the same as the previous hand(s) in Texts A and B. As such, he used the open form of the letter *a* (on the base line), uncial *d* between vowels, open *g*, three allographs of *i* (tall at the beginning of the word, long for the syllable *ti*, and minuscule for regular use). Ligatures (*e+n*, *e+s*, *r+a*, *t+*) and abbreviations (general sign plus *sco*, *VR*) are also as expected with one exception: ligature *s+r* in *Israhel*, although this is not significant. Since the script of Texts A, B, and C belong to a different typology and, moreover, Text C is quite short, it is not possible to compare the hands. However, the writing skills of the priest Pelayo, even in Text B, seem rather better than those of Text C's anonymous scribe. This latter copyist shows a medium grade of training, given the content of the text, at a monastic school: better than rudimentary training (elemental), but not yet professional. Could it be that the graphic sample that we are looking at is just that, a training exercise?

In Text C the scribe was probably simply making a rough draft of a chant from memory perhaps practising connecting notation to text. It is not certain that the scribe of Text C also added the notation above the text of the Psalmo, but it is quite likely. In the production of codices, it was customary for scribes to specialise in writing either the text or the notation. The text was written first and the syllables needed to be carefully spaced in order to allow correspondence with the music to be copied subsequently. This was a highly specialised task which required a great level of expertise. Indeed, a music scribe not only copied from a model (or more than one) but s/he also had to be able to recall and sing the melody being copied. Occasionally, scribes wrote both the text and the notation on codices, for instance when they made musical additions to a page (e.g., extra chants, alternative versions of the chants already on the page, pen trials, etc.). In our charter, the chant seems to have been added offhand by a scribe familiar with codices (indicated by the use of minuscule script), while the notation seems to have been written with little care and precision possibly due to the lack of scribal support (e.g. a dedicated desk), thus pointing that the notation was being added on the parchment without preparation or forethought. This charter permits us to pin down the style of OH notation being employed in the area at the time, which has important repercussions for the hypothesis regarding the provenance of the two annotated liturgical fragments currently kept in the Portuguese archives of Lamego and Coimbra, respectively 100 km east and 120 km south of Oporto⁵⁰.

As already mentioned, scattered clues across Moreira's *cartório* allow us to suggest that shortly after Moreira moved to its current location in 1060, it must have had a working scriptorium (prior to 1069). Text C's scribe could, therefore, have been one

⁵⁰ See the analysis of the notation in the next section.

of the first generation of scribes/copyists trained there, learning *in situ* how to copy the liturgical codices that Moreira would undoubtedly have kept in its archive. The brevity of Text C makes more accurate dating difficult. Visigothic script without Caroline minuscule influence like that used by Text C's copyist, was the norm until 1086 in Moreira⁵¹; almost all hands show Caroline influence to some extent after that date. Therefore, Text C could be dated *prior* to 1086. The adoption of the Franco-Roman rite was officially endorsed at San Juan de la Peña in 1071 and at the Council of Burgos of 1080; as a consequence, the OH liturgy and chant were discarded. This strongly hints that Text C was written prior to 1080 since this Psalmo could be considered a «prohibited» chant afterwards. However, some Visigothic scribes resisted to the abandonment of the OH notation as demonstrated by some manuscripts⁵², e.g. the Antiphoner British Library Ms. Add. 30850, dated to 4th quarter of the 11th century to the 1st quarter of the 12th century⁵³. This peculiar manuscript bears both the local Visigothic script and the OH notation, but it contains the newly imported Franco-Roman melodies. Hence, it seems fair to admit the possibility that Text C could have been written sometime after 1080, perhaps by a scribe who was practicing writing notation or simply who wished to keep memory of this specific Psalmo associated to St Saturnin.

Therefore, based on the hand's graphic quality and the content of the text itself, we can date Text C to between circa 1069 and 1100 at the latest. Could we further reduce this proposed time frame? We have already established that Text A was written before Text B. The folds in the charter made when filing it in the archive slightly affect Text C, which must, therefore, have been copied afterwards. Since Text A (combined with Text B) is securely dated to 1073, Text C should have been copied between April 1073 and 1100 at the latest.

Text D: Finally, the parchment has yet another addition, written perpendicular to Text C, to which two of its lines (9 and 10) are adapted, clearly showing that Text D was written later. Unfortunately, the text is near illegible. It could be a document connected to either the same beneficiary or the same *uilla* of Text A (the last line seems to read *Notitia facimus* ...). The few letters and even fewer words that can be read nevertheless allow us to judge its scribe's hand. He used a Visigothic minuscule script, not calligraphic and not a calligraphic hand either, with a similar general style to that of Text C. It seems that we are looking once again at a scribe who was trained but did not (yet) excel in practice. If one looks closely (see the comparisons in Figures 4 and 5), it could be the same hand, though there is insufficient evidence to prove it with certainty.

⁵¹ The first hand showing that influence is Moreira, maço 4, doc. n° 28 (PMH.DC 661), dated 4 May 1086.

⁵² During the transition between the OH and the Franco-Roman liturgy some Franco-Roman chants were written with OH neumes while some OH chants were rewritten with Aquitanian notation. See the latest discussion in De Luca, «From Old Hispanic to Aquitanian notation».

⁵³ <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7241&CollID=27&N-Start=30850>.

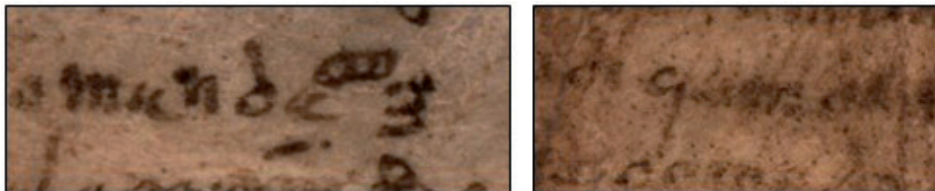


Figure 5. Caption Tex-t D.

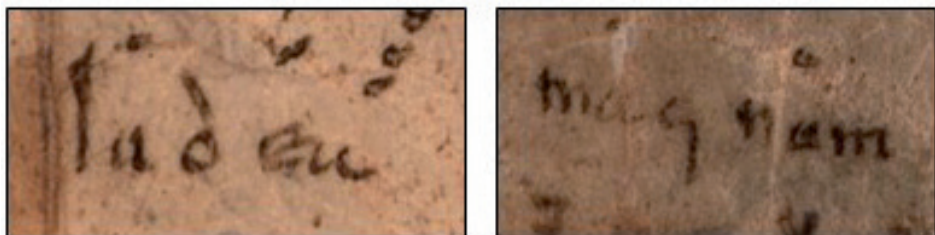


Figure 6. Caption Text C.

3 ANALYSIS OF THE NOTATION

The Moreira charter provides musical notation for the Psalmo «Factus est in pace». The Psalmo is a chant genre peculiar to the OH rite and is similar in many respects to the Franco-Roman *Gradual*⁵⁴. *Factus est in pace* is also found in the León Antiphoner, Archivo de la Catedral, Ms. 8, fol. 241v, lines 9-10⁵⁵, and in the *Liber mysticus*, British Library, Add. MS 30845, fol. 150v, left column, lines 9-11⁵⁶. In both manuscripts the chant is prescribed for the Mass for the Translation of St Saturnin, celebrated on 1 November⁵⁷.

Musical notation is commonly found in liturgical books, where it serves a specific purpose —assisting the reader to recall the melody to be sung. To the best of our knowledge, Moreira, maço 3, doc. n. 43 represents the only known example of musical notation in a charter. It must be said, however, that in the world of Visigothic script charters OH notation was occasionally employed for non-musical purposes. Indeed, a few scribal subscriptions were written in a cryptographic system where the letters of the alphabet were replaced by notational shapes (neumes) or other signs. Those other signs

⁵⁴ Randel and Nadeau, «Mozarabic Chant».

⁵⁵ The León Antiphoner can be perused at https://bvpb.mcu.es/es/catalogo_imagenes/grupo.do?path=26408&posicion=488&presentacion=pagina®istrardownload=0.

⁵⁶ The *Liber mysticus* can be perused at https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_30845_fs001r.

⁵⁷ Randel, *An Index to the Chants*, 427. Férotin, *Le Liber mozarabicus*, lii. The feast of St Saturnin (29 November) is found in the León Antiphoner, on fols. 38r–39v.

were neither neumes nor letters, but distorted representations of letters in the style of musical notation⁵⁸.

The Psalmo *Factus est in pace* does not seem to have any specific significance for or connection with the Moreira area; the same can be said for the liturgical feast of the Translation of St Saturnin, connected to this chant in the León Antiphoner and in the *Liber mysticus*. A comparison of the two versions of the Psalmo therein with that of the charter demonstrates a high degree of similarity, allowing us to conclude that it is indeed the same melody despite some minor differences, such as a few extra notes and the shift of the melisma over *pace* in the charter⁵⁹ (see Tables 1 and 2). The first line is *Factus est in pace locus ejus et habitatio ejus in Sion* (Cantus ID h00816)⁶⁰, followed by the verse *Notus in Judaea deus in Israel magnum nomen ejus* (Cantus ID h00816a)⁶¹. This Psalmo is not particularly long but shows a moderate degree of melodic density due to the melismas over *eius* (twice), *Sion*, *nomen*. A palaeographical comparison of the neume shapes in the three sources shows a slightly greater proximity between the versions found in the charter and the León Antiphoner since both use similar neumatic graphical connections⁶²—see, for instance, the neumes over *factus*, *Sion*, *notus in Judae*, *Israel*, *magnum*, *nomen*. Furthermore, the version in the *Liber mysticus* does not have a melisma on *nomen*, while the other two do. In both the charter and the León Antiphoner we can see some small ticks, a musical notational element whose meaning is unclear to modern readers (Figure 6). These signs (called «bâtonnets» by Louis Brou)⁶³ are found in a few other OH manuscripts (all showing the vertical *ductus* in the notation)—namely Santiago de Compostela, Biblioteca General Universitaria, Reservado I (*Libro de Horas de Fernando I*); Madrid, Bibl. Nacional, Ms 11556 guard leaf; London, British Museum, MS ADD. 30850, fol. 2; Lamego, Arquivo da Sé Caixa 2, Fragmento 17 (olim ver s I - II)⁶⁴; Zaragoza, Biblioteca General Universitaria, M-418 (*Antifonario Mozárabe de San Juan de la Peña*).

⁵⁸ The other signs could easily be confused with genuine neumes by someone unfamiliar with musical notation. Scholars believe that cryptography was a means of making the scribal signature stand out on the document and also a system for making the forgery of charters more arduous. De Luca, «Musical Cryptography».

⁵⁹ A melisma is a passage of multiple notes sung to one syllable of text.

⁶⁰ See the *Cantus Index Online Catalogue for Mass and Office Chants*: <http://cantusindex.org/id/h00816>.

⁶¹ See Cantus Index: <http://cantusindex.org/id/h00816a>.

⁶² Modern scholarship has not grasped all the differences in musical meaning originally attached to the shapes employed in OH notation. For instance, we find several different shapes for three-note neumes representing the melodic contour «Neutral-Higher-Lower». The pen strokes could be angular, curved, looped, etc. and since great effort was put into writing and differentiating all these shapes, we gather that certain specific musical meanings were originally attached to these graphical variants—even though we are now ignorant of those musical meanings.

⁶³ Brou, «Notes de paléographie musicale», 72-6; De Luca *et al.*, «Capturing Early Notations», 243-4.

⁶⁴ See <http://pemdatabase.eu/source/204>.

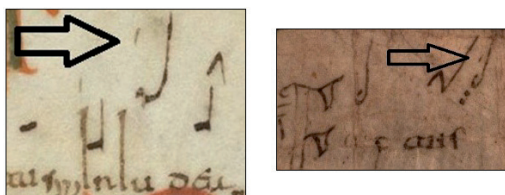


Figure 7. Small ticks in the León Antiphoner (left) and the charter (right).

There is another interesting feature that connects the notation on the back of the charter to that found in the León Antiphoner. The latter bears evidence of a later hand that replaced the three-note neume NS/HL (Figure 8a) with the four-note neume NLHL (Figure 8b). This correction was mainly made when the NS/HL neume was found in melismas, which is the case throughout the Antiphoner: see for instance the correction on fol. 29r (melisma on the right side of the page) or the correction on fol. 241v, in this Psalmo⁶⁵. While the scribe of the León Antiphoner originally wrote the NS/HL neume over *Sion* and the later hand replaced it with the four-note neume NLHL, the scribe of the charter wrote the four-note neume NLHL (see Table 1).

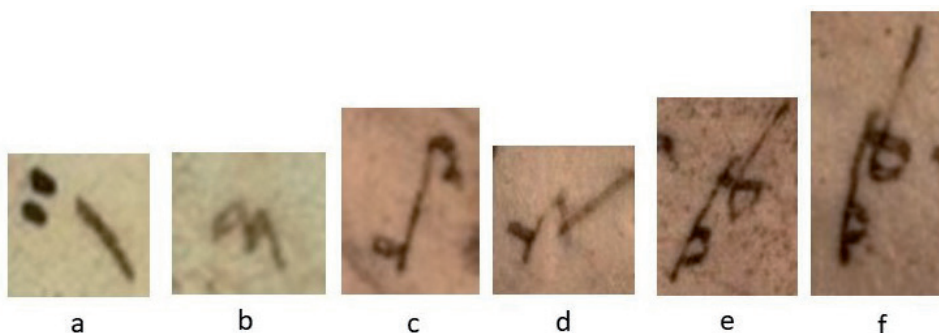


Figure 8. Neumes. Detail.

Despite the limited quantity of musical notation found on the Moreira charter, it could be useful to attempt further speculation on the musical evidence it offers. For instance, the closer proximity observed between the Psalmo on the charter and on the León Antiphoner could be explained by the fact that both sources can be ascribed to the «Leonese» musical tradition, while the *Liber mysticus* belongs to the Riojan (La Rioja) tradition⁶⁶. In his seminal work *The Responsorial Psalm Tone*, Don Randel identified these two musical traditions in the northern examples of the OH chant. Broadly speaking, the melodies were the same, but the Leonese was the more developed and elaborate.

⁶⁵ On this neume replacement see Boudeau and De Luca, «Erreur, variante et correction», 16.

⁶⁶ Randel, *The Responsorial Psalm Tones*, 70.

According to Randel, these traditions coexisted and derived from the same archetype. From a geographical point of view, the examples of both were also neatly distributed. Those known to originate from the area of León share the same liturgical tradition, while sources from La Rioja, and most of those from Silos (just over the mountains to the west in Castile) belong to the Riojan tradition⁶⁷. Oporto was part of the kingdom of León⁶⁸ when the Psalmo was written on this charter, henceforth it is no surprise that it bears closeness to the León musical tradition rather than the Riojan. Anyhow, this is still an important piece of evidence since this is the very first source of OH chant that we can securely identify as written in Portugal. The proximity between the charter and the León Antiphoner is even more remarkable if we consider the dating of the three copies of the Psalmo *Factus est in pace*. The texts of the charter are dated between April 1073 and 1100; the *Liber mysticus* is dated to the mid-eleventh century—that is, at least few years before the addition of musical notation to the charter. There is no scholarly consensus on the dating of the León Antiphoner, but the vast majority of scholars consider it to be a tenth-century manuscript⁶⁹. Hence, despite the fact the Psalmo found in the León Antiphoner was likely written (at least) a century earlier than that in the charter, the two copies show a greater musical proximity to each other than to that in the *Liber mysticus*, which was almost coeval with the charter. Indeed, more relevant in the transmission of OH chant was the musical tradition to which the source belonged than its age.

If we focus our attention solely to the neumes on the back of the charter, we observe that the notation was not carefully written. For instance, over *deus*, the scribe wrote the beginning of the neume depicted at Figure 8c with two individual pen strokes—a horizontal dash and a vertical stroke. The scribe could have written the whole neume in just one stroke by simply changing the inclination of the wrist and without raising the pen nib. The same can be seen in the last neume of *nomen*, similarly written with two pen strokes (Figure 8d). This lack of calligraphic fluidity can also be seen in the neumes that involve a loop found over *pace* (Figure 8e) and *nomen* (Figure 8f). Besides these considerations, the graphic form of individual shapes and the spatial placement of the neumes sometimes look clumsy and graceless. To sum up, the palaeographical analysis of the notation corroborates the hypothesis that the chant was added offhand on the charter. On the other hand, another explanation for the lack of calligraphic dexterity in the notation could be that the music scribe had a moderate grade of training, either because he was not linked to a major cultural centre or had not yet had enough practice to achieve a professional level.

The significance of the Moreira charter for chant studies becomes clear when we place it into the larger context of the diffusion of Visigothic script sources bearing musical notation. The charter offers us a glimpse into the musical tradition of the Oporto area in the late eleventh century, proving that the geographical proximity to the kingdom of León is reflected also in the music of the OH rite. The notation found on the charter

⁶⁷ This is thoroughly discussed in Randel, *The Responsorial Psalm Tones*, 3-4, 94-5.

⁶⁸ Mattoso, *Historia de Portugal*, see esp. 531-62.

⁶⁹ Hypothesis of dating range from 900-905 (De Luca, «Musical Cryptography»), mid- or late tenth century? (Gutiérrez, «*Librum de auratum*») and eleventh century (Zapke, «Dating Neumes»).

proves that a local scribe was trained to write OH neumes in the typical northern style, that is, with a vertical *ductus*. This is of paramount importance since it sheds new light on the dissemination of OH notation in Portugal. Indeed, the Moreira charter provides invaluable evidence on the local style of notation, strongly suggesting that the Coimbra fragment with the so-called «horizontal notation» was imported from elsewhere, as has been hypothesised but not yet proven⁷⁰. The other fragment now in Portugal could instead have been locally produced in Lamego or imported from a location also within the area of influence of the kingdom of León.

4 CONCLUSIONS

The charter Moreira, maço 3, doc. n. 43 (ca-PT-TT-MSM-A-M03-43), recently unearthed by a group of researchers and the third known document bearing OH notation in Portugal, records a private, lay sale near the Monastery of Divino Salvador of Moreira (north of Oporto) made in 1073. Since musical notation was added on the verso side of the parchment after the main text of the charter was written, we have a *terminus post quem* for the writing of music. Diplomatic and palaeographical analysis suggest that the charter was produced near Oporto and has remained in the area ever since. This recent discovery sheds new light on the history of OH notation in Portugal, allowing for a better understanding of the writing practices and usages developed in rural contexts of Northwestern Iberia.

Northern sources with Old Hispanic notation present a vertical *ductus* and so does the notation of the charter. However, the fragment now in Coimbra, Arquivo Distrital e da Universidade IV-3^a Gav. 44 (22) has musical notation with a more diagonal *ductus*, a style normally associated with Toledan-related sources. The locally produced Moreira charter hints that, due to its different technique, the Coimbra fragment was brought to Portugal at some point, as some scholars have speculated but not yet proven. Moreover, the similarity between the Moreira charter and the Lamego fragment, both belonging to the Leonese tradition, suggest that this was the dominant in the region.

The value of the charter for our knowledge of written culture in rural contexts lies in it being a singular exemplar of that pragmatic literacy that is the main aim of this monograph, revealing the links between lay people of different status and their local church

⁷⁰ On the origins of this fragment see the discussions in Ferreira, «Three Fragments from Lamego», 458-9 and, more recently, Rojo Carrillo, «Old Hispanic Chant Manuscripts», 128-9. Ferreira and Rojo have different opinions on the date when the manuscript to which this fragment originally belonged arrived in Coimbra. Ferreira proposes that it was at the time of Count Sesnando (1064-1091), who appointed as bishop of Coimbra a clergyman of Mozarabic origins. Pointing to the work of Gros i Pujol and Moreno, Rojo claims that there is not enough evidence of Mozarabic churches in Toledo before the mid-twelfth century, and thus suggests a later date for the manuscript's arrival from Toledo. Rojo, however, opens up the hypothesis of the origins of the fragment to other possibilities, suggesting that the manuscript could have arrived in Coimbra at the time of the Mozarabic immigration in the mid-twelfth century, possibly from another city under Muslim rule, such as Cáceres or Badajoz. Rojo also considers the possibility of a local (Coimbran) production of the manuscript by a Mozarabic clergyman living there.

and its ecclesiastic community later transformed into a monastery. We are dealing with a lay charter (dated 1073) connected by its production to a parochial setting, written by a priest and not involved with a monastery, first stored in the same context but which not long after ended up in a monastic archive (a takeover of the proprietary church?). There, as the monastery of Moreira was just establishing its scriptorium (post c. 1069), the charter's life continued as a convenient writing support for a copyist likely being trained to write the musical notation many of the monastery's practical books needed (c. 1073-c. the 1090s or 1100 at the latest), its main text further supplemented as legal charter by a scribe who added yet more content. As a product of changing times, charter Moreira, maço 3, doc. n. 43 allows us to better understand the reinforcement of monastic institutions common in the second half of the eleventh century, and how these institutions and their scriptoria progressively abrogated the roles of lower-order centres, parish churches and their priests, as masters of the production, use, and custody of the written word and its memory. We expect that a detailed study on priests and local churches *na Maia* before the year 1100 that we are currently undertaking will allow us to further understand this change of paradigm in which parochial written production, deeply embedded in its community, lost out to monastic expansion and regulation.

Table 1. Comparison of the neume shapes employed for Cantus ID h00816

Lyrics	<i>Factus est</i>	<i>in pace</i>	<i>locus ejus</i>
Charter			
Contour	NH; NLH, NHHH; N (10)	NHS; N, NL; NS/HHLH, (?) NHLH, NH (17) ⁷²	N; NHHH; N, NL, NLH, NHHHLH; N (18)
MS 8			
Contour	NH; NLH, NHHHH; N (11)	NHS; NL, NHHHLH, NHLH; NH (17)	N; NHHH; N, NLH, NHH, NHLH; N (17)
Add 30845			
Contour	NH; NLHHHHH; N (10)	NHS; NL, NH, NS/HLLH, NHLH; NH (18)	N; NHHH; N, NH, NLH, NHH, NHLH; N (19)
Lyrics	<i>et habitatio</i>	<i>ejus</i>	<i>in Sion</i>
Charter			
Contour	NHS; NL; N; (?) NHHL, NHLH; NHH; N (18)	NHL, NL, NL, NHHHLH; NH (16)	N; NH; N, NHL, NLHL, NHHL, NL, NLH, NHHLHL (26)
MS 8			
Contour	NHS; NL; N; NHHHL, NHL; NHH; N (18)	NHHL, NL, NLH, NHH, NHLH; NH (18)	N; NH, N, NHL, NS/HL ⁷³ , NHHL, NL, NLH, NHH, NHL (25)
Add 30845			
Contour	NHS; NL; N; NS/HLLH, NHL; N (15)	NHHL, NHL, NHH, NHH, NHLH; NH (19)	NHHH; NLHL, N, N, NH, NHHL, NHLH, NHH, NHL (26)

⁷¹ The melisma seems to be written on *pace* while in the other two sources it is found on the first syllable, *pace*.

⁷² A later hand added a NLHL neume (see the m-shape placed underneath the NS/HL neume) which is supposed to correct the neume above.

Table 2. Comparison of the neume shapes employed for Cantus ID h00816a

Lyrics	<i>Notus in Judaea</i>	<i>Deus</i>	<i>in Israel</i>
Charter			
Contour	(?)NSH; N; NH; NHH; (?) NL; NHHH (15)	NHL, NHLLH; N (10)	NLH; NHHLH; NHLH; N (13)
León, MS 8			
Contour	NHSH; N; NH; NHH; NH, NL; NHHH (18)	NL, NSLH; N (7)	NS; NHHLH; N, NHLH; N (13)
Add 30845			
Contour	NHS; N; NH; N, NL; NHHH (13)	NS/HL; NSLH (7)	NS; NHH; NL; N (8)
Lyrics	<i>magnum</i>	<i>nomen</i>	<i>ejus</i>
Charter			
Contour	NHSH; N (5)	NH, NS/HHLH, NHLH; N (12)	NHL, NL, NL, NHHLH; NH (14)
MS 8			
Contour	NHSH; N (5)	NL, NHHHLH, NHLH; N (13)	NHHL, NL, NLH, NHH, NHLH; NH (18)
Add 30845			
Contour	NHS; N (4)	NH; NHH (?) (5)	NL, NH, NS/HHLL, NHLH; NH (15)

The three copies of the Psalmo «Factus est in pace» are juxtaposed in the tables below. The melodic contour of each neume is transcribed below each source. N is used for «neutral», H for «higher», L for «lower», S for «same», and S/H for a pitch that could be at the same height as, or higher than the previous note, be it part of the previous neume or the same neume. A colon shows the end of each neume. A semicolon separates the neume/s sung for each syllable. At the end of the string of letters showing the melodic contour, the total number of notes is given in parentheses. Uncertain readings are signalled by (?)⁷³.

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⁷³ This terminology is discussed in De Luca, «A methodology»; and Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning*, 315-26.

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