

Female Chant Repertoire in Aveiro's Dominican Convent of Jesus during the Observant Reform (15th Century)

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Introduction

Founders and patrons, prioresses and sub prioresses, novice mistresses and *cantrices*, scribes and illuminators: women have shaped, in many ways, the foundation of the Dominican convent of Jesus (Convento de Jesus) in Aveiro, Portugal. This article covers the convent's musical universe, which can only be reconstructed today through the analysis of an essential collection of chant books produced by the sisters themselves, and the study of conventual buildings and conserved artworks.¹

First of all, the chant repertoire of Aveiro's Dominican sisters is approached by focusing on the local environment of the monastery, Aveiro's development, and the city's connections to the Portuguese aristocracy, especially to noble women. Second, this article intends to show how the foundation of Aveiro's new Dominican convent of Jesus in 1461, closely linked to the previous foundation of the Friars Preachers in 1423, Nossa Senhora da Misericórdia, were both tied to the Observant reform move-

1 This research is connected to the program RESALVE and funded by the European Commission's program Horizon 2020: 'The Revival of Salve Regina. Medieval Marian chants from Aveiro: musical sources, gender-specific context, and performance' (Grant Agreement n° 101038090).

ment in Portugal. Similarly, as the friars, the sisters established their convent with new buildings, equipment, books, and liturgical practices.

To illustrate this process, the last part of the article will explore the practices transmitted in the liturgical books, in particular various offices in honor of Mary and female saints. As can be seen, the objective here is not to compare the practices and repertoire with those of other houses or the entire order but instead to concentrate on the microcosm of Aveiro's convent and its chant repertoire.

Aveiro in historical context

The earliest mention of Aveiro,² located fifty kilometers southeast of Porto, is found in a donation charter, indicating that Countess Mumadona Dias donated “*terras alavario et salinas*” to the monastery of Guimarães in 959.³ In the eleventh century, in the wake of the Reconquest from the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula towards the south, the land around Aveiro became the domain of one of the most powerful noble families of the region, the Ribadouro family.⁴ Egas Moniz, a member of this family – who was first the tutor, then the principal personal and military advisor to the first Portuguese king Afonso I – created with his second wife

2 In the tenth century, the mouth of the river Vouga started to transform from a large bay into a lagoon and the river estuary continued to undergo significant changes from the fifteenth century onward, affecting the coastline. As a result, this territory started to get exploited for salt production. Maria da Conceição Freitas & César Freire de Andrade, ‘Evolução do litoral português nos últimos 5000 Anos: alguns exemplos’, *Almadan* 2:7 (1998), 64-70 and Rosário Bastos, *O Baixo Vouga em Tempos Medievos: do preâmbulo da Monarquia aos finais do reinado de D. Dinis*. PhD thesis (Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 2004).

3 Transl. ‘land of Alaveiro and salt flats’. Following da Rocha Madahil, the next steps in the evolution of the toponym were: ‘Alaveiro’ (1047), ‘Aaveiro’ (1131), and finally, the present name ‘Aveiro’ (1216). Its settlement and economic development were mainly connected to fishing and salt production that brought wealth to Aveiro, especially in the later Middle Ages, when the salt was exported to the Nordic countries. António Gomes da Rocha Madahil, ‘Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, doc. 1 da Coleção da Colegiada de Guimarães’, in: *Milenário d’Aveiro. Colectânea de Documentos Históricas*, v. 2 (Aveiro: Câmara Municipal de Aveiro, 1959), 1-6. See for a discussion of the name also Maria João Branco, *Aveiro Medieval* (Aveiro: Edição da Câmara Municipal de Aveiro 1991), 11-13.

4 The region between the Douro and Minho (Entre Douro e Minho), see *ibidem*, 13. To list only a few important members of this family connected to Aveiro: Monio Ermiges (1050-1107), his son Egas Moniz, tutor of Afonso Henriques, later his advisor when he became king Afonso I of Portugal (ca. 1080-1146), Teresa Afonso of Celanova, Egas’s wife (ca. 1111-1171), Mem Moniz (1075-1154) and Lourenço Viegas (ca. 1111-ca. 1160).

Teresa Afonso of Celanova a tight network of monastic communities.⁵ They either founded or financially supported several monastic communities in the wider area around Aveiro: three Benedictine monasteries,⁶ three houses of Regular Canons,⁷ and two Cistercian monasteries.⁸ The ensuing decline of the Ribadouro family in the thirteenth century was mainly due to the absence of male descendants which led to the dispersion of their property.⁹ During this entire period, we have no records of new monastic foundations in Aveiro itself or in its immediate vicinity; the city mainly evolved around the older Church of St Michael.¹⁰ In 1306, King Dinis I (1261-1325), grandson of Alfonso X of Castile brought the, now dispersed, former territories of the Ribadouro family under royal control.¹¹

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- 5 Especially women's convents were often founded by aristocratic or royal families, as places of familial *memoria*, and as appropriate locations for providing an education for the female family members. E. Ennen, *Frauen im Mittelalter* (Munich: C.H. Beck 1991), 75.
- 6 In Paço de Sousa (Cluniac since 1090, and which contains the grave monuments of Mem and Egas Moniz), see Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa et al., *Ordens Religiosas em Portugal, Das Origens a Trento – Guia Histórico*, 3rd ed. (Lisbon: Viros Horizonte, 2016), 53-54, and José Augusto de Sotto Mayor Pizarro, *Linhagens medievais Portuguesa, Genealogias e Estratégias (1279-1325)*, 3 Vols. (Porto: Centro de Estudos de Genealogia, 1997) I, 446; in Pendorada (Cluniac since 1080), see Vasconcelos e Sousa, *Ordens religiosas*, 63-64, and in Arouca (Benedictine since 1085/95), which was transformed into a double community under abbess Toda Viegas (1114-1154). Later, it became exclusively female. Sancho I passed Arouca's patronage to his daughter, D. Mafalda, who introduced the Cistercian customs in 1224 (approved by Pope Honorius III in 1226), see *ibidem*, 121-123.
- 7 In Tuias, founded by Egas Moniz and Teresa Afonso c. 1140, which was settled later on, in 1173, with Benedictine nuns, see Vasconcelos e Sousa, *Ordens religiosas*, 85; in Vila Boa do Bispo, probably founded by Monio Viegas' brother Sisnando between 999 and 1020: *ibidem*, 199 and in Cárquere, founded by Afonso Henriques in 1131, see Adelino de Almeida Calado (ed.), *Cronica de Portugal de 1419* (Aveiro: Universidade de Aveiro, 1998), 3-84.
- 8 The monastery in Tarouca was founded ca. 1110 as Benedictine and reformed in 1144. S. João was the first masculine Cistercian foundation in Portugal – see Vasconcelos e Sousa, *Ordens Religiosas*, 104-105 – and the monastery in Salzedas was donated by Teresa Afonso between 1152 and 1168. There were two monasteries called Salzedas (in Argeriz) and Salzedá; the latter was abandoned in the thirteenth century when a new abbey was constructed in Salzedas – see Maur Cocheril, *Routier des abbayes cisterciennes du Portugal* (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Centro Cultural Português, 1978), 95-109.
- 9 Sotto Mayor Pizarro, *Linhagens medievais*, 446.
- 10 Until the sixteenth century, Aveiro only consisted of the parish of St. Miguel with one main church, <https://digitarq.adavr.arquivos.pt/details?id=1082830> [last accessed: 05/02/2023].
- 11 The royal family participated in the development of salt production and trade in the fourteenth century, especially João's I son Pedro (1392-1449), who initiated the construction of Aveiro's first city walls. Branco, *Aveiro medieval*, 13.

The Portuguese royalty provided from the beginning protection and funding for the Dominican order, and, over time, they strengthened their legitimacy through the foundation of Dominican monasteries. Moreover, they became an active supporter of Observant reforms of the existing Franciscan and Dominican communities in the fifteenth century.¹² A case in point are the policies of King João I, who politically and financially supported the development of the Dominican order in his realm,¹³ which included support for the onset of the Observant reforms.¹⁴ On top of this, he was actively involved with the process of creating a Portuguese Dominican Province, which was formed in 1418.¹⁵

A total of twelve Dominican monasteries were founded in Portugal in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; only three of these were female convents (São Domingos das Donas in Santarém, Corpus Christi in Vila Nova de Gaia near Porto, and São Salvador in Lisbon).¹⁶

12 Ana Maria S. de Almeida Rodrigues, 'The Crown, the Court and Monastic Reform in Medieval Portugal. A Gendered Approach', in: *Queens, Princesses and Mendicants. Close Relations in a European Perspective*, Vita regularis - Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter, ed. Nikolas Jaspert and Imke Just (Leipzig: LIT Verlag, 2019), 53.

13 For instance, by donating Batalha and Benfca to the Dominicans and by financing their construction. Saul António Gomes, *O mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitoria no seculo XV* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1990), 3-34.

14 The Observant reform in Portugal was influenced by the ideas of Raymond of Capua and supported by the Roman papacy. See Cardoso, 'Unveiling Female Observance: Reform, regulation and the rise of Dominican nunneries in late medieval Portugal', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 12:3 (2020), 367a, and Rodrigues, 'The Crown', 56. For a more general view, see Sylvie Duval, *Comme des Anges sur terre, les moniales dominicaines et les débuts de la reforme observante* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2015), 77-80, 99.

15 Saul António Gomes, 'Os Dominicanos e a Cultura Em Tempos Medievais: O Caso Português', *Biblos, Revista Da Faculdade de Letras Da Universidade de Coimbra* 7 (2009), 264-266.

16 Kristin Hoefener, 'Women writing for the liturgy: manuscripts from the Jesus Convent in Aveiro (1476-1529)', in: *Culture and music in the Iberian Peninsula (c. 1100-c.1650) / Cultura y música en la península ibérica (c.1100-c.1650)*, Iberian Early Music Studies 6, ed. Eva Esteve, John Griffith and Francisco Rodilla (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2022), 85.

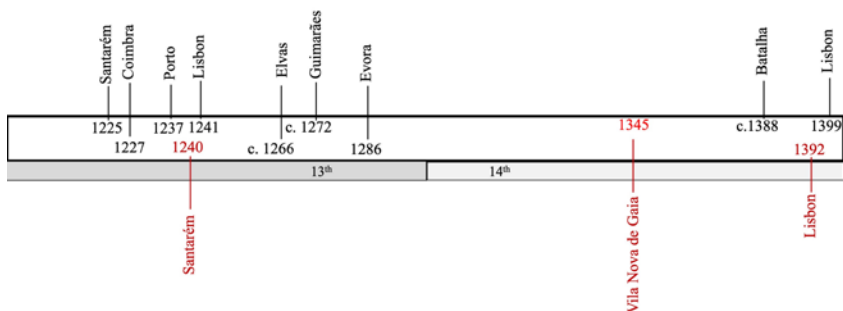


Fig. 1: Dominican foundations in Portugal (thirteenth-fourteenth c., women’s convents in red)

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, during the period of Observant reform, there was a significant increase in the number of foundations of Dominican convents, twenty-two in total, including twelve additional female Dominican houses.¹⁷

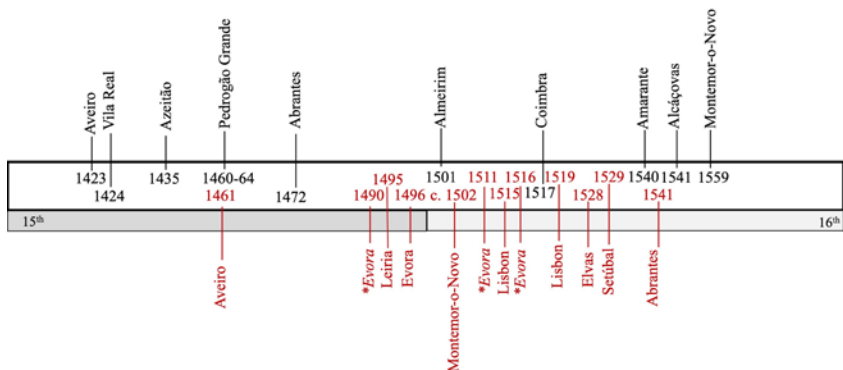


Fig 2: Dominican foundations in Portugal (fifteenth-sixteenth c.)

The Portuguese Dominicans began to join the Observant reform movement at the end of the fourteenth century, starting with the friary São Domingos de Benfca in Lisbon in 1399 (fig. 1). Among the three oldest

17 Nine (5 for friars and 4 for nuns) Dominican monasteries were founded in the fifteenth and 13 (5 for friars and 8 for nuns) in the sixteenth century. Evora’s convents, marked with an * merged in 1516. Hoefener, ‘Women writing for the liturgy’, 86-90.

female houses, São Salvador in Lisbon, founded in 1392, was the first attempt of a female community to affiliate itself with the Observance in the 1430s, but then it gave up and returned to its previous state.¹⁸ The implementation of the reform process in Portugal was a long and challenging process that continued until the middle of the sixteenth century.¹⁹

Aveiro's first Dominican monastery, the friars' Nossa Senhora da Misericórdia, was founded as a reformed house by Pedro, Duke of Coimbra, in 1423.²⁰ In the following years, the patronage was passed on from Pedro to his brother Duarte and then to Duarte's son who later became king Afonso V of Portugal. When the new female Convent of Jesus was created in the immediate vicinity of Nossa Senhora da Misericórdia, they similarly implemented the Observant reform from the beginning and benefitted from patronage of noble families, both local and royal.

Aveiro's Convent of Jesus during the foundation period

A small group of noblewomen, including Mecia Pereira and Beatriz de Leitão,²¹ were instrumental in the creation of a religious community in Aveiro in 1458,²² which eventually evolved into the Convent of Jesus, receiving papal approval from Pope Pius II in 1461.²³ Not long after that, in 1472, Princess Joana, daughter of the royal couple Afonso V and his first wife Isabella of Coimbra, joined the Convent of Jesus in Aveiro as an

18 Paula Cardoso, *Art, Reform and Female Agency in the Portuguese Dominican Nunneries: Nuns as Producers and Patrons of Illuminated Manuscripts (c. 1460-1560)*, PhD thesis (University Nova Lisbon, 2019), 46.

19 Cardoso, *Art, Reform*, 45 and idem, 'Unveiling female observance', 367-370.

20 The monastery was first called Nossa Senhora da Piedade but rapidly changed its patronage into Nossa Senhora da Misericórdia, to distinguish the monastery from that of Azeitão with the same name. Vasconcelos e Sousa, *Ordens Religiosas*, 388.

21 Beatriz was married to Diogo de Ataíde and they served together under Prince Pedro and Isabella of Urgell before she retired as a widow with her daughters to Aveiro.

22 Aveiro was then governed by, among others, count Sancho of Noronha (?-1471), married to Mecia de Sousa. Branco, *Aveiro medieval*, 14, Rodrigues, 'The Crown', 53, 59, and Vasconcelos e Sousa, *Ordens Religiosas*, 397.

23 Vasconcelos e Sousa, *Ordens Religiosas*, 397. There is also an argument for 1465, because only then did the first sisters make their profession, followed by the cloistering ceremony. See for the discussion about the date Cardoso, *Art, Reform*, 45.

‘associated’ sister while living near the monastery.²⁴ In 1485, King João II granted Joana the administration of the town of Aveiro, which included the reception of several donations, and which generated an income that also benefitted the convent’s further development.²⁵

Under prioress Maria de Ataíde (1482-1525), the convent became a thriving community. During the entire period of the foundation and the establishment of the Observant reform, the Convent of Jesus had a flourishing scriptorium where the sisters copied and illuminated liturgical manuscripts for their own use.²⁶



Fig. 3: Aveiro, Convent of Jesus, view from the upper liturgical choir (photo by the author).

24 Joana was born in 1451 and served as regent for her father in 1471. However, she was not allowed to take her vows, because her family would not let her become a fully professed nun in view of potential foreign marriage alliances. Rodriguez, ‘The Crown’, 60.

25 Rodriguez, ‘The Crown’, 61, and António Gomes da Rocha Madahil, *Princesa Santa Joana. Do senhorio temporal da vila ao padroado espiritual da cidade e da diocese de Aveiro* (Aveiro: Arquivo do Distrito de Aveiro, 1996), 7-8.

26 On their manuscript production, see Cardoso, *Art, Reform*, 103-108.

Both Felix Heinzer and Werner Williams-Krapp have pointed out the correlation between religious reforms and the use and production of books in the Middle Ages.²⁷ This can also be observed in Aveiro's Convent of Jesus, which had an outstanding literary culture, and where most of the sisters were trained in copying and using liturgical books.²⁸ In the convent's constitutions, written between 1510-1529 by *freyra* Margarida Pinheyra, we can see that some of the sisters were probably familiar with both Latin and Portuguese, although it remains difficult to determine 'the form and degree of Latin fluency'.²⁹ The Augustinian rule, for instance, which is included in the constitutions' manuscript on f. 1r-84r, was written in Latin with a Portuguese glossary, whereas the rules of professions were entirely in Portuguese (*modo de fazer profizam*).³⁰ The book culture of the foundational period, when everything there was new – sisters, buildings, relics, artworks, and, of course, books – reveals also the convent's Observant profile. The quasi-serial production of books, as for instance Aveiro's processionaries for their own convent or for others, is one of such typical features.³¹

Do the liturgy and the chant repertoire reflect this newness and provide indications about distinctive characteristics of the Observant movement? In her study on German Observant convents, Claire Taylor Jones has drawn attention to the problems of liturgical Observance, the main

27 See, more generally, Felix Heinzer, 'Exercitium scribendi – Überlegungen zur Frage einer Korrelation zwischen geistlicher Reform und Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter' in: *Die Präsenz des Mittelalters in seinen Handschriften*, ed. Hans-Jochen Schiewer (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2002), 175, and more specifically linked to the Observant reform Werner Williams-Krapp, 'Observanzbewegungen, monastische Spiritualität und geistliche Literatur im 15. Jahrhundert', *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 20:1 (1995), 1-2. Even more specifically on Observant reforms and the production of liturgical and devotional books in Italy and Spain, see Mercedes Pérez Vidal, 'Compline and its Processions in the Context of Castilian Dominican Nunneries', in: *Life and Religion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 254.

28 Werner Williams-Krapp, *Die Literatur des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, Teilband 1: *Modelle literarischer Interessenbildung* (Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2022), 13-18, as well as Cardoso, *Art, Reform*, 84-86, and idem 'Unveiling female observance', 376.

29 Claire Taylor Jones, *Ruling the Spirit: Women, Liturgy and Dominican Reform in Late Medieval Germany* (Philadelphia: PENN, 2018), 75. Jones speaks here about the use of German in sister-books, but the parallel is valid as well for the Portuguese convent in Aveiro.

30 Museum of Aveiro, COD 18, f. 161v: 'Este lyvro da regra e constitucoens. Estorya de nosso padre sancto Agostinho. he do mosteiro de Ihesu. Escreveo a Marguarida Pinheyra freyra do dito convento et mosteiro.'

31 Michel Huglo, 'Production en série de livres liturgiques. L'exemple des processionnaires datés d'Aveiro', *Gazette du Livre médiéval* 47 (2005), 14-20, and more generally Williams-Krapp, *Die Literatur*, 15-18.

issue being the regular attendance of the hours in the choir.³² In early Dominican monasteries, male and female communities had distinct liturgical practices,³³ but how did this change in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries? Others, like Paula Cardoso, have pointed to the ideals of strict late medieval Observant rules and vows of poverty, a truly communal life, the strict enclosure of nuns, and the standardization of the liturgy. The main concern here is the standardization.

Liturgy and chant repertoire in the Convent of Jesus

The liturgical practices as reflected in the written chant sources will be addressed in the following. As the convent discussed here implemented the Observant reform right at its foundation, the chant books from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were produced for the daily use in this formative period. Seventeen liturgical chant books from this time period have survived in the convent's library: six antiphonaries, two graduals, seven processionaries, and two breviaries.³⁴

- Antiphonaries: Museum of Aveiro ANTF 23-25 (1482-1500), ANTF 26 (1488), ANTF 27 (1480-1490) and ANTF 29 (1482-1525).
- Graduals: Museum of Aveiro ANTF 28 (1480-1490) and ANTF 31 (1476-1500).
- Processionaries: Museum of Aveiro ANTF 4 (1489), ANTF 8-9 (1489), ANTF 19 (1489), ANTF 38 (1480), ANTF 39 (1489) and ANTF 40 (1480-82).
- Breviaries: Museum of Aveiro ANTF 34 (1476-1525) and ANTF 35 (1478).

32 Jones, *Ruling the Spirit*, 88.

33 Kristin Hoefener, 'Salve regina in late medieval Dominican communities', in: *Marian Devotion in the Late Middle Ages: Image and Performance*, ed. Andrea-Bianka Znorovszky and Gerhard Jaritz (Milton Park: Routledge, 2022), 106-109.

34 Other liturgical sources from the Convent of Jesus are to be found in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal in Lisbon. Although Costa recounted eleven liturgical sources from Aveiro (CD1-11), the shelfmarks have been changed recently. Armenio da Costa Junior, *Mosteiro de Jesus de Aveiro. Tesouros musicais: ofícios rimados e sequências nos códices quatrocentistas*, PhD thesis (Aveiro: University Aveiro, 1996).

The oldest books are two breviaries and the temporal part of the gradual (31), which were probably written in the 1470s. The sanctoral part (28) can be dated to the 1480s. The six antiphonaries can be seen as an ensemble produced roughly between 1480 and 1500. ANTF 23-25 are temporals and form an ensemble that was written between 1482 and 1500 by the prioress Maria de Ataíde herself.³⁵ ANTF 26 (Summer part), 27 (Winter part) and 29 (Commune sanctorum and diverse saints' feasts) form the sanctoral part; they were probably written in the 1480s, although 29 cannot be dated precisely. Maria de Ataíde was identified as scribe for sanctorals 26 and 27; ANTF 26 was co-written with the mistress of novices, Isabel Luís.³⁶

The relatively large number of processionaries from the 1480s underlines the considerable book culture and production in the Convent of Jesus under Maria de Ataíde, especially during the period of Princess Joana's patronage.³⁷ The serial production of books – intended to be carried in several copies during processions – was one of the characteristics of the transmission of the Observant reform.³⁸ Two processionaries were copied around 1480, one of them by Leonor de Menezes (ANTF 40). Four processionaries (ANTF 8, 19, 4 and 39) were copied in 1489 by Isabel Luís, one every five to eight weeks, which gives us an indication of how long it took for a dedicated scribe in a monastic context to complete a liturgical book of this kind.³⁹ Another book (ANTF 9) by sister Isabel Luís cannot be precisely dated; but was most probably produced in that time period. The series of dated processionaries copied by Isabel Luís and ANTF 9 have almost identical content, but the layout of the chants and pages is dissim-

35 The scribes from the Convent of Jesus have been studied by Paula Cardoso. See Cardoso, *Art, Reform*, 195 and also Gilberto Coralejo Moiteiro, *As dominicanas de Aveiro (c. 1450-1525): Memória e identidade de uma comunidade textual*, PhD thesis (Lisbon: University Nova, 2013).

36 Cardoso, 'Unveiling female observance', 376.

37 Solange Corbin, *Essai sur la musique religieuse portugaise au Moyen Age (1100-1385)* (Paris: Les Belles-Lettres, 1952); and Huglo, 'Production en série', 14-20.

38 Williams-Krapp calls this period "the end of the scriptographic era", Williams-Krapp, *Die Literatur*, 13. Nevertheless, the era of handwriting continued much longer for liturgical books, often into the seventeenth century. Kristin Hoefener, 'Beatissimus Eucharius: Ein Eucharius-offizium des 17. Jahrhunderts aus St. Matthias in Trier', in: *Digitale Rekonstruktionen mittelalterlicher Bibliotheken*, ed. Sabine Philippi and Phillip Vanscheidt, Trierer Beiträge zu den Historischen Kulturwissenschaften (Wiesbaden: Reichert 2014), 99-117.

39 ANTF 8 is dated June 22, ANTF 19 August 6, ANTF 4 September 18, ANTF 39 November 28.

ilar, the shift increased with the number of pages. Moreover, ANTF 9 has some additional chants on f. 113r-118v.

The important number of processions illustrates the particular importance of processions in this Observant convent, often linked to occasions for celebrating the Virgin Mary and taking place at the margins of the liturgical hours, such as the Office for the Virgin before Matins (or between other hours), the *Salve regina* procession after Compline, or the commemoration of the Blessed Virgin on Saturdays.⁴⁰ Mercedes Pérez Vidal has argued that in Castilian nunneries processions in general were not only carried out in the church or the liturgical choir, but also in other chapels situated elsewhere in the cloister, outside the church.⁴¹ Even if the practice of virtual Jerusalem pilgrimage is not something the sisters engaged in,⁴² perambulating through altars or shrines of important saints for earning indulgences or deepen their spirituality seems to have been part of the intensification of religious life in Dominican Observant convents. In the Convent of Jesus, the sisters likewise added more and more chapels for processions and devotional practices behind the liturgical upper choir and throughout the entire cloister. There is for instance a chapel of Our Lady of Conception right behind the upper choir with several niches holding statues of saints Anthony of Padua, Francis of Assisi, Pedro of Taboiera, Sebastian and Cordula (**fig. 4**) as well as two paintings of St. Gerald of Braga and Mary Magdalene flanking the main altar.⁴³ The presence of these material objects provides indications about the specific devotional practices in the Convent of Jesus.

Indeed, the chant repertoire and potential local features can be linked to the veneration of specific female saints. It could also be claimed that the feast calendar and resulting chant practice are strongly connected to

40 This procession could also be held on Sundays after Compline, as described for Santo Domingo de Lekeitio. See Mercedes Pérez Vidal, 'La liturgia procesional de Completas en el ámbito de los monasterios femeninos de la Orden de Predicadores en Castilla', *Hispania Sacra* 69:139 (2017), 81-99.

41 Pérez Vidal, 'Compline', 265-72.

42 Kathryn M. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimage in the Convent. Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout : Brepols, 2011).

43 The chapel and its decoration can be dated to the second half of the seventeenth century. I want to thank José Antonio Cristo and the curators of the Museum of Aveiro for the opportunity to study the manuscripts and the conventual space during my research in November 2021 and for our most stimulating discussions.

conventual space and its use for liturgical and devotional practices. In fact, new cults led to the importation, compilation, or new composition of either offices or particular chants.

Which feasts in the new manuscripts occupy a special place within the liturgy of Aveiro's sisters? As significant patron figures or other local saints were celebrated in representative and non-standard liturgical feasts, this can be seen particularly well in the sanctorale part of the antiphoners such as ANTF 26, 27 and partly 29. In what follows, some observations will be made about Marian offices and other offices in honor of female saints from these sources.

As Dominicans have always defined themselves as being protected by the Virgin Mary,⁴⁴ this veneration is clearly reflected in their liturgical calendar. The earliest Dominican calendar, which is very similar to the Roman calendar,⁴⁵ comprises the following Marian feasts: Purification on February 2, Annunciation (initially known as *Annuntiatio Dominica*) on March 25,⁴⁶ Assumption on August 15, Nativity on September 8, and, from the fourteenth century onwards, Visitation on July 2 and Sanctification (with an octave *simplex*) on December 8.⁴⁷ The feast of the Sanctification,⁴⁸ the Dominican version of the feast of the Conception, can for instance be found in an early Portuguese source from 1320 in the diocese

44 Hoefener, 'Salve regina', 106-25.

45 See William R. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy, 1215-1945* (New York: J. F. Wagner, 1945), 227.

46 All these feasts were *totum duplex* (the highest rank). Assumption and Nativity had an octave *simplex*.

47 After a dispute, the Dominicans chose to call the feast *Immaculata Conceptio Mariae* rather than *Sanctificatio Marie Virginis*, defending the theological thesis of Mary's release from original sin only after Anna's conception. Based on Thomas Aquinas's response in his *Summa*, they put forward the explanation of the Sanctification before Mary's birth while still in the womb. Ulrich Horst, *Dogma und Theologie. Dominikanertheologen in den Kontroversen um die Immaculata Conceptio*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens, NF 16 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 4-18 and Bonniwell, *A History*, 227-231.

48 The feast of the Sanctification was present in England from the eleventh century and was introduced in France in the twelfth century, with the Vespers cycle *Gaude mater ecclesia*. The earliest notated version is found in the twelfth-century manuscript Annecy, Grand séminaire, MS without shelf mark, f. 1v. See the very thorough study of the situation in France by Marie-Bénédicte Dary, 'Saint Bernard et l'immaculée conception: la question liturgique', *Revue Mabillon*, n.s. 13 (= 74) (2002), 220-225, as well as Solange Corbin, 'Miracula Beatae Mariae semper Virginis', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 10 (1967), 418.

of Coimbra.⁴⁹ The following Marian offices are present in Aveiro's antiphoners:

The office for Assumption (ANTF 26, f. 70r-80v)

Vespers: A *Tota pulchra es amica* (5162)⁵⁰ and AM *Ascendit Christus super celos* (0374)

Matins: A1 *Exaltata es sancta Dei genitrix* (2762) and R1 *Vidi speciosam* (7878)

Lauds: A1 *Assumpta est Maria* (1503)

The chants for the feast of the Assumption in ANTF 26 are the common chants for this feast, and their melodies present only minor variants. In this manuscript, the feast is decorated with three illuminations (dated to 1488) by Isabel Luís in the lower margin, showing a group of three scenes: the Dormition of the Virgin, The Virgin's tomb, and the Assumption.⁵¹

The office for Nativity (ANTF 26, f. 93-102r)

Vespers: AM *Hec est regina virginum* (3002)

Matins: A1 *Ecce tu pulchra es amica mea* (2547) and R1 *Hodie nata est beata virgo* (6854)

Lauds: A1 *Nativitas gloriose virginis* (3850)

The chants for the Nativity are the common chants for this feast, including their melodies. They share the same material with the Assumption for Matins, the antiphons A4-6 of the second nocturne: *Emissiones tue paradisi*, *Fons ortorum puteus* and *Veniat dilectus meus*.

The office for Conception (ANTF 27, f. 14r-22r)

The feast's rubric says *In festo conceptionis beatissime virginis Marie* instead of the older denomination *Sanctificatio*. Looking at the date of this antiphoner – between 1480 and 1490 – this coincides exactly with the period of 1481-84, when Dominican regulations followed for a short period

49 Cardoso 'Unveiling female observance', 377. The cycle was also in use for the feast of the Conception in Braga (Braga, Arquivo da Sé, Ms. 028, f. 221v, 16th c.).

50 This and the following are CANTUS ID numbers, see <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/>.

51 See for her detailed study of the illuminations of ANTF 26 Cardoso, *Art, Reform*, 197-200.

the doctrine of the Immaculate conception,⁵² and this would explain the divergent office cycle for the feast.⁵³

Vespers: A *Exultet plebs fidelium* and AM *O mater egregium*

Matins: A1 *Adest lectus floridus* and R1 *Novum tabernaculum*

Lauds: A1 *Orbem terre Dominus*

The chants for this feast have only been attested in two sources from Aveiro (Aveiro ANT 27 and BNP LC 140) and in an antiphoner from the Convent Paraiso in Evora.⁵⁴ It is likely that Evora's antiphoner was imported from Aveiro. As Solange Corbin mentions, the melodies are compiled from other Dominican offices.⁵⁵

The office for the Purification (ANTF 27, f. 82r-92r)

Vespers: A *O admirabile commercium* (3985) Prosa *Inviolata* for R *Gaude Maria* (6759) and AM *Cum inducerent puerum Iesum* (2011)

Matins: A1 *Benedicta tu in mulieribus* (1709) and R1 *Adorna thalamum* (6051)

Lauds: A1 *Symeon iustus et timoratus* (4951)

The chants for the Purification are the common chants for this feast, including their melodies.

52 After 1484 they returned to their previous, non-immaculist position. Cardoso, *Art, Reform*, 60. Another indication of the specific celebration of the feast of the Conception, maybe even outside the time slot of 1481-1484, could be the inscription 'Maria concebida sem pecado' on a fifteenth-century fountain in Aveiro, mentioned by Domingos Mauricio dos Santos, *O mosteiro de Jesus de Aveiro*, Publicações Culturais 65, 2 Vols. (Lisbon: Public. Culturais, 1963) I, 58-59.

53 Solange Corbin, 'L'office de La Conception de La Vierge: À Propos d'un Manuscrit Du XVème siècle, du Monastère Dominicain d'Aveiro, Portugal', *Bulletin Des Études Portugaises* 13 (1949), 53.

54 For Solange Corbin, *ibidem*, 49-51, the chants were *unica*. Costa Júnior was able to identify the same office in the antiphoner BNP, LC 140, f. 153v. Costa Júnior, *Mosteiro de Jesus*, 146-149. See also Cardoso, *Art, Reform*, 59-61.

55 Corbin, 'L'office de La Conception', 55.

The office for Annunciation (ANTF 27, f. 110r-119r)

The feast's rubric says *In annunciatione dominica*.

Vespers: A *Ave Maria gratia* (1539) and AM *Orietur sicut sol* (4195)

Matins: A1 *Ecce virgo* (incipit) and R1 *Missus est Gabriel* (7170)

Lauds: A1 *Missus est Gabriel angelus* (3794)

The chants for Annunciation are the common chants for this feast, including their melodies.

The office of the Presentation (ANTF 29, f. 108v)

The feast's rubric says *In festo presentationis beatissime virginis Marie*; it is a fragment that starts with the Vespers antiphon *Fons hortorum redundans gratia* (missing the end).

Other Feasts for female saints in the sanctoral parts of these antiphoners are for the Eleven Thousand Virgins (ANTF 26, f. 118v-128r), St. Cecilia (ANTF 26, f. 156r-165v), St. Catherine (ANTF 26, f. 169v-174v, ANTF 29, f. 82v-86r), St. Lucy (ANTF 27, f. 22r-24r; ANTF 29, f. 67r-68v, add. f. 119r), St. Agnes (ANTF 27, f. 48r-55v), St. Agatha (ANTF 27, f. 92r-100v), as well as St. Caterina of Siena (ANTF 27, f. 143v-148v, 162r-163r) and St. Elisabeth (ANTF 29, f. 86r-90r). Those of St. Caterina of Siena and the Eleven Thousand Virgins will be briefly examined next.

The office of St. Caterina of Siena (ANTF 27, f. 143v-148v)

The St. Caterina office starts with the rubric *Sancte Katherine de Senis officium a papa Pio secondo editum* and the Vespers antiphon *Inmortali laude Catherina virgo senensis*. Following her hagiographer, Raimondo of Capua,⁵⁶ Caterina of Siena (1347-1380) joined 1363 a lay group of Dominican *mantellatae* and became a leading figure in the "observant dynamic

56 Raimondo of Capua, *Vita S. Catharinae Senensis, Acta Sanctorum III Aprilis 30* (Antwerp: Société des Bollandistes, 1675), col. 853a-959b, and for an English translation, see *The Life of Catherine of Siena by Raymond of Capua*, ed. & trans. Conleth Kearns (Wilmington: Glazier, 1980).

of (re)creating tradition”.⁵⁷ St. Caterina’s writings and the actions of her disciples were an inspiration for the Observant reform, especially in female houses of the Dominican order, which considered her a spiritual mother and themselves as heiresses of St. Dominic’s spirituality.⁵⁸ St. Caterina’s vita spread very quickly from Italy to other Dominican provinces like Teutonia.⁵⁹ Shortly after her canonization in 1461 by Pope Pius II, Caterina of Siena’s cult was formed.⁶⁰ The feast and the office *Inmortali laude*, whose authorship can be attributed to Tommaso Schifaldi,⁶¹ were approved by the Dominican general chapter in 1473.⁶²

Aveiro’s convent was founded in the year of Caterina’s canonization and started producing manuscripts in its scriptorium in the 1470s. The antiphoner ANTF 27 can be dated between 1480 and 1490 when Caterina’s feast was relatively new to the order. So, the recording of the liturgical office *Inmortali laude* shows a difficulty in the reordering and selection of chants typical of early transmission periods:⁶³

57 Alison More, ‘Dynamics of Regulation, Innovation, and Invention’, in *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, ed. James D. Mixson and Bert Roest (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 88.

58 Claire Taylor Jones, ‘Catherine of Siena as a Creative Impulse for the German Dominican Observance. The Vita, the Third Order, and the Liturgy’, in *Kreative Impulse und Innovationsleistungen religiöser Gemeinschaften im mittelalterlichen Europa*, ed. Julia Becker and Julia Burkhardt (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2021), 111.

59 Anne Huijbers, *Zealots for Souls: Dominican Narratives of Self-Understanding during Observant reforms, C. 1388-1517*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 208.

60 Pope Pius II is mentioned as the author of three hymns in honor of St. Caterina. Giuseppe Bernetti, ‘S. Caterina negli scritti di Pio II’, *Caterina di Siena* 18:1 (1967), 16-20. See also the article by Joan Barclay Lloyd, ‘St. Catherine of Siena’s tomb and its place in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome: Narration, Translation and veneration’, *Papers of the British School at Rome* 83 (2015), 134. Caterina of Siena was declared *doctor ecclesiae* in 1970 by Pope Paul VI, together with Theresa of Avila. Duval, *Comme des Anges*, 77 and 105.

61 Claire Taylor Jones, ‘Catherine of Siena as a Creative Impulse for the German Dominican Observance. The Vita, the Third Order, and the Liturgy’, in *Kreative Impulse und Innovationsleistungen religiöser Gemeinschaften im mittelalterlichen Europa*, ed. Julia Becker and Julia Burkhardt (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2021), 112.

62 See the discussion of the date of the April 29 feast (the feast of Peter Martyr falls on the same day) and its moveable nature (first Sunday in May), *ibidem*, 129.

63 See for the study on the transmission of the office *Inmortali laudes* *ibidem*, 128-149.

	Aveiro, Mun. Museum ANTF 27	Additions ANTF 27	Complete office
	FIRST VESPERS		
V1A	Inmortali laude Catherina virgo senensis		Inmortali laude Katherina
V1AM	Virginis Catherine hec dies		Virginis Katherine hec dies
	MATINS		
MI	Christum regem regum		Christum regem regum
MA1	Admirabilem Dei nostri		Admirabilem Dei nostri
MA2	Misericordia		Misericordia
MA3	Christianos quidem		Christianos quidem
MR1	Katherina virgo ⁶⁴	Nihil huic virgini	Katherina virgo
MR2	Virtutis ac eternum	Sapientia atque	Virtutis ac eternum
MR3	Summis enim virgo	Vitam Catherine	Summis est enim
MA4	-		Mirificam virginis
MA5	-		Vulnerum enim
MA6	-		Perpetue laudi
MR4	-		Divina hec virgo
MR5	-		Felix ea virgo
MR6	-		Preconia tuarum
MA7	-		Nulla unquam
MA8	-		Semper sancte
MA9	-		Eternum hec virgo
MR7	-		Nihil huic virgini
MR8	-		Sapientia atque
MR9	-		Vitam Katherine

64 The three following responsories (MR1-3) were barred. MR1 is annotated in the lower margin with 'Responsórios estão no fim deste liuro' [responsories are at the end of this book]. Indeed, one can find on folios 162r-163r the three notated responsories: *Nihil huic virgini*, *Sapientia atque doctrina* and *Vitam Catherine innocentissimam miracula illa*.

	Aveiro, Mun. Museum ANTF 27	Additions ANTF 27	Complete office
	LAUDS		
LA1	Omnipotenti virgo		Omnipotenti virgo
LA2	Exaltabunda celi		Exaltabunda celi
LA3	Divinis namque		Divinis namque
LA4	Rerum omnium		Rerum omnium
LA5	Laudavit Catherina		Laudavit Katherina
LAB	Maxima est Catherina		Maxima est Katherina
	SECOND VESPERS		
V2AM	O virgo maxima		O virgo maxima
	LAUDS/VESPER (octave)		
LAB	Det Catherina frui nos		Det Katherina frui nos
VAM	-		Ad sedes regni

Table 1: Text incipits of the office *Immortali laude* (Aveiro ANTF 27 and other sources after Jones).

Nearly everywhere Caterina of Siena's cult was closely intertwined with the promotion of Observant reforms.⁶⁵ As in many other places, the original office was shortened to only one nocturn for Matins in Aveiro in order to not overcharge the liturgical Eastertime. Several of the melodies were identified by Terry Brown as borrowings from offices for Peter Martyr, Thomas Aquinas and Vincent Ferrer.⁶⁶

The office for St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins (ANTF 26, f. 118v-128r)

A final example consists of St. Ursula's office *O felix Germania*, named after the Magnificat antiphon from the First Vespers, which is transmitted in one antiphoner. The office for the Feast of St. Ursula on October 21 is notated under the rubric *In festo undecim millium virginum* and it starts

65 Raimondo of Capua, *Vita S. Catharinae Senensis*, 244.

66 Terry Brown, *Songs for the Saints of the Schism, Liturgies for Vincent Ferrer and Catherine of Siena*, PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1995, 72-75.

with the antiphon for Vespers *O quam pulcra virginum* (4069). This antiphon is borrowed from the virgins' common. The office continues with more specific chants, which are explored below. St. Ursula and her companions form a group of saints whose cult spread mainly via monastic communities and was closely related to the massive excavations of relics carried out between 1155 and 1164 in Cologne.⁶⁷ In the thirteenth century, the Dominicans promoted the cult not only through material relics but also via an abundant hagiographic production. These texts were mainly destined to be read or sung during Matins or in the refectory on the feast day of a saint or a group of saints. Dominican authors such as Jean of Mailly, Vincent of Beauvais, Barthelemy of Trent, and Roderic of Cerano all contributed hagiographic texts to Cologne's cult of Eleven Thousand Virgins.⁶⁸ The cult of Cologne's virgins is documented in Aveiro above all by the presence of a liturgical office in the main part of the antiphoner ANTF 26. Another indication is to be found in a Ritual from Aveiro (COD 15, written in 1491), where *Sancta Ursula et sodalibus* are named at the end of a litany on f. 30r-32v. The existence of their relics in Aveiro is not documented; however, it is most likely. Indeed, in the chapel of 'Our Lady of Conception' right behind the monastery's upper choir, is displayed a sculpture of St. Cordula, one of Ursula's companions (**fig. 4**).⁶⁹ So, it could be argued that Cordula's relics must have been present in the convent, possibly at the time of the foundation, when the office was copied in the antiphoner.

67 Kristin Hoefener, 'From St Pinnosa to St Ursula - The Development of the Cult of Cologne's Virgins in Medieval Liturgical Offices', in *The Cult of St Ursula*, ed. Jane Cartwright (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2016), 61-91, and more recently Kristin Hoefener, *Kultgeschichte als Musikgeschichte: Offizienzyklen zu Ehren der heiligen Ursula und der elftausend Kölner Jungfrauen* (Paderborn: Schöningh/Brill, 2022), 1-37.

68 Jacobus of Voragine's *Golden Legend* (1264-67) was the best known and most widely disseminated text that comprised a detailed life of the eleven thousand virgins. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. and comm. Rainer Nickel (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1988), 269; Alain Bourreau, *La Légende Dorée*, (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 2004), and Barbara Fleith, *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinischen Legenda Aurea* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1991), as well as the critical edition Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998).

69 Cordula has been venerated as Ursula's companion starting from the thirteenth century. Gertrud Wegener, 'Der Ordinarius des Stiftes St. Ursula in Köln', in *Aus Kölnischer und Rheinischer Geschichte* (Köln: Verlag der Buchhandlung H. Wamper, 1969), 131.



Fig. 4: Aveiro, Convent of Jesus, St. Cordula statue, 17th c. (photo of the author).

The office in honor of the Eleven Thousand Virgins *O felix Germania* was created in the thirteenth century and is transmitted in numerous liturgical manuscripts of Cistercian origin.⁷⁰ Its compilation from the older cycle and the addition to the liturgical books in Aveiro display the effort to enrich the liturgy here during the Observant reform of the fifteenth century. Narrative passages and laudations alternate in the texts of this liturgical office. Twenty-five of the texts for Vespers, Matins and Lauds are versified; the antiphon of the Magnificat *O flos campi* is in prose. The cycle *O felix*

70 For the critical edition and analysis see Hoefener, *Kultgeschichte als Musikgeschichte*, 213-248, 352-367, 415-439 and for a text analysis idem 'O felix Germania: un office liturgique cistercien en l'honneur des vierges de Cologne. Étude des interrelations entre textes et melodies', *Textus & Musica* 3 (2021), 8-14.

Germania is freely inspired by the prose passion *Regnante Domino* (IV, 22) when it brings together the glorification of the heavenly Jerusalem, Britannia, Germania, Rome, and Cologne.⁷¹ Only the opening antiphon and the chants for the little hours Terce, Sext, and None are chants from the common of virgins with texts borrowed from Matthew 25 (Table 2, right column, marked in grey). The following table shows the text incipits of the Cistercian version (13th c.) and the shorter version from Aveiro:

	Morimondo Paris, BnF n.a.l. 1412 13 th c.	Aveiro, Municipal Museum ANTF 26 15 th c.
	FIRST VESPERS	
V1A	-	O quam pulcra virginum casta
V1R	O felices hostium virginum casta	O felices
V1AM	O felix Germania	O felix Germania tam decoro
	MATINS	
M I	Regem virginum Dominum	Regem regum Dominum
MA1	Nova bella virginum dominus elegit	Nova bella virginum dominus elegit
MA2	Pugnant sexu fragiles	Pugnant sexu fragiles
MA3	Beata milicia	Fortiores hostibus femine
MA4	Non armis sed animis	-
MA5	Fortiores hostibus	-
MA6	Unus enim spiritus	-
MR1	Deonoto fuit nata	Regi Noto fuit nata
MR2	Virgo desiderium	Virgo desiderium
MR3	Dum statutum nuptiis	Dum statutum nuptiis
MR4	Apparatu navium	-
MA7	Sponsi currit in odore	Sponsi currit in odore
MA8	Ut rose tot milia	Ut rose tot milia
MA9	His celestis paradisus	Hiis celestis paradisus

71 The passion *Regnante domino* was written ca. 1100. See the edition in Joseph Klinkenberg, 'Studien zur Geschichte der Kölner Märtyrerinnen', *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande* (1889), 79-95, (1890), 105-134 and (1892), 130-179, and the list of manuscripts in Wilhelm Levison, 'Das Werden der Ursula-Legende', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 132 (1927), 90-98.

	Morimondo Paris, BnF n.a.l. 1412 13th c.	Aveiro, Municipal Museum ANTF 26 15th c.
MA10	Digne gaudent homines	-
MA11	Iste regi glorie	-
MA12	Que dum piis	-
MR5	Visionis Ursule	Visionis Ursule
MR6	Opportuni temporis	Opportuni temporis
MR7	Navigantes inde sursum	Isti flores hodie
MR8	Sanctis Rome visitatis	-
MA13	Gaudeat ecclesia	Digne gaudent homines
		Iste regi glorie
		Que dum piis mentibus
MR9	Ad locum certaminis	Ad locum certaminis
MR10	Isti flores hodie	Iste sunt terribiles
MR11	Iste sunt terribiles	O felices virgines
MR12	Beata vere mater	
	LAUDS	
LA1	Sol novus ab insula	Sol novus ab insula
LAB	Benedictus es rex glorie	
LA2 (I)	He puelle regie	Hii sunt flores
LA3 (III)	Muliebrem ad ornatum	Istarum collegio
LA4 (VI)	Hii sunt flores	In odore tuo Christe
LA5 (IX)	Istarum collegio	Gustaverunt et viderunt
LAB		Benedictus es rex glorie
	SECOND VESPERS	
V2A1	O quam pulchra	-
V2A2	Quid in istis	-
V2A3	In odore tuo Christe	-
V2A4	Gustaverunt et viderunt	-
V2 AM	O flos campi	O flos campi
ad tercia		Prudentes virgines aptate
ad sexta		Adducentur regi virgines
ad nonam		Veniente sponso que

Table 2: Text incipits of the office *O felix Germania* (Paris NAL 1412 and Aveiro ANTF 26).

Table 2 clearly shows the compilation technique of cutting chants from the older monastic office in order to bring it into the Dominican form, which differs mainly in the Night Office where there are three nocturns of each three antiphons and three responsories, as opposed to the monastic form of six antiphons and four responsories in the first and second nocturn and one antiphon plus four responsories in the third nocturn. Table 3 demonstrates these shifts within the series for Matins and Lauds:

	Paris n.a.l. 1412	Aveiro ANTF 26
	MATINS	
Noct1	A1-A2-A3-A4-A5-A6 R1-R2-R3-R4	A1-A2-A5 R1-R2-R3
Noct2	A7-A8-A9-A10-A11-A12 R5-R6-R7-R8	A7-A8-A9 R5-R6-R10
Noct3	A13 R9-R10-R11-R12	A10-A11-A12 R9-R11-RfromV1
	LAUDS	
	A1-AB-A2-A3-A4-A5	A1-A4-A5-A3fromV2- A4fromV2-AB

Table 3: Series of antiphons and responsories of the office *O felix Germania*.

The process of compilation may have shuffled the texts around, but except for the antiphons with *commune* material (V1A, and the three antiphons for the little hours), there is only one text variant for the first Matins responsory *Regi Noto fuit nata*, which reads in the earlier sources *Deonoto fuit nata*. The melodies are almost consistent with the older cycle, including the mentioned responsory.

The elaborate nine-line Magnificat antiphon *O felix Germania* (fig. 5) celebrating the group of female saints from Cologne, was chosen for its musical qualities and stylistic consistency. Unlike the Cistercian melody, small noticeable differences consist in note groupings, and the higher octave is reached here two times (*Colonia* and *que tesau*ro), whereas the Cistercian version only gets to it one time (*Colonia*).



Fig. 5: Antiphon for First Vespers *O felix Germania* (Museum of Aveiro, ANTF 26, f. 119r).

The three tercets of the *O felix Germania* antiphon (1-3, 4-6, 7-9) have the form aab-aab-ccb and mix goliardic verse with octo- or hexasyllabic verse (8p, 8p, 6p). The rhyme form is abc-abc-ded.

- 1 O felix Germania
- 2 tam decoro germine
- 3 virginum ornata
- 4 beata Colonia
- 5 pretioso sanguine
- 6 martyrum dicata
- 7 vere iuste tu letaris
- 8 que thesauro super aurum
- 9 nobili ditaris

Although the melody of the antiphon seems, at first sight, relatively ornate, its melodic gestures are rather simple (fig. 5). The melody is in the mode of F plagal, feeling more centered and defined to the listener, while the earlier Cistercian versions were transposed to C plagal.⁷² In all different versions, the lower, plagal space is deployed only in phrases 1, 3, and 7 to equalize the rather long melody by counterbalancing the high part. The melody reaches its peak in phrases 4 and 8, emphasizing *Colonia* and *que thesauro* and highlighting the place of martyrdom and the veneration of the virgins' group. Alongside the undulating and conjunct motion, the melody exhibits a triad movement on *decoro* and several ascending and descending leaps of fourths and fifths, as for example in *virgini, vere iuste, letaris que* and *ditaris*. The melody follows the structure of the text as it is divided into three periods ending on the *finalis* F. The tonal accents of the rhymes are expressed in the melody by high notes⁷³ (*ornata, Colonia, letaris*), the melismas (*Germania, germine, sanguine, dicata, ditaris*), or by the tension of the semitone (*aurum*). At times, the antiphon's melody seems to take on a life of its own, unfolding more freely and producing a solemn effect.

Conclusion

Aveiro's convent of Jesus is the perfect example of how royal support helped to establish a particular Dominican house in Portugal. Princess Joana and the founding generation of sisters established a reformed convent with an outstanding literary culture, and where the sisters were trained in copying and using liturgical books. The book production also reveals the constitution of a liturgical library for the sisters' daily offices.

The findings of this article provide some indications about the community's Observant profile and suggest that it is possible to shape the liturgy, especially when new convents are founded. The feast calendar is always

72 In a system of chant classification, *modus* or *tonus* designate a melodic category, numbered with Latin ordinals (1-8), for four primary categories (D, E, F and G), each of which is subdivided into authentic (high) or plagal (low). Charles Atkinson, *The Critical Nexus* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), 97-98. The F mode consists of a medieval scale of *fg aa bb cc dd ee ff* which is composed of two tetrachords, *f-bb* (an augmented fourth) and *cc-ff* (a fourth). Transposing this mode to C allows for the introduction of a *b*-flat and the use two equal tetrachords. Hoefener, 'O felix Germania', 19.

73 See in fig. 5 where high notes are framed, melismas underlined and where the semitone is encircled.

linked to relics and local patronage, as is the choice of feasts to be celebrated. After examining the series of preserved antiphonaries from Aveiro, it became clear that the presence and choice of offices for the various Marian feasts, especially that of the Conception, reflect both the customs of the Dominican order and the specificities of the Convent of Jesus. Thus, the office of St. Caterina of Siena is not only the 'signature' of a reformed convent, but the difficulties with its shortening and the variants of her name (Katherina/Catherina, see table 1) illustrate the process of introducing a new office into the liturgical manuscripts.

Furthermore, the fact that the office for St. Ursula and her companions has been imported and compiled into one of the few specific offices of these liturgical books reveals that it occupied a special place in the convent of Jesus. Some of the chants and devotional practices were specific to this convent and probably linked to the conventual space outside the upper choir. The veneration of the above-mentioned St. Cordula, as a member of the group of Cologne's virgins, was most certainly a good choice for a female convent in the making. And this is emphasized by the office *O felix Germania* which reflects the cult of the entire group of virgins-pilgrims-martyrs, and not only a single virgin.

In fact, the Jesus convent in Aveiro is a suitable example of the interplay between collective elements, such as the group cult of the Cologne virgins, and more individualistic facets of the sisters belonging to an aristocratic milieu. The historian Sylvie Duval has underlined the social function of Observant convents or congregations of women with a certain autonomy.⁷⁴ This phenomenon can be observed in the aristocratic convent of Aveiro, especially when it was under the patronage of Princess Joana. Not only in Aveiro, Caterina of Siena's ideas particularly inspired the Dominican sisters. When the sisters sang the office on her feast day, they listened as well to the account of her life or her mystical texts during that day.

By strictly applying the regular Observance and thus limiting the interaction between the convent and the town (due to the implementation of full enclosure and the divestment of property), the sisters might have lost influence on the society of the surrounding towns. Nevertheless, they formed a robust community that linked Aveiro to the other reform con-

74 Duval, *Comme des Anges*, 540-45.

vents in Portugal. They maintained their spiritual influence on the inhabitants of Aveiro via small openings nearby the convent's entrance where people could seek guidance and help. Last but not least, one could listen to the sisters perform liturgical chant seven times a day and during Matins at night in their upper, enclosed choir. There was always the possibility of experiencing the chants from the central church, which was situated beneath the sisters' choir stalls.⁷⁵

75 I would like to dedicate this article to my parents, absent and present.