Some observations on parody Masses by Magalhães, Cardoso and Garro

Owen Rees

Among the potentially most fruitful areas of investigation within the study of Portuguese polyphony in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are the identification of the models of parody Masses and the consequent study of parody technique within those Masses. The case of Filipe de Magalhães reveals more vividly than that of any other composer the scope for further investigation: six of the eight Masses in his Liber missarum of 1636 are likely to be parody Masses, but for none of these six has a model been unequivocally identified hitherto, preventing study of Magalhães’s parody technique in comparison to that of his contemporaries (Portuguese and foreign). This study is concerned with: a) the identity of the model for Magalhães’s Missa Veni Domine and the use of borrowed material in that Mass; b) the relationship between Cardoso’s Missa Anima mea turbata est valde and the motet of the same title by Dom João IV; c) the possible influence of a work by Francisco Garro upon Magalhães’s Missa O soberana luz; and d) a lost motet which might have been the model for Garro’s own Missa Domine in virtute tua letabitur rex.

What is the model for the Missa Veni Domine of Magalhães? There exist settings of texts beginning ‘Veni Domine’ by Cristóbal de Morales (two settings, for four and six voices), Francisco Guerrero, and Juan Esquivel, three of which—

1 Robert Stevenson made similar observations in the Preface to Antologia de Polifonia Portuguesa 1490–1680, Portugaliae Musica XXXVII, Lisbon, 1982, p. viii.
2 José Augusto Álegria noted a similarity with the opening theme of Cardoso’s motet Amen, dico vobis, see J. A. ALEGRIA, Frei Manuel Cardoso (1566–1650): Livro de Vários Motetes, Portugaliae Musica XIII, Lisbon, 1968, p. xx. However, the opening theme of the Mass is not identical in shape, and the mode is different.
3 The earliest copy of Morales’s six-voice motet is in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Giulia XII 4 (of 1536). His four-voice setting survives only as an arrangement for vihuela (with the bassus intended to be sung also), but with the text provided, in Miguel de Fuenllana’s Orphénica lyra (Seville, 1554). There is a modern edition by Charles Jacobs in Miguel de Fuenllana: Orphénica lyra (Seville, 1554) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 259–66. Morales’s piece is followed by a Fantasia by Fuenllana inspired by the motet. Guerrero’s Veni Domine was published in his Sacra cantiones (Seville, 1555), and Esquivel’s in his Motecta festorum et dominicarum issued at Salamanca in 1608.
Guerrero’s, Esquivel’s, and Morales’s six-voice work—feature the same technique of construction: an ostinato setting the words ‘Veni Domine et noli tardare’. The subject used as an ostinato is different in the case of each motet (see Example 1a).

Example 1a) - Ostinato subjects of *Veni Domine* settings by Morales, Guerrero, and Esquivel

Nevertheless, there are similarities between the subjects of Guerrero and Esquivel: Esquivel’s motive for ‘et noli tardare’ is the same as Guerrero’s apart from the first note. Besides this, Guerrero and Esquivel laid out the ostinato in the same way, with statements in the second superius alternating between two pitch-levels a fourth apart. Morales, on the other hand, has five statements in each of the two partes of his six-voice motet, with the first statement in each section beginning on A and each subsequent statement in each pars starting one pitch lower. As is becoming clear, if we consider the three settings using ostinato, the musical similarities are closest between Guerrero’s and Esquivel’s works, and this is true also of the number of voices (five in their motets, six in Morales’s), the combination of clefs (C1, C1, C3, C4, F4 in both Guerrero’s and Esquivel’s motets; a *chiavetta* combination of G2, C2, C3, C3, C4, F3 in Morales’s), and the mode (Guerrero and Esquivel both having chosen the Dorian with G final). However, while Guerrero’s decision to use ostinato technique here may well have been prompted by the example of Morales’s six-voice setting, Guerrero derived his theme for the words ‘Veni Domine et noli tardare’ (i.e. his ostinato subject,
which also appears imitatively in other voice parts at the various points in the motet where they sing this text) from Morales’s four-voice setting. In Morales’s work the ‘Veni Domine’ clause is consistently associated with a particular motive, and while there is less motivic consistency in setting ‘et noli tardare’, a distinctive motive for it does appear in both the opening and closing sections of the piece (although not during the other two occurrences of this clause). Of the two elements of Guerrero’s theme (for ‘Veni Domine’ and ‘et noli tardare’ respectively), the first is the same as that used by Morales (see Example 1b), except that the initial interval has been stretched to a third.

Example 1b - Motives from Morales Veni Domine (four-voice setting)

There is, in fact, precedent for this disjunct opening to the motive in Morales’s piece, in the bassus during the second and third sections where the opening text-sentence recurs. (Here the bassus falls from D to B flat as in the altus and bassus entries of Guerrero’s opening passage.) For the second element of his ostinato theme Guerrero adapted the motive which appears for ‘et noli tardare’ in the opening and closing sections of Morales’s setting (see Example 1b), achieving somewhat greater motivic consistency that had Morales (although Morales uses a similar motive—albeit with a conjunct second interval except in the first altus statement—for ‘sicut mater’). Guerrero also adopts the same mode as that of Morales’s four-voice setting (besides which, the pieces are almost identical in length: 79 breves (Morales); 76 breves (Guerrero). We thus have two works directly inspired by this Morales motet: Guerrero’s (issued by the same publisher in Seville in the year following the publication of Morales’s work) and the fantasia by Fuenllana placed after the model in the Orphenica lyra. The identification of the connection between Guerrero’s and Morales’s motets adds one further element to our appreciation of the influence which his teacher’s music exerted upon Guerrero.

Comparison of these motets with the Missa Veni Domine of Magalhães reveals that Guerrero’s piece was the model used by Magalhães. The openings of the two pieces are shown in Examples 2 and 3: here Magalhães follows Guerrero in building an imitative exposition from the two motives (labelled ‘A’ and ‘B’) making up Guerrero’s ostinato subject.

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Example 2) - Guerrero, *Veni Domine*, opening

Example 3) - Magalhães, *Missa Veni Domine*, opening of 'Kyrie'
This subject emerges still more clearly in the final ‘Agnus Dei’ of the Mass, where Magalhães finally expands the texture from four voice-parts to the five voice-parts used by Guerrero by introducing a second superius. This voice bears the ostinato subject in Guerrero’s motet, and it does the same in the Mass, complete with the original text, ‘Veni Domine et noli tardare’. There are four statements of this ostinato subject in the final ‘Agnus Dei’, laid out according to a similar principal to that adopted by Guerrero: the statements are set alternately at two pitch-levels a fourth apart, and Magalhães leaves, alternately, two ‘breves’ and four breves’ rest between statements (while Guerrero alternates between three-and-a-half-breve and five-breve rests between statements). Magalhães’s last cadence—the only section-ending in the whole Mass to use what we would now label a ‘ plagal cadence’—is obviously influenced by Guerrero’s (see the closing bars of Examples 4 and 5): the topmost voice has a decorated version of Guerrero’s first superius, and the final gesture in the altus is also similar in the two pieces.

Example 4) - Guerrero, *Veni Domine*, end

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5 This is half the number of statements in Guerrero’s motet. Since this final ‘Agnus Dei’ ends with the text ‘ miserere nobis’, it is possible that Magalhães intended it to be repeated with the words ‘dona nobis pacem’; if so, there would have been eight statements of the ostinato subject, as in Guerrero’s motet.
Example 5) - Magalhães, Missa Veni Domine, end of final 'Agnus Dei'

Magalhães reserved for this final 'Agnus Dei' not only his sole use of Guerrero’s ostinato subject as an ostinato, but also much the longest development within the Mass of the last new motive to appear in Guerrero’s motet, where it is used to set the phrase ‘et gaudebit cor nostrum’. (Compare Example 4 with Example 5).

Magalhães went about the process of deriving material from the model in a thorough way: all eight motives which appear in Guerrero’s motet are also used in the Missa Veni Domine. We have already seen the first two (which together make up the ostinato subject) and the last. The others are shown in Example 6, together with—for each motive—just one instance of their occurrence in the Mass.
Example 6) - Remaining motives in Guerrero’s *Veni Domine*, and examples of their use in Magalhães’s *Missa Veni Domine*
Magalhães's work may also refer to the Esquivel motet *Veni Domine*, though this is a much fainter possibility. In the opening section of the final 'Agnus Dei' Magalhães makes frequent and prominent use of a motive which is not taken from the Guerrero motet, but which corresponds quite closely (although not exactly, in terms of the position of the semitone) with the second part of the ostinato subject in Esquivel's motet (see Example 1 and Example 7). Perhaps here, at the end of the Mass, Magalhães wanted to show that he know both works.

![Example 7](Example 7) - Motive from opening section of final 'Agnus Dei', *Missa Veni Domine*

The case of Magalhães's *Missa Veni Domine* contributes one more element to the picture of Guerrero's influence in Portugal. Probably the most striking example of such influence is to be found within the work of Duarte Lobo: of his eight parody Masses for which the models have been definitely identified, four are based on works by Palestrina and the other four on pieces by Guerrero. In addition, Garro's *Missa Maria Magdalene* published in Lisbon in 1609 is a parody of Guerrero's Easter motet of that title.

The second work to be considered here was published in the same year—1636—as Magalhães's parody of Guerrero: Cardoso's *Missa Anima mea turbata est valde*, from his second book of Masses, dedicated to Dom João, Duke of Bragança. Cardoso states in the dedication that the themes of all seven Masses in the collection were given him by Dom João. There survive just two voices of a six-voice motet by Dom João with the text 'Anima mea turbata est valde'. This piece, together with a second motet by Dom João, *Vivo ego dicit Dominus*, was included as a kind of supplement to some—but not, unfortunately, all—copies of the Psalms, *tum Vesperarum tum Completarum* of João Lourenço Rebelo, published in Rome in 1657. The two surviving voices of *Anima mea turbata est valde* are a bassus part and the altus secundus. José Augusto Alegria concluded from a comparison of this

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7 An indication of Guerrero's remarkable influence in Spain is the fact that Victoria, Alonso Lobo, and Esquivel all began their first volumes of Masses with a Guerrero parody, and that Alonso Lobo and Esquivel concentrated on Guerrero generally in their parody Masses.
8 The bassus is found both in the copy of the 'bassus secundi chori' part-book which is MI 318 in the Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, and in the same part-book of the complete set surviving in the Santini-Bibliothek in Münster. See J. A. ALEGRIA, João Lourenço Rebelo (1610–1661): Psalms tum Vesperarum, tum Completorii. Item Magnificat Lamentationes et Miserere I, Portualliae Musica XXXIX, Lisbon, 1982, pp. X–XI. The 'altus secundus' of the motet is found in the 'altus secundi chori' part-book which is MI 67 in the Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra.
fragmentary motet (shown in Example 8) with Cardoso’s Mass that ‘não é possível verificar se o tema do moteto é o mesmo que foi dado a Frei Manuel Cardoso para compor esta missa’. Re-examination of the two works reveals that Cardoso’s Mass draws heavily upon a substantial quantity of the motivic material in the motet, and should therefore be understood as a parody Mass based on that polyphonic model (rather than a paraphrase Mass drawing on a single theme provided by Dom João).

Example 8) - D. João IV, Anima mea turbata est vale

The surviving voices of the motet contain two motives for the opening words, ‘anima mea’ (see Example 8, bars 1–2 and 15–17), one of which is the basis for Cardoso’s first ‘Christe’ (Example 9; compare, for instance, the first entry of the bassus here with the first entry of the same part in Example 8).

Example 9) - Cardoso, Missa Anima mea turbata est valde, opening of first ‘Christe’

It is not at all surprising to see that Cardoso also included the inverted form of this motive (see, for instance, the entries in the upper two voices in Example 9), since inversion was one of the composer’s favourite devices; however, in this case he had got the idea of using the inverted motive from Dom João’s motet (Example 8, upper part, bars 20–21). The other motive for ‘anima mea’ in the motet (which occurs only once in the surviving voice-parts: in the bassus at bars 15–17 of Example 8) may have been the source for the opening motive of all the movements of the Mass.

Dom João divided the next unit of text in the motet—‘sed tu Domine succurre ei’—into two parts, and then assigned two separate motives to each part. Those for ‘sed tu Domine’ can be seen in direct succession to one another at bars 47–51 in the altus in Example 8, and those for ‘succurre ei’ in the bassus—again in direct succession to one another—at bars 31–37. Cardoso chose one from each of these pairs of motives (the first of each pair, as just exemplified), and combined these for his second ‘Christe’ (Example 10).

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11 This form of the motive is employed by Cardoso again for the opening of his ‘Benedictus’, and later in the ‘Benedictus’ he again combines the two versions of the motive in imitation.

12 This motive is presented in imitation in all voices at the start of the ‘Kyrie’, ‘Gloria’, ‘Credo’, and ‘Sanctus’, whereas at the beginning of the ‘Agnus Dei’ it is given to the bassus only, while the remaining voices sing the alternative motive for ‘anima mea’, in both recto and inverted forms.
Example 10) - Cardoso, *Missa Anima mea turbata est valde*, opening of second ‘Christe’

Again he inverted the motives (compare superius with altus and tenor with bassus in Example 10), but in this instance the idea seems to have been his rather that Dom João’s, as far as can be judged from the surviving voice-parts of the motet.

Cardoso achieved a climactic effect in the final ‘Kyrie’ by selecting rhythmically animated material from the model: a distinctive crotchet and quaver idea which is one of two motives employed in the motet for the last word of the opening phrase of text, ‘valde’ (compare Example 8, bassus, bars 11–12, with Example 11). This final ‘Kyrie’ exemplifies the parody technique of exploring the contrapuntal potential of a motive, and specifically here the different ways in which statements of the motive can be fitted together in two-part counterpoint. While at the opening of the ‘Kyrie’ the entries are conventionally spaced (with a semibreve between entries within each pair of voices), Cardoso then introduced *per arsin et thesin* imitation (i.e. with just a minim between entries) at the octave (Example 11, bar 5, bassus and altus) and later at the fifth (Example 11, bar 12, superius and altus), thus enhancing the sense of climax produced by this final ‘Kyrie’. 
Example 11) - Cardoso, *Missa Anima mea turbata est valde*, final ‘Kyrie’

The remaining text of the motet, ‘miserere mei dum veneris in novissimo die’, was divided by Dom João into three segments: ‘miserere mei/dum veneris/in novissimo die’. The first was again set to two distinct motives, which can be seen in counterpoint to one another at bars 58 to 61 of Example 8. One of these (the one presented by the bassus in the passage just mentioned) appears within Cardoso’s Mass at ‘propter magnum gloriam’ in the ‘Gloria’, at ‘et ex Patre natum’, ‘crucifixus’, and ‘in remissionem’ (Example 12) in the ‘Credo’, and at ‘gloria tua, hosanna’ in the ‘Sanctus’.

Example 12) - Cardoso, *Missa Anima mea turbata est valde*, lower three voices at ‘in remissionem’ in the ‘Credo’

The ‘Dum veneris’ motive in the motet (Example 8, altus, bars 80–82) was used by Cardoso at the end of the ‘Gloria’, for ‘in gloria’ (see the superius at the beginning of Example 13), and the motive (or rather, in this case, its first five notes) was again subjected to inversion; the ascending scale which results is extended to cover the interval of an octave in the bassus and a seventh in the other voice-parts, generating a powerful climax.13

13 This ‘Dum veneris’ motive is used again – in punning fashion given the associated text – at ‘qui venit’ in the ‘Benedictus’.
Example 13) - Cardoso, Missa *Anima mea turbata est valde*, 'in gloria' from the 'Gloria'

The final motive in the motet is the one used to set 'in novissimo die' (Example 8, altus, bars 85–6). The clearest reference to this in the Mass (though not exact) is at 'Filium Dei' in the 'Credo', and there are several other passages which may have been more loosely based upon the motive.\(^\text{14}\)

The process of comparison between motet and Mass throws into relief not only aspects of Cardoso's parody technique but also some of Dom João's compositional habits. Thus, although (as we have just seen) Cardoso has been thorough in incorporating into his Mass at least one motive used by Dom João for each unit of text in the motet, this leaves several themes in the motet unused (in contrast to the case of the Magalhães Mass described above), such is the striking abundance of motivic material within it: Dom João included two distinct motives for 'anima mea', 'turbata est', 'valde', 'sed tu Domine', 'succurre ei', and 'miserere mei'—in other words, for every section of text except (as far as we can tell from the two surviving voice-parts) the last two ('dum veneris' and 'in novissimo die').\(^\text{15}\) It is noteworthy that this use of two motives to set a single text-phrase is found likewise in the other motet by Dom João printed together with *Anima mea turbata est valde: Vivo ego dicit Dominus*.\(^\text{16}\) However, the diversity of material present within any one section of *Anima mea turbata est valde* is due not only to such polythematicism, but also to Dom João's habit of setting unusually large units of text in each of the three sections of the piece, each of these units being split up into two or three sub-units ('anima mea/turbata est/valde', 'sed tu Domine/succurre ei', and 'miserere mei/dum

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\(^{14}\) For example, 'simul adoratur' in the 'Credo'.

\(^{15}\) Cardoso selected just one of the two motives for 'valde', 'sed tu Domine', and 'succurre ei'; in addition, he made – at most – only loose references to the motive for 'miserere mei' seen in, for instance, the altus of Example 8 at bars 58–61.

\(^{16}\) Two motives are used at 'et vivat' in that piece.
veneris/in novissimo die’), each of which is allocated one or (as we have seen) more usually two separate motives. Thus, within (for example) the first section of the piece six distinct motives are in play, giving the opportunity for a very considerable range of contrapuntal combinations which—as is clear even from the two surviving voice-parts, Dom João delighted in exploring. As has already been mentioned, yet another device—inversion—contributes to the motivic variety within Dom João’s writing. Once again it is also found in Vivo ego dicit Dominus, at both ‘nolo mortem’ and ‘et vivat’, both of the motives for the latter unit of text being subjected to inversion.

We return now to Filipe de Magalhães, and to another of the Masses in his Liber missarum of 1636 for which no model has been definitively identified—the Missa O soberana luz. Luís Pereira Leal suggested that the title referred to Philip IV of Spain, and noted a similarity between the principal subject in the opening section of each movement of the Mass and the subject of Cardoso’s Missa Philippina (written in honour of Philip and published in the same year as Magalhães’s Mass). However, as he also notes, the modes of the two themes are different, and there are other small differences besides (the theme of Cardoso’s Mass having a dotted rhythm and a note-repetition not present in Magalhães’s theme).

Before considering further the question of a possible model for the Missa O soberana luz, it is worth noting some unusual features of the piece. The first is its unusually wide range. Although the clef-combination (G2, G2, C2, C3, F3) suggests chiavette, the bassus descends lower than is usual in pieces written in chiavette, namely to A in all movements (and even to G# towards the end of the first ‘Christe’). The resulting overall range (excepting the appearance of G# just mentioned) is no less than three octaves (A to a”). The other characteristic of the piece which stands out within Magalhães’s output is the rhythmic technique. The use of short note-values (crotchets and quavers) to carry separate syllables is so extensive that the editor of the modern edition decided to retain the original values in this piece whereas he had reduced the values by half for his editions of all the other Masses in the Liber missarum. Such animated short-note declamation is not infrequently combined in the Mass with homophonic textures, the frequent use of which is another striking feature of the piece.

17 Portugaliae Musica XXVII, p. XVIII.
We also need to note, before proceeding further, that the distinctive material which acts as a ‘head motive’ in the Missa O soberana luz, being the basis for the first section of each movement,\(^\text{18}\) does not consist only of the single theme mentioned above (see the tenor part in Example 14, which shows the opening of the ‘Sanctus’), but of the contrapuntal combination of this and a distinctive counter-subject (see the upper two parts at the beginning of Example 14). The search for a model for Magalhães’s ‘head motive’ needs to take this into account.

![Example 14) - Magalhães, Missa O soberana luz, opening of 'Sanctus'](example14.png)

Magalhães’s predecessor as mestre de capela of the Capela Real in Lisbon was the Spaniard Francisco Garro. Two collections of Garro’s works, both dedicated to Philip III of Spain, were published in 1609, one of them featuring polyphonic works.\(^\text{19}\) The second of the Masses which stand at the beginning of this collection is the Missa Fili quid fecisti nobis sic, and the opening of the ‘Domine Deus’ section of the ‘Gloria’ is shown in Example 15.\(^\text{20}\)

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18 These opening sections consist of: the first ‘Kyrie’, up to ‘voluntatis’ in the ‘Gloria’, up to ‘terrae’ in the ‘Credo’, the statements of the opening word in the ‘Sanctus’, up to ‘qui venit’ in the ‘Benedictus’, and the setting of the opening two words in the ‘Agnus Dei’.

19 The title-page reads: ‘FRANCISCÍ GARRI NATIONE NÁVARRI; NUNC IN REGIA CAPELLA OLISIPONENSI CAPELLANI, ET IN EADEM MUSICAS praefecti opera aliquot: AD PHILIPPUM TERTIUM HISPANIARUM Regem, secundii Lusitaniae. Missæ quattuor, octonis vocibus tres, & una duodenis. Defunctorum lectiones tres, octonis vocibus. Tria Alleluia, octonis etiam vocibus...’. No complete set of the thirteen original part-books has been located, but three partial sets are known to survive: in the British Library, the Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, and the Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital in Braga. In addition, the music library of João IV once contained a copy.

20 It should be noted that a part is missing, almost certainly a second superius.
Example 15) - Garro, *Missa Fili quid fecisti nos sic,* 'Domine Deus' from the 'Gloria'

Comparison with Example 14 reveals the close similarity between this passage and the ‘head-motive’ of Magalhães’s *Missa O soberana luz.* The correspondences between the pieces go further: they are in the same mode and have the same basic range: three octaves from A to a", 21 and in both cases the clef-combination is *chiavette,* with G2 for superius, C2 for altus, C3 for tenor, and F3 for bassus.22 A more general resemblance is in terms of rhythmic technique: the crotchet and quaver declamation which makes the *Missa O soberana luz* distinctive within Magalhães’s works is ubiquitous within the Missa Fili quid fecisti nos sic, and is again frequently associated with homophonic textures. In summary, while the *Missa O soberana luz* should certainly not be described as a parody of the *Missa Fili quid fecisti nos sic,* the resemblances are sufficient to suggest that Magalhães knew Garro’s work and was influenced by it.23

The Masses in Garro’s 1609 polychoral collection, like those in Magalhães’s *Liber missarum,* present us with hitherto unanswered questions concerning the material or polyphonic models on which the composer drew. The twelve-voice *Missa Domine in virtute tua lassetur rex* is a case in point. The title of the Mass immediately suggests a possible compliment to the collection’s royal dedicatee. Although no surviving parody model for this Mass has been identified, it is intriguing that there once existed a motet for twelve voices (like the Mass) upon a text beginning *Domine in virtute tua lassetur rex,* composed by Philippe Rogier and copied for the Chapel of Philip II of Spain in 1593.24 Given Rogier’s position, the fact that the piece was

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21 As noted earlier, Magalhães just once sends the bassus lower than this, to G♯.
22 As already noted, there is one voice-part missing from choir 1 of the *Missa Fili quid fecisti nos sic.*
23 Magalhães would certainly have been very familiar with Garro’s music, since the two men were colleagues in the Capela Real, and indeed Magalhães acted as Garro’s deputy when the latter was absent, as noted by J. A. ALEGRIA in *Polifonistas portugueses,* Lisbon, 1984, p. 68.
in the repertory of the Madrid Royal Chapel, and the nature of the text, it seems quite likely that this motet was written in honour of Philip II. If this was the parody model for Garro’s Mass (a possibility raised by the identical titles and number of voices, and perhaps increased by the parallel posts held by Garro and Rogier), then his Mass too could have been written for Philip, and later published as an act of homage to his son.\\n\\n25 The text set by Rogier was probably similar to that of Palestrina’s motet with the same incipit, a work which formed the model for Rogier’s own parody Mass with this title. The relevant text, from Psalm 20, includes (verse 4): ‘Vitam petiit a te, e tribuisti ei longitudinem dierum: in seculum, et in seculum seculi’ (‘He asked Thee for life, and Thou granted him length of days, for ever and ever’). This would obviously be appropriate to the long life and reign of Philip II, born in 1527 and thus 66 years of age when Rogier’s motet Domine in virtute tua latabitur rex was copied for the Royal Chapel. Although Garro’s (and Rogier’s) Masses have only the first few words of this psalm text as their title, that title would certainly have brought to mind also the succeeding verses. The dedication of Garro’s 1609 collection of polyphonal works states that the pieces included therein had been composed during Garro’s years in Lisbon, a period which included the last few years of Philip’s life.