

The manuscript Vila Viçosa, Alegria A2 (Joaquim 8): An eighteenth century compilation in honour of João IV?

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Of the twenty volumes of polyphony surviving in the Palace of the Dukes of Bragança at Vila Viçosa, Manuel Joaquim has shown that ten of the fourteen manuscript volumes date from the eighteenth century or later.¹ Of the remaining four, only one, VV.A.A3/J9,² bears any indication of date, 1610, and purpose, 'In festo S. Elisabeth', though the name of the scribe is not given. The other three volumes are also anonymous and bear no indication of when they were compiled. Detailed study of the structure and contents of one of these, VV.A.A2/J8, has yielded evidence that it was copied early in the eighteenth century, possibly in honour of D. João IV.

Measuring 43x29.5cm, VV.A.A2/J8 is bound in a sturdy leather binding over wooden boards. The leather is further decorated with brass mountings in the centre and on the corners of both front and back covers (see Figure 1). The volume was also fitted with 2 clasps on outer edge of the front cover. There are no flyleaves or guardsheets but the 120 paper folios appear to be in the same hand and ink throughout, the scribe copying both text and music. There is no number on the first folio, but the remaining folios have numbers inserted neatly on the upper right corner of the recto, running consecutively from 2 to 119. The last folio is unnumbered and contains an index to the contents of the volume, again in the same hand and ink (see Figures 2 and 3).

1 See Manuel JOAQUIM, *Vinte livros de música polifónica do Paço Ducal de Vila Viçosa*, Lisboa, Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1953.

2 The system of numbering used in this article is a composite of the two main listings of the music at Vila Viçosa. Thus, VV.A.A3, refers to José Augusto ALEGRIA's catalogue (*Biblioteca do Palácio Real de Vila Viçosa: Catálogo dos Fundos Musicais*, Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1989) section A, item 3; and J9 refers to Manuel Joaquim's numbering of this volume in *Vinte livros*.



Fig. 1 Photograph of cover

<i>Quicumque Christum</i>	<i>fol. 113.</i>
<i>Hunc et Prophetis</i>	<i>fol. 113.</i>
<i>Iste Confessor. Navarro</i>	<i>fol. 117.</i>
<i>Benedicamus Domino</i>	<i>fol. 119.</i>

Fig. 3 Index – last folio, verso

INDEX	
<i>Pfal. Dixit Dñus. p.^{mo} toni = Navarro</i>	<i>fol. 2.</i>
<i>Pf. Confitebor. 2.^o toni = Navarro</i>	<i>fol. 7.</i>
<i>Pf. Beatus Vir. 3.^o toni = Navarro</i>	<i>fol. 13.</i>
<i>Pf. Laudate pueri. 4.^o toni = Navarro</i>	<i>fol. 13.</i>
<i>Pf. Laudate Dñum 5.^o toni = Navarro</i>	<i>fol. 23.</i>
<i>Pf. Dixit Dominus. 1.^o to. = Cevallos</i>	<i>fol. 25.</i>
<i>Pfal. Beatus vir. 3.^o t. = Piñero</i>	<i>fol. 36.</i>
<i>Pf. Confitebor. 7.^o t. = Cevallos</i>	<i>fol. 30.</i>
<i>Pf. Laudate pueri. 8.^o t. = Cevallos</i>	<i>fol. 41.</i>
<i>Pf. Laudate Dñum. 4.^o t. = de aliseda</i>	<i>fol. 46.</i>
<i>Pf. Letatus sum. 6.^o t. = Navarro</i>	<i>fol. 48.</i>
<i>Pf. Nisi Dñus. 8.^o t. = Navarro</i>	<i>fol. 53.</i>
<i>Pf. Lauda Hierusalem. 8.^o t. = Cevallos</i>	<i>fol. 57.</i>
<i>Pf. Credidi. 5.^o t. = Navarro</i>	<i>fol. 62.</i>
<i>Pf. Beati omnes qui. 4.^o t. = Piñero</i>	<i>fol. 67.</i>
<i>Pf. Lauda Hierusalem. 7.^o t. = Navarro</i>	<i>fol. 71.</i>
<i>Pf. De profundis. 6.^o t. = Piñero</i>	<i>fol. 76.</i>
<i>Pf. Memento Dñe David. 8.^o t. = Guerrosi</i>	<i>fol. 81.</i>
<i>Pf. Inconvertendo Dñus. 3.^o t. = Cevallos</i>	<i>fol. 90.</i>
<i>Ave maris stella = Cevallos</i>	<i>fol. 94.</i>
<i>Verilla Regis = Cevallos</i>	<i>fol. 100.</i>
<i>Pange lingua = Cevallos</i>	<i>fol. 106.</i>
<i>Exultet Cælum = Cevallos</i>	<i>fol. 110.</i>
<i>Quicumque</i>	

Fig. 2 Index – last folio, recto

Although there is no title page, the index shows that this volume consists almost entirely of psalms and hymns for Vespers by Iberian composers. Navarro and Ceballos are particularly well represented. This volume is also the only known source of 3 psalm settings by António Pinheiro (c. 1550-1617), the first Portuguese known to have been *mestre de capela* to the Dukes of Bragança.

Manuel Joaquim has pointed out that several of the psalms copied into VV.A.A2/J8 are from Navarro's *Psalmi, Hymni, ac Magnificat*, published in Rome in 1590.³ A copy of this is still preserved in Library of the ducal palace at Vila Viçosa. The first five psalms in VV.A.A2/J8 have, in fact, been copied in the same order as they appear in the print, with another four psalms and one hymn appearing later in the manuscript. Thomas has pointed out that the 12 psalms included in the Navarro print are those which would have been most useful on the greater number of occasions.⁴

The psalms and hymns by Ceballos are also known in other manuscript sources in Spain and South and Central America. However, his works are not known to have been printed.⁵

The copying of manuscripts had been a long-established practice from medieval times and continued even when a printed copy was already available in a particular institution. Nery points out that the items copied give a good indication of what music was actually performed.⁶ In some cases more than one copy was needed for performance, particularly if the singers sang from a large lectern which held two volumes back-to-back (some can hold four), or if the singers were supported by an instrumental ensemble who may have performed from a separate lectern, perhaps even in a different gallery.⁷

A preliminary examination of the physical characteristics of VV.A.A2/J8 is revealing. The colour of the leather, design of the brass fittings, and general style of the bindings are very similar to several other manuscripts in

3 See JOAQUIM, *op. cit.*, p. 93, note 60.

4 See Timothy THOMAS, *The Music of Juan Navarro Based on Pre-Existent Musical Materials*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1990, pp. 54-55.

5 See Robert J. SNOW, *The Extant Music of Rodrigo de Ceballos and its Sources*, Detroit, Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography, 1980.

6 See Rui Vieira NERY, *The Music Manuscripts in the Library of King D. João IV of Portugal (1604-1656): A Study of Iberian Music Repertoire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, 1990, Preface ix.

7 This separation of instrumentalists, particularly in relation to Cordoba, was pointed out by Richard CHEETHAM in his paper «Ministriles en el Coro: Concerted Masses in Sixteenth-Century Cordoba», read at the Conference of the Medieval and Renaissance Society, University of York, July, 1998.

Vila Viçosa which bear dates in the 1730's.⁸ The scribal hand is clear, but not ornate in any way, perhaps an indication that this volume was not a presentation copy but intended for actual use in the Chapel.

The way the folios are gathered for binding in this volume is unusual. The entire volume is gathered and bound in separate bifolios. The other music volumes in Vila Viçosa are gathered in the more usual way, i.e. with the bifolios grouped in twos, threes, or more and sewn on to the binding cloth. The process adopted by the copyist of VV.A.A2/J8, writing the music on to successive separate bifolios in turn, gives the impression that the scribe was more likely a practising musician than a trained calligrapher.

The capital initials seen throughout the volume are not hand drawn (see Figure 4). Careful measurement and tracing show them to be so uniform as to suggest that they have been stamped on to the page. Small discrepancies in placement and alignment further suggest that they have been individually stamped by hand.⁹ This technique is also seen in other volumes in Vila Viçosa.¹⁰ The particular stamp moulds used in VV.A.A2/J8, however, are not the same as those used in any of the other volumes studied so far.

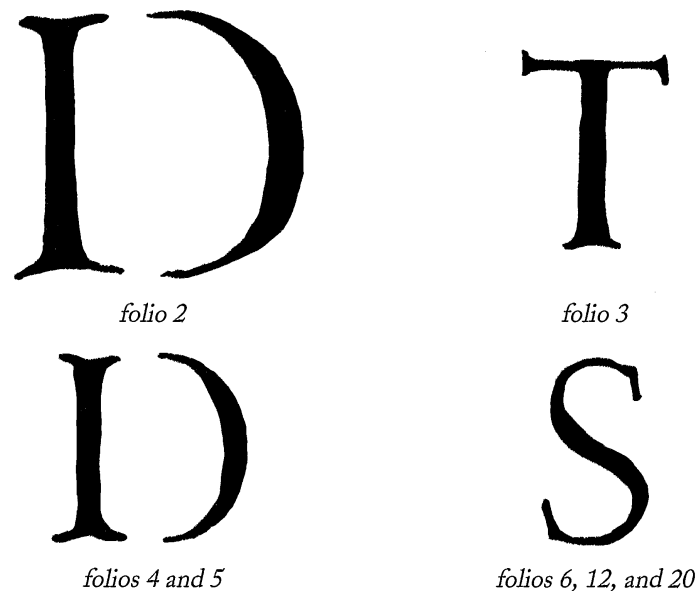


Fig. 4 Tracings of hand-stamped capital initials

⁸ These are VV.A.A5/J11 dated 1735, VV.A.A6/J12 dated 1735, VV.A.A8/J14 dated 1736, VV.A.A9/J15 dated 1736, VV.A.A10/J16 dated 1736, and VV.A.A11/J17 dated 1738, see JOAQUIM, *Vinte livros*, and ALEGRIA, *Biblioteca do Palácio Real*, for more details.

⁹ These examples were discussed with the Director of the Archives, Dr. João Ruas, who described the process as «escantilhão» (usually translated as «moulding»). He was not aware of any tools or implements relating to this process surviving at Vila Viçosa.

The technique by which these capital initials were applied to VV.A.A2/J8 appears to reinforce the suggestion that the scribe was not a trained calligrapher. It also seems as if this technique was, to a certain extent, current in Vila Viçosa, and perhaps other centres in Portugal, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The paper used in VV.A.A2/J8 is all of the same type. A single watermark, resembling the letters 'SP', can be found throughout the volume, placed near the corner of each bifolio (see Figure 5). A very similar watermark is given in Heaward with the note 'Madrid 1723?' though no other details are given.¹¹



Fig. 5 Tracing of watermark

The likelihood that VV.A.A2/J8 dates from the early 18th century still leaves the questions as to whether a purpose for this manuscript can be deduced and how it relates to other 18th century manuscripts at Vila Viçosa.

Looking more closely at the contents of VV.A.A2/J8 is informative. As has been pointed out above, the first five psalms have been copied, in order, from the Navarro print of 1590. They are *Dixit Dominus* (tone 1), *Confitebor tibi* (tone 2), *Beatus vir* (tone 3), *Laudate pueri* (tone 4), and *Laudate Dominum* (tone 5). The fact that the sixth psalm in the manuscript is another setting of *Dixit Dominus*, again in tone 1, this time by Ceballos, confirms the perception that the first five stand together as an intact group.

The psalm tones to which these five psalms are to be sung also catch the eye, tones 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, in order. While the ordering of these psalms in these tones may have been part of a tradition current before

¹⁰ Although no comprehensive study has yet been undertaken, examples can be seen in VV.A.A1/J7, VV.A.A3/J9, VV.A.A5/J11 and VV.A.A11/J17. In fact, the moulds used for VV.A.A1/J7 (the undated parchment volume) and VV.A.A11/J17 can be shown to be identical and, since VV.A.A11/J17 was copied by Antonius Gomes Peteyra in 1738, a clear relationship between these two volumes can be established.

¹¹ See Edward HEAWOOD, *Watermarks*, Hilversum / Holland, The Paper Publication Society, 1950, where it is listed as number 163.

Navarro, they are also the psalms and tones required for First Vespers for the Feast of St. Joseph, Spouse of Mary.

This feast is celebrated on 19 March and although it is categorised as a Double feast of the first Class¹² there are several other feasts which might be considered more worthy of pride of place in a separate volume. Luís de Freitas Branco points out that the Feast of St. Joseph was celebrated with special splendour at Vila Viçosa because 19 March was the birthday of the seventh Duke of Bragança, D. Teodósio II (reigned 1583-1630), father of João, who was later to become King of Portugal.¹³

It must be remembered, however, that First Vespers for the Feast of St. Joseph are sung, not on 19 March, but on the evening before, i.e. 18 March. Second Vespers are sung on the actual feast and, while four of the five psalms for First Vespers are repeated exactly, the fifth psalm, *Laudate Dominum*, is sung to tone 8 at Second Vespers.

The inclusion of the setting of *Laudate Dominum* in tone 5 rather than tone 8 clearly points to the 18th rather than 19th of March as the intended occasion for the first five psalms in VV.A.A2/J8. Why this should be considered so important is puzzling until it is realised that 18 March is the birth date of João, 8th Duke of Bragança, later King of Portugal, and son of Teodósio II, whose birthday was a day later. The juxtaposition of the two birthdays must have been a source of particular joy and celebration during the time they were both living at Vila Viçosa.

It must be pointed out, however, that the ordering of these five psalms and their tones comes from Navarro, not the compiler of VV.A.A2/J8. It must then be asked whether First Vespers for the Feast of St. Joseph had special significance for Navarro. The answer, for the moment, must be that no such connection can be made. It may be that Navarro was following the practice of earlier composers of polyphonic Vespers psalms in presenting examples of frequently used psalms in each of the psalm tones.¹⁴ In Vila Viçosa, however, the fortuitous arrangement of these psalms and tones in the printed Navarro volume must have been realised with the announcement of João's birth on 18 March 1604.¹⁵

12 See, for example, *Liber Usualis*, Montana, St. Bonaventure Publications, 1997, p. 1401.

13 See Luís de Freitas BRANCO, *D. João IV, Músico*, Lisboa, Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1956, p. 17.

14 Any such practice is difficult to establish, however, Diego ORTIZ's *Musices liber primum* (Venice, 1565) gives *Laudate pueri* in tone 4E but *Laudate Dominum* in 8G. GUERRERO's *Liber Vesperarum* (Rome, 1584) gives *Dixit* in tone 1, *Confitebor* in tone 7, *Beatus vir* in tone 3A, *Laudate pueri* in what could be 1 or 6, and *Laudate Dominum* also in 8G.

15 See José Augusto ALEGRIA, *História da Capela e Colégio dos Santos Reis de Vila Viçosa*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisboa, 1983, pp. 29-30; for a description by the Dean, Manuel

With regard to the copying of these particular psalms into VV.A.A2/J8, it must now be asked if there was an occasion in the early 18th century which would have merited a new volume of music. The centenary year of João's birth, 1704, springs to mind. However, as yet, no records can be found which might indicate celebrations of this kind at Vila Viçosa.¹⁶

The music itself, specifically the re-arrangement of some of the psalm verses in VV.A.A2/J8, does give some clues. In general, each opening of the manuscript presents a single verse in four parts, laid out in the usual choirbook format. However, on folio 20, which contains verse 6 of Navarro's setting of *Laudate Pueri*, beginning *Suscitans a terra*, there is what at first glance appears to be a version for 8 voices. Closer examination and draft scoring of the music reveals that this opening contains two settings of the same verse. The original Navarro setting for three *cantus* and *altus* is given but so is another setting of the same verse scored for *catb* (see Figures 6, 7, and 8).¹⁷



Fig. 6 Photograph of folios 19v and 20

Paçanha de Brito, of the time of birth and how they went in procession to the chamber of the Duchess and sang the hymn *Te Deum*. If the musicians in the Chapel had been singing the Vespers psalms from the Navarro volume, they would simply have had to turn to folio 102 for his setting of the *Te Deum*.

- 16 Manuel Inácio PESTANA's typescript of *Mercês de D. Pedro II 1683-1706* (2 vols.) records the generous payments made to musicians on the occasion of the coronation of D. Pedro II. The 15 *chameleiros* and 11 *trombeteiros* were paid 16,000 réis each and 35 *moços da camera* 25,000 réis on 27 December 1706. However, for the year 1704, there seem to be no indications of any special celebrations.
- 17 Draft scoring of the music on this opening very quickly revealed that two *canti firmi*, extreme discords and cadences, and differing overall lengths were only possible as two separate verses.

Verse 6 of Ps. 112, *Laudate pueri*

V.V.A.A2/J8 fol. 20

Navarro

Sus ci tans

Sus - ci - tans a ter - ra in - o - pem, et

Sus ci tans

Sus - ci - tans a ter - ra in - o - pem, et

Sus ci tans

Sus - ci - tans a ter - ra in - o - pem, et

Sus ci tans

Sus - ci - tans a ter - ra in - o - pem, et

5

de ster - co - re e - ri - gens pau - pe - rem,

de ster - co - re e - ri - gens pau - - -

de ster - co - re e - - - ri - rens pau - - -

de ster - co - re e - ri - gens pau - pe - rem, e -

8

e - - - ri - gens pau - per em.

pe - rem, pau - pe - rem.

pe - - - rem.

ri - gens pau - - - - - pe - rem.

Fig. 7 Transcription of original Navarro verse

VV.A.A2/J8 fol. 20

Anon.

Sus ci tans Sus - - - ci - tans a ter - ra in o -

Sus ci tans Sus - - - ci - tans a ter - ra in o -

sus ci tans Sus - - - ci - tans a ter - ra in o -

Sus ci tans Sus - - - ci - tans a ter - ra in o -

4
- - - pem et de - ster - co - re e - ri -

- pem et de ster - co - re e -

- pem et de ster - co - re e - ri -

- pem et de ster - co - re

7
- gens pau - - - - - pe - rem.

- ri - gens pau - pe - - - - - rem.

- gens pau - pe - rem, pau - - - - pe - - - rem.

e - ri - gens pau - - - - pe - - - - rem.

Fig. 8 Transcription of substitute verse

This presentation of two settings is also done for Ceballo's *Dixit Dominus*. Again, verse 6, *Dominus a dextris*, is given in the original version for ccat along with a version for catb.

It should be pointed out that not every piece in VV.A.A2/J8 requiring multiple trebles has been rewritten. Verse 6 of Navarro's *Laetatus sum*, beginning *Rogate*, set for ccat, is presented on folio 50 with no provision of an alternative. The same applies to the ccat setting of verse 10, *Propter David*, of Guerrero's *Memento Domino*, on folio 84 and the anonymous *Benedicamus Domino*, for ccct, at the end of the volume.

Unfortunately, there is, as yet, no clue as to who composed these verses. The counterpoint is competent but would surely have been within the capabilities of any of the professional musicians working at Vila Viçosa. What is clear, however, is that these alternative verse-settings were intended, perhaps needed, for occasions when there were insufficient trebles capable of performing the required multiple parts.

There are two occasions when a lack of trebles was recorded at the Ducal Palace. The first of these was just after João had been declared King of Portugal in 1640 and virtually the entire Vila Viçosa court moved to Lisbon. Alegria describes this as the 'calvary' of the chapel and cites letters written by the Dean, António Brito de Sousa, complaining about the lack of charamelas, music, money, even palms for Palm Sunday, and asking for a treble and a sackbut to fill in.¹⁸ These events seemed to indicate 1641 to 1645 as a plausible period for the compilation of this manuscript, a suggestion presented on a previous occasion.¹⁹ It does, however, conflict strongly with the watermark evidence, which suggests a much later period for this manuscript.

The other period when a lack of trebles was recorded was during the tenure of Padre João Gomes Vaquero.²⁰ Vaquero was a chaplain from 1693 and is also thought to have served as *mestre de capela* though no music survives which can be attributed to him.²¹ Records also show that he became Rector of the Colégio dos Reis, a position he held until his death in 1707.²² Two other *mestres de capela* served in the first half of the eighteenth century. Padre Brás Nunes Ribeiro occupied the position from

18 See ALEGRIA, *História da Capela e Colégio*, pp. 41-47.

19 This was suggested in my paper «The Manuscript Vila Viçosa Alegria A.2 (Joaquim 8): A birthday compilation for João IV?» presented at IX Encontro de Musicologia, Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, October 1998.

20 See ALEGRIA, *História da Capela e Colégio*, p. 222.

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 169-170.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 222.

1709 to 1733 and he was succeeded by Padre Inocência de Sousa Mealha, who served until 1763.²³ However, no similar lack of trebles is known during the tenure of the latter two *mestres*.

The similarity of the binding of VV.A.A2/J8 to other volumes known to date from 1735 to 1738 has been noted above. This might suggest that the volume also dates from this period. The binding almost certainly does, but the scribal work is so completely different from the professional work of Julião Ferreira da Cruz, Vincentius Perez Petroch Valentinus, and Antonius Gomes Peteyra that it seems unlikely to have been part of the same copying project. The content of these elaborate volumes is also vastly different. They include a large number of pieces for six and eight voices, a far cry from the paucity of resources implied by the substitute verses in VV.A.A2/J8.²⁴

It seems probable, then, that the music in VV.A.A2/J8 was copied before the highly ornate volumes were commissioned from Valentinus, da Cruz, and Peteyra and that the whole group was then bound. It is, admittedly, possible that VV.A.A2/J8 was copied after the other manuscripts but bound with them. However, it seems highly unlikely since it would probably have delayed the binding of the other volumes, and the pressure to complete the scribal work would surely have compromised the high level of accuracy of the single scribe who compiled all 120 folios.

It seems, then, as if the actual copying of VV.AA.2/J8 was done prior to 1735-8, before the folios were bound. From the condition of the pages, though, there is no evidence that the volume, or any section of it, was used for any extended period of time in its unbound state. It could, of course, have been given a temporary parchment binding, but as yet, no evidence of this can be discerned.

Who is likely to have been the scribe? As with the composition of the substitute verses, the prime candidates must be the *mestres de capela*, João Gomes Vaquero (1693-1707), Brás Nunes Ribeiro (1709-1733), or Inocência de Sousa Mealha (1733-1763). However, the non-ornate, scribal work involved could have been done by almost any competent musician in the Chapel.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

²⁴ See JOAQUIM, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-289. The Valentinus volumes were copied in Lisbon, probably from exemplars in the Library of D. João IV, see Bernadette NELSON, «Holy Week at Vila Viçosa», *Cultura*, 15, London, Portugal 600, Summer 1997.

To conclude, the evidence suggests that manuscript VV.A.A2/J8 was compiled by a scribe who was not a professional calligrapher but most likely a practising musician, using paper dating from the early eighteenth century. The music copied includes all the polyphonic psalms for First Vespers for the Feast of St. Joseph, celebrated on 18 March, and may be related to a still unknown anniversary of the birth of D. João IV of Portugal. In the earlier portion of the manuscript, verses originally requiring multiple *cantus* parts were recomposed, anonymously, so that only one *cantus* part was required. This points to a Chapel which did not have available sufficient competent trebles to perform the original versions, a situation known to exist in the early eighteenth century. The volume was most likely bound around 1735-38 at the same time as other, more ornate, volumes were being prepared for the Chapel at Vila Viçosa.