

# **Allo stile dei musici di questa nazione : balancing the old and new in Portuguese church music from the 1720s and 1730s**

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ALLO STILE DEI MUSICI DI QUESTA NAZIONE:

Balancing the Old and New in Portuguese  
Church Music from the 1720s and 1730s<sup>1</sup>

by JOÃO PEDRO D'ALVARENGA

Variety of styles is a characteristic of late Baroque church music. Repertoires usually rooted in a strong core of older compositions alongside newer works that could be modelled on older styles or inclined towards a more modern idiom. In Roman Catholic countries, these repertoires and their performing practices included plainchant, improvised counterpoint over plainchant and *falsobordone*, pieces in the *stile antico* more often performed *a cappella*, and small to large scale *pieno* or *concertato* pieces with only the organ accompaniment, or a more substantial instrumental accompaniment for grand occasions. For instance in Rome or Vienna, as music was commonly reused, church repertoires were acquired by means of a long-standing accumulation of layers shaping a slowly changing and stable tradition. In Lisbon, however, abrupt changes occurred in the late 1710s as a result of a complex political and diplomatic programme designed to bring the kingdom to modernity and at the same time legitimize the absolutist power of the Portuguese crown both internally and on the international stage, which was made possible by the then recent Brazilian gold rush.<sup>2</sup>

One of these changes was the elevation of the Portuguese Royal Chapel to the rank of a Patriarchal Church in November 1716, requiring the adoption of the liturgy, ritual and ceremonial of the Papal Chapels.<sup>3</sup> This amounted to a process of 'Romanization', that is, a process of assimilation and adaptation of Roman models by Portuguese culture. 'Romanization' was not a simple

<sup>1</sup> This essay developed from a paper read at the Annual International Symposium of the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis on November 20, 2014, at the invitation of Pedro Memelsdorff, former director of the SCB, to whom I am deeply grateful. I acknowledge the assistance of CESEM (Centre for the Study of Sociology and Aesthetics of Music) at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, and the FCT (Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology). I warmly thank Andrew Woolley for having read an early draft of this text, and my wife, Isabel, for her support.

<sup>2</sup> The essentially cultural and modernizing motivations of King João V's policies can be better assessed, for instance by granting proper place in historiography to the two-year European tour that the king had planned to make incognito after the War of the Spanish Succession but that he never managed to accomplish because of the political pressures from those who feared for his, and the kingdom's safety; see Giuseppina Raggi, 'Lasciare l'orma. Os passos de Filippo Juvarra na cidade de Lisboa', in: Nunziatella Alessandrini et al. (eds), *Le nove son tanto e tante buona, che dir non se pò. Lisboa dos Italianos: História e Arte (sécs. XVI–XVIII)*, Lisbon: Cátedra de Estudos Sefarditas Alberto Benveniste, 2013, 189–218, 191–192.

<sup>3</sup> The Royal Chapel had been previously erected to the rank of a Collegiate Church in March 1710, after the creation of the relevant parish in 1709. With the creation of the Patriarchal Church, the city of Lisbon and the territory of its diocese were divided into two: the Patriarchate of Lisbon West and the Archbishopric of Lisbon East.



transplantation of cultural products, ideas and practices from the centre to the periphery but was rather a dynamic process of acculturation and adaptation seemingly rooted in emerging forms of historical awareness and in cultural emulation.<sup>4</sup> Also, as the church was a vital instrument of social control, its symbolic resources were placed in the service of the absolutist secular power, which meant transforming the rituals by which the monarchy was legitimized by confounding these rituals with the newly-adopted ceremonial practices derived from the church of Rome. The Patriarch himself, who was the head of the Portuguese church, was at the same time head chaplain of the Royal Chapel and hence remained in the service of the king.<sup>5</sup>

Besides the successive amplifications and the architectural and ornamental reworkings of the old and small church where the Royal Chapel functioned at the Ribeira Palace in Lisbon that turned it into a monumental basilica finally consecrated in 1746,<sup>6</sup> the process of 'Romanization' of the Portuguese church involved importing Roman chant books and training, besides many chaplain-singers, three young Portuguese composers in Rome at the expense of the crown. In addition, several musical and ceremonial roles came to be carried out by people imported from Rome and elsewhere, among whom were numbered many singers (especially from late 1719 onwards, their number reaching thirty-six in early 1734), the principal master of ceremonies (Monsignor Gabrielle de Cimbali, arrived in Lisbon in November 1718), and even the chapel master of the Cappella Giulia (Domenico Scarlatti, arrived in November 1719).<sup>7</sup> Discontinuities arose from this process. Such was the abandonment

<sup>4</sup> These are apparent, for instance, in the establishment of the Royal Academy of Portuguese History in 1720, and the building, between 1717 and 1730, of the imposing Royal Convent and Palace in Mafra as a symbolic monument parallel to other monuments ordered by all founders of new dynasties.

<sup>5</sup> Though occupying the same physical space, the Patriarchal Church and the Royal Chapel had distinct ceremonial functions and maintained their own separate personnel, at least in its early years; see João Pedro d'Alvarenga, "Domenico Scarlatti in the 1720s. Portugal, Travelling, and the Italianisation of the Portuguese Musical Scene", in: Massimiliano Sala and W. Dean Sutcliffe (eds), *Domenico Scarlatti Adventures. Essays to Commemorate the 250<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of his Death*, Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2008 (Ad Parnassum Studies 3), 17–68, 42–47; for a comprehensive historical overview, see Cristina Fernandes, *O sistema produtivo da Música Sacra em Portugal no final do Antigo Regime. A Capela Real e a Patriarcal entre 1750 e 1807*, Ph.D. diss., Universidade de Évora, 2010, 1–18.

<sup>6</sup> On this subject, see especially the studies of Marie-Thérèse Mandroux-França, particularly her "La Patriarcale del Re Giovanni V di Portogallo", in: Sandra Vasco Rocca and Gabriele Borghini (eds), *Giovanni V di Portogallo (1707–1750) e la cultura romana del suo tempo*, Roma: Argos, 1995, 81–111.

<sup>7</sup> On Domenico Scarlatti's Portuguese period, see Alvarenga, "Domenico Scarlatti in the 1720s" (see n. 5). It is worth stressing that Scarlatti was hired not as chapel master – as is commonly stated – but as "composer of Italian music", or "composer to the king" and then, along with tenor Gaetano Mossi, who was granted the title of "virtuoso", placed in the service of Prince António, the king's brother, with the title of "maestro". Only later, though in an unknown date, was he placed in the service of the *Infanta* Maria Bárbara.



– though not the banning – of the vernacular *vilancico* after the adoption of the Roman curial liturgy and ceremonial, where this genre had no place;<sup>8</sup> and the drastic changes in the range, vocal technique and timbre of the singers' ensemble, largely because of the presence of castratos, whom the inhabitants of Lisbon heard to their amazement for the first time on September 21, 1719 arousing envy on local musicians.<sup>9</sup>

A recent study of the repertory of the Patriarchal Church based on an anonymous ceremonial diary from the early 1720s<sup>10</sup> shows that, besides plainchant, at least 127 works by thirty-two different composers, from a period ranging from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, were performed over the whole church year. The majority were eight-voice, *stile pieno* pieces, either rendered *a cappella* or with organ accompaniment. Roughly half of the pieces in the repertory were 17<sup>th</sup>- and early 18<sup>th</sup>-century Italian works that mostly pertain to the repertory of the Cappella Giulia. Alongside these were new works by Portuguese composers then studying in Rome (Francisco António de Almeida and João Rodrigues Esteves) and by both Portuguese and Italian composers active in Lisbon in the 1720s (Girolamo Bezzi, Estêvão Ribeiro Francês, Gaetano Mossi, Manuel dos Santos and Domenico Scarlatti). There were also late 16<sup>th</sup>- and 17<sup>th</sup>-century Portuguese and Spanish works almost certainly taken from the Royal Library of Music; works in the Roman *stile antico* – including works by its alleged model, Palestrina – some of which are referred to in Andrea Adami's 1711 *Osservazioni*;<sup>11</sup> and works said to be exclusive to the papal

<sup>8</sup> Throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the first fifteen years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the *vilancico* had been a special vehicle for an autochthonous Baroque style, which in a context of changing taste had eventually absorbed much of the then current Italianate practices and compositional models, like the recitative and air. For an overview of the *vilancico* tradition in Portugal, see Rui Cabral Lopes, *O vilancico na Capela Real portuguesa (1640–1716). O testemunho das fontes textuais*, Ph.D. diss., Universidade de Évora, 2006; two vols. See also Rui Cabral Lopes, „O vilancico no reinado de D. João V: Entre a persistência do costume e a mudança de paradigmas litúrgico-musicais“, *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, new series 1/1 (2014), 83–96, at <http://rpm-ns.pt/index.php/rpm/article/view/27/27> (01.02.2016).

<sup>9</sup> On the arrival of the first castratos, see the report from the Nunciature dated September 26, 1719 in *I-Rasv Segreteria di Stato*, Portogallo, vol. 75, fol. 215, quoted in Gerhard Doderer and Cremilde Rosado Fernandes, „A música na sociedade joanina nos relatórios da Nunciatura Apostólica em Lisboa (1706–1750)“, *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia* 3 (1993), 69–146, 91–92; available online at <http://rpm-ns.pt/index.php/rpm/article/view/83/87> (31.01.2016).

<sup>10</sup> *Breve rezume de tudo o que se canta en cantochaõ, e canto de orgão pellos cantores na santa igreja patriarchal*, P-La Ms. 49-i-59. A diplomatic edition of this important document is available at [www.academia.edu/13692405](http://www.academia.edu/13692405) (01.02.2016).

<sup>11</sup> Andrea Adami da Bolsena, *Osservazioni per ben regolare il coro de i cantori della Cappella Pontificia*, Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1711.



choir, like Gregorio Allegri's nine-voice *Miserere*, presumably coming from the manuscripts of the Cappella Sistina.<sup>12</sup>

In 1718, through the influence of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, King João V managed to obtain a special permission from the pope to have copied precisely from the Cappella Sistina's choirbooks all the plainchant and polyphonic music suitable for the liturgical ceremonies from Christmas to Easter. Previously, Ottoboni also provided copies of several scores from his personal music library, which were made under the supervision of Andrea Adami, who had been the chapel master of the Cappella Sistina from 1700 to 1714 and was then the Cardinal's secretary.<sup>13</sup> This must have been the route to Lisbon of much Italian repertory, most of which was familiar to Domenico Scarlatti when he was assistant and then chapel master at St Peter in Rome – also music that he presumably brought with him subsequently to Lisbon. The rest of the older repertory was already available there, in the huge collection of the Royal Library of Music.

Large-scale *concertato* works with full instrumental accompaniment were the norm for votive ceremonies of a propitiatory nature or in thanksgiving for providence in churches other than the Patriarchal Church. One of such ceremonies was the *Te Deum* at the year's end in the Jesuit Church of St Roque in Lisbon, to which the court always attended. As this was a public function, face-to-face display of the king with the symbol of the Eucharist had an obvious allegorical significance, relating to the apotheosis of secular and spiritual powers ambiguously united in the monarch. In 1718, King João V determined that, from that year on, the ceremony would be made in the manner of Rome. Settings of the year's end *Te Deum* were typically for four or five choirs alternating with plainchant sung by clergymen, young students and the attending people (for which purpose a chapbook including the verses in chant was printed every year);<sup>14</sup> the instruments in the orchestra, including woodwinds and brass, could number up to seventy. As the ceremony also included the rite of Benediction, composers usually provided settings of *O salutaris hostia*, to

<sup>12</sup> João Pedro d'Alvarenga, „To Make of Lisbon a New Rome'. The Repertory of the Patriarchal Church in the 1720s and 1730s“, *Eighteenth-Century Music* 8/2 (2011), 179–214. Elements of these repertories survive in the Archive of Lisbon Cathedral (*P-Lf*), the Ajuda Library in Lisbon (*P-La*), and the Library of the Ducal Palace in Vila Viçosa (*P-VV*). A late 18<sup>th</sup>-century set of parts for Allegri's *Miserere* from the Royal Chapel exists in *P-La* Ms. 54-iii-93<sup>36–44</sup>; the piece also features, along with Tommaso Bai's nine-voice *Miserere*, in a choirbook from Lisbon Cathedral, copied in Rome in 1757 by „Petrus Cianti Scriptor Cap(pellae) Pon(tificiae)“ (*P-Lf* XI I-5; only the book for the second choir remains).

<sup>13</sup> See Cristina Fernandes, „Lázaro Leitão Aranha and the circulation of cultural and musical models between Rome and Lisbon“, a paper read at the General Conference of the European Network for Baroque Cultural Heritage: Society and Culture in the Baroque Period, Sapienza Università di Roma, March 27–29, 2014; abstract at [www.academia.edu/6877088](http://www.academia.edu/6877088) (31.01.2016); full Italian text as „Lázaro Leitão Aranha e la circolazione di modelli culturali e musicali tra Roma e Lisbona nel primo Settecento“ at <http://www.enbach.eu/en/essays/revisiting-baroque/fernandes.aspx> (07.08.2014).

<sup>14</sup> Although only copies of the chapbooks for 1720 and 1723 are known to have remained (in *P-Ln* B.A. 1018//4 P., M.P. 34 V., and H.G. 5131//39 P.).



be performed before the *Te Deum*, and *Tantum ergo*, to be performed at the end; an opening *sinfonia* was usually also provided.<sup>15</sup> From this early period, only the setting by António Teixeira survives, although there are references to others.<sup>16</sup> It was composed and performed in 1734 and is scored for five four-part choirs – four *concertato* and one *ripieno* – and eight soloists.<sup>17</sup> Its first movement after the chant intonation epitomizes the varied stylistic context of church music in Portugal in the 1720s and 1730s, as it features two contrasting styles in seamless succession: an *Adagio* in retrospective *stile pieno* with no accompaniment except the organ leads to a joyful *Allegro* in modern *concertato* style with full orchestra.

Three choirbooks from an institution related to the Patriarchal Church – the Royal Chapel at the Ducal Palace in Vila Viçosa – preserve much of the Holy Week repertory then in use.<sup>18</sup> These choirbooks were prepared by a copyist associated with the Patriarchal Church; the earliest is dated 1735 and the other two are dated 1736.<sup>19</sup> The repertory they contain totals 112 pieces for four, five, six and eight voices, mostly collected from exemplars in the Royal Library of Music, and of course intended to be performed at the lectern with no accompaniment. The majority of these pieces are from the late 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Only a few ‘modern’ compositions – that is, pieces roughly contemporary to the copying – were added to the collections. These modern compositions are written as the older ones in mensural notation with no bar-

<sup>15</sup> On the *Te Deum* ‘alla romana’ tradition in Lisbon, see Alvarenga, ‘Domenico Scarlatti in the 1720s’ (see n. 5), 62–64.

<sup>16</sup> António Teixeira (b. Lisbon, May 14, 1707; d. Lisbon, November 20th, 1774) studied in Rome from 1716 to 1728 at the expense of the crown. On his return to Lisbon he was appointed a chaplain-singer of the Basilica de Santa Maria (Lisbon Cathedral) and examiner in plainchant of all the ordinands in the Lisbon patriarchy. A document from 1761 refers to Teixeira as an organist of the Patriarchal Church. Other documented, though lost, settings of the *Te Deum* for the year’s end: Antão de Santo Elias, 1718; Cristóvão da Fonseca, 1719 and 1720; Domenico Scarlatti, 1721; Francisco José Coutinho, 1722; Carlos Seixas, 1730; Aires António da Silva, unknown date; João Rodrigues Esteves, two different settings at unknown dates.

<sup>17</sup> *Te Deum laudamus fatto nell’ Anno m. d. cc. xxxiv. A vinte vocci ad libitum, Concertatto a Sedeci vocci. Con Violini, Obuè, Flautti, Trombe de Caccia, e Violetta*; fair copy of the score in Lisbon, Archive of the Italian Church of Our Lady of Loreto, s.s. The only recording of this piece (omitting the opening *Sinfonia*, the *O salutaris* and the concluding *Tantum ergo*) dated 1992, by *The Sixteen* under Harry Christophers, is easily found on the internet.

<sup>18</sup> According to the *Breve rezume* (see n. 10), Palm Sunday offices, the *Triduum* responsories and the second and third lessons at Matins were sung entirely in plainchant. Only later, we should presume, but before the mid 1730s, was the post-Tridentine practice of performing these items polyphonically reinstated.

<sup>19</sup> These choirbooks are: P-VV J. 12/A. 6 (MS A), J. 15/A. 9 (MS B1), and J. 16/A. 10 (MS B2) respectively. See Alvarenga, ‘To Make of Lisbon a New Rome’ (see n. 12), 184–188, and the ‘Corrigendum’, *Eighteenth-Century Music* 9/2 (2012), 295; sigla and numbers enclosed in round brackets refer to the inventories of the choirbooks in *Eighteenth-Century Music* 8/2 (2011), 199–205. In the inventory of MS A and the main text of the article just referred to, the *Gloria, laus* setting, no. 5, is wrongly given as partly anonymous; the original index at the end of the choirbook is however clear: ‘Gloria laus cum reliquis versibus, Francisci Antonii de Almeida’ (Gloria laus with its remaining verses by Francisco António de Almeida).



lines;<sup>20</sup> they comprise, besides fifteen complete pieces,<sup>21</sup> several additional sections to existing works (MS A: 7, 16, 18 and 45; MS B1: 5 and 14; MS B2: 1 and 14) and a complete eight-voice reworking of a late 16<sup>th</sup>-century five-voice piece (MS B1: 1).<sup>22</sup> Later choirbooks in the Archive of Lisbon Cathedral, still unstudied, also attest to these retrospective repertories.<sup>23</sup>

It has been argued that in Portugal, modern style, that is, Italianate style, particularly in liturgical music, only begun to emerge at the turn to the 18<sup>th</sup> century (or in its early decades, depending on the authors).<sup>24</sup> The process of 'Romanization' would have thus been a process of sudden absorption of the Italian Baroque through Roman models. This is not, however, wholly accurate. 'Romanization' was but one episode of a much longer and slower process of 'Italianization' – that is, a process whereby Italian models that gradually merged into Portuguese musical production and performance were assimilated, processed and adapted. Such a process had already begun by the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. Early-Baroque traits were increasingly present in much of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century

<sup>20</sup> Most of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Portuguese theoretical and didactical writings include chapters or sections on reading mensural notation; of the last ones with a practical purpose is Francisco Inácio Solano, *Nova instrução musical ou theórica pratica da musica rythmica*, Lisbon: Miguel Manescal da Costa, 1764.

<sup>21</sup> Which are: one motet by Giovanni Giorgi (MS A: 11); ten responsories and one psalm setting by Manuel Soares (MS A: 17, 19–21, 33–35, 46–48 and 58); one hymn and one psalm setting by Francisco António de Almeida (MS A: 5 and 56; see n. 19); and one psalm setting by João Rodrigues Esteves (MS B2: 24). Giovanni Giorgi arrived in Lisbon soon after he had left Rome in January 1725. Giorgi worked for thirty years as „composer of Italian music“ of the Patriarchal Church and Royal Chapel in Lisbon and as a teacher in the Patriarchal Seminary. He retired to Genoa following the 1755 earthquake, but continued to send works to Lisbon until his death in 1762. His hiring was perhaps a result of Domenico Scarlatti's trip to Rome in the latter half of 1724 and the first half of 1725. Most of Giorgi's autograph scores are now in the Archive of Lisbon Cathedral (P-Lf).

<sup>22</sup> On this particular piece and the process of reworking, see Alvarenga, „To Make of Lisbon a New Rome“ (see n. 12), 186–188, with editions of both Manuel Soares' version and the original (now fragmentary) setting by Manuel Mendes at 206–214.

<sup>23</sup> Most of these were copied in the few years after the 1755 Lisbon earthquake, either in Rome under commissioning or from exemplars sent from the Ducal Palace in Vila Viçosa and Évora Cathedral.

<sup>24</sup> See Paulo Castagna, *O estilo antigo na prática musical religiosa paulista e mineira dos séculos XVIII e XIX*, Ph.D. diss., Universidade de São Paulo (Brazil), 2000, two vols; especially vol. I, 116–128. For characterizing the late-17<sup>th</sup>- and early-18<sup>th</sup>-century Portuguese (and Brazilian) *stile antico*, Castagna uses Manuel Nunes da Silva's treatise *Arte Minima*, Lisbon: Joam Galram, 1704 (first published in 1685 and reprinted again in 1725), from where he quotes a set of fourteen compositional rules („Regra VIII“, 28–29; see Castagna, *O estilo antigo*, vol. I, 132–133). He however misses the important fact that this set of rules is originally headed „arbitral“, meaning that the rules were not compulsory, but on the contrary, were to be followed at the composers' discretion; see also Castagna, „O 'estilo antigo' no Brasil, nos séculos XVIII e XIX“, in: Rui Vieira Nery (ed.), *A Música no Brasil colonial*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2001, 171–215 (this latter text is almost entirely drawn from the author's Ph.D. diss. referred to above).



Portuguese church music, even in liturgical genres, which are thought to be the more conservative. This is the case with some naturalistically-inclined procedures in late-Mannerist polyphony including the significant redundancy between text and musical gesture; the expanding of tonal space beyond the limits of diatonic modal categories; the growing use of homophonic, declamatory and pseudo-polyphonic textures; the use of written instrumental accompaniment – *basso seguente*, *basso continuo* and *obbligato* instrumental parts – in small- (including soloistic) and large-scale (including polychoral) *concertato* works; vertically-conceived frameworks apparent, for instance in progressions through the circle of fifths; and, by the latter decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the emergence of the functional seventh chord.<sup>25</sup>

In some mid 17<sup>th</sup>-century theoretical writings<sup>26</sup> and later in practical music, style awareness was strongly felt. Early 18<sup>th</sup>-century composers usually kept their rendering of the *stile antico* in opposition to their 'modern', Italianate idiom. Such an opposition was commonly marked visually through the use of different notational styles: pieces notated in semibreve or minim rather than in crotchet beats with either the *alla breve* or a triple time signature were in general perceived, and consciously conceived by composers as embodiments of the *stile antico* – or rather of a *stile antico*, because this did not corresponded to a single stereotype or consisted in a monolithic approach to post-Palestrina polyphony.<sup>27</sup> However, composing in a *stile antico* does not always presuppose a deliberate historicizing approach to musical style. In most cases it is rather a matter of properness relating to the liturgical calendar.

<sup>25</sup> See especially João Pedro d'Alvarenga, „Towards an Understanding of Post-Tridentine Portuguese Polyphony, with Special Reference to the Motets of Manuel Cardoso (with an Analysis of *Non mortui* and *Sitivit anima mea*)“, 2005 revised version at [www.academia.edu/1363510](http://www.academia.edu/1363510) (31.01.2016); and João Vaz and João Pedro d'Alvarenga, „Fernando de Almeida (d. 1660): Tradition and Innovation in Mid-Seventeenth-Century Portuguese Sacred Music“, *AnM* 70 (2015), 63–80. Examples of characteristic baroque traits can also be seen, for instance in the poorly-known liturgical repertoires contained in the mid 17<sup>th</sup>-century so-called *Cartapácios* from the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra (*P-Cug* MM 49, 50, 51, 227, 228, 229, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, and 243); or in much keyboard music from the latter quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, notably in the works of Pedro de Araújo (*fl.* 1662–1704).

<sup>26</sup> See João Pedro d'Alvarenga, „The Debate on Musical Aesthetics around 1600 and the *Defensa de la mvsica moderna* by King João IV (1649)“, in: João Pedro d'Alvarenga and Manuel Pedro Ferreira (eds), „New Music' 1400–1600: Papers from an International Colloquium on the Theory, Authorship and Transmission of Music in the Age of the Renaissance (Lisbon-Évora, 27–29 May 2003), Lisbon and Évora: CESEM et al., 2009, 239–250, 242–243; on João Álvares Frouvo's classification of musical styles in his *Discursos sobre a perfeição do diathesaron [...] com hum encomio sobre o papel que mandou imprimir o Serenissimo Senhor el Rey D. Ioaõ IV em defensa da moderna musica*, Lisbon: António Craesbeeck de Mello, 1662, 83–86.

<sup>27</sup> Regarding notation styles, triple time in minim beats seems more often to have the meaning of a fast or moderate tempo, regardless of the compositional style adopted. Two of the sacred vocal works composed in Lisbon by Domenico Scarlatti – namely the final fugal section of the four-voice motet *Te gloriosus* and the setting of *Laetatus sum* „a 2 con ripieni“ – being written in duple time in minim beats and marked with the *alla breve* signature as a sign of their 'learned style', are also pieces in a moderate tempo.



The additions to existing works in the Vila Viçosa choirbooks are historicizing in the sense that they seek to imitate their close exemplars in their techniques and style – even if some details of a modernised dissonance treatment are not infrequently detected – and so to provide them with a verisimilar discursive continuity (see table 1 and ex. 1). The early 1720s ceremonial diary, mentioned above, reports that in Holy Thursday at Matins, the first lesson was „sung in 8 parts in mensural music from separate parts“.<sup>28</sup> Special mention of mensural music („*Canto figurado*“) – which was commonly performed from a choirbook at the lectern – being performed from separate parts („*de papeis*“) may indeed point to a reworked piece with newly composed additional verses, as is the case with the Lamentations by Victoria and Fernando de Almeida in the Vila Viçosa choirbooks.

Table 1: The structure of Tomás Luis de Victoria's *Lamentations for Maundy Thursday* with the additional verses by Manuel Soares in the 1735 Vila Viçosa choirbook (P-VV J. 12/A. 6).

1	Incipit Lamentatio	Victoria
2	Aleph	
3	Quomodo sedet	
4	princeps provinciarum	
5	Beth	
6	Plorans ploravit (a 3)	
7	omnes amici eius	Manuel Soares
8	Ghimel	
9	Migravit Judas	
10	omnes persecutores	
11	Daleth	
12	Viae Sion lugent	
13	omnes portae eius	
14	He	
15	Facti sunt hostes	
16	quia Dominus	
17	parvuli eius	
18	Jerusalem (a 5)	Victoria
19	convertere (a 5)	

<sup>28</sup> *Breve rezume* (see n. 10), fols 22v–23r: „cantada a 8 de papeis en Canto figurado“.



Ex. 1: First additional verse and Hebrew letter to Victoria's *Lamentations for Maundy Thursday* by Manuel Soares (see table 1, nos 7–8) (source: *P-VV J.* 12/A. 6).

O - mnes a - mi - ci e - ius spre - ve-runt e -

am, et fa - cti sunt e - i i - ni - mi -

ci. Ghi - - - mel,

Another obvious example of a historicizing approach is the unaccompanied four-voice setting of Psalm 112, *Laudate pueri Dominum*, by João Rodrigues Esteves,<sup>29</sup> dated „17 September 1722 in Rome“<sup>30</sup> and later stated in the com-

<sup>29</sup> Dates of birth and death not known; autograph scores (mostly in *P-Lf*) dated between 1719 and 1751. Esteves studied in Rome at the expense of the crown from 1719 to 1726. On returning to Lisbon he was appointed chapel master of the Basilica de Santa Maria (Lisbon Cathedral) in about 1729 and also taught at the Patriarchal Seminary.

<sup>30</sup> „1722 17 de s(e)temb(ro) a Roma“.



poser's hand to have been „made in Rome by the method of the psalms of Rebelo“ (see fig. 1).<sup>31</sup> Its declared exemplar is a remote one: namely, the set of four-voice Vespers psalms by João Lourenço Rebelo,<sup>32</sup> who had died in 1661.<sup>33</sup>

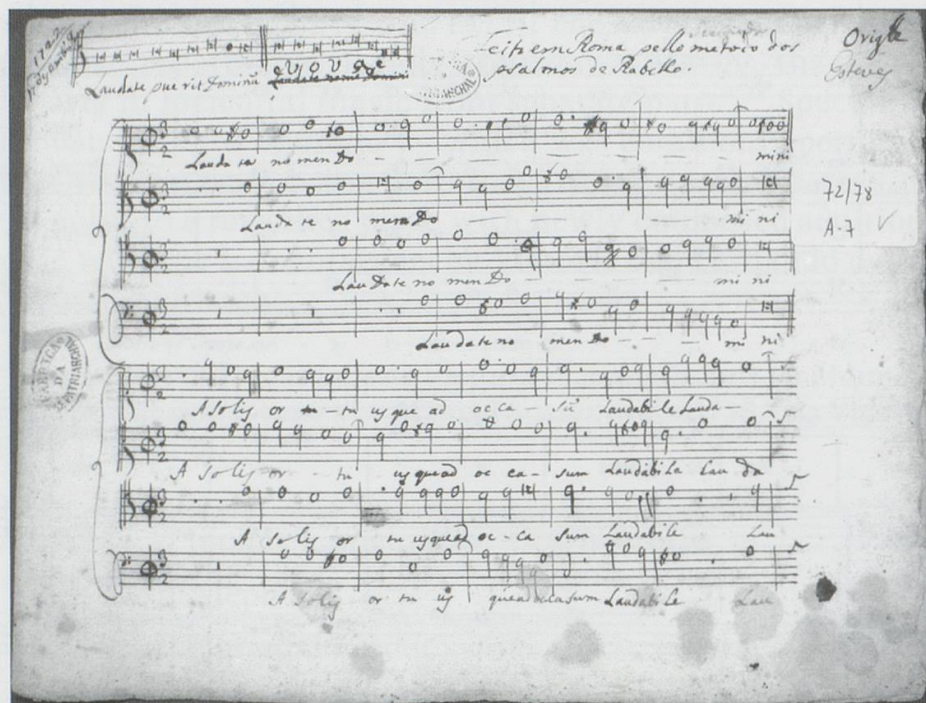


Fig. 1: João Rodrigues Esteves, *Laudate pueri*, 1722, first page of the autograph score, P-Lf Ms. 72/78.

By comparing Rebelo's and Esteves' settings, it becomes apparent that the 'method', as perceived by the latter, consisted in using of triple time throughout, adopting of the long-established tonalities for polyphonic psalmody, quoting extensively from the psalmic melodic formulas and deriving from them the motifs for points of imitation, and setting the second half of the first verse and all subsequent odd verses or otherwise all even verses as short sections for *alternatim* performance. However, if the style of Rebelo is naturally varied in the balancing of imitative, free-contrapuntal, homophonic and *cantus firmus*

<sup>31</sup> „Feito em Roma pello metodo dos psalmos de Rebelo“; autograph score in P-Lf Ms. 72/78.

<sup>32</sup> In P-EVc MS 5 (1797), fols 1v–38r, and MS 6 (mid-18<sup>th</sup> century), fols 1v–23r; P-VV J.18/A.12 (late 1750s), 1–72; also in an unnumbered choirbook in the Church of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, and in an unidentified source from Elvas Cathedral; see Manuel Joaquim, *Vinte livros de música polifónica do Paço Ducal de Vila Viçosa*, Lisbon: Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1953, 199.

<sup>33</sup> João Lourenço Rebelo had a somewhat uncommon career among 17<sup>th</sup>-century Portuguese composers, as he never held any official duties, working freely as an amateur musician. His collection of thirty-three north-Italian-inclined large- and small-scaled *concertato* pieces, dated between 1636 and 1653, was printed in seventeen part-books with the title *Joannis Laurentii Rabello Psalmi, tum Vesperarum tum Completarum. Item Magnificat, Lamentationes et Miserere*, Rome: Mauritio & Amadeo Balmonti, 1657. Rebelo's works preserved in manuscript only are more conservative and were quite widespread until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (see also n. 32).



textures, and even capable of bold musical gestures, Esteves' is mostly regular and especially concerned with ensuring a clear sense of tonal focus and harmonic direction. In their psalm settings in the fourth tone, where Rebelo can be tonally ambiguous in handling with *mi*-tonality, Esteves is tightly rooted in A minor (see ex. 2 and 3; in ex. 2, note the major tenth leap in the bass on bar 10 and the circle-of-fifths progression reaching B-flat major on bars 8–9).

Ex. 2: João Lourenço Rebelo, *Nisi Dominus* tone IV, verse 3, bb. 1–14 (source: *P-VV* J. 18/A. 12).

S  
A  
T  
B

Va - num est vo - bis an - te.

5

lu - cem sur - ge - re: sur - gi - te post - quam se - de -

bis an - te lu - cem sur - ge - re: sur - gi - te post - quam se -

bis an - te lu - cem sur - ge - re: sur - gi - te post - quam

an - te lu - cem sur - ge - re: sur - gi - te post - quam se - de -

10

ri - tis, qui man - du - ca - tis pa - nem do - lo -

de - ri - tis, qui man - du - ca - tis pa - nem do - lo -

se - de - ri - tis, qui man - du - ca - tis pa - nem do - lo -

ri - tis, qui man - du - ca - tis pa - nem do - lo -



Ex. 3: João Rodrigues Esteves, *Laudate pueri* tone IV, verse 7 (source: *P-Lf* Ms. 72/78).

Soprano (S): Ut col - lo - cet e - um cum prin - ci -

Alto (A): Ut col - lo - cet e - um cum prin - ci -

Tenor (T): Ut col - lo - cet e - um cum prin - ci - pi - bus, cum prin -

Bass (B): Ut col - lo - cet e - um cum prin -

5

Soprano (S): - pi - bus, cum prin - ci - pi - bus, cum prin - ci - pi - bus po -

Alto (A): - pi - bus, cum prin - ci - pi - bus, cum prin - ci - pi - bus

Tenor (T): ci - pi - bus, cum prin - ci - pi - bus, cum prin - ci - pi - bus

Bass (B): ci - pi - bus, cum prin - ci - pi - bus po -

10

Soprano (S): - pu - li su - i.

Alto (A): po - pu - li su - i.

Tenor (T): po - pu - li su - i.

Bass (B): - pu - li su - i, su - i.

A control of sonority and harmonic implications commonly shaped music in the *stile antico*, often conditioning the inner voices in free-contrapuntal textures, even if they are scored for four voices only. For instance, in such an effective piece as Francisco António de Almeida's *Gloria, laus* in the Vila Viçosa 1735 choirbook (MS A: 5), it is the harmonization scheme of the *cantus firmus* in the bassus – which is the 'Italian' version of the chant for the



Palm Sunday hymn<sup>34</sup> – as determined by its contrapuntal combination with the leading cantus voice-part that explains the awkward contour of the tenor voice on bars 3–4 – covering a major seventh in successive falling thirds – and its crossing with the chant-bearing voice after the imitative opening of the refrain (see ex. 4).

Ex. 4: Francisco António de Almeida, *Gloria, laus*, bb. 1–9 (source: P-VV J. 12/A. 6).

The musical score is written for four voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: 'Glo - ri - a, laus, et ho - nor, et et ho - nor ti - bi sit, rex Chri - ste, rex'. The score shows the vocal parts with their respective lyrics and musical notation.

Almeida's works in the *stile antico* indeed provide a good example of the absorption of Italianate idioms into traditional Portuguese liturgical polyphony and of adapting capability to different performing practices.<sup>35</sup> His four-voice

<sup>34</sup> On the different chant melodies of the *Gloria, laus* found in pre- and post-Tridentine Portuguese sources, their variants and origins, see João Pedro d'Alvarenga, *Estudos de Musicologia*, Lisbon: Colibri and Centro de História da Arte da Universidade de Évora, 2002, 94–99.

<sup>35</sup> Francisco António de Almeida studied in Rome at the expense of the crown between 1722, or earlier, and 1726. On his return to Lisbon he was appointed organist of the Patriarchal Church, where he had Carlos Seixas (1704–1742) for colleague. His dates of birth and death are not known, but Almeida may have been one of the victims of the 1755 Lisbon earthquake. His last dated work, *L'Ippolito, serenata a sei voci*, has the year „1752“ on the autograph score (P-Ln CIC 17).



*alternatim* setting of Psalm 50, *Miserere mei Deus*, exists in two different sources: a set of parts from Lisbon Cathedral probably dating from the 1760s, using modern notation and including an added organ-continuo part, which was apparently written earlier than the existing vocal parts (see fig. 2);<sup>36</sup> and the Vila Viçosa 1735 choirbook (MS A: 56), written in mensural notation with no bar-lines and intended for unaccompanied performance (see fig. 3), as was the usage in the Patriarchal Church in the 1720s and 1730s for Holy Week repertoires, following the long-established practice of the papal choir. On the front-page of the organ-continuo part, the work has the title „Sabbato Sancto, Miserere 4.r vocibus“ – the same liturgical assignment as in the 1735 choirbook. It is quite possible that the added continuo – actually a figured *basso seguente* for the most part – corresponded to the performing practice in Lisbon Cathedral (see ex. 5). The non-extant autograph did surely not include it. The same must have happen with Almeida's *Lamentations for Holy Saturday*, of which only a set of parts exists, also from Lisbon Cathedral, of relatively late copying and including a figured organ-continuo, on which front-page it has the title „Lamentatio Prima In sabato Santo A 4 Conc. Que se canta na sexta Feira“.<sup>37</sup> The original was most probably intended for voices only, and the organ-continuo was added for a specific performing usage (see ex. 6). Because it alternates tutti and solo sections – that is, sections to be performed with one singer to a part – including an *Adagio* for three *solis* on the verse „Sedebit solitarius“, adding of an organ-continuo would supposedly have turned Almeida's *Lamentations* into a ‚modern‘ *concertato* setting, notwithstanding its *alla breve* notation. However, *concertato* performance of full-texture polyphony was a common practice in Portuguese church music going back at least to the latter half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> P-Lf Ms. 5/11. Information in the *RISM Online Catalogue of Musical Sources*, <https://opac.rism.info/> (31.01.2016) is not accurate: there are only five separate parts extant (S A T B in one same hand; and Org in a different hand).

<sup>37</sup> P-Lf Ms. 5/3. Information in the *RISM Online Catalogue* (see n. 36) is again erroneous: only five separate parts are extant (S T B in one same hand; A in another hand; and Org in still another hand).

<sup>38</sup> See João Pedro d'Alvarenga, „On Performing Practices in Mid- to Late-Sixteenth-Century Portuguese Church Music: The *Cappella* of Évora Cathedral“, *EM* 43/1 (2015), 3–21. Of the three existing eight-voice settings of the *Lamentations* by João Rodrigues Esteves, the earliest one, for Good Friday and dated 1726, is for voices only (autograph in P-Lf Ms. 72/14); the other two, for Holy Saturday and dated 1737, and again for Good Friday and dated 1738 (autographs in P-Lf Ms. 72/16 and Ms. 72/15 respectively), include an original continuo part. Both settings for Good Friday have alternating tutti and solo sections. The setting for Holy Saturday is a *pieno* piece. It is not known for the use of which church these settings were composed: if the Patriarchal Church or Lisbon Cathedral.



*Organ 1<sup>o</sup> at*

*Miserere*

*Secundū multitudinem facit*

*Amplius*

*Quoniam iniquitatem facit*

*Cantus at.*

*Largo*

*Mise-re*

*re me-i Deus: secundū ma-*

*gnā ma - gnā mi - seri-*

*cor - diam tu - am.*

*Et secundū multitudinem et:*

*Amplius la*

*vame ab iniquitate mea:*

*et à pecca-to me-*

*piano*

*o mun - da me munda me.*

Fig. 2: Francisco António de Almeida, *Miserere*, verses 1 and 3, (a) organ-continuo and (b) cantus part, P-Lf Ms. 5/11.

*Sabbato Sancto ad Laudes*

**CANTUS**

**M** I fere re me i Deus

secundū magnā magnam miseri-

cor diam tu am.

**A** Mplus la va me ab i-

niquita te mea et à peccato me o mun-

da me munda me.

**TENOR**

**M** I fere re me i De us

secundum magnam misericor-

= diam misericordiam tuam.

**A** Mplus la va me ab iniqui-

tate me a et à peccato meo mun da me

mun da me. #

*Psalmus Miserere*

**ALTUS**

**M** I fere re me i Deus fe-

cundū magnā secundū ma gnā mi-

sericor di am misericor diam tuam.

**A** Mplus la va me ab iniqui tate me-

a et à peccato meo munda me mun da

me. #

**BASSUS**

**M** I fe re re mei Deus fe-

cundū magnā misericor =

= diam tuam.

**A** Mplus la va me ab i-

niqui tate me a et à peccato meo munda

me munda me. #

Fig. 3: Francisco António de Almeida, *Miserere*, verses 1 and 3, P-VV J. 12/A. 6, fols 180v-181r.



Ex. 5: Francisco António de Almeida, *Miserere*, bb. 1–10 (source: *P-Lf* Ms. 5/11).

**Largo**

S  
Mi - se - re - re me - i De - us:

A  
Mi - se - re - re me - i De - us: se -

T  
Mi - se - re - re me - i De - us:

B  
Mi - se - re - re me - i De - us:

Org  
4 #3 5 6 7 6 #3 7 6 7 6 7 6

6  
se - cun - dum ma - gnam, ma - gnam  
cun - dum ma - gnam, se - cun - dum ma - gnam mi - se - ri - cor -  
se - cun - dum ma - gnam  
se - cun - dum ma - gnam mi - se - ri -

7 6 4 3 4 3 6 6 7 6 b4

Ex. 6: Francisco António de Almeida, *Lamentations for Holy Saturday*, bb. 1–10 (source: *P-Lf* Ms. 5/3).

S  
De La - men - ta - ti - o - ne Je - re -

A  
De La - men - ta - ti - o - ne Je - re - mi - æ Pro -

T  
De La - men - ta - ti - o - ne Je - re - mi - æ

B  
De La - men - ta - ti - o - ne Je - re -

Org  
6 6 9 8 4 #3 6



5

mi - æ Pro - phe - tæ. Heth. solo

phe - tæ. Heth. solo

Pro - phe - tæ. Heth. solo

mi - æ Pro - phe - tæ. Heth. solo

9 7 8 6 b7 4 3 7 6 9 8

General characteristics of style in both the *Miserere* and the Lamentations by Almeida are for the most part derived from mid to late 17<sup>th</sup>-century compositional practices: strict or more loose imitation – almost entirely tonal – is frequently dissolved into a free contrapuntal texture (even if involving some motivic interplay), the same happening with quasi-homophony and homophonic declamation; rhythmic stress arises from both word prosody – with resulting occasional metric disruption – and the regular harmonic pace and placement of accented dissonances, mostly suspensions; and bass lines that are particularly controlled so they can take part in imitative processes without weakening of its harmonic sustaining potential.

Genuine 16<sup>th</sup>-century commonplace idioms do occur in these pieces: for instance, the consonant fourth in cadences and the ornamentation of suspensions with a pair of semi-minims involving either a passing or a lower neighbour note. Other devices are however not so common in traditional liturgical polyphony: for instance, explicit chromaticism and dissonant melodic leaps produced, not for motivic, but more often for harmonic reasons (see ex. 7 and 8); motifs in points of imitation using minor sixth and diminished fifth leaps (see ex. 8, bars 38–39), not always as expressive devices related to the meaning of the text (see ex. 9; and pedal points, particularly in the approach to final cadences, similar in harmonic content to those found in Almeida's, and much of his contemporaries, 'modern' works (see ex. 10). All these particular features are not unlike those in Giovanni Giorgi's rendering of the *stile antico* prior to his coming to Lisbon in early 1725, a good example being his four-voice *alla breve* setting of the offertory for Palm Sunday, *Improperium expectavit*.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Offertorio per la Domenica delle Palme à capella ò sia alla breve; autograph score in *I-Rims* III.2, formerly in the Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore; see Laurence Feininger, *Catalogus thematicus et bibliographicus Joannis de Georgiis: operum sacrarum omnium*, Supplementum 1, Trento: Societas Universalis Sanctae Ceciliae, 1965, D.I Off. 51.



Ex. 7: Francisco António de Almeida, *Lamentations for Holy Saturday*, bb. 15–19.

15

qui - a non de - fe - ce - runt mi - se - ra - ti - o - nes e -

qui - a non de - fe - ce - runt mi - se - ra - ti - o - nes e -

qui - a non de - fe - ce - runt mi - se - ra - ti - o - nes e -

qui - a non de - fe - ce - runt mi - se - ra - ti - o - nes e -

qui - a non de - fe - ce - runt mi - se - ra - ti - o - nes e -

$\flat 3$   $\flat 5$  9 8 4 3  $\sharp 6$   $\flat 3$   $\sharp 3$  6 5  $\sharp 3$

Ex. 8: Francisco António de Almeida, *Miserere*, bb. 32–41.

Ti - bi so - li pec - ca - vi, pec - ca -

Ti - bi so - li pec - ca - vi, pec - ca -

Ti - bi so - li pec - ca - vi, pec - ca -

Ti - bi so - li pec - ca -

Ti - bi so - li pec - ca -

$\sharp 3$  2 6 6 5  $\sharp 3$   $\flat 4$  6 5 9 8

37

vi et ma - lum, et ma -

vi et ma - lum, et ma -

vi et ma - lum, et ma -

vi et ma - lum, et ma -

vi et ma - lum, et ma -

4  $\sharp 3$  7 8  $\flat 7$  6 5  $\flat 4$  6 9 8



Ex. 9: Francisco António de Almeida, *Miserere*, bb. 112–116.

Red - de mi - hi, red - de mi - hi, red - de

Red - de mi - hi, red - de mi - hi, red -

Red - de mi - hi, mi - hi, red - de mi -

Red - de mi - hi, red - de mi - hi,

6 5 9 8 4 #3 6 5 9 8 #3

Ex. 10: Francisco António de Almeida, *Lamentations for Holy Saturday*, bb. 141–145.

De - - - - - um tu - um.

- - - - - um tu - um, De - um tu - - - - - um.

De - um tu - um, De - um tu - um, De - um tu - um.

tu - um, De - um tu - um.

5 5 6 6 b7 b7 6 5 5 b6 b7 5 5 3

4 3 5 4 6 5 4 4 3 4 5 4 3

2

As a sign of receptiveness to the 'new' Roman models, it is worth noting that Almeida's *Miserere* verse 15, „Libera me de sanguinibus“, using simple *falsobordone* style, is obviously modelled on Allegri's setting even in the form of its notation (see ex. 11). But balancing of 'old' and 'new' is probably better sensed in the mixing of styles and forms within individual works. In the realm of instrumental church music, the organ sonatas no. 15-1 in G major and no. 20-2 in A minor by Carlos Seixas – who was not trained in Italy but had early acquaintance with Italian repertoires – are but traditional *tentos*



although fully in Italianate idiom.<sup>40</sup> And the opening movement of António Teixeira's five-choir *Te Deum* was already mentioned as a landmark example of stylistic variety.

Ex. 11: Francisco António de Almeida, *Miserere*, bb. 131–140 (verse 15).

Libera me de sanguinibus Deus, De - us sa - lu - tis me - æ: et exultabit lingua mea

Libera me de sanguinibus Deus, De - us sa - lu - tis me - æ: et exultabit lingua mea

Libera me de sanguinibus Deus, De - us sa - lu - tis me - æ: et exultabit lingua mea

Libera me de sanguinibus Deus, De - us sa - lu - tis me - æ: et exultabit lingua mea

Libera me de sanguinibus Deus, De - us sa - lu - tis me - æ: et exultabit lingua mea

5 6 5 3  
3 4

137

jus - ti - ti - am tu - am.

jus - ti - ti - am tu - am.

jus - ti - ti - am tu - am.

jus - ti - ti - am tu - am.

jus - ti - ti - am tu - am.

9 8 7 6 5 #3 6 4 5 #3  
7 6 5 4 3 5 4 5 #3  
b3

<sup>40</sup> Numbers of Seixas' keyboard sonatas refer to the catalogue in João Pedro d'Alvarenga, „Some Preliminaries in Approaching Carlos Seixas' Keyboard Sonatas“, *Ad Parnassum: A Journal of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Instrumental Music* 7/13 (2009), 95–128, 110–123. These two works are frequently performed and recorded and can be easily found on the internet; non-commercial modern edition by the present author in *Carlos Seixas: Four Organ Sonatas*, available at [www.academia.edu/13833137](http://www.academia.edu/13833137) (31.01.2016).



In January 1713, the papal nuncio to Lisbon, Monsignor Vincenzo Bichi, reported that some Italian repertory had arrived there and that a mass from Rome „was adapted in certain parts by a virtuoso of the City of Lisbon to the style and manner of singing of the musicians of this Nation“.<sup>41</sup> This undoubtedly expresses the fact that the process of ‚Romanization‘ was from its very inception an actual process of reworking involving the dynamics of cultural negotiation.

<sup>41</sup> *I-Rasv Segretaria di Stato, Portogallo*, vol. 71, fols 12–13, *Informazione* dated January 1713: „da un uirtuoso della Città [di Lisbona] è stata ridotta in qualche parte allo stile e modo di cantare de' musici di questa Nazione“; quoted in Doderer and Fernandes, „A música na sociedade joanina“ (see n. 9), 86.



