

Polyphonic Church Music and Sources from Late Sixteenth-Century Évora Cathedral

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Resumo

Neste artigo abordam-se o escasso repertório polifónico sacro de finais do século XVI oriundo de Évora e respectivas fontes que subsistem. A análise centra-se no manuscrito fragmentário *P-EVc* Ms 12, com origem provável na catedral, do qual se examinam pormenorizadamente as características materiais relevantes. A possível autoria das obras que o manuscrito contém é também ponderada, com base em critérios estilísticos e cronológicos.

Palavras-chave

Estudo de fontes e de repertório; Estilo e atribuição de autoria; Polifonia sacra; Século XVI tardio; Sé de Évora.

Abstract

This article addresses the very few extant polyphonic church repertory and sources from the late sixteenth century with origin in Évora. The main focus is on *P-EVc* Ms 12, a fragmentary manuscript possibly from the cathedral, of which the relevant material characteristics are thoroughly examined. The likely authorship of the pieces it contains is also considered on the basis of stylistic and chronological criteria.

Keywords

Source and repertorial studies; Style and authorship attribution; Polyphonic church music; Late 16th century; Évora Cathedral.

VERY LITTLE REMAINS FROM THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY polyphonic repertory of Évora Cathedral. No complete source has survived and no inventories of music manuscripts or prints belonging to the cathedral from that period are known to exist.¹ Only five small

¹ There is indeed an inventory dated 1541, *P-EVc* CEC 2-V, ff. 42v-48v, but only including liturgical and chant books.

four-voice pieces presumably composed there by the late 1560s or early 70s have emerged so far in manuscript sources of different provenance. Two of these pieces have no explicit authorship attribution and another one has a conflicting attribution (see Table 1 in the Appendix).²

The acceptance of the reformed Roman liturgy, which the cathedral's chapter declared on 22 December 1570,³ brought the need for renewed and newly composed repertory. For instance Cosme Delgado, a singer since 1552 who became chapel master sometime in the 1570s,⁴ was entrusted with the composition of new music for Holy Week, a job that kept him busy from early April to late July 1571.⁵ These works, now lost, were later copied for exclusive use in Évora Cathedral, on the orders of Cardinal *Infante* Dom Henrique:

[...] *o liuro q' compos Cosmo Delgado das lamêtações e lições da somana sancta se treslade e se apôte de nouo pois o Car.^{al} nosso S.^{or} ha por bẽ q' se faça a somana sancta e q' out.^o nhũ aja nesta igreja.*⁶

[...] the book composed by Cosme Delgado with the lamentations and lessons for Holy Week be copied and written anew because the Cardinal our Lord wants the Holy Week to be sung from it and no other exists in this church.

However, some twenty years later, proper chant books were apparently still lacking. As acknowledged by the rector of the college of choirboys during the visitation made to the cathedral by archbishop Dom Teotónio de Bragança on 4 June 1593:

[...] *ha m.^{ta} necessidade de hum liuro onde este[ja]m as glorias E Cremos e chirios q' a falta destes em cousas de arte em liuro se dizem mal e soã mal e o choro principalm.^{te} não pode dizer de cor e q' se deuẽ cõmetter a M.^{el} mēdes q' faça e cõponha estas cousas e q' veja outros liuros q' o sobchãtre apontar.*⁷

² Although evidence of the performance of polyphonic music at Évora Cathedral goes back to the late fifteenth century, the regular employment of singers with the purpose of instituting a musical chapel there apparently begun in the late 1510s. The first known chapel master in Évora, Mateus de Aranda, was hired in 1528; a college of choirboys was instituted and attached to the cathedral in 1552. Aranda's two printed treatises—*Tractado d'canto llano* (Lisbon, German Gallarde, 1533) and *Tractado de canto mēsurable: y contrapūcto* (Lisbon, German Gallarde, 1535)—testify to the early achievement of a comprehensive system of teaching, performance and composition of music, of which almost no other direct source is extant. Despite the useful attempts particularly by José Augusto ALEGRIA—see his 'A música em Évora no século XVI (tentativa de esboço histórico)', *A Cidade de Évora*, 6 (1944), pp. 25-43, and 7-8 (1944), pp. 118-32; *História da escola de música da Sé de Évora* (Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1973); and *O Colégio dos moços do coro da Sé de Évora* (Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1997)—the history of music in Évora still has to be written on the basis of a systematic archival work and clear and sound source criticism.

³ See *Livro 1.º das Lembranças do Cabido que começou em 1569 até 1574*, P-EVc CEC 13-III, f. 31r.

⁴ Cosme Delgado died in 1596, sometime between 21 August and 19 September. Upon his death, nine books covered in white leather containing his works were left to the Jeronymite Convent of Espinheiro, near Évora.

⁵ See *Livro 1.º das Lembranças* (see note 3), f. 35r, record dated 6 April 1571 and marginal note.

⁶ *Livro 2.º das Lembranças de 1574 a 1577*, P-EVc CEC 13-V, f. 12r, record dated 3 March 1575.

⁷ *Liuro das deuassas das visitações do Cabido da See, feitas por D. Teotónio de Bragança nos anos de 1593, 1594, 1595 e 1601*, P-EVc CEC 5-XI, f. 19r.

[...] there is much need of a book where the Glories and Creeds, and Kyries would be, because of the lack of these in things of art in books, they are badly said and sound bad, and the choir especially cannot say them from memory, and Manuel Mendes should be appointed to do and arrange these things and to inspect other books that the sub-cantor may indicate.

Manuel Mendes is the first composer with a connection with Évora Cathedral of whom a number of substantial works remain. He went to Évora in 1575 as a private chapel master to Cardinal *Infante* Dom Henrique. In that same year, when he was ordained priest, Mendes was presumably made chapel master in the Collegiate Church of Santo Antão in Évora, where he held a benefice, and finally became a bachelor in the cathedral there in 1585, a position he held for twenty years until his death in 1605. There is no indisputable evidence that he ever held a teaching position, in Évora Cathedral or anywhere else. And yet, Mendes' considerable reputation rested largely on his abilities as a teacher, though some of his works nevertheless widely circulated in Portuguese and New-World manuscripts.

Mendes' surviving output comprises eleven four- and five-voice works including a setting of the Mass for the dead (see Table 2 in the Appendix).⁸ Of these eleven pieces, three (the incomplete five-voice *Vidi aquam* and the four-voice settings of the responsories *Libera me... de morte* and *Memento mei, Deus*) are preserved anonymously but can confidently be attributed to him. A fourth piece, the five-voice motet *Circumdederunt me*, written in c3 c3 c4 c4 f4 clefs and copied between the Sanctus and Agnus Dei of the *Missa pro defunctis* in its sole source (a manuscript quire bound together with a copy of Morales' *Missarum liber secundus* once held in Lamego Cathedral, *P-Lap* Liv. 143), has a presumed attribution illegible due to trimming. The piece sets the text of the Introit for Septuagesima, not the antiphon for the Office of the Dead; it suits the description of the homonymous motet attributed to Filipe de Magalhães in the *Primeira parte do Index* of João IV's music library: 'Circumdederunt me, a 5. PHELIPPE DE MAGALHAENS. *Da Septuagesima*'.⁹ Moreover, some of its stylistic details, such as the use of a pair of diverging motives for the opening point of imitation and the occurrence of cross-relations and prominent augmented triads as the result of superimposing two consonant dyads arising from independent voice progressions do evoke Magalhães, notably his six-voice funerary motet *Commissa mea*.¹⁰ However, Magalhães was

⁸ Modern edition in *Manuel Mendes: Missa pro Defunctis*, edited by João Pedro d'Alvarenga, Early Music Series, 3 (Lisbon, CESEM, forthcoming).

⁹ *Primeira parte do Index da Livraria de Mvsica do myyto alto, e poderoso Rey Dom Ioão o IV. Nosso Senhor* (Lisbon, Paulo Craesbeeck, 1649), p. 455, item no. 809.

¹⁰ Printed in his *Missarum liber* (Lisbon, ex officina Laurentij Craesbeeck, 1636), ff. 138v-141r; modern edition in *Filipe de Magalhães (1565?-1652): Liber missarum*, edited by Luís Pereira Leal, *Portugaliae Musica*, 27 (Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1975), pp. 196-9.

supposedly a student of Mendes (and augmented triads also occur sporadically in Mendes' music). Thus, the authorship of *Circumdederunt me* may never be fully established. Four more motets for five and six voices, an eight-voice setting of the fourth lesson of the Office of the Dead and a treatise on music by Mendes—all lost—are also mentioned in the *Index* of João IV's music library.¹¹

Some pieces by Filipe de Magalhães, Duarte Lobo and Manuel Cardoso surviving in manuscript form may well have been composed in Évora between the 1580s and the mid-1590s. This is arguably the case with Duarte Lobo's four-voice setting of the hymn for Palm Sunday, *Gloria, laus*, in *P-EVp* Cód. CLI/1-3, ff. 23v-26r,¹² and possibly also the case with the six four-voice motets for Ash Wednesday and the four Sundays in Lent attributed to Manuel Cardoso in *P-Lma* s.s., ff. 38v-40r and 56v-60r.¹³ This latter, little-known manuscript, dated 1646, was in use in the Collegiate Church of St Peter in Óbidos.¹⁴ But, as I suggested elsewhere, early repertories in relatively late manuscripts from Óbidos are often found to have their exemplars in Évora.¹⁵

Duarte Lobo studied in Évora before he went to Lisbon, where he became chapel master at the Royal Hospital of All Saints at an unknown date and, from about 1591 until at least 1639, was chapel master at Lisbon Cathedral. Manuel Cardoso was also in Évora as a student presumably between 1574 or 1575 and at an uncertain date after the mid-1580s, before he entered the Carmelite Order in Lisbon on 1 July 1588.

¹¹ *Primeira parte do Index* (see note 9), p. 458, item no. 810: 'Doleo super te, a 5. MANOEL MENDES'; p. 455, item no. 809: 'Ductus est Jesus, a 5. MANOEL MENDES, da primeyra Dominga da Quaresma'; p. 459, item no. 810: 'Peccauí, a 5. MANOEL MENDES'; p. 466, item no. 816: 'Tu es Petrus, a 6. MANOEL MENDES. De São Pedro'; p. 389, item no. 771: 'Responde mihi, a 8. MANOEL MENDES'; and p. 120, item no. 511: 'Arte de musica de MANOEL MENDES Lusitano'.

¹² See João Pedro d'ALVARENGA, 'Uma obra perdida de Duarte Lobo recuperada (e algumas notas sobre a melodia do hino *Gloria, laus, et honor*)', in *Estudos de Musicologia* (Lisbon, Colibri - Centro de História da Arte da Universidade de Évora, 2002), pp. 89-103, with an edition of the piece at pp. 100-3. The first part of manuscript *P-EVp* Cód. CLI/1-3, dominated by the works of Manuel Mendes, is datable to around 1615 and had its origin probably in the Collegiate Church of Santo Antão in Évora. Besides Mendes' works and the *Gloria, laus* by Lobo, it also contains pieces by Simão dos Anjos de Gouveia and António de Oliveira; see João Pedro d'ALVARENGA, 'Manuscript Évora, Biblioteca Pública, Cód. CLI/1-3: Its Origin and Contents, and the Stemmata of Late-Sixteenth- and Early-Seventeenth-Century Portuguese Sources', *Anuario Musical*, 66 (2011), pp. 137-58.

¹³ Modern edition in *Frei Manuel Cardoso: Six Motets for Four Voices*, edited by João Pedro d'Alvarenga, Early Music Series 1 (Lisbon, CESEM, forthcoming). These are perhaps 'os singulares Motetes, que se cantão na Quaresma' [the remarkable motets that are sung in Lent] as referred to in Manuel de Sá, *Memorias historicas dos illustrissimos Arcebispos, Bispos, e Escritores Portuguezes da Ordem de Nossa Senhora do Carmo, reduzidas a Catalogo Alfabetico* (Lisbon, Officina Ferreyriana, 1724), p. 367.

¹⁴ For a brief note on manuscript *P-Lma* s.s., see Pedro A. de AZEVEDO, 'Catálogo dos manuscritos do Museu Etnológico', *O Archeologo Português*, 17 (1912), p. 197, and 19 (1914), p. 83; and for an equally brief report on both the manuscript and the six motets by Manuel Cardoso, see José Maria Pedrosa CARDOSO, 'Inéditos de Fr. Manuel Cardoso', *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, 3 (1993), pp. 43-52 (available online at <www.rpm-ns.pt>).

¹⁵ See João Pedro d'ALVARENGA, 'Polifonia portuguesa sacra tardo-quincentista: estudo de fontes e edição crítica do *Livro de São Vicente*, manuscrito P-Lf FSVL 1P/H-6' (PhD dissertation, Universidade de Évora, 2005; revised version March 2006), vol. 1, pp. 106-23 and pp. 169-76; and ALVARENGA, 'Manuscript Évora, Biblioteca Pública, Cód. CLI/1-3' (see note 12).

References to Filipe de Magalhães appear in documents from Évora when he was ordained a priest in 1585. Apparently he had been a student in one of the colleges of the city since at least 1578 or 1579. In 1589 Magalhães already held the position of ‘*mestre da claustra*’ [‘master of the cloister’ that is, music teacher] at Évora Cathedral. His name is also on a payroll of the cathedral’s singers and instrumentalists for Holy Week in 1590.¹⁶ He went to Lisbon to be chaplain of the Royal Chapel quite certainly in 1596.¹⁷ Magalhães is said to have been a pupil of Mendes, since the latter bequeathed him his personal music books and manuscripts.¹⁸ Also, the treasurer of the Royal Chapel wrote of him, in a letter from 1610 addressed to the Antwerpian printer Balthasar Moretus, that he was Mendes’ ‘*discipulo primogenito no saber, herdeiro nos beneficios, lugar, e spiritu*’ [first pupil in knowledge, and heir of his benefices, position, and spirit], Mendes having also been ‘*mestre de Duarte Lobo, e de toda a boa musica deste Reino*’ [teacher of Duarte Lobo, and of all good music of this Kingdom].¹⁹

Estêvão de Brito, a pupil of Magalhães whose career unfolded entirely in Spain, first at Badajoz Cathedral (1597-1613) and then at Málaga Cathedral (1613-41), evidently took with him some of his teacher’s works possibly composed still in Évora.²⁰ In partbooks *E-MA* Ms. II (legajo 223-1/224-1), copied in 1629-31 by Pedro de Maraón, ²¹ the sixth piece amongst twenty-five others attributed to ‘*Stephani de Britto*’, or ‘*Stephan(us) de Britto*’—a six-voice motet for Sexagesima Sunday, *Exurge, quare obdormis*—is attributed to ‘*Felippe Magallanes*’. This is almost surely the same piece as the one referred to in the *Index* of João IV’s music library: ‘*Exurge, et ne repellas in*

¹⁶ *P-EVp* Fundo Manizola, Cód. no. 76-8, published in Paulo ESTUDANTE, ‘Les pratiques instrumentales de la musique sacrée portugaise dans son context ibérique. XVIe-XVIIe siècles. Le ms. 1 du fond *Manuel Joaquim* (Coimbra)’ (Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris IV - Universidade de Évora, 2007), pp. 621-2.

¹⁷ See José Augusto ALEGRIA, *Polifonistas portugueses: Duarte Lobo, Filipe de Magalhães, Francisco Martins*, Biblioteca Breve, 86 (Lisbon, Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1984), p. 63. For biographic details on Lobo, Cardoso and Magalhães, see the respective articles in *Grove Music Online* <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>> (accessed 3 April 2015), and Armindo BORGES, *Duarte Lobo (156?-1646): Studien zum Leben und Schaffen des portugiesischen Komponisten*, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung, 132 (Regensburg, Gustav Bosse, 1986).

¹⁸ Manuel Mendes’ will, *P-EVc* Armário 9, Liv. 11, ff. 148-53, transcribed in ALEGRIA, ‘A música em Évora no século XVI’ (see note 2), pp. 127-30.

¹⁹ Tomé ÁLVARES, letter to Balthasar Moretus, 11 March 1610; facsimile in BORGES, *Duarte Lobo* (see note 17), p. 317.

²⁰ Estêvão de Brito, along with Estêvão Lopes Morago, a Spaniard from Vallecas, Madrid, and also a pupil of Magalhães, received the bachelor degree in Arts from the University of Évora on 3 March 1596 (*Livro dos Juramentos e Profissões de Fé da Universidade de Évora*, *P-EVp* Cód. CIII/1-3; see Maria Amélia R. da Motta CAPITÃO, ‘Do ensino das Artes na Universidade de Évora’, *A Cidade de Évora*, 41-2 (1959), pp. 213-399 at p. 368 and p. 379. On 8 February 1597, Brito was already on duty at Badajoz Cathedral, being formally appointed chapel master there on 1 June of that year. In February 1608 he returned briefly to Évora for being ordained a priest. Morago was appointed chapel master of Viseu Cathedral on 15 August 1599.

²¹ See *Catálogo del archivo de música de la Catedral de Málaga*, edited by Antonio Martín Moreno (Granada, Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía, 2003), vol. 1, pp. 151-5.

finem, a 6. FELIPPE DE MAGALHAENS. *Da Dominga Sexagesima*'.²² The twelfth piece in the same collection, the six-voice motet *Laetare Jerusalem*, even if ascribed to Brito, also matches the following reference in João IV's music library catalogue: 'Laetare Jerusalem, a 6. FELIPPE DE MAGALHAENS. *Da quarta Dominga da Quaresma*'.²³ Miguel Querol suggests on stylistic grounds that the motet *Exurge, quare obdormis*, although explicitly attributed to Magalhães, might be the work of Brito;²⁴ but of course, Magalhães' authorship could conversely be proposed on the same basis for the aforesaid motet *Laetare Jerusalem*, since the techniques and style of both composers are often difficult to discern. Symptomatically, all the melodic figures referred to by Miguel Querol as being 'special traits' of the style of Brito²⁵ also occur in the music of Magalhães with nearly the same frequency; and, given the correspondence with the reference in the *Index* of João IV's music library and the nature of the Málaga source—a single-author anthology—we cannot thus simply dismiss the possibility that this latter motet has been misattributed to Brito.

Besides manuscript *P-EVp* Cód. CLI/1-3,²⁶ there is in Évora a fragmentary source of late sixteenth-century polyphonic music that most probably originated in the cathedral: *P-EVc* Ms. 12. This is a paper quire in small choirbook format (about 400×280 mm) with no apparent watermarks, showing signs of having been detached from a larger manuscript volume: edges are trimmed and carmine and the manner of sewing the leaves, judging from the remnants of thread, reinforcing strips and the pricks in the inner margins, suggest it once had a cover; because of its condition, it is difficult to say if the quire as it stands corresponds to more than one original gathering; it can be dated to the 1590s or early 1600s. *P-EVc* Ms. 12 now comprises fifteen unnumbered folios and includes six pieces for the Office and Mass, two of them incomplete and partly textless (see the inventory on Table 3 in the Appendix).²⁷ It is an intriguing manuscript especially because of its informal layout, variety of music and text scribes and copying procedures; for the most part, it looks like a succession of unfinished fair copies and drafts.

²² *Primeira parte do Index* (see note 9), p. 456, item no. 809.

²³ *Primeira parte do Index* (see note 9), p. 456, item no. 809. Both pieces are published in *Estêvão de Brito vol. 1: Motectorum liber primus, officium defunctorum, psalmi hymnique per annum*, edited by Miguel Querol Gavalda, Portugaliae Musica, 21 (Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1972), pp. 13-6 and pp. 30-4 respectively.

²⁴ *Estêvão de Brito vol. 1*, ed. Querol Gavalda (see note 23), p. xviii.

²⁵ *Estêvão de Brito vol. 1*, ed. Querol Gavalda (see note 23), pp. lv-lvi.

²⁶ See note 12.

²⁷ *P-EVc* Ms. 12 is fully digitised at <<http://pemdatabase.eu/source/10194>> (accessed 14 March 2015).

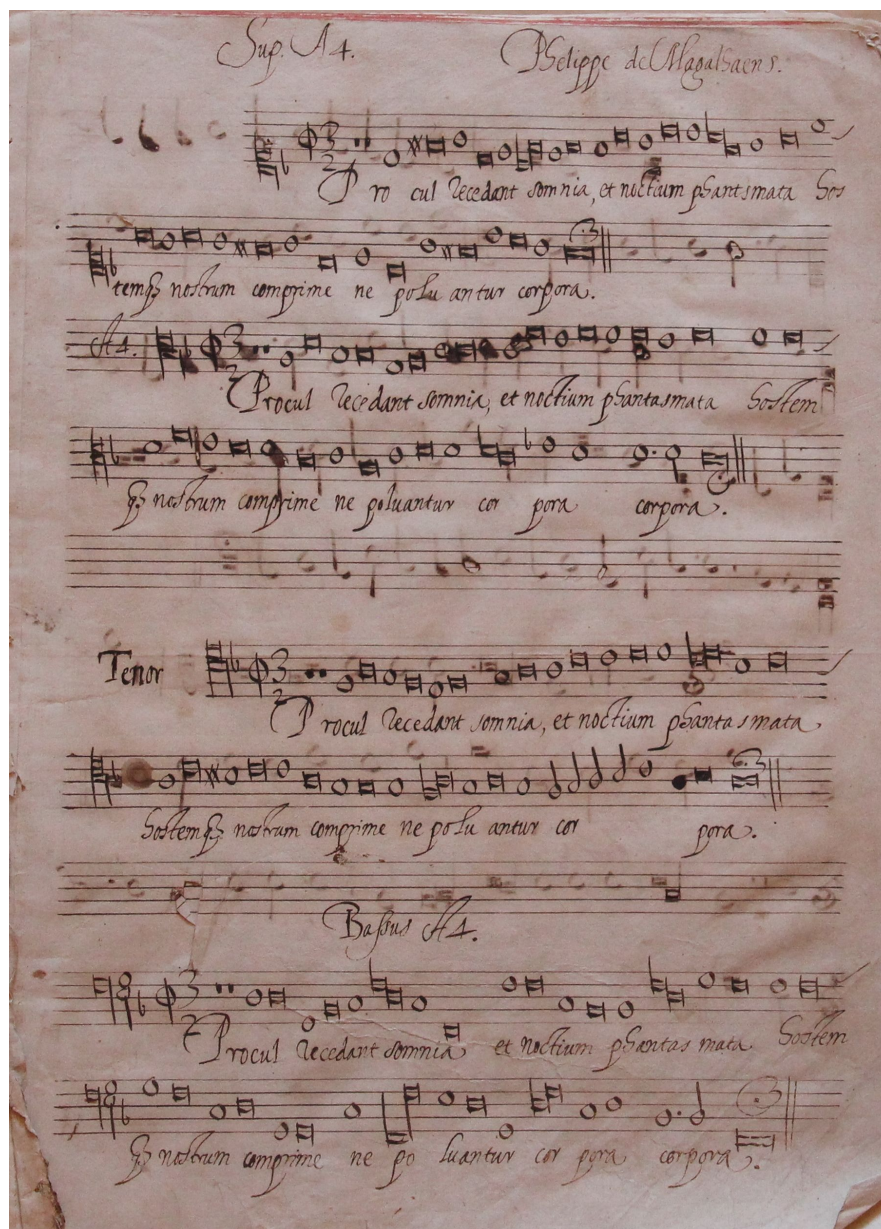


Figure 1. *P-ÉVc* Ms. 12, f. [1]r

The first extant folio of *P-ÉVc* Ms. 12 is headed with the name ‘*Phelippe de Magalhaens*’ (see Figure 1). This has led to the assumption that at least part of the manuscript could be his autograph.²⁸ In a 2012 working paper, Bernadette Nelson concludes that Filipe de Magalhães ‘was evidently the scribe’ of the first piece ‘and several others in the manuscript’.²⁹ However, close

²⁸ This is suggested in ALEGRIA, *Polifonistas portugueses* (see note 17), p. 90.

²⁹ Bernadette NELSON, ‘MS 12 at Évora Cathedral’, a paper read at the *International Colloquium ‘Musical Exchanges 1100-1650: The Circulation of Early Music in Europe and Overseas in Iberian and Iberian-Related Sources’*, Universidade Nova, Lisbon, 21-23 June 2012, Abstracts.

comparison of *P-EVc* Ms. 12 with an authentic autograph of the composer—a letter from him to the cantor of Évora Cathedral, Baltasar de Faria Severim, dated Lisbon, 2 December 1599 (see Figure 2)³⁰—shows that he did not act as a copyist: the handwritings in the autograph letter and in f. [1]r of the fragmentary Évora manuscript, showing markedly different *ducti*, merely share the common characteristics of late sixteenth-century italic script; moreover, the composer spelled his Christian name as ‘Philippe’, not ‘Phelippe’ (see Figures 3a, b and c). So, the heading on f. [1]r of *P-EVc* Ms. 12 is but an authorship attribution for a simple four-voice homophonic setting in triple metre of ‘Procul recedant’, the second verse of the Compline hymn, *Te lucis ante terminum*.³¹

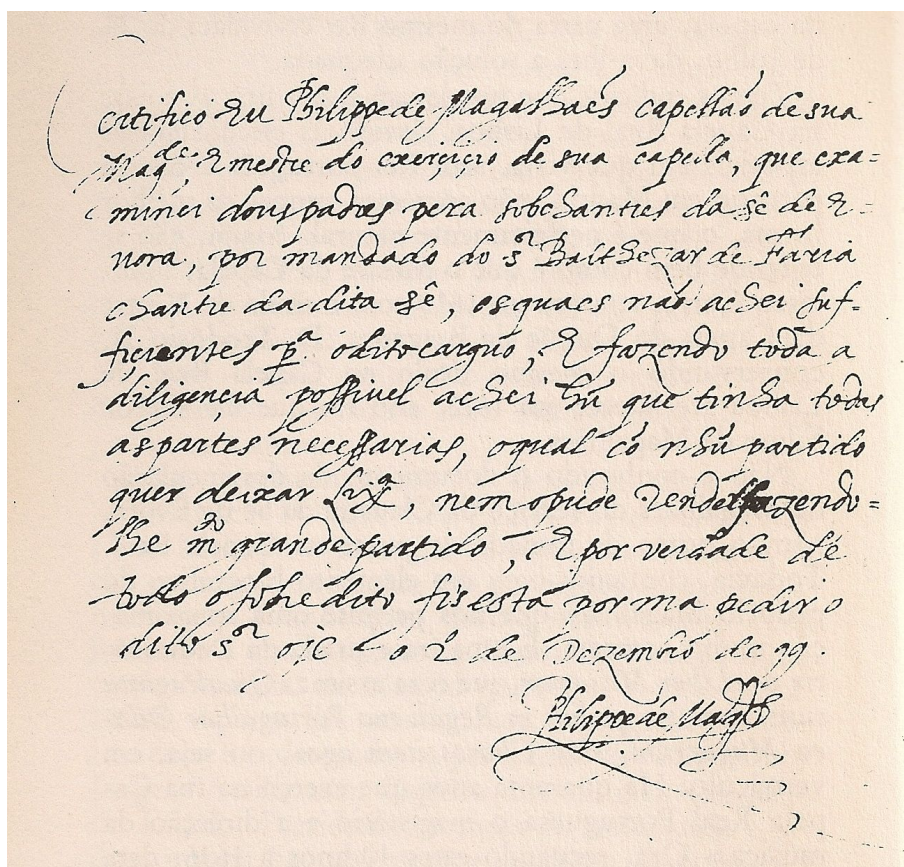


Figure 2. The autograph letter of Filipe de Magalhães (reproduced from ALEGRIA, *Polifonistas portugueses*, p. 64)

³⁰ Facsimile in ALEGRIA, *Polifonistas portugueses* (see note 17), p. 64; Alegria does not give the location of Magalhães' letter.

³¹ Besides this four-voice setting of *Procul recedant* and the six-voice motet *Exurge, quare obdormis* in *E-MA* Ms. II, there are two more pieces extant in manuscript form explicitly attributed to Filipe de Magalhães: *Intellexisti cogitationes meas* [*Domine probasti me*], Ps 138 even-verse setting, four voices, *P-VV* J. 11/A. 5, ff. lxxxvii^v-xcix^r, 'Philippi de Magalhães'; and a cantus-firmus setting of *Pueri Hebraeorum vestimenta*, four voices, *P-Lf* FSVL 1P/H-6, ff. 7v-8r, 'Benedictio palmarum. Philipus de magalhaens'. The antiphon *Pueri Hebraeorum vestimenta* was most probably composed in Lisbon, given the chant it uses and the origin and date of its source. On the latter manuscript, including an edition of the piece by Magalhães it contains, see ALVARENGA, 'Polifonia portuguesa sacra' (see note 15), vol. 1, especially at p. 247 and pp. 282-3; on *P-VV* J. 11/A. 5, see Manuel JOAQUIM, *Vinte livros de música polifônica do Paço Ducal de Vila Viçosa* (Lisbon, Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1953), pp. 119-24.

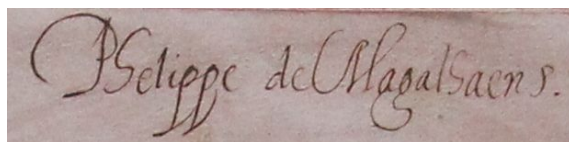


Figure 3a. The name ‘Phelippe de Magalhaens’ from *P-EVc* Ms. 12, f. [1]r

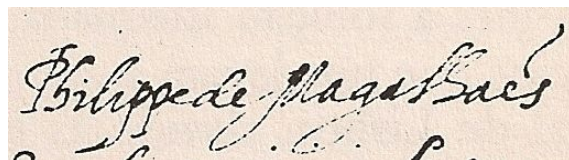


Figure 3b. His name, ‘Philippe de Magalhaens’, from the first line in the autograph letter

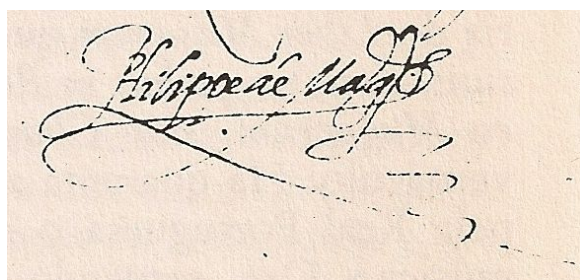


Figure 3c. His signature from the same letter

Two more items for Compline follow: a four-voice setting of the short responsory, *In manus tuas*, and its versicle, *Custodi nos Domine*, both written in g2 g2 c1 c3 clefs. A textless even-verse setting of the Vespers psalm *Beati omnes* closes the first section in the manuscript, as the verso of the fifth extant folio was originally left blank—although there are residues of sealing wax in its inner margin, suggesting that the next folio, now lost, was pasted to it. The hands of at least six scribes are clearly discernible up to folio [5]r: *A*, f. [1]r, music, text and headings; *B*, ff. [1]v-[3]r, music; *C*, ff. [1]v-[3]r, text; *D*, ff. [3]v-[5]r, music; *E*, f. [3]v, text incipit below the top staff; and *F*, f. [3]v, heading.

The second section of *P-EVc* Ms. 12 contains two unattributed pieces, both unfortunately incomplete: a seven- and four-voice setting of the *Salve Regina* and a five-voice Mass on the antiphon *Ave Maria, gratia plena*. Scribe *F* is the main hand for both the music and text on ff. [6]r-[14]v,³² though others have contributed with texting—at least two different hands, one filling the gaps of scribe *F* on ff. [9]r-[12]r, and another one on f. [15]v, Tenor part—and music—scribe *B* clearly on f. [14]v, fourth and fifth staves, Altus part; and a different hand, though related to scribe *F*, from the last section of the Tenor part on f. [14]v to the end of the manuscript; there are several amendments to the music, either over erasure or by means of a strip of paper pasted over the stave

³² Because, as in f. [1]r for scribe *A*, there is no apparent difference in ink and writing pressure between music and text.

(this, on ff. [7]v-[8]r). As noted, one folio—originally containing the Cantus 1°, Altus 1° and Tenor 1° for the first section of the *Salve Regina* setting the second line of text, ‘Vita, dulcedo’—is missing after f. [5] and at least seven or eight more folios after f. [15]—that is, those required to accommodate what is missing from the *Credo*, the *Sanctus*, *Benedictus*, and *Agnus Dei* of the five-voice Mass—were also lost. Because on f. [1]r the four voice-parts were copied one after the other, the piece attributed to ‘*Phelippe de Magalhaens*’ was probably the last to enter the manuscript; it is also the only originally complete piece it contains, since texting in the following *In manus tuas* is obviously later than the copying of the music.

Like most of the known Iberian and Latin-American settings, especially following Francisco Guerrero’s 1570 four-voice *Salve Regina*, the anonymous Évora setting in *P-EVc* Ms. 12 was conceived for use by alternating chant and polyphony. Its scheme is however different from all common alternating schemes for this antiphon, particularly in that it leaves the entire sixth line of text to be chanted; this was more usually set in polyphony up to ‘ventris tui’ (see Table 1 below).³³

1. <i>Salve Regina (mater) misericordiae:</i>	chant
2. Vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve.	seven-voice polyphony
3. <i>Ad te clamamus, exsules, filii Hevae.</i>	chant
4. Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes, in hac lacrimarum valle.	four-voice polyphony
5. <i>Eia ergo, Advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte.</i>	chant
6. (a) <i>Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui,</i> (b) <i>nobis post hoc exsilium ostende.</i>	chant
7. O clemens, (8.) O pia, (9.) O dulcis Virgo Maria.	seven-voice polyphony

Table 1. The structure of the *Salve Regina* setting in *P-EVc* Ms. 12

Although no comprehensive survey exists on the matter, it seems that the most common chant melody to which *Salve Regina* was sung in Portugal was the one used by the Franciscans. The basic Spanish version, apparently known but less often used in Portugal, differs from the Franciscan most distinctly at the opening of the third and fourth lines of text: *fa-sol-la* in the Spanish version instead of *re-fa-sol-la* in the Franciscan.³⁴ Judging from a choirbook dated 1617—though said to have been ‘*ex antiquo tra(n)scribi obseruata cane(n)di methodo*’—a variant of the Franciscan chant melody

³³ On Iberian and Latin-American *Salve Regina* settings, see *A New-World Collection of Polyphony for Holy Week and the Salve Service: Guatemala City, Cathedral Archive, Music MS 4*, edited with an introduction by Robert J. Snow, *Monuments of Renaissance Music*, 9 (Chicago - London, The University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 65-77, especially at pp. 74-6; Grayson WAGSTAFF, ‘Mary’s Own. Josquin’s Five-Part “Salve regina” and Marian Devotions in Spain’, *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 52/1 (2002), pp. 3-34; and Lucy HRUZA, ‘Multiple Settings of the *Salve Regina* Antiphon: Tomás Luis de Victoria’s Contribution to the Renaissance Veneration of the Virgin Mary’, in *Encomium Musicae: Essays in Memory of Robert J. Snow*, edited by David Crawford and G. Grayson Wagstaff, *Festschrift Series*, 17 (Hillsdale, Pendragon Press, 2002), pp. 409-33.

³⁴ See *A New-World Collection*, ed. Snow (see note 33), pp. 68-72.

was used in Évora Cathedral.³⁵ It is however apparent from the head motif in the middle, four-voice section of the anonymous polyphonic setting (even if chant is not cited extensively and, when borrowed, it is freely paraphrased, as is the custom in most Iberian settings; see Example 5 below) that a variant of the Spanish melody was also known there.³⁶ Indeed, some choirbooks used in Évora or its surroundings also have variants of the Spanish chant for the *Salve Regina*.³⁷

Manuel Mendes and Filipe de Magalhães are possible candidates for the authorship of the five-voice Mass and the *Salve Regina* in *P-EVc* Ms. 12, firstly because of the likely origin and date of the manuscript and secondly because the pieces are not incompatible stylistically with the acknowledged works of both composers.³⁸ However, the Mass on *Ave Maria* hints at a compositional technique acquired well before that of Magalhães' mature works: for instance, the use of single *tactus inaequalis* in one voice in a context of *tempus imperfectum* (three minims to the *tactus* in one voice, resulting in a triplet in modern notation, against two minims in the other voices),³⁹ which is an idiom still found in the works of some composers active in the 1580s and early 90s such as Frei António Carreira⁴⁰ and Pero de Gamboa,⁴¹ but that virtually disappears in the following generation. Triple metre in the last phrase of the Gloria, 'Cum Sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei Patris, Amen', is found in none of the printed Masses of Magalhães (it is however used in one or both the 'Hosanna' sections in three of his Masses: *Si ignoras te*, *Vere Dominus est* and *Dilectus meus*, as was common in most of the Mass settings of his contemporaries); furthermore, in all the Masses by Magalhães included in his *Missarum liber*, the Gloria has a two-section structure ('Et in terra' - 'Qui tollis'), not a four-section one ('Et in terra' - 'Domine Deus, Agnus Dei' - 'Qui tollis' -

³⁵ *P-EVc* H 35, ff. cxxix-130v. This large choirbook is part of a complete series of the Gradual and the Antiphoner ordered by archbishop José de Melo (1611-33).

³⁶ Compare the alternating scheme and paraphrased chant in the anonymous Évora setting with, for instance Pedro de Cristo's four-voice *Salve Regina* in *P-Cug* MM 33, ff. 90v+100r-101r, and *P-Cug* MM 53, ff. 33v-35r, which, I guess, was composed some five to ten years earlier. Pedro de Cristo sets lines 2, 4, 6(a) and 7 and uses the Franciscan chant melody. Early settings from the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra use different alternating schemes. For instance Heliodoro de Paiva's four-voice *Salve Regina* in *P-Cug* MM 44, ff. 100v-102r+103v-104r, composed before 1552, sets lines 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9; modern edition by Owen REES in *Antologia de música em Portugal na Idade Média e no Renascimento*, edited by Manuel Pedro Ferreira (Lisbon, Arte das Musas - CESEM, 2008), vol. 2, pp. 94-8. An anonymous four-voice setting in the same choirbook, ff. 98v-100r, has lines 1, 3, 5 and 8 set in polyphony.

³⁷ For instance, *P-EVad* Ms. Mus. Lit. 23, a sixteenth-century antiphoner (with many later additions) of unknown origin, but certainly used in a Franciscan monastery or nunnery.

³⁸ Another candidate would be Cosme Delgado, died in September 1596. However, the only piece attributed to him in *P-Pm* MM 40 has a conflicting attribution in *P-Cug* MM 44 (see Table 1 in the Appendix), so it is not possible to make an idea of his composing technique and musical style. Also, during the 1580s, Delgado was frequently absent from Évora, having joined the independentist party of Dom António, Prior do Crato, in the military campaigns against the Spanish king, Philip II; he was even imprisoned in Lisbon in 1584.

³⁹ Kyrie (III), Superius 2.º, b. 68 (see Example 2b below); Gloria, Tenor, b. 46, and Bassus, b. 48.

⁴⁰ *Crux fidelis*, Tenor, b. 11 (*P-Lf* FSVL 1P/H-6, ff. 78v-80r); modern edition in ALVARENGA, 'Polifonia portuguesa sacra' (see note 15), vol. 1, pp. 391-2.

⁴¹ *O bone Jesu*, Altus, b. 29 (*P-Pm* MM 76-79, pp. 95-6); *Surrexit Dominus*, Altus 1.º, b. 5 (*P-Pm* MM 76-79, pp. 97-8); modern edition in *Pero de Gamboa (1563?-1638): Motetos*, edited by João Pedro d'Alvarenga (Lisbon, Caleidoscópio - Centro de História da Arte da Universidade de Évora, 2004), pp. 43-6 and pp. 47-9 respectively.

‘Cum Sancto Spiritu’) as in the anonymous setting in *P-EVp* Ms. 12.⁴² There are no extant Gloria settings by Manuel Mendes allowing for comparison.⁴³ Treatment and presentation of the pre-existing chant in the Kyrie (consisting of the melody that sets the first four words of the antiphon *Ave Maria, gratia plena*, the second part of it only appearing at the opening of the Christe section; see Example 1) is also uncharacteristic of Magalhães, who, in opening points of imitation, most commonly uses double-subject imitation or combines the original motif with its inversion or a motif otherwise derived from it⁴⁴ (though this contrapuntal device could have been developed by Magalhães later in Lisbon through the influence of the music of Francisco Garro, who was chapel master of the Royal Chapel between 1592 and 1623, at least nominally, since in 1599 Filipe de Magalhães was actually directing it⁴⁵).

Figures arranged sequentially in stepwise descending motion, usually contrapuntally combined in close imitation—a favourite device of Magalhães particularly in the approach to emphatic cadences,⁴⁶ possibly learned from Mendes, who uses it once in his Requiem Mass⁴⁷—are absent from the five-voice Mass and the *Salve Regina*. However, a few figures and contrapuntal procedures are common to both pieces, suggesting that they might be the work of one and the same composer, or the work of two somehow related composers. The most noted of these figures is the stepwise ascending motif outlining a seventh, most often in semiminims or including a dotted minim. The *cambiata* is scarcely used, particularly in the *Salve Regina*. In the Mass, however, there can be seen a *cambiata* figure in one voice combined with a passing note in another—a contrapuntal device commonly used by Magalhães but also occurring in Mendes’ Requiem Mass and in his four-

⁴² For Magalhães’ *Missarum liber*, see note 10. A Gloria setting with a similar four-section structure but in duple metre throughout can be seen in Francisco Garro’s six-voice Mass *Maria Magdalena* from his collection of masses printed in choirbook format (Lisbon, Pedro Craesbeeck, 1609); modern edition in *Francisco Garro: Livro de antífonas, missas e motetes*, edited by Adriana Latino, Portugaliae Musica, 51 (Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1999), pp. 81-112. Three-section settings of the Gloria (‘Et in terra’ - ‘Domine Deus, Agnus Dei’ - ‘Qui tollis’) are found in most of the anonymous masses in *P-Cug* MM 3 (dated 1575) including the four-voice *Missa O beata Maria* ascribed to Francisco de Santa Maria; Manuel Cardoso’s five-voice Masses *Hic est discipulus illi* from his *Missae... liber primus* (Ulissipone, apud Petrum Craesbeeck, 1625) and *Quarti toni* from his second book of masses (Lisbon, Lourenço Craesbeeck, 1636) also have the same three-section structure with the middle section, ‘Domine Deus, Agnus Dei’, in reduced texture; modern edition of these Cardoso’s Masses in *Frei Manuel Cardoso (1566-1650): Liber primus missarum, vol. 2*, edited by José Augusto Alegria, Portugaliae Musica, 6 (Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1962), pp. 117-50, and *Frei Manuel Cardoso (1566-1650): Liber secundus missarum*, edited by José Augusto Alegria, Portugaliae Musica, 20 (Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1970), pp. 67-97.

⁴³ Mass settings in Mendes’ worklist include a ferial Mass, a Mass for Lent and a Requiem Mass (see Table 2 in the Appendix).

⁴⁴ Though not exclusively; see for instance, the opening of Magalhães’ Gloria from his *Missa de B. Virgine Maria*, in *Filipe de Magalhães (1565?-1652): Liber missarum*, ed. Pereira Leal (see note 10), pp. 9-10.

⁴⁵ This, according to his letter dated 2 December 1599, referred to above (see note 30), where Magalhães declares being “capellão de sua Mag^{de}, E mestre do exercício de sua capella” [a chaplain to his Majesty, and the acting master of his chapel].

⁴⁶ See for instance, among many other examples, the Agnus Dei II, bb. 38-40, of his *Missa Vere Dominus est*, in *Filipe de Magalhães (1565?-1652): Liber missarum*, ed. Pereira Leal (see note 10), p. 91; and Example 2d.

⁴⁷ Second setting of the Gradual, bb. 18-9 (see Example 2c).

voice *Asperges me* (see Examples 2a-d). Restraint in the use of the cambiata is quite consistent with the style of Mendes and much less with that of Magalhães. The ascending scale of a seventh and limited use of the cambiata also occur in the above-discussed five-voice motet *Circumdederunt me* (see Example 3), the authorship of which have to remain nevertheless uncertain: on the one hand, it appears within Mendes' Requiem Mass in its sole source; on the other, it matches the description of a motet by Magalhães in the *Index* of João IV's music library.

[illegible]

Example 1. Mass on *Ave Maria*, Kyrie, bb. 1-10 (source: *P-EVc* Ms. 12)

li - be-ra a - ni-mas fi - de - li - um

Example 2a. Mendes, Requiem Mass, Offertory, bb. 1-6 (source: *P-Lap* Liv. 143)

[illegible]

Example 2b. Mass on *Ave Maria*, Kyrie, bb. 64-8 (source: *P-EVc* Ms. 12)

16

lux per-pe - tu - a, per - pe - tu - a lu -

Example 2c. Mendes, Requiem Mass, second setting of the Gradual, bb. 16-21 (source: *P-LAp* Liv. 143)

26

ste e- lei- son.

e- lei- son.

son, Chri- ste e- lei- son.

lei- son, e- lei- son.

Example 2d. Magalhães, *Missa de B. Virgine Maria*, Kyrie, bb. 26-31 (source: *Missarum liber*, 1636)

Example 3. *Circumdederunt me*, bb. 46-50 (source: *P-LAp* Liv. 143)

At this point, we should perhaps also be considering Manuel Cardoso and Duarte Lobo for the authorship of at least the *Salve Regina* setting in *P-EVc* Ms. 12. They, too, in their early works, make use of the figures and devices described above. For instance in cadences, Lobo repeatedly uses the cambiata figure in a manner similar to the main cadences on ‘O pia’ (bb. 101-2: the first of three linked chained cadences, on D, D-mi and G; see Example 4a) and ‘O dulcis Virgo Maria’ (bb. 120-1, on G, before the closing plagal extension) in the last section of the *Salve Regina*, and on ‘gratias agimus tibi’ in the Gloria of the five-voice Mass (Example 4b); Mendes uses it too, in the final cadences of his five-voice *Asperges me* (Example 4c). Cardoso apparently only dispelled the cambiata from his vocabulary when finishing his first book of Masses, the contents of which had been composed neither within a short period of time nor close to the date of printing in 1625.⁴⁸ But the seven- and four-voice *Salve Regina* and the five-voice Mass on *Ave Maria* are the work, not merely of an accomplished, but of a mature composer. The four-voice middle section particularly of the *Salve Regina*, setting the fourth line of text, ‘Ad te suspiramus’, is a masterpiece of expressive mannerist polyphony, due largely to the ingenious chains of suspensions involving minor seconds for emphasis on the words ‘gementes et flentes’ (‘moaning and crying’; see Example 5, bb. 58-61). Lobo is much more sober in producing cross-relations and in the close alternation of the natural and altered forms of a note than what can be seen in the *Salve Regina*, particularly in the motives setting the words ‘in hac lacrimarum valle’ in its middle section and ‘O clemens, O pia’ in its final, seven-voice section (see Example 4a, Cantus 1.º, bb. 99-100). Cardoso left Évora at the latest in early or

⁴⁸ This is suggested in the dedication of Cardoso’s *Missae... liber primus* (see note 42) to the future King João IV, at that time the Duke of Barcelos. The style of the works comprising the first book of Masses evolve from a kind of antiquarianism epitomized in the cantus-firmus Mass *Miserere mihi Domine* to the mannerist expressiveness of the funeral motets *Non mortui* and *Sitivit anima mea*. Because of such stylistic details, it is quite possible that the composition of the collection of *Magnificat* settings printed in 1613 as *Cantica Beatae Mariae Virginis* (Lisbon, ex officina Petri Crasbeeck; modern edition in *Frei Manuel Cardoso: Cantica Beatae Mariae Virginis Magnificat*, edited by José Augusto Alegria, Portugaliae Musica, 26 (Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1974) is later than most of the Masses in the 1625 print.

mid-1588; Lobo perhaps left at about the same time. By then they were surely accomplished composers, but hardly fully mature ones.⁴⁹

99

O cle - mens, O pi - a, O pi - a, a, O pi - a, [O pi - a,] [O pi - mens, O pi - a, O pi - a, O pi - a, O pi - a, O pi - a, O cle-mens, O pi - a, O pi - a,] [O cle - mens, O pi - a,] [O pi - pi - a, O pi - a, O pi - a, O pi -

Example 4a. *Salve Regina*, final section, 'O clemens, O pia', bb. 99-104 (source: *P-EVc Ms. 12*)

18

gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi pro - gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi pro - gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi pro - gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi pro - gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi pro -

Example 4b. Mass on *Ave Maria*, Gloria, bb. 18-21 (source: *P-EVc Ms. 12*)

⁴⁹ Cardoso's early achievements around 1585, when he was about 18 years old and after having studied music and counterpoint, are described thus by the chronicler of the Carmelite Order: 'grangeou os applausos de excelente Compositor, e a honra de fazer o compasso na Cathedral da dita Cidade [de Évora]' [he received applause for being an excellent composer, and had the honour of directing the music in the cathedral of the said city of Évora], probably acting as a substitute for the chapel master, Cosme Delgado, who by this time was frequently absent (see note 38); see SÁ, *Memorias historicas* (see note 13), p. 363. The first works that Lobo felt worthy of publishing were to be composed in the late 1590s, some ten years after he have left Évora; they were ready in 1600 and were printed in eight partbooks with the title *Opvscvla: natalitiae noctis responsoria quaternis vocibus & octonis. Missa eivsdem noctis octonis vocibus. Beatae Mariae Virginis antiphonae octonis etiam vocibus. Eivsdem Virginis Salve choris tribus & vocibus vnden* (Antwerp, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum, 1602). On the polychoral works in the *Opvscvla*, see José ABREU, 'Sacred polychoral repertory in Portugal, ca. 1580-1660', 2 vols. (PhD dissertation, University of Surrey, 2002); on the four-voice responsories, see Duarte Lobo (c.1565-1646): *Opuscula 1602*, vol. 1: *Christmas Responsories*, 4vv, edited by José Abreu (Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 2013).

34

am, mi - se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am.

mi - se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am.

Example 4c. Mendes, *Asperges me* 5vv, bb. 34-7 (source: *P-LAp* Liv. 143; small notes are editorial)

[Superius 1.^o]
Superius 2.^o
Altus
Tenor

8

Ad te su - spi -

Ad te su - spi - ra -

Ad te su - spi - ra -

50

ra - mus, ad te su - spi - ra - mus, ge - men -

Ad te su - spi - ra - mus, ge - men - tes

mus, ad te su - spi - ra - mus, ge - men - tes

mus, ad te su - spi - ra - mus, ge - men -

56

tes et flen - tes, ge - men - tes et flen -

et flen - tes, ge - men - tes, ge - men - tes

et flen - tes, ge - men - tes et flen - tes,

tes et flen - tes, ge - men - tes et

Example 5. *Salve Regina*, second section, ‘Ad te suspiramus’, bb. 45-61 (source: *P-EVc* Ms. 12)

Although stylistic evidence and the chronological circumstances point to Manuel Mendes as the more likely candidate for the authorship of the five-voice Mass on *Ave Maria* and the *Salve Regina* in *P-EVc* Ms. 12, the limited extent of his surviving output prevents us from making his case beyond doubt. Even so, the works in this latter manuscript, those in the first part of *P-EVp* Cód. CLI/1-3, and the few scattered pieces by Mendes, Cardoso and Magalhães copied in manuscript sources of different origin and provenance provide us with a glimpse of the rich and varied repertoires composed in late sixteenth-century Évora Cathedral and its dependencies, to whose performance the many documents and regulations held in the cathedral chapter's archive vividly testify.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Concerning these documents and matters of performing practice, see João Pedro d'ALVARENGA, 'On Performing Practices in Mid- to Late-Sixteenth-Century Portuguese Church Music: The *Cappella* of Évora Cathedral', *Early Music*, 43/1 (2015), pp. 3-21, <doi: 10.1093/em/cau135>.

Appendix

Table 1. Pieces of polyphonic music from the early 1530s to the early 1570s with likely origin in Évora Cathedral

Incipit/Title	Composer	Source(s)
Adjuva nos, Deus	Mateus de Aranda	<i>P-EVp</i> Cód. CLI/1-9d, ff. [1]v-[2]r, ‘Mateus D Aranda’
Et incarnatus est [Credo]	[Mateus de Aranda]	<i>P-EVad</i> Mus. Lit. Ms. n.º 32, f. clxvii ^v +f. clxviii ^r ; <i>P-EVp</i> Cód. CLI/1-9d, ff. [1]v-[2]r
Et vitam futuri [Credo]	[Mateus de Aranda]	<i>P-EVad</i> Mus. Lit. Ms. n.º 32, f. clxvii ^v +f. clxviii ^r ; <i>P-EVp</i> Cód. CLI/1-9d, ff. [1]v-[2]r
Alleluia	Francisco Velez	<i>P-Pm</i> MM 40, ff. 144v-145r, ‘Velles’; <i>P-AR</i> s.s., ff. 56v-57r, ‘Velles’
Alleluia	Cosme Delgado/ Bartolomeu Trosilho ⁵¹	<i>P-Pm</i> MM 40, ff. 145v-146r, ‘Cosme delgado’; <i>P-Cug</i> MM 44, ff. 164v-166r, ‘Trosilho’

⁵¹ Bartolomeu Trosilho was chapel master of the Royal Chapel from 1548 to about 1567.

Table 2. The extant works of Manuel Mendes and their sources⁵²

1	Alleluia (i), 4 vv	<i>MEX-Pc</i> LC XIII, ff. 122v-123r, 'de manuel mendez'; <i>P-AR</i> s.s., ff. 58v-59r, 'Manuel mendez'; <i>P-BRp</i> Ms. 967, ff. 66v-67r, 'Trato da Coresma. A 4' (only the first part, bb. 1-11); <i>P-Cug</i> MM 36, ff. 70v-71r; <i>P-EVp</i> Cód. CLI/1-3, ff. 7v-8r, 'Tractus' (from Missa <i>de Quadragesima</i>); <i>P-Ln</i> LC 57, ff. 25v-26r; <i>P-Pm</i> MM 40, ff. 189v-190r, 'Jn quadragesima. Tractus. Manoel mendez'; <i>P-Pm</i> MM 76-79, p. 15, 'ma[nuel] m[endes]', [index in MM 79:] 'm ^{el} mendez'
2	Alleluia (ii), 4 vv	<i>P-Pm</i> MM 40, ff. 147v-148r, 'manoel mendez'
3	Asperges me, 4 vv	<i>P-AR</i> s.s., ff. 30v-32r; <i>P-Cug</i> MM 47, ff. 51v-52r; <i>P-EVp</i> Cód. CLI/1-3, ff. 1v-4r, 'De Manoel Mendes. lusitano'; <i>P-Lf</i> FICV 1/J-3, ff. 1v-2r; <i>P-Lf</i> IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 9-11 (incomplete); <i>P-Pm</i> MM 76-79, pp. 1-2; <i>P-TNp</i> , ff. 1v-3r
4	Asperges me, 5 vv	<i>P-LAp</i> Liv. 143, add. front gathering, f. [2]v (incomplete) ⁵³
5	Missa <i>de feria</i> , 4 vv	<i>P-EVp</i> Cód. CLI/1-3, ff. 26v-29r, 'Missa de Feria. Emmanuelis Mendes'; <i>P-Lf</i> IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 249-54
6	Missa <i>de Quadragesima</i> , 4 vv	<i>P-Cug</i> MM 47, ff. 1v-2r; <i>P-EVp</i> Cód. CLI/1-3, ff. 4v-7r + 8v-22r, 'Missa de Quadrages[ima] cum 4 vocibus Emmanuel Mendez'; <i>P-Lf</i> IPSPO 1/H-2, pp. 209-32
7	Missa <i>pro defunctis</i> , 4 vv	<i>P-LAp</i> Liv. 143, add. final gathering, ff. [i]v-10r + 12v-14r, 'Emanuelis lusitani. Pro defunctis' (with alternative settings of the Gradual) ⁵⁴
8	Vidi aquam, 5 vv	<i>P-LAp</i> Liv. 143, add. front gathering, ff. [1]r-[2]r (incomplete; certainly by Mendes)
9	Libera me... de morte, 4 vv	<i>P-LAp</i> Liv. 143, add. final gathering, ff. 14v-16r (probably by Mendes)
10	Memento mei Deus, 4 vv	<i>P-LAp</i> Liv. 143, add. final gathering, ff. 16v-17r (probably by Mendes)
11	Circumdederunt me, 5 vv	<i>P-LAp</i> Liv. 143, add. final gathering, ff. 10v-12r ⁵⁵

⁵² The list on this table reorders and corrects the one published in ALVARENGA, 'Manuscript Évora, Biblioteca Pública, Cód. CLI/1-3' (see note 12), pp. 157-8.

⁵³ *P-Lf* Ms. 137/1; *P-IV* J. 15/A. 9, ff. [i]v-3r, [index:] 'Quinque tantum vocibus cōpositum ab Emmanuele Mendes Lusitano [...] reliquas tres addidit Pater Emmanuel Soares': Eight-voice reworking of Mendes' five-voice *Asperges me* by Manuel Soares; latter source copied in 1736; see João Pedro d'ALVARENGA, "'To Make of Lisbon a New Rome': The Repertory of the Patriarchal Church in the 1720s and 1730s", *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 8/2 (2011), pp. 179-214.

⁵⁴ *MEX-Pc* Choirbook 3, ff. 46v-67r, Missa *pro defunctis*, 'Gonçalo Mendes Saldanha': Eight-voice version of Mendes' Introit, Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus Dei; newly-composed three-voice setting of the first half of the Introit verse; Offertory in the original Mendes' four-voice version; no Gradual setting.

⁵⁵ On this piece, see the main text.

Table 3. Inventory of *P-EVc* Ms. 12

No.	Folio(s)	Text incipit	Voices	Inscriptions	Notes
1	[1]r	Procul recedant somnia [Te lucis]	4	<i>Phelippe de Magalhaens.</i>	
2	[1]v-[3]r	Jn manus tuas domine... Redemisti nos domine... Gloria patri...	4		
3	[2]v-[3]r	Custodi nos domini ut pupilam oculi	4		
4	[3]v-[5]r	Labores manum tuarum [Beati omnes, Ps 127]	4	<i>Beati omnes qui timent Dom[inus] 4^o [tonus]</i>	Even verses, textless
	[5v]				Blank; lacks one folio after f. [5]
5	[6]r-[8]r	[Salve Regina] Uita dulcedo... AD te suspiramus... O clemens o pia...	[7] 4 7	<i>A 4 ad te Suspiramus</i>	Incomplete: lacks the Cantus 1 ^o , Altus 1 ^o and Tenor 1 ^o Right hand top corner, later hand: ' <i>Faciens João Cardoso</i> ' ⁵⁶ Partly textless; lacking the final notes in the Altus 2 ^o and Tenor 2 ^o
6	[8]v-[15]v	[Mass] Kirie leyson. Christe leyson. Kirie eleyson Et in terra pax... Domine deus agnus dei... Qui tollis... [C]um sancto spiritu... [Gloria] Patrem omnipotentem... [Et incarnatus...] Crucifixus... [Credo]	5 5 5	<i>A 5</i> [Last Kyrie:] <i>Superius P^a Cantar.</i> ⁵⁷	On chant antiphon <i>Ave Maria, gratia plena</i> Bassus partly textless Mostly textless; incomplete: lacks the Superius 2 ^o , Altus and Bassus for the last extant section ending on 'non erit finis'

⁵⁶ This was apparently written before the folio was trimmed. The script matches none of the other hands in the manuscript. I have been unable to locate any certain details regarding a João Cardoso, and it is not at all clear what could have he done ('faciens'). Manuel Cardoso had a younger brother who got his degrees from the University of Évora on 25 March 1602, 20 May and 13 July 1603. His Christian name was however André, not João; see CAPITÃO, 'Do ensino das Artes' (see note 20), p. 369. There was a João Cardoso, chapel master at Braga Cathedral between 1674 and 1677, who was born in Montemor-o-Novo near Évora. It is possible that he had studied in the college of choirboys attached to Évora Cathedral. In 1675, the Archbishopric of Braga asked for a *de genere* inquiry for him to receive Holy Orders (*P-EVad* Requisitórias, Cx. 5, n.º 177).

⁵⁷ On the meaning of this inscription, see ALVARENGA, 'On Performing Practices' (see note 50), p. 11.

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Recebido em | *Received* 28/06/2015
Aceite em | *Accepted* 13/07/2015