

## Seventeenth-century portuguese polyphony: toward a more precise interpretation

DREW EDWARD DAVIES

The rich repertoire of sacred polyphony from seventeenth-century Portugal challenges traditional musicological constructions of periodization. Sources of Portuguese sacred music from throughout the century tend to retain a *stile antico* derived from sixteenth-century compositional principles, and thus musicologists interpret them as anachronistic at the fringe of mainstream Western-European musical culture. Despite the fact that the seventeenth century, like the twentieth, was a pluralistic and turbulent period in which old and new styles co-existed, music histories generally marginalize this and other parallel traditions, since in the context of contemporaneous *avant garde* repertoires from Northern Italian cities and courts such conservative music does not directly influence the long-term stylistic development of European music as a whole. As an explanation for the lack of a cutting-edge local musical tradition and the apparent temporal displacement of sixteenth-century-style polyphony into seventeenth-century Portugal, historians have constructed a 'Mannerist' period for Portuguese music that falls between the widely-accepted periods of 'Renaissance' and 'Baroque'. Relegating the oeuvres of practically all pre-Italianate Portuguese composers to the 'Mannerist' period, this structuralist classification acts as a catalyst for the decontextualization and marginalization of seventeenth-century Portuguese music.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Rui Vieira NERY and Paulo Ferreira de CASTRO, *História da Música*, Lisbon, Comissariado para a Europália 91-Portugal/ Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1991, chapters 2 and 3.1. These chapters were authored by Nery. (Translated by Kenneth Frazer as *History of Music*, Lisbon, Comissariado para a Europália 91-Portugal/ Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1991.) This interpretation has in fact been questioned by Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, «Da música na história de

An interpretation more precise than the notion of an aberrant tradition such as 'Mannerism' in a small country would be the development of a dynamic sense of the interrelation of musical styles and traditions in a period of change. Thus, an alternative view of this repertoire based upon the music itself in an international context both expands the absolutes of 'Renaissance' and 'Baroque' as generally accepted and situates the music of seventeenth-century Portugal in mainstream, though conservative, European musical traditions shadowed by the modern historiography of musical innovation. In order to arrive at this view, the appropriateness of the term 'Mannerism' to polyphony in seventeenth-century Portugal will be systematically queried and subsequently deconstructed as it is employed by specific historians of Portuguese music, and major polyphonic works by Cardoso, Magalhães, and Rebelo will be considered in the wider context of the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> Major, well-known works were chosen for this study, since a canon of such works typically constitutes the spine of historians' systems of periodization.<sup>3</sup>

The term 'Mannerism' originated with historians of sixteenth-century Italian art who sought to identify a 'stylized' style of painting, sculpture and architecture. Referring particularly to the style of certain arts of Rome and Florence between 1520 and 1630 such as the late style of Raphael, it differs from the label 'Late Renaissance' by eschewing the blanket inclusion of all arts of the period.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, all examples of true mannerism date from roughly this period although not all artworks of this period are mannerist. As noted by Linda Murray and other art historians,

Portugal», *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, 4-5, 1994-5, pp. 167-216. Ferreira's section 'A questão do Maneirismo' (pp. 183-192) charts the historiography of the use of the term mannerism and questions the validity of such as periodization, but does not use musical analysis to determine the musical language of mannerism.

<sup>2</sup> Manuel Carlos de Brito has called for such a systematic rethinking of this periodization: 'Para testar a validade geral do conceito de Maneirismo seria necessário tentar analisar à sua luz e de um modo mais sistemático os restantes repertórios de época...' Manuel Carlos de BRITO, «Renascença, maneirismo, barroco: O problema de periodização histórica da música portuguesa dos séculos XVI e XVII», typescript through private communication [published in Emilio CASARES, Carlos VILLANUEVA, eds., *De Musica Hispana et Aliis. Miscelânea em honor al Prof. Dr. José López-Calo*, S.J., Vol. I, Santiago de Compostela, Universidade, 539-54].

<sup>3</sup> I do not imply that all Portuguese compositions of the period will closely mirror these examples, although I chose these works to reflect primary stylistic trends as well as pieces of specific merit and beauty.

<sup>4</sup> Various art historians date the period from as early as 1520 to as late as 1630, although the majority of mannerist artworks date from the period 1530-1590.

Vasari used the term *maniera* in the sixteenth century as the equivalent of 'style', both in the absolute sense of 'in the style of' as well as in a figurative sense, such as 'in a beautiful style'.<sup>5</sup> Generally, the term suggests a virtuosity of artistic creation as well as a virtuosity on the part of the consumer, as the exaggerated, un-academic styles of mannerist artworks break with balanced High Renaissance artistic paradigms and elicit a sense of amazement from the viewer. Common subjects for mannerist artists include the Pietà, martyrdoms, depositions, and other topics that depict intense human emotion. Murray offers a clear definition of how to identify mannerism in sixteenth-century Italian art:

[Mannerism] is equated with a concentration on the nude, often in bizarre and convoluted poses...with exaggerated muscular development; with subject matter either deliberately obscure, or treated so that it becomes difficult to understand – the main incident pushed into the background or swamped in irrelevant figures serving as excuses for displays of virtuosity in figure painting; with extremes of perspective, distorted proportions or scale – figures jammed into too small a space so that one has the impression that any movement would burst the confines of the picture space; with vivid colour schemes, employing discordant contrasts, effects of 'shot' colour, and the use of colour, not for descriptive or naturalistic purposes, but as a powerful adjunct to the emotional impact of a picture... It is quite clear that this definition cannot possibly describe all the works of art produced during the greater part of the sixteenth century...<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Linda MURRAY, *The High Renaissance and Mannerism*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1977, pp. 124–5. Murray continues by noting that *maniera* is 'allied with *grazia* an omnibus term for grace, beauty, lightness, charm, pleasingness, spontaneity, and a host of other desirable aesthetic qualities'. For a more in-depth analyses of the term *maniera*, see Héctor Edmundo RUBIO, *Der Manierismus in der Vokalpolyphonie des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Tutzing, Schneider, 1982 and Craig Hugh SMYTH, *Mannerism and Maniera*, Vienna, IRSA, 1992. Rubio senses an intellectual shift during the sixteenth century in the visual arts, literature and music that privileges style over form but nonetheless adheres to tradition. Rubio draws on Arnold HAUSER, *Der Manierismus*, München, 1964, who defines mannerism as 'eine wesentlich intellektualisch und sozial exklusive geistige Bewegung' as opposed to Baroque as 'eine emotional gestimmte und an weitere Publikumsschichten appellierende künstlerische Richtung', p. 270. The introduction to Smyth's volume, by Elizabeth Cropper, charts the historiography of the term mannerism in art history, importantly noting that the question of mannerism also poses a question of 'Renaissance' in art history.

<sup>6</sup> L. MURRAY, *op. cit.*, p. 125. Her description of the term as related to the other plastic arts is

An example of a painting that displays these traits is the c.1528 *Deposition* of Jacopo Pontormo (1494-1556) in Florence's Santa Felicità (see figure 1). Composed of vivid colors including pink, orange, green and blue that brighten the dark chapel, the painting contains eleven figures with alienated, grief-stricken facial expressions. Two figures support the lifeless Christ, who is depicted toward the side rather than at the center of the painting. Instead, at the exact center of the painting a woman facing away from the viewer holds a white cloth like a hub, around which the figures seem to rotate as if spokes of a wheel. Each of the figures looks in a different direction. Were this disorientation not enough to convince the modern viewer that this painting departs from concordant 'Renaissance' generic expectations, the anatomically exaggerated bodies, particularly the contorted back of the figure supporting the body of Christ, and the irrelevant figures, including the male at the far right and the female head not visibly attached to a body directly above that of Christ, suggest a virtuosic mannerist style. Additionally, the position of the figures' feet indicate motion, and in conjunction with the pathetic expressions of the faces, compel the viewer to feel dizzy and hopeless.

The emotional effect achieved through this art parallels the experience of listening to the music that Maria Rika Maniates classifies as mannerist. Maniates stresses the intellectualized content and context of this music, and thus refers to the rhetorical, affective devices within polyphonic idioms that aim to convey intense and precise emotion in order to astonish the listener as *effetti meravigliosi*. More or less exaggerated madrigalisms found in the madrigals of Gesualdo, Luzzaschi and others, these *effetti meravigliosi* demonstrate virtuosity of composition, and require virtuosity in performance and in listening. Musical mannerism might also subsume experimentation in composing, theorizing and even instrument-making, all in contrast with the stability of *ars perfecta*

equally lucid: 'In architecture, it concentrates on violations of the rules governing accepted usage of the classical orders, and on irrational and unpredictable dispositions of space, combinations or features, treatment of surfaces. It is invariably accompanied by rich decoration, and often by elaborate illusionism. In sculpture, it is discerned in the change from High Renaissance frontality and simplicity of presentation to a search for a multiplicity of views and silhouette, elongation of forms, and exaggerated effects of perspective and scale in reliefs. A Mannerist statue must be walked round, for all its angles of view are equally important'.



Figure 1 Jacopo Pontormo, *Deposition*, Florence, Santa Felicità.

polyphony that aimed at perfection in counterpoint, style, texture and form rather than an immediate aural sensuality.<sup>7</sup> 'Above all, Mannerism wants to startle', Maniates asserts, and thus elicits a vivid conception of the style of music from the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries that might be considered mannerist.<sup>8</sup>

Unlike her discussion of mannerist painting, which focuses primarily upon sacred visual art, Maniates' examples of musical mannerism are limited to secular pieces from Italian cities and courts, highly competitive environments in which composers such as Luzzaschi and D'India wrote music to exalt patrons and impress visiting dignitaries with sophisticated and innovative musical entertainments.<sup>9</sup> Inseparable from the tradition of the polyphonic Italian madrigal, mannerist compositions rely on social venues for maximum effect, and thus intermedii, particularly those from 1589 Florence, also belong to a mannerist tradition. Compared with 'standard' contemporaneous *ars perfecta* sacred polyphony labeled 'Renaissance', mannerist compositions contain more frequent chromaticism, more irregular sectionalization, wider melodic intervals, denser ornamentation, and greater attention to the musical elaboration of poetic conceits at the expense of formal design, as in the madrigal *Moro, lasso* from Gesualdo's sixth book of madrigals, published in 1611, although possibly composed in the 1590's.

Assuming that mannerism is a valid concept for categorizing this style of secular music, Gesualdo's idiosyncratic, chromatic compositions most

<sup>7</sup> The composer and theorist Nicola Vicentino (1511-ca. 1576) addressed issues of chromaticism in the mid-sixteenth century. Among other accomplishments, Vicentino built a keyboard that could sound microtones, and engaged in debate (in Italy) with the Portuguese musician Vicente Lusitano over the nature of the three ancient Greek genera (diatonic, chromatic, enharmonic). Notably, this type of experimentation affected the chromatic language of the seventeenth century, and thus might be recognized as a prescient *avant garde* rather than as mannerism.

<sup>8</sup> Maria Rika MANIATES, *Mannerism in Italian Music and Culture, 1530-1630*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1979, p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Maniates' musical examples are drawn from madrigals by Vicentino, Verdelot, Willaert, Festa, Arcadelt, della Viola, Rore, Orso, Tudino, Lasso, Luzzaschi, Marenzio, Wert, Gesualdo, Monteverdi, Schütz, B. Pallavicino, Caccini, Saracini and d'India written between ca.1525 and 1638 – virtually the lifespan of the Italian madrigal. The context of the music also suggests and overlaps with the concept of *musica reservata* in the late sixteenth century. Like her discussion of music, her discussion of mannerist architecture considers primarily non-ecclesiastical properties. The possible category error committed by paralleling sacred art and architecture with secular music is not addressed.

convincingly articulate the appropriateness for such an idea. *Moro, lasso* (see example 1) opens with affective sonorities sliding downward using chromatic progressions foreign to the incipient tonality found in many contemporaneous works.<sup>10</sup> The second soprano begins with an E sharp.<sup>11</sup> Analogous to Italian *chiascuro* painting, the texture change at 'e chi mi può' from low, male voices to a high, soprano-dominated tessitura, contrasts dark and bright colors, and immediately thereafter a rapid rhetorical figure on 'vita' ricochets through the five-voice texture. The rest of the madrigal alternates between chromatic homophonic sections and polyphonic sections replete with brisk affective figures. Cross-relations abound, such as between the two sopranos in the eleventh measure of the edition, although the voice leading remains smooth though eccentric. The epigrammatic nature of the five-line anonymous text, which itself might be considered mannerist, permits the artistic flexibility Gesualdo utilizes in the composition.<sup>12</sup>

The aural experience of this madrigal parallels the visual experience of Pontormo's *Deposition*. Vivid colors, extreme contrasts, subjective emotions and grave imagery unite these two characteristic examples of mannerism, themselves artworks somewhat uncharacteristic of their day. Clearly, this conception of musical mannerism is not founded upon periodization, but rather on the recognition of a provocative sub-style of Italian music that existed outside the church in the private spaces of the cultural elite. Maniates has implicitly shown that the mannerist style in music depends upon specific musical approaches to secular text-setting and virtuosity, and mannerism in general does not represent a trend in all Roman Catholic devotional arts of the period. Hence her book belies a bifurcation of focus: mannerism can be found in sacred painting and

<sup>10</sup> The score is published in Wilhelm WEISMANN, *Gesualdo di Venosa: Sämtliche Madrigale für Fünf Stimmen, Sechstes Buch*, Hamburg, Ugrino Verlag, 1957.

<sup>11</sup> Maniates employs the term 'floating atonality', no doubt a reference to the work of Edward Lowinsky, to describe the opening of 'Moro, lasso', a concept I consider anachronistic and irrelevant to this pre-tonal, affectively oriented and linearly conceived music, especially since the progressions are eventually directed toward clearly planned pitch centers and cadences. None of my analyses are derived from Maniates or other scholars.

<sup>12</sup> Interestingly, the poetry of Camões has been considered mannerist. Had composers developed or social conditions permitted a secular genre that utilized Camões' texts akin to the Italian madrigal's reliance on Petrarch and later Tasso, Ariosto and Guarini, a unique secular Portuguese (mannerist?) musical style might have emerged.

E chi mi puo dar vi - - - ta,  
 Mo - ro, las - so, al mio duo - lo E chi mi puo dar vi - - - ta  
 Mo - ro, las - so, al mio duo - - - lo E  
 Mo - ro, las - so, al mio duo - - - lo E chi mi  
 Mo - ro, las - so, al mio duo - lo  
 e chi mi puo dar vi - - - ta,  
 e chi mi puo - - - dar vi - - - ta,  
 chi mi puo dar vi - - - ta e chi mi puo dar vi - - - ta,  
 puo dar vi - - - ta e - - - chi mi puo dar vi - - - ta,  
 E chi mi puo dar vi - - - ta,

Ex. 1 Gesualdo: *Moro, lasso*, excerpt.

sculpture, but only in secular music.<sup>13</sup> As shall be seen, the Portuguese music classified as mannerist bears few of the traits exemplified by Gesualdo's *Moro, lasso*, and in most cases relates, ironically, more closely to the Italian music not considered mannerist.

<sup>13</sup> Architecture and literature are two areas in which mannerism crosses the sacred/secular boundary. However, one might argue that mannerist ecclesiastical architecture was intended to impress the public, display wealth and assert ecclesiastical power, in parallel with the mannerist city and country estates designed for the nobility. Similarly, highly sensual devotional poetry, particularly on Marian themes, might appear to chronicle intense feelings of spiritual love, but in



Applying the concept of mannerism to the arts of Iberia poses a significant problem that the case of architecture illustrates. In Italy, the mannerist arts reacted against neo-classical 'High Renaissance' ideals of order and unity in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and thus architectural mannerism uses the elements of neo-classicism in parody.<sup>14</sup> In Giuliano Romano's Palazzo del Tè begun in 1526 near Mantua, for example, whimsical contrasts between eclectic architectural elements cause the viewer to sense motion and amazement rather than classical perfection. For mannerist architecture to be effective in its violation of classical orders and proportions, buildings in the neo-classical style must be commonplace for comparison, as was the case in sixteenth-century Italy. However, the architectural styles in Spain and Portugal primarily followed late Gothic designs in this period, before Italianate models were adopted.<sup>15</sup> Thus, mannerism would not evolve locally as a reaction to current styles, but would be a fashionable import from Italy, as was mannerism in Germanic lands and the low countries. Mannerism in Northern Europe resulted from the imitation of mannerism in Italy, the

fact might simply use Marian imagery as a powerful mechanism for selling quasi-erotic literature in an age of censorship. John SHEARMAN, quoted in Joshua RIFKIN, «Miracles, Motivicity, and Mannerism: Adrian Willaert's *Videns Dominus fientes sorores Lazari* and Some Aspects of Motet Composition in the 1520's» in Dolores Pesce, ed., *Hearing the Motet*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997, *cit.* pp. 252-3, does raise the possibility of musical mannerism in sacred music: 'There may be some justification for extending the term Mannerism to the luxuriant, beautiful and often unintelligible polyphonic Masses and motets of the post-classical sixteenth century before the restraining influence of the Counter Reformation.' Rifkin briefly applies the concept of mannerism to *Videns Dominus*, a motet by Willaert, ca. 1527 in relation to his use of motivicity, but is cautious not to push the analogy too far. H. E. RUBIO, *op. cit.*, who uses musical analysis to support his theory of an intellectual shift in the sixteenth century shows how Willaert and Gombert, for example, violate rules while retaining forms used by Josquin. In his view, allied with German historiography of the term, this paradox underlies a spiritual uncertainty that unifies this music together with late madrigals as mannerism. I would argue that the unconformity in the sacred works he cites does not differ substantially from earlier conventions to warrant a discrete periodization, but rather enriches our unified notion of 'Renaissance' polyphony.

<sup>14</sup> Another commonly held interpretation considers mannerism as a final and necessary stage in the development of neo-classicism in Italy.

<sup>15</sup> Notable exceptions in Spain include Diego de Siloe's transformation of the Granada cathedral from a Gothic to a classicizing Italian style in 1528 and Charles V's palace at Granada, designed by Pedro Mechuca and begun in 1527. See Alastair SMART, *The Renaissance and Mannerism in Northern Europe and Spain*, London, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972, pp. 202-203. In lieu of a developing local High Renaissance style, however, these buildings reflect Charles V's interest in emulating Italian models, and thus represent the monarch's self-fashioning.

modern, even 'trendy' stylish style, and could represent freshly-acquired culture.<sup>16</sup>

Spain witnessed such an importation with the art of El Greco (1541-1614). The native of Crete studied with Titian in Venice before settling in Spain and was well aware of the mannerist styles of Central Italian artists. His use of color, troubled expression and turbulent landscape as well as his dramatic sectionalization of the canvas in works such as the *Martyrdom of St. Maurice* and the *Burial of Count Orgaz*, both from the 1580's connect him with Italian mannerism rather than with local Spanish traditions:

Nothing is less truly Spanish than El Greco's art, for it was the culmination of Italian Mannerism. [Luis] Morales in this sense was more truly Spanish, for his visions are pathetic without ecstasy, and his blend of Gothic emotion and harsh intensity of fact is more evocative of the Spanish mind than El Greco's more intuitive sensibility.<sup>17</sup>

In Iberia, as in all areas outside of Italy, art in the mannerist style reflects recent trends in modern Italian art. At the end of his monograph on mannerist painting in Portugal which situates this style of painting as an ideological vehicle of the Counter-Reformation, Vítor Serrão attempts to define the aesthetic values of Portuguese mannerism in the visual arts. He cites a list of internal forces that shaped a national sense of mannerism in the second half of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, including social uprisings of artists and peasants between 1585 and 1673, the unexpected decline in stability of the national economy, the creation of a powerful middle class, the expansion of colonial trade, the growth of cities, and an increase in printing.<sup>18</sup> Undeniably these factors shaped society both within and beyond Portugal at the end of the sixteenth century, and exemplify a period of change which might be open to modernism in the arts. These points might suggest that Serrão favors a

<sup>16</sup> L. MURRAY, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

<sup>17</sup> L. MURRAY, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

<sup>18</sup> Vítor SERRÃO, *A Pintura Maneirista em Portugal*, Lisboa, Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1982, pp. 132-133.

local genesis for Portuguese mannerism, but he continues by acknowledging the nature of the imported taste, which corresponds to the standard definition of Central Italian mannerism and its diffusion:

Torna-se inegável o carácter pronunciadamente maneirista da pintura portuguesa da segunda metade do século XVI e de alvares do século XVII, que aceita o grosso do «receituário» italianizante na execução das obras particulares (alteamento figurativo, «formas serpentinadas», «terribilitá», nova escala da composição, distorção ilógica do espaço, acidez cromática), alinhando também por aspectos espirituais do Maneirismo internacional como o misticismo exacerbado (aqui por via tridentina, naturalmente), o refinamento áulico nos retratos e acessórios, e a sensualidade.<sup>19</sup>

While the extremity of mannerism in Portuguese paintings of the late sixteenth century by artists such as Cristóvão de Moraes, Diogo Teixeira, and Fernão Gomes is moderate in comparison with Italian models, Serrão rightly retains the aesthetic requirements of this artistic style in his exploration of sacred visual art in Portugal. Serrão also locates the production of mannerist artworks in the urban and cosmopolitan environment of Lisbon, where foreigners and locals with foreign tastes might demand 'modern' artworks, while the arts in the provinces naturally retained a certain conservatism. Thus the art, primarily chapel paintings and alterpieces, as well as its context in a cosmopolitan center, parallels the Italian model to some degree. Alastair Smart also notes that the close trading relations between Portugal and the Low Countries in the sixteenth century influenced Portuguese art and suggests that artists such as Vasco Fernandes and Gregório Lopes used Flemish mannerist works as models for their own painting.<sup>20</sup>

The introduction of the concept of mannerism into Portuguese music histories ignores this sacred/secular bifurcation, and assumes a cohesive temporal span that requires a discrete periodization. Rui Vieira Nery, like Victor Serrão, locates musical mannerism in the context of local

<sup>19</sup> V. SERRÃO, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

<sup>20</sup> A. SMART, *op. cit.*, p. 212. Although the mannerist art traditions in the low countries derived from Italian sources, the Italian polyphonic traditions originated with composers of Flemish birth working in Italy, and thus sacred polyphony in Portugal may be referred to as in the Flemish style.

conditions such as the Inquisition, the defeat of Portuguese imperial policies in Morocco, a national crisis of identity in the mid-sixteenth century, and the Counter-Reformation, but also like Serrão recognizes that mannerism is a seductive import rather than a local development.<sup>21</sup> Logically, however, these local crisis conditions might work antagonistically to a widespread development of mannerist art, as censorship, collapsing economic conditions and rural uprisings would preclude the cultivation of the effete and the foreign in sacred spaces. Under such conditions, austerity rather than virtuosity would predominate. Artists, harder pressed than usual for income would be less likely to experiment with radical forms, and declining economic conditions would preclude a lucrative market for secular music prints or for the hiring of skilled, professional singers. Significantly, the mannerist arts from Italy derive from wealthy, more liberal social and political conditions, and thus local factors of economic decline and social restriction suggest that mannerism did not prevail in Portugal, rather than vice versa. Concordantly, Nery states that:

The repressive activity of the Inquisition, the ideological output and teaching efforts of the Jesuits, and the Tridentine legislation [sic] moulded a new cultural order in which Music best fitted in when, in the best Platonic and Augustinian tradition, it aspired to an ethical and educational effect on the individual and collective human mind.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, Tridentine ideas of order, textual clarity and a neo-Platonic didactic function dominate the musical requirements of Portuguese churches in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. Such 'Renaissance' ideals paradoxically describe the 'Mannerist' era of music in Nery's history, and thus a contradictory and decontextualized view of Portuguese polyphony results. Evidently, Nery himself acknowledges that musical style for the church differs from that for the court, but this dichotomy does not seem to problematize his view of an inclusive mannerist periodization:

<sup>21</sup> R. V. NERY, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-52.

<sup>22</sup> R. V. NERY, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

The study of documented descriptions, of the archives and especially of the very works known to have been written in the various institutions, shows us that from the last third of the century onwards, one can speak of a dichotomy between the cathedral repertory, destined for a wide public and for this reason more simple and austere, almost always in an imitative four-voice style, and a repertory exclusive to the palace chapels, bearing in mind an elite audience of sophisticated musical education and showing for this reason a greater openness to more diverse aesthetic traits and to a more marked technical complexity.<sup>23</sup>

The crux of Nery's view of mannerism lies in the composer's privileging the poetic content of Marian or otherwise emotional liturgical or devotional texts over musical form in sacred music. Thus, music for Holy Week attains a sense of drama through the musical portrayal of emotions such as betrayal, fear, darkness, pain, death and resurrection.<sup>24</sup> Such images are indeed consistent with images in sacred art considered mannerist, although the musical techniques used by Portuguese composers in the seventeenth century display none of the *effetti meravigliosi* described by Maniates to musically illustrate them. Furthermore, major sixteenth-century composers from Iberia and elsewhere composed emotionally-charged music for Holy Week and upon Marian texts within the accepted bounds of linear counterpoint. The Holy Week compositions of Tomás Luís de Victoria and Roland de Lassus, not to mention Palestrina, illustrate the late sixteenth-century approach to setting emotive texts contrapuntally, and might be described as 'humanist' for synthesizing the communication of human emotions through musical figures with strict formal devices in a didactic, neo-Platonic sense. Even if the *choice* of poetic text for musical setting might be described as mannerist, the resultant music aims at the clear declamation of words rather than the sensual representation of them, and thus the ideal stands in opposition to the mannerist style as represented by Gesualdo and Luzzaschi.

<sup>23</sup> R. V. NERY, *op. cit.*, p. 51. The repertoire for the palace chapels probably refers to the music of J. L. Rebelo.

<sup>24</sup> R. V. NERY, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

Portuguese music in the early seventeenth century continues the tradition of Victoria and Lassus in a late manifestation of 'Renaissance' musical ideals, as does much contemporaneous Italian sacred music. Thus, taking a view implicitly against that of a mannerist periodization, Manuel Carlos de Brito locates Portuguese polyphony in an extended Renaissance and calls for a more viable paradigm for this music than currently stands:

It may be reasonably argued that this late flourishing of the Flemish tradition in Spain along with the cultural isolation into which the whole peninsula withdrew after the Counter-Reformation are mainly responsible for the conservative tendencies which are to be found in Spanish and Portuguese religious music well in to the seventeenth century...The period which has traditionally been considered as that of the greatest flourishing of Portuguese polyphony already falls outside the European Renaissance...Therefore, an attempt must be made to seek some sort of explanation for this late flourishing of Portuguese religious polyphony. What must indeed be stressed is that these polyphonists confined themselves to religious music and went on writing in the *stile antico* apparently unaware of the intense musical revolution which was going on...<sup>25</sup>

Clearly, the Portuguese repertoire does not comprise a luxurious local tradition which requires consideration separately from mainstream European musical ideals and styles as a mannerist fringe area. In the following discussion of the music, it will be apparent that the mid-sixteenth-century style of Palestrina (rather than the early sixteenth-century style of Josquin) influences the Portuguese polyphonists most directly, although certain sacred polyphonic compositions from seventeenth-century Portugal modestly illustrate characteristic seventeenth-century techniques of composition by incorporating significant passages of vertical harmonic organization, homophonic vocal declamation, and bass-driven harmonies, as well as an ideological shift

<sup>25</sup> M. C. de BRITO, «Problems Encountered in the Study of Portuguese Musical Relations with Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands during the Renaissance», *Current Musicology*, 37/38, 1984, *cit.* p. 121.

away from word painting toward *Affektenlehre*. Far from indicating mannerism, these traits suggest a conservative blending of Palestrina-style counterpoint with newer compositional trends in a style closer to the mainstream than thought.<sup>26</sup> In this sense, the music does not necessarily point to a late flourishing of the Renaissance, but rather to a contextual inertia within the Roman Catholic church toward the codified ecclesiastical style in the absence of widespread local chamber or theatrical musical traditions.

The students of the composer Manuel Mendes at Évora in the last years of the sixteenth century, and subsequently their students, form the nucleus of Portuguese composers of sacred polyphony known as the Évora School. Nery constructed his mannerist period upon the seventeenth-century works of these composers. The first generation of composers after Mendes includes the most well-known Portuguese composers: Filipe de Magalhães (ca. 1571-1652) who became Chapelmaster of the Royal Chapel at Lisbon, Duarte Lobo (ca. 1565-1646), who became Chapelmaster at the Cathedral of Lisbon, and Manuel Cardoso (1566-1650), who worked at the Convent of Carmo at Lisbon. Other important composers include Estêvão de Brito (ca. 1575-1641) and Estêvão Lopes Morago (ca. 1575-ca. 1630), who was Chapelmaster at Viseu. A third, late generation of composers includes Diogo Dias Melgás (1638-1700), the last major composer of sacred polyphony before composers such as Francisco António de Almeida and António Teixeira assumed fashionable, modern styles at the beginning of the eighteenth century during study in Rome.

The scene is easy to imagine: expressive polyphony sung in a candlelit cathedral on Maundy Thursday to a pained congregation enduring economic and political hardship. The darkness of this perversely romanticized image of the 1630's applies as easily to Cardoso's Lisbon as

<sup>26</sup> Some of the techniques apparent in Portuguese seventeenth-century music that differ from Renaissance ideals include: replacing independent equal-voice polyphony with an increased importance of the bass line, thereby implying harmonic progression; contrasting homorhythmic and imitative sections; moving from modal harmonies toward tonal harmonic progression; using augmented and diminished intervals, particularly in a melodic line; using varied rhythms and declamatory styles instead of the steady tactus; expressing text rather than academic musical logic; and developing more sectionalized forms, including those based upon improvisation such as the toccata. These are delineated in M. C. de BRITO, «Renascença...», *op. cit.*

to Schütz's Dresden. Such impressionism seductively invites the notion of mannerism. Since Nery draws attention to the texts of Holy Week as a typical mannerist conceit, and considers Cardoso's lessons for Holy Week to be the 'most moving works of Portuguese musical Mannerism',<sup>27</sup> an examination of one of these motets might yield the musical language of 'Portuguese musical Mannerism'. Known for his use of chromaticism, Cardoso filled the position of chapelmaster at the Carmelite Convent in Lisbon for most of his career and enjoyed the patronage of King João IV, who might also have been his student. Significantly, Cardoso composed polychoral works for 8, 9 and 12 voices that were destroyed along with the rest of João IV's library in the earthquake of 1755. Although Cardoso's knowledge of the Venetian polychoral style must have been secondhand since he did not study in Italy, such evidence that polychoral music was practiced in Lisbon proves that Portuguese composers were not thoroughly ignorant of modern Italian musical developments.<sup>28</sup>

Without diminishing the great aesthetic beauty of Cardoso's motets, sections of his Holy Week lamentations contain some of his most conservative music. For example, the six-voice second lectionary *Vau. Et egressus esta filia Sion* (see example 2) includes such emotionally-charged words and phrases as 'afflictionis', 'in manu hostili', and 'et deriserunt sabbata eius'.<sup>29</sup> A mannerist setting would focus on these phrases, perhaps employing a dissonance such as the interval of a minor ninth on the word 'afflictionis', and a musical gesture to depict the enemy mocking the Sabbath might illustrate 'et deriserunt sabbata eius'. To the contrary, assuming that José Augusto Alegria's transcription reproduces the original text underlay, the heterophonic setting obscures the word 'afflictionis', as syllables of other words are sung simultaneously, and the second superius voice even follows the word with an extended melisma on 'suae'. A suspension between the tenor and bass does add slight tension in the eighth measure of example 2 on this word, although the same D/E flat to C/E flat suspension (7-6) occurs in numerous other points in the motet.

<sup>27</sup> R. V. NERY, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>28</sup> Dating poses a problem in Cardoso's *oeuvre* – most of his motets were published in 1648 at the end of his life, and some could be as much as sixty years old, and thus might be representative of music closer to ca. 1600 than ca. 1650.

<sup>29</sup> José Augusto ALEGRIA, ed., *Frei Manuel Cardoso: Livro de Motetes*, Portugaliae Musica XIII, Lisbon, 1968, pp. 75-80.



Re - cor - da - ta - est - Je - ru - sa - lem - - - di - e - rum -

Re - cor - da - ta - est Je - ru - sa - lem di - e - rum af - flic - ti -

Re - cor - da - - - ta - est - Je - ru - sa - lem - - - di - e - rum af - flic - ti -

Re - cor - da - ta - est Je - ru - sa - lem di - e rum af - flic - ti - o -

Re - cor - da - - - ta - est Je - ru - sa - lem di - e -

Re - cor - da - ta - est - Je - ru - sa - lem - - - - -

af - flic - ti - o - nis su - - - - ae

o - nis su - - - - ae

o - nis - su - - - - ae

nis - su - ae

rum af - flic - ti - o - - - - nis - su - - - ae

Ex. 2 Manuel Cardoso: Vau. *Et egressus est*, excerpt.

Despite the reputation of the composer's chromaticism, this motet contains only one chromatic pitch that might have been motivated by the text rather than by standard contrapuntal practice. Since the final of the motet is G, with an original key signature of one flat, the vast majority of E pitches are flatted (except those leading to F), in order to create an 'aeolian' rather than 'dorian' pitch collection. Not surprisingly, F pitches that lead to G are sharpened, and B pitches that lead to C are marked

natural.<sup>30</sup> Far from embodying chromaticism, the F sharps and B naturals fall within hexachord theory as 'mi-fa semitones'.<sup>31</sup> In the entire motet, only two C pitches are sharpened: as smooth voice leading between two D pitches (measure 23 of the *PM* transcription, altus 2) and, in fact, to create a beautiful, unexpected effect on the word 'Jerusalem' near the end of the motet (*PM*, measure 90, superius 2). Despite the beauty of this moment, a single madrigalism, which might have been accomplished anyway with *musica ficta*, does not qualify the entire motet (or the entire period) as mannerist. In this instance, a lesson for Holy Week inspired conservative music in the style of Lassus or Victoria from a composer known for his use of chromaticism and polychoral composition. Thus, Cardoso might have chosen a *stile antico* for reasons of ecclesiastical propriety even though he was conversant in less conservative techniques and a denser harmonic language.<sup>32</sup>

The chromaticism in Cardoso's motet reinforces the modality of the piece by altering only the most conventional scale degrees in the mode. Since Cardoso's chromatic pitches never emphasize a 'tonal' center other than G, can the harmonic language be considered chromatic at all? Had Cardoso simply used a key signature of two flats, most of the 'chromaticism' would disappear.<sup>33</sup> The chromatic mannerism discovered by Nery and others is not deliberate text-based chromatic stylization, but rather the effect of an uncoded notational system on a motet that falls outside of the traditional, pre-Glarean church modes. Compared with the Gesualdo example, which gratuitously uses chromatic pitches for dramatic effect, Cardoso's Holy Week motet, which might have been written considerably earlier than its 1648 publication, uses chromaticism chiefly to articulate its G aeolian modality within a texture of equal-voice

<sup>30</sup> The edition contains several *musica ficta* suggestions above the staff, thus I assume that the accidentals in the staff are original.

<sup>31</sup> See Eric CHAFE, *Monteverdi's Tonal Language*, New York, Schirmer, 1992.

<sup>32</sup> Note that although few sections of this motet are declaimed homophonically, several sections contain harmonies in root position that suggest harmonic progression in the bass, and thus would seem to be written by a composer who was aware of textures with continuo. The final 'Jerusalem' section of the motet in particular suggests this.

<sup>33</sup> Monteverdi did not use signatures beyond one flat, and in his music the B flat signature indicates 'mollis' as opposed to 'duris' in contemporaneous modal theory. In modern usage, 'chromaticism' refers to a technique in tonal music that uses non-diatonic pitches to move away from the tonal center. For pre-tonal music, the use of this term equivalently can be anachronistic.

polyphony.<sup>34</sup> Ivan Moody claims that 'a mere glance at the works of Cardoso will of course be sufficient to show that his music could not be confused with that of Palestrina'.<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, the work embodies sixteenth-century (even pre-Palestrina) approaches to text setting and counterpoint, and in fact the late date of the work might have simply been a delay in publishing. Although the most progressive, forward-looking works of Cardoso probably no longer exist, music of some other contemporaneous Portuguese polyphonists show a greater density of compositional techniques common in seventeenth-century practice.

The five-voice *Missa O soberana luz* of Filipe de Magalhães published in 1636, one of the most well-known, often-recorded pieces in the Portuguese repertoire, contains several unusual elements about which Ivan Moody is 'less likely to hesitate in using the term "mannerist" at first glance (unless one were to opt for something less elegant such as 'pre-Baroque'.<sup>36</sup> The attributes in question are the three-octave range, the alternation of homophonic and contrapuntal sections, the *chiavette* clefs, and the use of small note values, *note nere* style, in a predominantly syllabic texture. Recently, Owen Rees has convincingly suggested that the long-unknown source of the mass might be the setting of the verse 'Domine Deus' from the Gloria of the *Missa Fili quid fecisti nobis sic*, a 1609 parody mass by Francisco Garro, Magalhães' predecessor at the royal chapel.<sup>37</sup> One might speculate why Magalhães derived the mass from Garro; perhaps he was attempting to establish a sense of *auctoritas* by assuming the style of his predecessor, possibly to keep the musical culture

<sup>34</sup> A survey of Cardoso's motets in vol. XIII of *Portugaliae Musica* yields similar results. However, some of the motets have been transposed by the editor. From the incipits it is evident that the editor transposed the motet 'Mulier quae erat in civitate peccatrix' down a perfect fourth, from an A final to an E final, and thus added a key signature of 1 sharp. This transposition results in the frequent use of the pitch D sharp, an uncommon accidental in the seventeenth century, in addition to the uncommon key signature. Clearly, misleading transcriptions can foster claims of mannerism.

<sup>35</sup> Ivan MOODY, 'Portuguese Mannerism: A Case for an Aesthetic Inquisition', *Early Music* 23(3):451-458, 1995, *cit.* p. 452. Moody acknowledges the contrapuntal technique as 'High Renaissance'.

<sup>36</sup> I. MOODY, *op. cit.*, p. 453. Moody neither explains the musical features he labels mannerist nor defines the term in musical language, but rather uses it as part of a system of value judgments drawn from art historians. While generously supplying musical examples, those examples fail to illustrate his claims.

<sup>37</sup> Owen REES, 'Some Observations on Parody Masses by Magalhães, Cardoso and Garro', *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, 7-8:7-24, 1997/8, *cit.* p. 22. Rees suggests that Magalhães could have

of the royal chapel consistent in a time of conservatism. The title itself was not derived from Garro, but likely refers to Philip IV.

In his parody technique, Magalhães retains the contrapuntal texture of his source, including the tenor melody and the prominent descending melody in the superius, for the head motive of each movement. Rees points out that Magalhães adapted other features of the Garro as well, including the mode, the A-a" range, the combination of *chiavette* clefs and the propensity for small note values – in other words, the supposedly mannerist characteristics.<sup>38</sup> Upon these criteria, the Garro logically also must be termed mannerist. Whilst Magalhães' mass might not be structurally unique, further investigation into its musical attributes might suggest whether or not it should be termed mannerist.

Magalhães uses homophonic textures in passages throughout the *Missa O soberana luz* for clear and rapid text comprehensibility. Sections in the Gloria and Credo, the movements with the longest texts in particular adopt this technique, a hallmark of post-tridentine sacred polyphony.<sup>39</sup> In fact, passages such as 'Domine Fili unigenite' in the Gloria and 'Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine' in the Credo are also set homophonically in Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli* of 1567. Magalhães alternates passages of smooth counterpoint and homophonic declamation, much like in Palestrina's style. More interesting, though, are certain homophonic passages in the first Christe, in which the bass in Magalhães' homophonic texture leaps by fourths, fifths and octaves in proto-tonal progressions (see example 3). Unlike much of the *Missa O soberana luz*, this passage implies a polychoral texture with continuo, perhaps

known and been influenced by Garro's work, but did not construct the *Missa O soberana luz* as a strict parody mass. It is an uncommon technique to parody only a single phrase from the middle of a mass movement, and Magalhães' parody of two contrapuntal voices rather than just one presents convincing evidence that Garro was the source. The Magalhães is published in Luís Pereira LEAL, ed., *Filipe de Magalhães: Liber Missarum*, Portugalie Musica, vol. XXVII, pp. 148-171. Leal has noted the similarity of the head motive to that of Cardoso's *Missa Filipina*.

<sup>38</sup> The masses of Magalhães have not been dated precisely, as they were published in retrospective collections. Master of the royal chapel from 1623-1641, he published a book of masses in 1636, some of which must have been composed earlier. Significantly, Garro published a book of polychoral music in 1609. Assuming Magalhães knew this publication, evidence suggests that musicians in Lisbon were not fully unaware of current styles in Italy.

<sup>39</sup> Secular music employed homophonic textures throughout the sixteenth century, whereas the dense counterpoint of sacred polyphony tended to obscure the text. Notably, Magalhães' mass contains more frequent, more distant, chromatic pitches than do most of Cardoso's motets.

Chri - ste e - lei - son e - lei - son Chri - ste e - lei - son Chri -

Chri - ste e lei - - son Chri - ste e - lei - son Chri - ste e - lei -

Chri - ste e - lei - - son Chri - ste e lei - - son Chri - ste e - lei -

Chri - ste e - lei son Chri - ste e - lei - son Chri - ste e - lei - son Chri -

Chri - ste e - lei son Chri - ste e - lei - son Chri - ste e - lei - - -

ste e - lei - son - Chri - ste e - lei - son e - lei son Chri - ste e - lei - son

son Chri - ste e - lei - son e - lei - son Chri - ste e - lei - son Chri - ste e - lei - son

son Chri - ste e - lei - son Chri - ste e - lei - - son Chr - ste e - lei - son e - lei - son

ste e - lei - son Chri - ste e - lei - son Chri - ste e - lei - son Chri - ste e - lei - - - son

son Chri - ste e - lei - son e - lei - son Chri - ste e - lei - son Chri - ste e - lei - - son

Ex. 3 Filipe de Magalhães, *Missa O Soberana Luz, Christe*

influenced by Magalhães' knowledge of Garro's polychoral works, and situates the work not in mid-sixteenth-century *ars perfecta* but firmly in the early seventeenth-century.<sup>40</sup> Whilst the bass and superius are written imitatively, note how the bass resolves to the pitch D at the beginning of the eleventh measure of example 3 in the sixth and strongest cadential arrival on that pitch in the excerpt. This music sounds like a polychoral sequence of cadences, and in this sense it differs from the dense counterpoint of Monteverdi's *Missa In illo tempore* of 1610, which displays an antiquarian mid-sixteenth century compositional technique more akin to its Gombert model than the clearer textures of Monteverdi's own generation.

<sup>40</sup> In the Credo, the recurring motive of a descending minor triad, particularly at 'Et in unum Dominum', seems to situate the mass in the seventeenth rather than sixteenth century.

The juxtaposition of the first and second Christes illustrates Magalhães' alternation of textures. Using the same text, a four-voice, imitative, horizontally-conceived texture follows the quasi-polychoral, vertically-conceived texture of the first Christe, and Palestrinian stepwise vocal lines replace the incessant leaps and cadence. This sort of 'abrupt alteration' might beckon a mannerist stylization to some, as Magalhães does not retain a uniform style throughout the mass. However, this sectionalization differs greatly from that of Gesualdo's madrigal 'Moro, lasso', which conforms to mannerist ideals. Gesualdo alternates musical interpolations of extreme poetic images in order to spontaneously awe the listener, whilst Magalhães furnishes two contrasting settings of the same text to add variety to a formulaic setting of the mass Ordinary. The interesting contrast in the Magalhães is between newer and older textures.

Another example of Magalhães' alternation of textures occurs in the Credo, when the prevailing homophonic music switches to imitative counterpoint at 'Et incarnatus est'. Without question, attention to the text prompted the change, although, again, this alternation carries no mannerist flair, since convention throughout the sixteenth century from Josquin to Morales to Palestrina called for a textural change, often a decrease in the number of voices or the use of longer note values to produce a slower, more subdued effect, at 'Et incarnatus est'. Magalhães' work, following convention, strikes the listener with its economy and clarity, and even in contrapuntal passages retains a simple-enough texture so that the clarity of the text remains uninhibited.

Music histories of the seventeenth century concentrate upon the development of monody, opera, oratorio, cantata, and above all, affective composition based upon continuo textures, despite the fact that music in the more conservative *prima prattica* flourished in ecclesiastical centers throughout Europe, particularly in Italy. Stephen Miller has shown that this style, more properly known as the *stylus ecclesiasticus*, was grounded in the style of Palestrina, and fostered not an aberrant, reactionary tradition, but rather a mainstream style for liturgical composition differentiated from the often-studied styles for the chamber and theatre. Although structuralist historiography excludes such music from the progression and development of musical styles, the immense quantity of liturgical compositions preserved in Italian archives examined by Miller attests to the vitality, propriety and currency of the ecclesiastical style. Composers

recognized the taste of the audience as a determinant of style, and thus the ecclesiastical style most appropriately reflected the needs and contexts of the church service, just as madrigals and early operas reflected the tastes and needs of patrons. Such a composer was Stefano Landi (ca. 1586-1639), best known today for his spectacular opera *San Alessio* produced in Rome in 1634. Like most seventeenth-century composers of theatrical music, Landi also composed in the *stylus ecclesiasticus* and wrote in the preface to his (now lost) 1639 book of masses that:

[I have] taken great care not to depart from the particular and long-standing practice of the basilica [St. Peter's] which is well suited for the style of vocal music, having been preceded [in this enterprise] by the invincible Palestrina, once the most worthy judge of these our compositions. Whoever has deviated from [this style] has without a doubt often fallen into the snares of babbling and buffoonery.<sup>41</sup>

The difference between Landi and Portuguese composers such as Magalhães lies not necessarily in their styles of composition, but rather in their options for employment or performance. In early seventeenth-century Lisbon, no emerging operatic tradition existed simultaneously to attract the attention of prominent ecclesiastical composers. Unlike the situations in Italian cities such as Rome, Venice, Mantua, and Ferrara, little evidence survives of a bourgeois vernacular tradition comparable to the madrigal that would have provided composers with a medium for *effetti meravigliosi*.<sup>42</sup> In fact, since the sacred music of Roman composers such as Gregorio Allegri (1582-1652) compares closely with the music of Magalhães, little reason remains to consider his music as anything but early-seventeenth-century *stylus ecclesiasticus*.

<sup>41</sup> Stephen R. MILLER, *Music for the Mass in Seventeenth-Century Rome: Messe Piene, the Palestrina Tradition and the Stile Antico*, PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1998, p. 3.

<sup>42</sup> The villancico was connected with church performance, unlike the social gatherings, academies, and courtly performances associated with the Italian madrigal. This essay does not address the villancico, particularly those by António Marques Lésbio (1639-1709), but a similar pan-seventeenth-century context might be interpreted for them, even if that context challenges (or ironically literally affirms) the taxonomy of 'baroque'. For a 'mannerist' transcription of secular music based upon the rhythmic distribution of poetic stresses, see Manuel MORAIS, *Cancioneiro Musical de Belém*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1988.

According to Miller, Allegri's *Miserere* of ca. 1638 'seems [to be] the very soul of the conventional understanding of the *stylus ecclesiasticus*', as it features a 'slow declamatory pace, unaccompanied voices, somber harmonies, [and a] hypnotic alternation of textures'.<sup>43</sup> This setting of Psalm 50 for Holy Week uses a predominantly homophonic texture common in the singing of psalms, and is set in *alternatim* performance, with polyphonic odd-numbered verses and plainchant even-numbered verses. Allegri's piece favors a style similar to the first *Christe* of the Magalhães, in which the bass does not contribute to equal-voice polyphony but rather implies a harmonic progression, even though the work is not scored with continuo.<sup>44</sup> This texture strikes a middleground between the pure style of Palestrina and the contemporaneous continuo textures.

If Magalhães' employment in a major ecclesiastical establishment prevented his adoption of full-blown seventeenth-century musical developments outside of the church, logic dictates that a composer free of any such attachment might cultivate music that incorporates some of the more innovative features of early seventeenth-century music. Alegria writes in the preface to his edition of the works of João Lourenço Rebelo that:

Any commentary on such a rich and complex output as Rebelo's would of necessity be long...It must be repeated that we are dealing here with the artistic redeemer of the 17th century in Portugal which, in spite of having produced Father Diogo Dias Melgás, a composer of great merit, has always been considered weak. João Lourenço Rebelo's surpasses all known Portuguese religious music, by virtue of its being in tune with the most advanced techniques then in use in Europe.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> S. R. MILLER, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

<sup>44</sup> Allegri's form differs dramatically from the Magalhães, due to its text and function, but offers a similar position and aesthetic to the Portuguese repertoire studied here. I do not imply that all sacred music was composed in the *stylus ecclesiasticus* – for example Venetian composers in particular wrote polychoral sacred music with continuo. However, most ecclesiastical institutions did not have the resources of Venice and utilized more conservative compositions.

<sup>45</sup> José Augusto ALEGRIA, ed., *João Lourenço Rebelo: Psalmi tun Vesperarum, tum Completorii, item Magnificat Lamentationes et Miserere*, Portugaliae Musica, vols. XXXVIX-XLII, Lisbon, 1982, *cit.* vol. XXXVIX p. xxiv.



Rebello (1610-1661), a friend of João IV and dedicatee of the King's published defense of modern music, wrote extensive amounts of polychoral, concerted music from the 1630's through the 1650's. Despite Alegria's characterization of Rebello as a Palestrinian savior, Rebello's position as a friend of the monarch, therefore more or less a courtier, granted him a position of independence to compose music in a modern style with little regard for audience appreciation or job security. Even though he composed sacred compositions, the context of ducal and royal patronage seems to reflect the systems of patronage in place in contemporaneous Italian and Germanic cities and courts. Significantly, the existence of Rebello's compositions proves that some knowledge of modern musical developments in Italy were known in Portugal, at least at Vila Viçosa via the editions of contemporary music in the library of João IV.<sup>46</sup>

Rebello's seven-voice motet *Panis Angelicus* is not a polychoral work, but it exemplifies compositional devices that surpass those used by Magalhães.<sup>47</sup> Free use of dissonance (e.g., the A-C-D-E cluster in the penultimate measure), broad and chromatic homophonic declamations (*O res mirabilis*), modulations to areas distant from the 'tonal' center, the use of graphic, imitative figures on words such as 'panis' and 'caelicus', wide melodic intervals, and grand pauses before homophonic declamations contribute to the drama and expressivity of the work, which shows greater similarity to the works of Schütz than to Cardoso. The swirling effect created by the constant ascending and descending figures allude to the main image of the text, the miracle of transubstantiation. These rhetorical figures are not dissimilar to those discussed by Burmeister in his *Musica poetica*, a treatise that specifically refers to the music of Lassus, but is commonly applied to seventeenth-century repertoire. Rebello's Lamentation for Matins on Maundy Thursday, *Aleph. Quomodo sedet sola*, a motet with text-based sectionalization, vivid harmonic shifts including the juxtaposition of root-position chords related by a major third, and rhetorical figures amid a texture that alternates between homophony and

<sup>46</sup> Rebello published his collected works late in life. João IV's will provided for the publishing of Rebello's compositions after the monarch's death, and thus the works appeared in 1657, probably long after they had been composed.

<sup>47</sup> J. A. ALEGRIA, *op. cit.*, vol. XLII, pp. 19-27.

imitation most approximates Gesualdo's *Moro lasso* in technique. This motet with madrigal-like attention to text represents words such as 'amaritudine' (bitterness) with chromatic scales and dissonances worthy of the notorious Italian composer. Whilst some of Rebelo's music, such as *Aleph. Quomodo sedet sola* might invite the label 'mannerist', Rebelo's music in general falls securely into the aesthetic principles considered under the taxonomy 'Baroque', as do the outputs of composers such as Schütz and Rovetta, who composed mostly sacred pieces under the influence of Giovanni Gabrieli and the Venetian polychoral style. Considering Rebelo's status as an amateur composer at court, his most individualistic compositions do not represent the cathedral tradition of Portugal, or any useful notion of periodization. Rather his freely-composed music exemplifies how systems of employment and patronage (or the lack thereof) can alter the content of musical works in a given time period.

The representative pieces chosen from the works of Cardoso, Magalhães and Rebelo hail from the early to middle seventeenth century, but together do not suggest a period of stylistic unity for Portuguese sacred music. Whilst some scholars might detect a sequence 'Renaissance, Mannerist, Baroque' across the three works, a broader, pluralistic interpretation of them as examples of a slowly-developing *stylus ecclesiasticus* based upon Palestrinian polyphony yet malleable to contexts of patronage and personal taste avoids rigid periodizations that have traditionally marginalized this repertoire. Relocating these works into mainstream musical life helps to recognize some of the musical styles people would have actually heard on a regular basis, a repertoire undoubtedly very different from the works of the period familiar to musicologists, performers and listeners today. A shift to the concept of 'Seicento' dispenses with the structuralist periodizations and allows the music to speak for itself from whenever it happened to have been written, rather than from the interior of an imposed paradigm.

In a Roman context, works such as Magalhães' *Missa O soberana lux* fall into the mainstream tradition of the *stylus ecclesiasticus*, and thus do not flaunt the mannerist features so easily seen by some commentators. If anything, as a liturgical composition, its ideals are 'anti-mannerist', as the music serves the didactic and ritual needs of a congregation rather than the social entertainment of urban sophisticates. This has several

implications for Portuguese music historiography: The imposition of a mannerist periodization for seventeenth-century Portuguese music does not reflect the musical language of the surviving sources, unless a similar periodization were applied to all composers of sacred polyphony in the era, including Italians such as Allegri. The concept of mannerism, as defined by art historians, applies to specific Italian visual arts, and when interdisciplinarily applied to Italian music, reflects musics aesthetically and ideologically at odds with the polyphonic music of seventeenth century Portuguese cathedral composers.

Of the three styles of music typically utilized in the seventeenth century (ecclesiastical, chamber, and theatrical), Portuguese composers composed primarily in the *stylus ecclesiasticus* using techniques that were not anachronistic, but rather comparable to those used by Italian composers *of the same style*. The local economic and social conditions delineated by Nery and Serrão as causes of mannerism certainly did influence the delay in the development of opera, the lack of a market for vernacular compositions, and the lack of a public interest in virtuosic musical display.<sup>48</sup> Thus, the *stylus ecclesiasticus* cultivated in Portugal relates primarily to conventions of the Roman Catholic church rather than to specific local conditions that affected the development of other musics. The immense *stylus ecclesiasticus* repertoire from the seventeenth century reflects the music that people would have heard or sang on a periodic basis, and the survival of much of this music in Portugal contributes to the richness of the repertoire and the active musical traditions of ecclesiastical institutions there. An increased appreciation of this style on the part of musicologists challenges the inherited structural history that favors innovation over convention, as noted by Carl Dahlhaus who noted that 'the most difficult and intractable problem for structural history, and an almost paralysing one, is the so-called non-contemporaneity of the contemporaneous.'<sup>49</sup> In the case of Portuguese seventeenth-century

<sup>48</sup> This is noted by R. V. NERY, *op. cit.*, p. 52; 'With the musical life of the courts of the Viceroy and of the Duke of Bragança practically reduced to the liturgical ceremonies celebrated in their respective Chapels, there ceased to be a market and an institutionalised support for secular Music, the great cathedrals from now on being the only openings for our musicians and composers...'

<sup>49</sup> Carl DAHLHAUS, *Foundations of Music History*, tr. J. B. Robinson, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 141.

composers, a more robust view of contemporaneous pan-European traditions exemplifies that the music of composers such as Cardoso, Magalhães and Rebelo does not simply depict local practice in a fringe area, but rather enriches our understanding of musical practice in a pluralistic time and contributes to a more precise historiography of music in the seventeenth century.