

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: MUSIC OF THE NEW LUSITANIA: THE IMPACT OF
HUMANIST THOUGHT ON POLYPHONY IN
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PORTUGAL

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Cosmopolitan, politically influential, and wealthy, Portugal experienced its “Golden Age” in the sixteenth century. Though science and the arts reached their apogee during this era, polyphonic music in Portugal does not seem to have flourished to any great extent before the seventeenth century. The few extant examples of secular court polyphony, in particular, demonstrate a predominantly homorhythmic style possibly cultivated by amateur composers. This aesthetic favoring simpler musical textures likely developed from the humanist notion that music must serve the text. Italian humanism, in fact, had a profound impact on Renaissance Portugal, which claimed its ancient Roman name, Lusitania. In literature and art the influence is quite apparent, but the case for music requires a more detailed study that is sensitive to broader social factors. This study argues that the composition and performance of Renaissance Portuguese court music is best understood within the context of the Counter-Reformation and Christian humanism.

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IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PORTUGAL

by

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CHAPTER I:

Introduction

In his 1984 contribution to the journal *Current Musicology*, the Portuguese musicologist Manuel Carlos de Brito poses the fascinating and yet unanswered question of “why the traditional golden age of Portuguese history — the first half of the sixteenth century — cannot be more clearly seen reflected in its musical life.”¹ He proposes two possible answers for this query but does not test his theories further, nor does he give sufficient grounds for his suggestions.

One answer he offers is that perhaps “Portugal [musically] turned its back on Europe as it embarked on its gigantic adventure of discovery and overseas expansion,” implying that Portugal either began cultivating its music more intensely in its overseas colonies or turned to non-European musical forms.² This proposition, however, cannot be demonstrated. Although Portugal did eventually dominate the political, economic, and cultural life of its distant, subjugated domains, the tiny nation was not yet in a position to do so during the sixteenth century.

Brazil, for instance, though claimed in 1500, did not become of interest for the Portuguese until the middle of the century. In the Far East, after an initial lukewarm reception, the Portuguese were expelled by the Japanese, with assistance from the Dutch, in the early seventeenth century. Portugal’s primary focus was on Africa and India, but even there the conditions were not good for the cultivation of music. In North Africa, the

¹ Manuel Carlos 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): 123.

² *Ibid.*, 124.

Portuguese concentrated their efforts on claiming the Maghrib and defending their possessions from the ruling Muslim polities. Meanwhile, Sub-Saharan Africa proved to be difficult initially to settle owing to widespread epidemics and constant raiding by European competitors. In the Indian Ocean, Portugal's primary concern was warfare associated with strengthening and defending its trading monopoly.

The few pieces of evidence for sixteenth-century Portugal's musical exchange with the non-European world do little to substantiate Brito's suggestion that the Portuguese turned their backs on Europe and its musical traditions and aesthetics. Only a few items, including a number of Afro-Portuguese ivory hunting horns,³ survive to suggest Portuguese musical influence in Africa. For both North Africa and South Asia, we have Franco-Flemish tapestries that depict the arrival of the Portuguese with the sounding of trumpets.⁴ The spectacular entry of Portuguese traders and musicians in an Indian harbor portrayed in one of the tapestries⁵ has the same militaristic character as an

³ For reproductions see Ezio Bassani and William B. Fagg, *Africa and the Renaissance: Art in Ivory* (New York: The Center for African Art and Prestel-Verlag, 1988) and *Feitorias: Kunst in Portugal ten tijde van de Grote Ontdekkingen (einde 14de eeuw tot 1548)* (Antwerp: Stichting Europalia International, 1991): 147, plate 61. A reproduction can also be found online at: *World Museum Liverpool*, accessed March 01, 2006, <<http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/wml/humanworld/worldcultures/africa/graphics/small/huntinghorn.jpg>>.

⁴ Nery indicates that such trumpet signaling was not likely considered music by Renaissance musicians or their patrons. See Rui Fernando 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," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1990): 75.

⁵ For a reproduction see *Feitorias*, 146, plate 60.

earlier piece depicting the Portuguese invasions of Morocco.⁶ Generally speaking, studies of the musical impact of the Portuguese discoveries reveal very little of material substance for either the historical musicologist or the ethnomusicologist interested in Portuguese music of the sixteenth century.⁷

The other answer Brito offers for his question, one he later affirms elsewhere,⁸ is that Portugal's "appearance at the forefront of European powers was too brief to compensate for the country's peripheral position in the continent and to encourage the development of a truly international musical life, autonomous from that of Spain."⁹ This is also problematic, given Portugal's vast commercial empire. Portugal, though located at the extreme tip of the continent, can hardly be considered "peripheral" in the sixteenth century. Nor was sixteenth-century Portuguese musical life as inferior as Brito intimates.

It is the aim of this study to answer Brito's question by situating the extant musical evidence within the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere that was prevalent in Europe and Portugal in the sixteenth century. Specifically, it investigates how humanist and conservative Catholic ideals shaped the aesthetics, composition, and performance of

⁶ For a reproduction see A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, 2 vols. (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1972): 156.

⁷ There is no mention, for example, of significant sixteenth-century Portuguese musical influence on its overseas contacts in Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, ed., *Portugal e o mundo: O encontro de culturas na música/Portugal and the World: The Encounter of Cultures in Music* (Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1997).

⁸ Manuel Carlos de Brito, "Renascença, maneirismo, barroco: O problema da periodização histórica na música portuguesa dos séculos XVI e XVII," in *De música hispana et aliis: Miscelânea en honor al Prof. Dr. José López-Calo, S.J., en su 65 cumpleaños* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1990), 540.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1984, 123.

secular court polyphony. This repertory is simple and homophonic in nature, reflecting the desire of humanist philosophers to recreate the music of classical antiquity, which they believed was closely tied to poetry and the spoken word. The homophonic style, which predominated at the Lisbon court, was more widely accepted by humanists because, as D. P. Walker explains, "...the audibility of the text was ensured, its rhythm or its metre was made clear and obvious, and its emotional and moral content could be musically or dramatically expressed."¹⁰

In Portugal, Christian humanists constituted a rather powerful faction, and they were closely aligned with the more fervent, conservative Catholic ideologues who were also a dominant force in Portuguese politics and culture. With respect to music, these parties sought to control the excesses of contrapuntal writing, perceiving florid polyphony as an obstacle to the comprehension of the text, which in Church music was sacred. Thus, sixteenth-century Portuguese musical aesthetics did not support the elaborate counterpoint that was developed elsewhere in Europe. In time, Europe would gradually acquire a taste for the simpler textures already common in Portugal as humanist ideals became more accepted. It is in this context that the surviving examples of sixteenth-century Portuguese music and musical life should be understood.

¹⁰ D. P. Walker, 1942, 69.

Survey of the Scholarly Literature

In all periods of music history, Portugal is assumed to be peripheral;¹¹ the case is no less different for the sixteenth century. Although Renaissance Portugal has received the most attention from scholars searching for the musical glories of the “Golden Age,” at the expense of the other periods of Portuguese music,¹² the corpus of musicological literature is not substantial. Generally speaking, the musical life of sixteenth-century Portugal, more so than that of all other nations in western continental Europe, is only vaguely understood and remains largely unexplored, because little original source material has withstood the ravages of time. This has led to the assumption that Portugal was musically insignificant in the sixteenth century and explains the lack of accurate, in-depth studies.

Robert M. Stevenson, who has done much for Renaissance Portuguese music scholarship, noted in a survey of music encyclopedias that Portugal fares extremely poorly in such publications.¹³ The present author, continuing Stevenson’s line of thought, has elsewhere demonstrated that Portuguese Renaissance music and composers

¹¹ See Paul Henry Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1941); Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1959); Donald Jay Grout and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 5th edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996); Allan W. Atlas, *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe, 1400-1600* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998); Leeman Perkins, *Music in the Age of the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999).

¹² Paulo Ferreira de Castro, “O que fazer com o século XIX? — Um olhar sobre a historiografia musical portuguesa,” *Revista portuguesa de musicologia* 2 (1992): 171-83.

¹³ Robert Stevenson, “Portuguese Renaissance Musicians in Foreign Encyclopedias,” *Inter-American Music Review* 5, No. 1 (Fall, 1982): 105-07.

often suffer from factual gross inaccuracies in the standard dictionaries and encyclopedias on music.¹⁴ Dictionaries, encyclopedias, and general histories of music are extremely important and influential as both preliminary reference sources and as points of departure for musicological scholarship. Few advanced studies on the Portuguese Renaissance have been published in English or are easily accessible to scholars outside of Portugal.

These circumstances are slowly changing, however, and a significant increase in musicological attention is now apparent. Under the auspices of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, most of the surviving collections of music manuscripts containing sixteenth-century Portuguese polyphony have been fully edited in modern editions in its *Portugaliæ Musica* series. Central to this study are those that have been edited by Robert Stevenson, Manuel Morais, and Luís Pereira Leal, in particular the volumes entitled *Vilancetes, cantigas e romances*,¹⁵ *Antologia de polifonia portuguesa*,¹⁶ and *Cançoneiro d'Elvas*.¹⁷ A facsimile edition of the Elvas manuscript has also been published

¹⁴ Victor A. Vicente, "The Politics of Obscurity: The Historiography of Renaissance and Mannerist Music in Portugal" (Unpublished document: University of Maryland, 1999).

¹⁵ Manuel Morais, *Vilancetes, cantigas e romances do século XVI*, *Portugaliæ Musica* 47 (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1986).

¹⁶ Robert Stevenson, Luís Pereira Leal, and Manuel Morais. *Antologia de polifonia portuguesa, 1490-1680*, *Portugaliæ Musica* 37 (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982).

¹⁷ Manuel Morais, *Cançoneiro d'Elvas*, *Portugaliæ Musica* 31 (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1977).

recently.¹⁸ These editions are invaluable and constitute the primary data for any study of sixteenth-century Portuguese court music.

Because of these editions, high-quality performances of this music have become more frequent, and several are now commercially available (see the appended Discography). The written information that accompanies these recordings is of the highest academic caliber and often serves as the most up-to-date and most easily accessible scholarship on the subject. Apart from contributing essays to recordings, Rui Vieira Nery and Owen Rees have also published several articles and books on sixteenth-century Portuguese music. Nery has become increasingly more interested in Portuguese Renaissance music, especially that of the so-called “Mannerist” period of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹⁹ His and Castro’s *History of Music*, though brief, synthesizes what is known about music in this era, providing a good overview of the music within its cultural context.

Owen Rees has contributed several articles to the journal *Early Music*, including informative reviews of performance practice, and his editions of the manuscripts of the polyphony at the Augustinian Monastery of Santa Cruz at Coimbra, from which he

¹⁸ Manuel Pedro Ferreira, ed., *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Publica Hortensia de Elvas* (Lisbon: Instituto Português do Património Cultural, 1989).

¹⁹ See Rui Vieira Nery, *A musica no ciclo da Bibliotheca Lusitana* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1984); “New Sources for the Study of the Portuguese Seventeenth-Century Consort Music,” *Journal of the Viola Da Gamba Society of America, USA* 22 (December, 1985): 9-28; “The Music Manuscripts in the Library of King João IV of Portugal (1604-1656),” 1990; “The Portuguese Seventeenth-Century Villancico: A Cross-Cultural Phenomenon” in Castelo Branco, *Portugal e o mundo*; Rui Fernando Vieira Nery and Paulo Ferreira de Castro, *Synthesis of Portuguese Culture: History of Music*, Kenneth Frazer, trans. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1991); “Antonio Carreira o velho, Fr. Antonio Carreira e Antonio Carreira, o moco: Balanco de um enigma por resolver,” in *Livro de homenagem a Macario Santiago Kastner* (Lisboa: Fundacao Calouste Gulbenkian, 1992).

regularly performs, are invaluable for the study of sacred Renaissance Portuguese music.²⁰ His *Polyphony in Portugal c. 1530 - c. 1620*, which resulted from an in-depth study of these manuscripts, remains the only full monograph dedicated to the music of sixteenth-century Portugal.

Despite its importance, this single volume leaves much about musical life in Renaissance Portugal unexplored. Indeed, the first third of the century, under the reigns of Manuel I and João III, during which imperial wealth reached its peak, is still very much a mystery. In addition, very little has yet been written on the subject of monophony in Renaissance Portugal, including the nature of the plainchant sung during the Divine Service.²¹

Another subject largely overlooked in musicological investigation of Portugal is that of the relationship between music and the emerging humanistic worldview that sought the intellectual and cultural rebirth of western Europe in the image of ancient classical culture. Fortunately, numerous studies of the development of musical humanism exist for other centers of the European Renaissance, especially for Italy.

Claude V. Palisca's seminal *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* remains

²⁰ Owen Rees, "Recordings of Iberian Music — A Survey," *Early Music* 20, No. 4 (November, 1992): 655-57; "Newly Identified Holograph Manuscripts From Late-Renaissance Portugal," *Early Music* 22, No. 2 (May, 1994): 261-77; *Polyphony in Portugal c. 1530 - c. 1620: Sources from the Monastery of Santa Cruz, Coimbra* (New York and London: Garland University Press, 1995); "Portuguese and Spanish Music from the 'Golden Age' and Beyond," *Early Music* 24, No. 2 (May, 1996): 354-55.

²¹ For the most extensive scholarship on this see Solange Corbin, *Essai sur la musique religieuse portugais au Moyen Age (1100-1385)* (Lisbon: Livraria Portugália Editora, 1952) and Michel Huglo, *Les manuscrits du processionnal*, 2 vols., in *Répertoire international des sources musicales B, XIV* (Munich: Henle, 2004). Additionally, the chant books from the famous Hieronymite Monastery in Lisbon are part of the manuscript collection at the Free Library in Philadelphia (Barbara Hagg-Huglo, personal communication, May 2, 2006).

the most important for its depth and scope.²² Nevertheless, much in terms of the relationship between music and humanism is yet to be understood for Portugal. Central to this study then is the substantial corpus of writings on humanism in Renaissance Portuguese culture emanating particularly from the disciplines of history and literary studies.²³

While the intersections between humanist philosophy and Renaissance Portuguese music have not yet been drawn in the musicological literature, the same cannot be said for the connections between humanism and art. In fact, scholarship on sixteenth-century Portuguese art, in general, is far more advanced than that on music.²⁴ A great majority

²² Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). See also D. P. Walker, "Musical Humanism in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries," *Music Review* 2, No. 1 (1941): 1-13; 2, No. 4 (1941): 288-308; and 3, No. 1 (1942): 55-71.

²³ Elisabeth Feist Hirsch, *Damião de Gois: The Life and Thought of A Portuguese Humanist, 1502-1575* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967); Reijer Hooykaas, *Humanism and the Voyages of Discovery in 16th Century Portuguese Science and Letters* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1979); José V. de Pina Martins, *Humanisme et Renaissance de l'Italie au Portugal: Les deux regards de Janus*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1989).

²⁴ Reynaldo dos Santos, *L'Art Portugais: Architecture, Sculpture et Peinture* (Paris: Éditions d'Histoire et d'Art, 1953); Robert C. Smith, *The Art of Portugal 1500-1800* (New York: Meredith Press, 1968); Sylvie Deswarte, *Les enluminures de la Leitura Nova 1504-1552: Etude sur la culture artistique au Portugal au temps de l'humanisme* (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1977); *Portugal et Flandre: Visions de l'Europe (1550-1680)* (Brussels: Fondation Europalia International, 1991); *Feitorias: Kunst in Portugal ten tijde van de Grote Ontdekkingen (einde 14de eeuw tot 1548)* (Antwerp: Stichting Europalia International, 1991); Simonetta Luz Afonso and Paulo Pereira, *Lisbon In the Days of King Manuel I (1495-1521)* ([Lisbon]: Instituto Português de Museus and Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994); Xosé Carlos Valle Pérez, ed., *Do tardogótico ó manierismo: Galicia e Portugal* (Spain and Portugal: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza and Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1995); Fernando António Baptista Pereira, *Arte portuguesa da Época dos Descobrimentos [Portuguese Art at the Time of the Discoveries]*, Marta Dias, trans. ([Portugal]: CTT Correios, 1996); *Las sociedades*

of the visual art that has survived has been catalogued and described, with resulting studies available in various European languages. The wealth of iconographic material collected in these publications has proven to be among the more informative source material for this study on the relationship between music and humanism in sixteenth-century Portugal.

Methodology

Given that a significant body of literature detailing the relationships between humanist thought, music, and other aspects of Renaissance Portuguese culture does not exist, a variety of interdisciplinary methods and approaches were used in the exploration of the central notions of this thesis. Because of the limited corpus of extant notated music, the traditional techniques of historical musicology, especially study and analysis of extant sources, facsimile reproductions, and modern editions, had to be complemented and supported by methods from related disciplines, including especially art history and literary studies.

Iconographic evidence, which survives in abundance, is especially informative for this study. The analysis and interpretation of several paintings, tapestries, and engravings depicting musical events, instruments, and relevant personages reveals much about sixteenth-century Portuguese music. That such representations are typically embedded in works of art with symbols alluding to classical antiquity helps to support the central argument of this study regarding the ties between music and humanism.

ibéricas y el mar a finales del siglo XVI [As sociedades ibéricas e o mar a finais do século XVI] (Spain: Exposición Mundial de Lisboa, Pabellón de España, 1998).

Additionally, given the importance placed on poetry and text by Renaissance philosophers and composers, the literary components of the sixteenth-century Portuguese court music require special attention. Collections of sixteenth-century Portuguese poetry are consulted throughout this study to determine the nature of the musical repertory, to understand the significance of text variants, and to identify poets, thereby enabling the relative dating of some of the compositions.

Finally, methods of comparison and contextualization from historical musicology figure prominently throughout this study. Especially important is the broad, comparative approach that exposes socio-cultural trends and developments that inform the process of composition and documentation. In particular, comparisons are made here between Portugal, Flanders, and Italy. This approach offers insights not only into the cultures of these nations, but also into Renaissance Europe in general, since these three were among the most influential during this era.

Structure of the Thesis

This study employs the above-mentioned methods throughout its investigation of the interconnections between humanist philosophy and polyphony in sixteenth-century Portugal. The seven chapters, representing the seven hills on which both Lisbon and ancient Rome were founded, are arranged in increasing specificity. Chapters II and III provide general cultural background, Chapter IV investigates music in relation to art and literary accounts, while Chapters V and VI focus more directly on the sources and nature of Renaissance Portuguese music.

Chapter II traces the origins of the humanist movement in Italy and explores the notion that the reintroduction of ancient Greek and Roman traits in Europe served as a catalyst for a cultural “Renaissance.” The question of a “rebirth” in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century European music is also addressed. In addition, this chapter discusses the socio-cultural, religious, and musical problems that humanism generated across Europe in this era. Of particular significance is how the application of humanist ideals to music evolved over the course of the sixteenth century and how modern music historians have come to understand that process. Here, as in the following chapter, methods and techniques developed from literary studies are employed.

Chapter III discusses the rise of humanist thought in Portugal, especially as a result of the commercial and political contacts the Portuguese had with the various states of the Italian Peninsula. The influence that humanist thought had on the royal court at Lisbon is emphasized, especially the role it had in shaping Portuguese national and imperial identity. It is important to note that despite their avid attempts to imitate classical antiquity, the Portuguese early in the sixteenth century came to understand their achievements as superior to the ancients.

Chapter IV places sixteenth-century Portuguese music within the context of Portugal’s commercial and cultural dealings with the rest of Europe. Particularly important were Lisbon’s economic connections to Flanders, which resulted not only in immigration to Portugal, but also in Portuguese patronage of artwork. Several of the pieces of art imported from the Low Countries not only substantiate the written accounts describing Portugal’s musical life as highly developed, they also directly connect music to humanist symbolism. Written sources, including chronicles and historical documents,

confirm that such music and symbolism were appreciated at the royal and noble courts of Portugal and further attest to the vitality of Renaissance Portugal's musical life.

In Chapter V, the music of the Portuguese Renaissance is surveyed and assessments of the scholarship are made. The corpus of surviving early Portuguese polyphony, as available in facsimile and modern editions, is examined and studied for its historical, aesthetic, and cultural features. The evolution of polyphony in Portugal is analyzed and compared to important historical events of the sixteenth century. We find that while evidence for fifteenth-century Portuguese music is extremely meager and circumstantial, the situation is much improved for the sixteenth century.

Chapter VI integrates the findings of the previous chapters. Here, the connections and intersections between monophony, polyphony, and humanism are brought forth. The case for the development of conservative Christian humanist philosophy is made, and arguments are submitted for the influence of such intellectual and aesthetic ideals on the production of music in sixteenth-century Portugal. The music and poetry of some secular court polyphony extant in the Portuguese *cancioneiros* is analyzed to highlight the growing influence of humanism from the early sixteenth century, into the socially complex mid century, and through the later "Mannerist" period. This analysis reveals that despite the coming of the Inquisition and the Counter-Reformation, humanist aesthetics in music, developed early in the century, were not eliminated, but continued to evolve in the context of sacred polyphony.

The concluding chapter of the thesis offers a brief overview of the social elements that informed the composition and performance of secular polyphony in sixteenth-century Portugal. It concludes that the homophonic nature of the secular court repertory

conforms to the ideals of musical humanism and reflects a broader humanist-inspired aesthetic prevalent across Europe. Given these circumstances, Portugal cannot be understood as musically peripheral in the sixteenth-century. It is also argued that Portugal's musical achievements must be recognized in its homorhythmic secular music, not in the elaborate counterpoint that was quickly losing favor all across Europe. Finally, the concluding chapter offers suggestions for future research in the study of Portuguese Renaissance music.

CHAPTER II

Europe and the Spirit of Humanism in Music

The dawn of the modern age is generally ascribed to the cultural, religious, political, and intellectual revolutions that characterized the European Renaissance. Yet despite the importance of the epoch, one of the greatest difficulties in Renaissance scholarship is determining and agreeing on when exactly it began. While some scholars argue that the Renaissance was sparked in the fifteenth century by the overseas discoveries made by the Portuguese and Spanish, along with the revolution in the study of the sciences that they engendered, others trace its origins back to the literary masterpieces of Dante Alighieri (c. 1265-1321) and Francesco Petrarca (1304-74).²⁵ What scholars do agreed on, however, is that this “rebirth” came hand in hand with the flowering of humanistic thought defined by the desire to reintroduce into Western Christendom the artistic and cultural features of ancient Greece and Rome.

Historical musicologists generally do not delineate the Renaissance in a manner corresponding to other academic disciplines, complicating our understanding of the role that music played within the regeneration of European culture. The Renaissance in music is arbitrarily set between the years 1450 and 1600, though musical developments taking place at the end of the fourteenth and into the fifteenth centuries are often considered to be important transitional steps. What is most problematic, however, is that studies of Renaissance music are sometimes conducted without proper regard for broader cultural parameters, as I argue is the case with the study of music in fifteenth- and sixteenth-

²⁵ For a full account of these debates see Philip Lee Ralph, *The Renaissance in Perspective* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973).

century Portugal. Music is frequently considered to have developed independently of such cultural features as humanist thought, despite the fact that musicologists generally accept humanism as a defining feature of the Renaissance period. Thus, musical humanism is a phenomenon recognized as having occurred late in the sixteenth century, mostly in connection with the experimentation that led to the development of opera in Italy.

It is the aim of this chapter not only to describe the world in which humanist thought developed and began to flourish in Europe, but also to trace the scholarly debates concerning the relationship between humanistic thought and music. Of primary focus, is the extent to which and in what manner humanist ideals were employed in musical composition and performance in various regions of Europe other than Portugal, in order to establish a basis for comparison in subsequent chapters. It will be maintained, following arguments presented by Claude Palisca, that humanism in music is not so much manifest in terms of compositional techniques and stylistic features, as in terms of an intellectual approach that governs the aesthetics and performance of music.

The World in Transition: The Renaissance in Europe

The rebirth of Western culture was not by any means an overnight event, rather the Renaissance is in many ways a long period of transition between the medieval and the modern worldviews. The earliest traces of this changing ontology are apparent in fourteenth-century Florence with the literary achievements of figures such as Dante. By this time, Florence had become a hub of intellectual, literary, and cultural reformation

that increasingly turned to classical antiquity for models. Ancient Greece and Rome, especially, though quite distinct, were merged in the minds of Renaissance thinkers and regarded as the golden age of European civilization. The greatest achievements of both of these cultures were positioned as lofty aspirations for a world perceived to be mired in the ignorance of what Petrarca called an “age of darkness.” This harkening back to antiquity became known as humanism, and stood in opposition to the perceived stagnation of European intellectual and artistic climate.

That Italy was the birthplace of this philosophical and cultural movement is not surprising for a number of reasons. Aside from being the geographical inheritor of the capital of the Roman Empire, one of the most powerful regimes the world had ever known, Italy also enjoyed substantial and sustained contacts with the Ottoman Empire, in which lay not only Greece, but also a wealth of well-preserved documents and artifacts of antiquarian interest. Moreover, intense Venetian and Genoese trade with the Islamic East brought Italians into direct contact with nearly a thousand years of Muslim scholarship on ancient Greek culture. Italy became especially fertile ground for the growth of humanist thought with the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453, which resulted in the influx of many Greek-speaking Byzantine scholars into the various states that dominated the Italian Peninsula at the time.

Iberia, too, had sustained relations with the Islamic world, and military advances against the “infidel” earlier in the fifteenth century also contributed to developments in humanist thought there (see Chapters III and VI). Contact with Islam was critical in the emergence of the European Renaissance, for Muslims not only preserved the ancient Greek and Roman writings, but they advanced and often made practical use of ancient

theories. Not surprisingly, humanist thought and the European Renaissance first flourish in the wealthy and powerful nations on the Iberian and Italian Peninsulas, which had the most direct access to the ancient sources.

Christianity and the Revival of Ancient Literature

Francesco Petrarca, known as “the father of humanism,” viewed Rome as the Eternal City and as the cradle of civilization. He sought through intense study of ancient manuscripts to raise fourteenth-century European intellectualism and culture to the level of ancient glory. As Perkins notes:

Petrarch’s admiration for the civilization of ancient Rome...[caused him to view]...the period following the conversion of the emperor Constantine to Christianity as one of decline into darkness when compared with the glorious age that had gone before.²⁶

Petrarca struggled to reverse the intellectual follies of his world. Likewise, Dante Alighieri, writing somewhat earlier and in the vernacular, also struggled to pull Europe from the corrupt conditions into which it had fallen and suggested its reform in the famous *Inferno* from his *Commedia*.

Humanism, however, did not arise in opposition to Western Christendom, but as an attempt to revive it. Although Petrarca and generations of humanists after him vigorously sought the rediscovery and renewed study of the lost ancient texts and literature of Cicero, Virgil, Livy, Seneca, and Homer, among many others, the revival of learning and Hellenistic studies was conducted within a Christian context. What humanists opposed most rigorously was the rigid scholastic program that focused on the

²⁶ Perkins, 24.

seven liberal arts. Humanists called for the expansion of learning to include classical philosophy and the study of ancient Greek and Latin. Thus, to be labeled a “humanist” implied the cultivation of a wide breadth of knowledge, interests, and sympathies.

By the sixteenth century, some friction began to develop between the humanist movement and Christianity. The return to pre-Christian ideals was especially contentious in northern Europe. As Philip Lee Ralph explains, “The religious Reformation of the sixteenth century...was hostile both to the spirit of humanism and to its expression in the fine arts, and it rejected out of hand the concept of man’s self-sufficiency and intrinsic worthiness.”²⁷ Though these divisions were strong in France, Germany, and the Low Countries, in Italy and in the Iberian Peninsula humanists sought to blend the two worldviews more thoroughly.²⁸

Thus, many humanists from southern Europe had ambiguous relationships with Christianity. Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), for instance, was at once a cardinal and a Ciceronian who sought to imitate as perfectly as possible the writings of ancient authors. Several popes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including especially Pius II, may also be included in the emerging syncretic Christian humanist movement, which began with the philological study of the Greek New Testament. One of the greatest exponents of Christian humanism was Erasmus of Rotterdam (c. 1466-1536), who remained a Catholic despite his widely disseminated critiques of the Church (see Chapter VI).

Nevertheless, humanism, Christian or otherwise, had its discontents across Europe and was only slowly accepted in European social institutions. For much of the fifteenth

²⁷ Ralph, 10.

²⁸ See *ibid.*, 146-47.

and sixteenth centuries, for instance, humanist schools more in tune with the ideals of the ancient world developed privately, while the great universities of Europe, often tied to the conservative Catholic Church, remained more medieval in outlook. Consequently, education in Europe, for example at Paris, Oxford, and Cologne, remained strongly opposed to humanism well into the sixteenth century, and the teaching of Greek, considered to be the language of heresy, was installed in the universities only through much effort.²⁹

Beyond this, Italian humanists were unsettled by the fact that Italy was not a united entity as it had been in its former era of greatness. Thus, humanist writings on ancient history, which was the domain of humanist scholars, were actually riddled with allusions to modern political and economic circumstances. As Italy convulsed in its political and economic crises at the end of the fifteenth century, these writings proved to be important forms of propaganda (see Chapter III for a further discussion of this within a Portuguese context).³⁰ Yet despite all of these divisions in the social fabric of late-medieval Europe, very much the pangs of cultural transformation, Marsilio Ficino (1433-99) remarks:

this century, like a golden age, has restored to light the liberal arts, which were almost extinct: grammar, poetry, rhetoric, painting, sculpture, architecture, music, the ancient singing of songs to the Orphic lyre, and all of this in Florence.³¹

²⁹ Ibid., 139-40.

³⁰ Ibid., 132, 136, 138.

³¹ Perkins, 29.

The Renaissance and Humanism in Music

Ficino's excitement over the musical rebirth of his day in the vein of classical Greece and Rome notwithstanding, modern scholars have been slow to accept the influence of humanism in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century music. This is surprising given the amount of attention that Renaissance music has received by musicologists. Edward Lowinsky was the first to note that modern scholars had not yet substantially investigated the connection between music and humanist thought, and he contested those who considered such a link between philosophy and music to be irrelevant or nonexistent.³² This included such eminent musicologists as Leo Schrade who argued that the term "Renaissance" referred to a cultural rebirth independent of classical antiquity:

Renaissance means the act of rebirth effected spontaneously; in the minds of the musicians it also means an epoch well defined within the history as a whole. It does not mean the imitation of antiquity; nor does it mean the renaissance of antiquity. It means the renaissance of standards of culture in music.³³

Scholars in other disciplines have accepted such claims at face value, resulting in the mistaken belief that music was an aberrant art form somehow divorced from the intellectual climate of the Renaissance. Thus, historian Philip Lee Ralph, for instance, in his well-known synthesis of writings on the European Renaissance, explains that:

The classical revival had little relevance to the deeply implanted Western musical heritage.... Although stimulated by the atmosphere of the Renaissance, music as an art form was only indirectly indebted to it, and it

³² Edward E. Lowinsky, *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, 2 vols., Bonnie J. Blackburn, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989): 103-05.

³³ Leo Schrade, "Renaissance: The Historical Conception of an Epoch" in *Kongress-Bericht der Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Utrecht 1952* (Amsterdam): 1953.

continued to evolve along its own course after the Renaissance had come to an end.³⁴

Such accounts were inspired by the writings of Johannes Tinctoris (c. 1435-1511), a Franco-Flemish music theorist and composer who held several posts, including serving the court of Aragon at Naples. Tinctoris believed that the music of his generation represented a shift in European musical aesthetics to forms profoundly unlike anything Western Christendom had ever witnessed before. Although musicologists have accepted this based on surviving musical evidence and while this is true to some extent, Philippe de Vitry in his *Ars Nova* of c. 1320 makes similar claims for his generation. Modern musicological investigation of the Renaissance might benefit from placing the beginning of the epoch in the early fourteenth century, as is the case in most other academic disciplines, not in the mid-fifteenth century.

Be that as it may, Tinctoris's (or even Philippe de Vitry's) notion of the rebirth of western European music, however, had less to do with humanistic thought inspired by classical antiquity than a deep appreciation of the music of his own lifetime and that of the preceding generation. In his *Proportionale musices* (c. 1474), he proclaims that music written more than forty years earlier was not worth hearing and cites the *contenance angloise* and the music of Englishman John Dunstable, specifically, as the source of this rebirth, not any revival of classical ideals. Perkins explains that Tinctoris thus "subverted" the notion of a rebirth as an emulation of classical models to serve his own interests and thereby made the Renaissance in music quite unlike that in literature or

³⁴ Ralph, 155.

architecture.³⁵ Palisca's *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* works to correct the impression left to us by Tinctoris.³⁶

Yet Tinctoris was not alone in his failure to identify the Renaissance in music as having begun in the fourteenth century along with the other arts. The first wave of humanists — Francesco Petrarca, Giovanni Boccaccio, and Guarino Veronese — did not pay any attention to music in their studies of antiquity, because no actual specimens were extant. It was only in the following generation of humanists, namely Vittorino da Feltre, Marsilio Ficino, Angelo Poliziano, and Giorgio Valla, that music became a subject of deeper interest.³⁷ It was in this period that music was finally incorporated into a general program of humanistic study. In 1424 at Mantua, in a villa owned by his patron Marquis Gian Francesco Gonzaga, Vittorino da Feltre founded a school for humanists that taught music, though not ancient music, along with Italian literature, mathematics, drawing, religion, and physical education.³⁸

The lack of initial interest is not entirely surprising, for no examples of music from classical antiquity survived. Even after extensive research conducted since the Renaissance, only about fifty pieces of music from ancient times, most of them

³⁵ Perkins, 46-47.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 48.

³⁷ Palisca, 7.

³⁸ See *ibid.*, 7; Ralph, 141.

fragmentary, are extant today.³⁹ Unlike sculptors, painters, and scholars of literature, musicians, composers, and theorists had next to nothing with which they could compare their art. It was only in the late fifteenth century that fragments of ancient Greek music were discovered and these were decoded after a fashion only in the 1580s. Humanistic scholars interested in music had no recourse but to consult the writings of the ancient music theorists, which included those attributed to Pythagoras in the sixth century B.C.E.

For some time, it seems that plainchant was considered by fifteenth-century writers across Europe to serve as a replacement for the missing classical repertory because it was the only surviving “Roman” music known to have been ancient, although this was not entirely satisfactory, because it was not in fact the music of the ancient Romans. As Perkins notes, this “did not entirely resolve the dilemma for the writer attempting to apply the historical idea of a cultural rebirth to music.”⁴⁰ Meanwhile, mensural polyphony, which like chant was a development of the medieval tradition, was also not rejected as a potential replacement for the music of the ancients by humanist scholars. In fact, fifteenth-century humanists did not know, as we do today, that the music of ancient Greece and Rome was monophonic.⁴¹ Europe was in any event reluctant to sacrifice its newfound ability to compose intricate polyphony.

³⁹ For further information see Martin West, *Ancient Greek Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

⁴⁰ Perkins, 40.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 41.

Still, humanist authors had a difficult time integrating the polyphony of common practice with the ideals of strict humanism.⁴² In reconciling modern taste with ancient philosophies, music theory from the past was used to exert great pressure on polyphonic composition to bring it in line with ancient principles. This influence of ancient music theory came about only at around the end of the fifteenth century, as more and more Greek texts on harmonics were located, translated, and studied, and as compromises were made between aesthetic values and intellectual arguments.⁴³ And so it is in the generation following Tinctoris that the impact of humanist thought on music is witnessed with increasing intensity. Franchinus Gaffurius (1451-1522), for instance, unlike Tinctoris, possessed translations of the ancient Greek writings on music theory, which he acquired from the humanist circle in Milan. The interpretation of the ancient treatises, on the other hand, was another matter.

As Walker notes, aside from those who were “satisfied with the music of their time and did not consider reforming it,” there were others at the opposite extreme who “believed that modern music was very inferior to ancient music, which they wished to revive as completely as possible.”⁴⁴ Compensating for such extremists were the moderates who “held that in certain respects only was ancient music superior to modern, and that, though some reforms were desirable, yet in many ways modern music had

⁴² Ibid., 41.

⁴³ Ibid., 42.

⁴⁴ Walker, 1941, 5.

advanced far beyond ancient.”⁴⁵ Clearly, Europe’s love for polyphony was strong, for the notion held by some that ancient music was polyphonic “persisted even after the discovery that Greek music had been [proven to be] monodic—a realization that brought the contrapuntal style of the sixteenth century under critical fire.”⁴⁶

By the sixteenth century, most music theorists understood plainly that the music of the ancients was monophonic, but were unwilling to replace polyphony with monophony completely. Although those scholars who advocated monody over polyphony in order to better achieve the musical culture of the ancients were in the minority, they were also the extremists and innovators who more often printed their theories and thus controlled the discourse.⁴⁷

Such leading figures as Vincenzo Galilei, Pontus de Tyard, and Girolamo Mei rejected the highly embellished counterpoint of Franco-Flemish composers and argued that modern music should strive to recapture the essence of ancient music as faithfully as possible.⁴⁸ Vincenzo Galilei (c. 1521-91), father of the famous physicist, was consumed with resurrecting one of the greatest of the ancient Greek arts: the music drama. As Lowinsky explains, to Galilei music was “merely a means to intensify the expression of the spoken word.”⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Ibid, 5.

⁴⁶ Perkins, 49.

⁴⁷ Walker, 1942, 60.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 57.

⁴⁹ Lowinsky, 1989, 155-56.

Henricus Glareanus (1448-1563), who generally stood midway between the two extremes, felt similarly. He had been a student of Conrad Celtis, who sought always to bring out the power of the text. Yet Glareanus also admired the affective powers of Franco-Flemish polyphony.

Despite the often hostile nature of sixteenth-century humanist music theory,⁵⁰ most arrived at many of the same conclusions as Glareanus regarding ancient music. The most significant point of agreement was that music in classical times was inseparable from the text. There was universal agreement that the poet and the musician were to be regarded as one and the same performer. As the important humanist theorist and composer Gioseffo Zarlino (c. 1517-90) most concisely put it, “the Musician was not different from the Poet, nor was the Poet anyone other than the Musician.”⁵¹ A second point upon which theorists could agree, especially after the translation of Plato’s writings, was that one of the most important aspects of music was its affective power and therefore, like the music of the ancients, it could also be used as a means of imposing proper social decorum.

The Problem of Applying Humanism to Music

Though there was agreement on these points, how these ideals were to be implemented was, of course, a matter of contention. Although humanist thinkers and music theorists went to great lengths to convince their contemporary musicians and

⁵⁰ See for instance Walker, 1941, 288-308.

⁵¹ Quoted in *ibid.*, 1941, 6. The original reads: “il Musico non era separato dal Poeta, ne il Poeta dal Musico.”

composers to follow along, such matters remained in dispute for some time in the intellectual realm. Thus, as Lowinsky notes,⁵² the first examples of musical humanism were compositions by these humanist theorists or their pupils. Perhaps not surprisingly, their approaches to composition were as varied as their approaches to humanism.

Glareanus, for instance, wrote many monophonic compositions, though he left them anonymous. In these works, he sought to implement the ideals set forth by other humanists and music theorists, including the use of one constant, unchanging metric mode.⁵³ A contemporary of Glareanus's and fellow student under the humanist Conrad Celtis, Petrus Tritonius (c. 1465 – c. 1525) was perhaps in some ways more strict in his application of humanist principles. A fascinating set of polyphonic works he published in Augsburg in 1507, best described by Lowinsky, reveals the extent to which humanist music theory was applied to polyphony.

Nineteen poems of Horace were set in the rhythm dictated by the various classical meters in simultaneous four-part declamation. Every syllable of the text had one note only; no repetition of a sentence or part of a sentence was tolerated; there were no more than two note values, a long and a short note, the long having twice the duration of the short note. They were painstakingly adapted to the long and short syllables of the Latin meter. No attention was paid to rhythmic variety beyond what the meter afforded, not the slightest concession made to counterpoint; all voices moved in one and the same metric step. No passing notes or dissonances gave relief; sharps or flats were used sparingly to preserve the purity of the modes. Solemn declamation of the Latin poem heightened by the sound of four-part harmony: this was the humanist's idea, for musicians had little to do with this fruit of humanistic endeavor.⁵⁴

⁵² Lowinsky, 1989, 158 and 171.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 156.

Such stylistic elements were generally promoted by the more extreme supporters of humanism in music. Nevertheless, these settings of Horace's poems set the precedent for how humanist-inspired music was to be composed throughout sixteenth-century Europe.

The French, for instance, adopted Glareanus and Tritonius's concepts of setting text to simple rhythms in the substantially later *musique mesurée à l'antique*. Their approaches were quite different, however, as the French concern for textual declamation required a more flexible system than the application of rhythmic modes allowed. Among one of the more significant composers of this *vers mesuré*, as it was also called, was Pontus de Tyard (1521-1605). He transferred the problem of how to adapt the greatest features of poetry and music from Greek and Latin to the vernacular and established the model for later experiments on musical humanism in France.⁵⁵ Tyard's approach was to create a monophonic line that set each word to either a long or a short pitch based on the natural declamation of the French language.

After Tyard, French humanists embraced polyphony and settled the problem of setting French texts in the most declamatory fashion possible primarily by employing syllabic and homophonic methods. Though by no means a new stylistic feature,⁵⁶ the homorhythmic texture became the accepted norm for French humanist music by the royally sponsored Académie de Poésie et Musique, which was founded in 1570. The success of the *vers mesuré* practiced at the Académie in capturing the spirit of sung poetry as it was thought to be performed in classical Greece and Rome lay in the flexibility on the part of the French with regards to the polyphony. By abandoning the

⁵⁵ Ibid., 177.

⁵⁶ See examples listed in *ibid.*, 178.

strict four-part writing so common in German humanist music, the French allowed for variety in the number of layers of polyphony.⁵⁷

In Italy, birthplace and home of humanist thought, musical treatises on counterpoint seem to have been intent on refining the more “crude” Franco-Flemish style of the fifteenth century. Palisca maintains that both Tinctoris, and later, Adrian Willaert (c. 1490-1562), rather than bringing the art of polyphony to Italy, as is often considered the case, actually learned quite a bit from the Italians. Tinctoris seems to call for the elimination of Franco-Flemish crudities manifest in the polyphony of his northern predecessors in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (1477), while Adrian Willaert, who came to Italy at an early age (c. 1514 or 1515), must have learned most of his approaches to composition while there.⁵⁸ As Palisca argues,

Through Tinctoris and Willaert and their pupils, counterpoint was progressively purged of uncontrolled dissonance, linear angularities, and other irregularities and mannerisms (particularly fauxbourdon) characteristic of the northern composers. It becomes a suave, refined, polished art that was taught essentially by the Italian and Italianized masters.⁵⁹

This turning away from the complexity of fifteenth-century Franco-Flemish polyphony toward the cultivation of smooth, horizontal lines approaches the demand for monody and is indicative of the humanistic experiments in music manifest elsewhere in Europe.

Meanwhile, the more progressive and radical Italian and Italianate composers in terms of musical humanism called for the use of chromaticism, which they argued the

⁵⁷ See *ibid.*, 179.

⁵⁸ Palisca, 10-11.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

ancient Greeks had employed as ancient Greek theoretical writings suggested. Among the foremost of these was Nicola Vicentino (1511 – c. 1576) who, at his most extreme, invented the arcicembalo, a harpsichord with the capability of playing in all three Greek genera (diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic). It was the more conservative Portuguese composer and theorist Vicente Lusitano (d. after 1561), singer at the Papal Chapel, who spurred on the extreme liberal musical humanism of Vicentino. Lowinsky explains that:

As early as 1549 Vicentino instructed some gentlemen in Rome in the mysteries of ancient Greek music and in the art of how to apply the chromatic and enharmonic scales to modern music. These gentlemen were sworn to secrecy, had it not been for the fact that, in 1551, he lost a wager in a public disputation with a singer of the Papal Chapel [Lusitano] in a manner so decisive and accompanied by such publicity that he wrote his famous treatise *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (“Ancient music applied to modern practice”), publishing it four years later in the same Rome in which the event had taken place.⁶⁰

It is important for the present study to highlight the fact that Lusitano was a conservative thinker with respect to the relationship between music and humanism, for he is typical, as I will argue later (see Chapter VI), of his native homeland.

What can be garnered from such disparate approaches to making fifteenth- and sixteenth-century music emulate that of the ancients, not only in Italy, but across Europe, is that the notion of a return to antiquity in Renaissance music was not so much manifest in specific stylistic or compositional features, but rather in the intellectual debate that surrounded the past, present, and future of music. As Palisca so clearly summarizes, musical style

as a criterion [for Renaissance music] is particularly misleading in the Italian Renaissance, because some of the most characteristic music of the period is not preserved in writing, and much of the written music exhibits

⁶⁰ Lowinsky, 1989, 197.

style elements of undeniably transalpine origin. But this should not lead us to the conclusion that the Renaissance was a northern phenomenon. *Renaissance music*, that is, music imbued with the spirit of the Renaissance—as opposed to the music of the Renaissance—that is, of a particular chronological period, received its first impetus in Italy just as did the other arts and literature.... Because much of the momentum of the Renaissance was translated into performance rather than original creation, to seek its essence in a style is unproductive.... The Renaissance musical scene in Italy cannot adequately be characterized in stylistic terms. It is best defined in cultural terms. Renaissance music is not a set of compositional techniques but a complex of social conditions, intellectual states of mind, attitudes, aspirations, habits of performers, artistic support systems, intracultural communication, and many other such ingredients....⁶¹

In fact, humanism, as an attempt to recreate classical Greek and Roman models, whether in music or anything else, was in the process of being defined and worked out throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

It is in this many-sided debate on the impact of humanism on music that we may begin to address Manuel Carlos de Brito's question regarding the seeming absence of musical development in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Portugal. Before we can understand the extent to which humanistic thought influenced Portuguese music during the reigns of Doms Manuel I, João III, and Sebastião, we must look carefully at the nature of humanism in Portugal during these periods and compare it directly to what we have discussed above. The following chapter, then, will explore Portugal's cultural relationships with Italy, in order to understand the intellectual context in which sixteenth-century Portuguese music was composed and performed.

⁶¹ Palisca, 5.

CHAPTER III

Humanism and the Rise of the Lusitanian Empire

Manuel Carlos de Brito's suggestion that "contacts between Portuguese music and Franco-Flemish music appear to have been, for the most part, mediated with Spain, and that contacts with Italy were much reduced,"⁶² not only contradicts historical fact, it is unequivocally antithetical to the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Renaissance Portugal, in general, and Lisbon, in particular. Historical records confirm Portugal's vigorous internationalism throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Aside from the visits made by Brazilian Amerindians, ambassadorial convoys from Japan, and an emissary from Ethiopia, Lisbon, serving as the capital of an ever-growing empire, attracted merchants and diplomatic representatives from nearly every nation in Europe.⁶³ Trading voyages to the East, Afonso de Albuquerque's near monopoly over the spice trade, and the cultivation of sugar plantations on islands in the Atlantic all brought vast wealth to Portugal and ensured economic contacts with all of Europe. The Portuguese sugar trade that developed in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries alone spanned from England to Istanbul and attracted a legion of bankers from Germany and merchants from England, France, and especially Flanders and

⁶²Brito, 1990, 540.

⁶³Hirsch, 2.

Italy as early as 1504.⁶⁴ Thus, Lisbon, this once remote, frontier city at the tip of Europe quickly became the hub of international commerce, eventually replacing Venice.

It is the aim of this chapter to explore Portugal's close relationship with Italy in order to understand how humanism arrived and developed there. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Portugal eagerly absorbed humanist thought from abroad and, because of it, forged the Lusitanian Empire in the image of classical antiquity. The various approaches to humanism (see Chapter II) were debated in Portugal, as they were elsewhere in Europe, but by the middle of the sixteenth century the situation began to change. Portugal's cosmopolitanism and its overseas discoveries led many to believe that the Portuguese had superseded the ancients in all ways. At the same time, conservative humanism, informed by the same Catholic fervor that inspired the Counter-Reformation, became dominant; the implications of this for music are addressed more directly in Chapter VI.

Relations between Portugal and Italy in the Sixteenth Century

Portugal's overseas trading empire afforded it a close familiarity with all things Italian, especially with the thought emanating from the various humanist circles. As Italian merchants had settled in Portugal, especially in Lisbon, Portuguese scholars and clerics often traveled to Italy, particularly to Rome, Genoa, and Florence, and the interactions between Portugal and the many Italian city-states throughout the Renaissance were multifaceted in nature. In their dealings with Rome, the Portuguese were concerned

⁶⁴ Harold Victor Livermore, *A New History of Portugal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966): 136-42; Hirsch, 2.

mainly with politics and religious matters. Meanwhile, Genoa and Portugal shared economic, political, technological, and commercial ties. Additionally, Portuguese influence was felt strongly in Savoy and Parma owing to the weddings of Manuel I's daughter Beatriz to Carlo III of Savoy in 1521 and Maria of Portugal to Alessandro Farnese in 1565 (for a further discussion of this see Chapter IV). More importantly, the Portuguese actively engaged in the Florentine discourse concerning the intellectual and ontological essence of humanism.

It was in this energetic exchange of culture that Portuguese and Italians interacted. In Lisbon, expatriate Italians, who had come in great numbers, grouped together and formed small communities based on Italian regional allegiances. Some of these merchants and craftsmen even became naturalized Portuguese. Whereas the Italians on Portuguese soil were mainly merchants, the Portuguese who went to Italy had various occupations and came from many social classes. Thus, they were "officials in the curia, prostitutes, artisans, national representatives, or church dignitaries."⁶⁵

The Portuguese of power and intellect very often had "literary or humanistic aspirations of one sort or another," and many Portuguese humanists who could write in Latin benefited from Roman patronage.⁶⁶ Unlike Italian merchants, who often married local Portuguese, the Portuguese who went to Italy, usually clerics and religious servants posted in Rome, were not allowed to marry, and thus the colony of Portuguese in Italy

⁶⁵ Kate J. P. Lowe, ed. *Cultural Links Between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000): 9.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

was substantially smaller than that of Italians in Portugal. The Portuguese in Italy, then, were often men of letters and scholars of the humanistic arts.

Given the frequency of these contacts, it is not surprising that the Portuguese and their exploits soon became central in the Italian consciousness. In Italy, and especially at the Vatican, “Portugal [and its discoveries] had become headline news and all things Portuguese had become desirable.”⁶⁷ Hanno, the Indian elephant Dom Manuel I sent to Pope Leo X in 1514, became legendary and figured prominently in Italian art. Hanno was

the ultimate gift for a man who had everything; in return the pope gave tokens of honour and recognition, as well as pieces of Italian sculpture.... Gift exchange between Portugal and Italy reached its most sophisticated form at this moment, and the gifts chosen represented the best products of both areas.⁶⁸

Likewise, in Portugal, the royal family and the elite, who had accumulated considerable wealth, placed great value on Italian art, architecture, and other items of material wealth, in addition to Portuguese colonial and Flemish goods. For instance, Giorgio Vasari (1511-47) informs his readers of “a cartoon of Adam and Eve executed by Leonardo da Vinci for the king of Portugal (now lost) which was to be made up in Flanders into gold and silk *portiera*.”⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Ibid., 10.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 11.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 12.

Slaves, especially from Guinea, were considered particularly important “products” for Tuscany,⁷⁰ and the close and intense ties with Florence that this trade created permitted the Portuguese construction and patronage of chapels and churches in that region.⁷¹ Of particular interest for the purposes of this study is that the Portuguese were rather eager patrons of the Florentine book trade in the fifteenth century.⁷² Dom Manuel I, for instance, commissioned the so-called Lisbon Bible — a beautifully illuminated, seven-volume work compiled between 1495 and 1497 — from a studio of Florentine scribes.⁷³ Indeed, Portugal seems to have housed many large repositories of copies of Latin and Greek manuscripts. Many of these documents, no doubt acquired through Florence, found their way to Dom Manuel’s personal library, though the monasteries at Santa Cruz in Coimbra and at Alcobaça also retained impressive collections of such humanist texts.

In yet another sense sixteenth-century Portuguese culture was very much like that of Italy. As Italy experienced social crises on account of warfare, famine, and social and political unrest, Portugal was torn — ideologically, culturally, artistically — by what brought it its greatness.

The Portuguese of the 15th and 16th centuries had to digest a multitude of novelties, which gave rise to often incompatible feelings: pride in their

⁷⁰ Ibid., 14.

⁷¹ Ibid., 5-6, 225-48; Frederick Hartt, Gino Corti, and Clarence Kennedy, *The Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal 1434-1459 at San Miniato in Florence* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964).

⁷² See the chapter by Albinia de la Mare in Lowe, 167-181.

⁷³ Ibid., 13.

scientific discoveries as well as humility towards the allegedly superior cultural heritage from the Ancients which had made these discoveries possible; pride in the political and cultural expansion, as well as shame about the moral and social evil that went together with it.

The history of the 16th century and, in particular that of the discoveries and conquests of that period, is full of sharp contrasts: we meet with saints and pirates, with people yearning for paradise to be gained and with those mourning about a paradise lost, with people noble and mean, generous and cruel, openminded and narrow.⁷⁴

Perhaps the most explicit example of this cultural malaise is the style of art known as “Manueline,” in which archaic gothic features are combined with daring, forward-looking “eccentricities” and heavy ornamentation.

As Lowe notes, “Portugal and Italy were [among] the two most dynamic and creative areas in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.”⁷⁵ While Portugal looked to the future with its overseas exploits, it constantly referred back to the ancient world for advice in the creation of its great empire and constantly compared its knowledge to that of antiquity, seeking continually to outdo and outclass the ancient Romans and Greeks. Italy, paradoxically, strove to create a future that emulated as much as possible its ancient glories. Thus, while Portugal was a nation of the future mired in the past, Italy was a nation of the past with aims for the future.⁷⁶ The very goals of these two European superpowers, therefore, created the conditions for mutual dependency in areas of technology, economics, the arts, religion, politics, and intellectual matters.

⁷⁴ Hookaas, 67.

⁷⁵ Lowe, 1.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 1.

Despite the mutually dependent nature of the ties between Portugal and Italy throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, modern scholarship has presented a somewhat unbalanced understanding of this cultural contact. As Lowe argues:

The view of the Italian Renaissance as the source of all cultural inspiration in the period 1400-1550 has tended to obscure the cultural contribution of Portugal. The emphasis in [the scholarship of] the past was firmly fixed upon the influence of Italian art, architecture, and literature on their Renaissance Portuguese counterparts, and it was not to be suggested that the Italians could have learnt anything from the Portuguese. The best that could be hoped for was that a few exceptional Portuguese individuals were deemed talented enough to skew the pattern by playing the Italians at their own game.... In general, the cultural relationship has been evoked by an image of Italy as the giver and Portugal as the recipient, or Italy as the model and Portugal as the copier.⁷⁷

In line with the reading that sees Italian culture as hegemonic during this period, a double standard has always operated in relation to Portuguese culture. According to this, the Portuguese went to Italy to acquire Italian culture and the Italians went to Portugal to spread Italian culture. The Portuguese did not take their culture to Italy with them, and the Italians did not go to Portugal to learn about another culture. Portuguese culture counted for nothing and the achievements of individual Portuguese were irrelevant.... One difficulty with any discussion of the Portuguese Renaissance is that it is always defined in relation to and judged by the standards of the Italian Renaissance.⁷⁸

Such a view proves to be quite problematic, indeed, given Portugal's stature abroad and its own self-perception at the turn of the sixteenth century, for it competed directly with Italy for the privilege of emulating the civilizations of ancient Rome and Greece. "Italy's claim to be the principal or sole legitimate heir to classical Rome was not unproblematic,

⁷⁷ Ibid., 5-6.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 11.

because Portugal laid claim to a fundamental part of the Roman legacy for which Renaissance Italy was unable even to bid—its empire.”⁷⁹

Humanism and the Lusitanian Empire

The Portuguese of the sixteenth century were well aware of their position as one of the wealthiest, most powerful nations in the world, and they were very fond of making this known to others. Not only did Portuguese writers of the era identify with and constantly compare their empire to that of the ancient Romans, they went to great lengths to point this out to the Italians who, bickering among themselves, could bring neither peace nor unity to their peninsula. The Portuguese, then, not only considered themselves above the Italians and saw themselves as the true heirs of the ancient civilizations of Rome and Greece, but they even went so far as to proclaim the greatness of their nation over that of the ancients themselves.

Though humanism was known in Castile earlier than in Portugal, it was received and developed in Portugal before it was introduced to most of the rest of Europe. Furthermore, nowhere else, aside from Italy itself, was this set of principles more discussed and cultivated than in Portugal.⁸⁰ The humanist comparison between the Portuguese Empire and that of ancient Rome began early in the first third of the fifteenth century when Portuguese ties to Italy enabled the importation and rapid development of humanist thought in Portugal. As early as the reign of Dom João II (1455-95), the king

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁸⁰ Oliveira Marques, 190.

summoned the Latin poet Giovanni Cataldo Parisio (1455-1517), whose *Opera* were later published in Lisbon, to his court. Likewise, attempts were made by the monarch to employ the Italian humanist Angelo Poliziano (1454-94) as a court translator.⁸¹ Clearly, Latin, as the language of the Roman Empire, was well known at the Portuguese royal court early in the fifteenth century. Furthermore, during this time many Portuguese, including the princes, were sent to Italian universities, especially to Pisa, Rome, Siena, and Bologna, as well as to Florence, to receive humanistic educations and master Latin and Greek.⁸²

As early as 1428, Dom Pedro of Coimbra, who served as regent of the country from 1439-47, visited Florence and became deeply interested in the writings of the ancients. His *O Livro da Virtuosa Bemfeitoria* is based on the works of Seneca, and he was also directly involved in the translation of Cicero's *De officiis* into Portuguese. Importantly, he also translated Marco Polo's *Il milione*.⁸³ Thus, with Dom Pedro, the model for associating discovery and travel with the writings and artifacts of the ancients was firmly established.

Afonso V (1438-81), following Dom Pedro's lead, also "realized the important role which humanism and the revival of letters might play, not merely in giving them [the royal court] the sheen of elegance to princely life, but more particularly in broadcasting the overseas exploration of Portuguese navigators, which began to astound Europe in the

⁸¹ Lowe, 12.

⁸² Ibid., 12-13.

⁸³ Ibid., 12.

1430s.”⁸⁴ The Portuguese ventures overseas were of particular interest to the Italians and Italian humanists who were quick to offer their services to the Portuguese court. A letter from Italian humanist Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459), who sought to become court chronicler at Lisbon, to Pope Pius II stands as a milestone in Portuguese history, for it is the first occasion that the concept of “discovery” is associated with the nautical explorations of the Portuguese.⁸⁵ As Lawrence notes:

The notion was a humanist one; what Poggio meant was not that the newly-charted lands and seas were uninhabited, but that they had been *terra incognita* to classical geographers. Comparing Henry [the Navigator] to Alexander the Great..., Poggio stated that, whereas the ancient hero had only conquered the known world, the Portuguese prince had ventured into the unknown.⁸⁶

In this manner, Italian humanists such as Poggio set up and perpetuated the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Portuguese sensibility of self-awareness and emphasized the times in which they lived and the Portuguese voyages as watershed moments in history. The consequences of these writings were profound, inasmuch as all subsequent Portuguese monarchs of the Renaissance sought to connect their exploits to the glories of classical civilization.

Dom João II (r. 1481-95), for instance, opened the Empire to even more Italian influence as the elite imported and developed seemingly anything and everything of Italian origin, “from humanism and education to manuscript production and illumination

⁸⁴ Jeremy N. H. Lawrence, “Humanism in the Iberian Peninsula” in *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe*, Anthony Goodman and Angus MacKay, eds. (New York: Longman, 1990): 236.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 236.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 237.

to sculpture and architecture.”⁸⁷ Though João II’s Queen Donna Leonore was more of a purist in collecting materials of Italian origin and in creating an Italianate court than her brother Manuel I, who preferred hybridity, the Avis dynasty can be said to maintain an unflagging and ever-strengthening interest in Italy and its humanist thought. This culminated in the reign of João III, who transferred the University of Lisbon to Coimbra and supported a thriving community of humanist thinkers, not only at Coimbra, but also at his court. It is clear that the courts of Portugal, in general, were ardent supporters of humanist philosophy for much of the Renaissance, even as such beliefs were met with suspicion and intolerance elsewhere in Europe.

The courts had good reason for this patronage, for in Portugal, as Lowe explains, the discoveries and conquests...[were]...so exciting and newsworthy that it was thought its glories should be recorded in Latin, placing Portugal’s activities on a par with those of imperial Rome. At the same time, the Portuguese kings thought that Portugal’s contemporary standing was such that native Portuguese chronicles of the past should also be made accessible to the rest of Europe by being translated into Latin.⁸⁸

Scholars of Latin, especially of Italian origin, flocked to the royal courts and a revision of Portuguese history was undertaken with an increasing interest in comparison to the history of imperial Rome. Matteo Pisano, for instance, appeared there in 1435 as a teacher of humanistic studies and was commissioned to write a Latin account of the 1415 capture of the Moroccan city of Ceuta.⁸⁹ Though several other Italian humanists were

⁸⁷ Lowe, 12.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 15.

either commissioned or sought to write complete histories of Portugal in Latin throughout the fifteenth century, none of these came to fruition.

Even so, because Portuguese patronage was so generous, many Renaissance Italians lauded the exploits of the Portuguese in writings that cleverly and intricately linked Portuguese, Roman, and Greek histories. Francesco Albertini's *Septem mirabilia orbis Urbis Romae et Florentinae civitatis*, dedicated to Dom Manuel in 1510, is a case in point. This Florentine work,

which was a subspecies of guidebook to Rome and Florence entirely founded on the number seven, explicitly linked the new Portuguese empire to the old Roman one. Albertini's work, in turn, was the basis for Damião de Góis's own guide to Lisbon in Latin, the *Urbis Olisiponis descriptio*, published in Évora in 1554 and also based on the number seven.... These chronicles and descriptions utilized common histories, personalities, and features to highlight the similarities between Portugal and Italy and to forge links between the pasts and presents of both areas.⁹⁰

Humanism, imported as a result of the constant contact with Italy, became increasingly more influential in Portugal in the sixteenth century. When Ferdinand gained the final decisive victory over the Moors and crowned himself King of Spain, Dom Manuel I protested vehemently.⁹¹ By claiming the title of King of Spain, Ferdinand had, in a sense, belittled the Portuguese Kingdom by usurping the ancient Latin name of the peninsula for his kingdom. Manuel's protestations, however, came to naught, and the Portuguese, instead, increasingly began to refer to their thriving nation by its ancient Roman name of Lusitania, which corresponded, more or less with the boundaries of contemporary Portugal. Lisbon, built on seven hills like ancient Rome,

⁹⁰ Ibid., 15-16.

⁹¹ Livermore, 134.

was also perceived throughout the sixteenth century as the “nova Roma” and its greatness compared to the eternal might of the ancient metropolis.⁹² Likewise, Coimbra, the capital of Portugal at different times in the medieval era and by the time of João III a major center of learning, was considered the “Portuguese Athens,” for Athens was both the foundation of Roman culture and home to some of the classical world’s most important schools of learning.⁹³

Other aspects and concepts associated with the ancient Empire of Rome were quickly incorporated into and emulated by Renaissance Portuguese culture. The Portuguese kings, for instance, were seen as the heirs to the greatness of the ancients. Dom Manuel I and Dom João III were to Portugal as Augustus and Trajan were to Rome, and Manuel was often flattered with the title of “Caesar.”⁹⁴ In a parallel manner to imperial Rome, the language of the Lusitanian Empire was to be Portuguese, as it was beginning to be imposed in Guinea, and would have the same rank, dignity, and imperial function as Latin had for Rome.⁹⁵

Every measure was taken to ensure that the royal court was literally draped with symbols of antiquity, whether Biblical or classical. Dom João III’s queen Caterina, for instance, possessed a vast collection of Flemish tapestries arranged in cycles with such titles as *The Triumphs of Petrarch*; *The Life of Christ*; *Joshua*; *The Israelites*; *Trajan*;

⁹² Hooykaas, 31.

⁹³ Rees, 34.

⁹⁴ Hooykaas, 31-32, 58, 54.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 48, 57.

Tamar; Susanna and The Elders; and Romulus and Remus. These lavish tapestries not only depicted the Portuguese inheritance of antiquity, but legitimized the monarch's rule.

Annemarie Jordan explains the significance of such possessions.

As in other contemporary courts, tapestries came to be regarded as virtual metaphors of princely rule, and were used with great frequency in court functions and ceremonial. It has long been recognized that tapestries functioned as a form of princely magnificence at the Burgundian court, which provided a model for others. Tapestries of particular subjects created for the dukes of Burgundy became effective means of portable propaganda. These cycles commissioned to exalt their dynasty included the histories of Gideon, Alexander the Great, the destruction of Troy, and Julius Caesar. The Burgundian practice of decorating residences with major thematic cycles had a profound effect upon the collections of the later generations of Habsburgs.

Catherine's [i.e., Caterina's] core collection of tapestries gradually increased over the years. She made her first major acquisition in 1532, not long after her arrival in Portugal, when she purchased eleven panels (woven in silk and gold) of the history of Romulus and Remus.... The original set was commissioned for Charles V, and the political allusions explicitly made in these weavings compare him to Romulus, celebrating the Holy Roman Emperor as the founder of a new empire and a new Rome. It is fascinating that Catherine should have immediately ordered a copy for the Lisbon court; evidently, this is not just a case of sisterly adoration but of blatant emulation and ideological competition between the Portuguese royal house and the Habsburgs. Both Manuel I and João III vied and competed for the title of *dominus mundi* with Charles, whose own device (the twin columns with the motto *Non Plus Ultra*) proclaimed the extension of his realms beyond the pillars of Hercules....[Caterina's] purchase of the Romulus and Remus tapestries for her own collection was an astute transposition of Habsburg notions of empire and imperialism to the Lisbon court.

In terms of Catherine's choice of tapestries, she selected fitting classical subject matter that not only glorified the reigning monarch and the ruling house she married into, but stressed the prestige of her own illustrious family. The Burgundian dukes and the Habsburgs both traced their lineage as far back as Aeneas, the father of Romulus and Remus, to the fall of Troy and the foundation of Rome. Portuguese kings proclaimed just as illustrious and noble a heritage, claiming Lisbon and its kingdom had been founded by Ulysses returning from the Trojan wars. Lisbon was thought by [the painter] Francisco de Holanda to have been even older than Rome....The existence of the Romulus and Remus series in her collection in the Lisbon palace evidently served as a visual reminder of Catherine's cult [of the emperor], and her appreciation of the notion of

empire fostered at the Avis and Habsburg courts, while at the same time serving as a direct iconographic link to the emperor and his court ideology.⁹⁶

In perhaps the most important of the tapestries is a piece entitled *The Earth Protected by Jupiter and Juno* from the *Spheres* cycle.⁹⁷ It alludes directly to the Lusitanian Empire, and the political propaganda here is obvious. In the upper right hand corner of the tapestry an angel sounds a trumpet, a symbol that connotes not only power, but also Portugal's rule by divine right. At the center of the tapestry the Earth, depicted with Africa and part of the Orient, the conquests and possessions of the Portuguese, is shown in astonishing detail and accuracy. At the top of the globe, lies Portugal, at which Jupiter points his scepter. Portuguese global dominance thus depicted can be understood only as the culmination of ancient and Biblical civilization.

Therefore, to say that the Portuguese identified with classical culture is an understatement. The Portuguese monarchs, especially Manuel and João III, promoted extensive restructuring of their Empire in the mold of ancient Rome and constantly fell under the shadow of the achievements of the ancient Romans. Their cultivation of the institution of the empire was something they proudly asserted to foreign dignitaries and visitors, especially the Italians, who could not claim such an achievement. One instance that proves to be indicative not only of this, but of the Portuguese courts' opulence comes in the reign of Dom João III, under whose patronage humanism flourished as never before:

⁹⁶ See Annemarie Jordan, "Portuguese Royal Collecting After 1521: The Choice Between Flanders and Italy" in Lowe, 286-87.

⁹⁷ For a reproduction see Lowe, color plate 32.

During a banquet given by D. Catarina to the nobles who had arrived with the fleet sent by Margaret of Parma, water was served at table that came from rivers in various parts of the world, from the Ganges and the Indus, from a river on one of the islands of the Moluccas, 'eighteen thousand miles' from Lisbon, and from springs, pools, and lakes of Africa and Asia, 'a thing of wonder' of which the Romans could not boast. Water from the Tiber was also served, which the Portuguese, as 'true heirs' of the Romans, judged superior to any other.⁹⁸

The Portuguese not only identified with the classicism and humanist thought that sought to emulate the classical world as closely as possible, they considered themselves superior not only to the Italians, but to the ancients as well. This desire to outclass the Italians often led them to challenge the authority and power of the classical civilizations. This had been the case ever since Poggio had compared Alexander the Great to Henry the Navigator and found the ancient hero to be the lesser.

The growing Lusitanian Empire, then, became analogous to imperial Rome. The conflicts won by the Portuguese in Asia, which was last encountered by the Europeans in the ancient texts, recalled the victories of Alexander the Great. The increasing wealth of the new Lusitania was compared to that of Rome, and as the riches increased so too did the comparisons to the point where Lisbon was said to surpass the feats of ancient Rome. The scientific developments in astronomy, mathematics, and biology, among others that resulted from the Portuguese discoveries, were perceived as superior to the scientific achievements of the ancients. As Tarnas summarizes the scientific discoveries of the Renaissance,

the global explorations made possible by the magnetic compass greatly impelled intellectual innovation, reflecting and encouraging the new scientific investigation of the natural world and further affirming the

⁹⁸ Giuseppe Bertini, "The Marriage of Alessandro Farnese and D. Maria of Portugal in 1565: Court Life in Lisbon and Parma," in Lowe, 52.

West's sense of being at the heroic frontier of civilized history. By unexpectedly revealing the errors and ignorance of the ancient geographers, the discoveries of the explorers gave the modern intellect a new sense of its own competence and even superiority over the previously unsurpassed masters of antiquity—undermining, by implication, all traditional authorities. Among these discredited geographers was Ptolemy, whose status in astronomy was therefore affected as well.⁹⁹

Because the Portuguese mariners had proven the ancients incorrect about southern expansion beyond the tropics and because they had discovered the secrets of the Orient unknown to the Romans, the new Lusitanian Empire was considered not only the reborn Roman Empire, but its superior.¹⁰⁰

In this vein stands the example of the famous Indian rhinoceros that formed part of Dom Manuel I's royal menagerie and whom he intended to send to Pius V as a gift — this was the first live specimen of the species known on the continent of Europe since the third century. As Bedini notes:

Rhinoceroses had formed part of the menageries of several Roman emperors. Domitian had two-horned rhinoceroses among his wild beasts and Commodus also had several. In the third century AD Caracalla and Heliogabalus each owned a rhinoceros and there was another in Rome in the first century.¹⁰¹

But little outside of what Pliny wrote about the African rhinoceros was known in the sixteenth century and nothing, whatsoever, was known about the Indian rhinoceros. Thus, Portuguese royalty and naturalists, who sought to verify the ancient writings on the antagonistic nature of the rhinoceros and the elephant by pitting them against each other

⁹⁹ Richard Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind: Understanding the Ideas That Have Shaped Our World View* (New York: Harmony Books, 1991): 226.

¹⁰⁰ Hooykaas, 9-10.

¹⁰¹ Bedini, 115.

in public spectacle, considered themselves, not the ancient Romans or the modern Italians, as a privileged people of God who were heirs to classical civilization and wisdom.¹⁰²

Therefore, while António Ferreira (1528-69), a Portuguese poet who was connected to the professors at the Colégio das Artes at Coimbra University, considered the ancient Greeks and Romans to be “the masters of knowledge,”¹⁰³ such figures as Garcia d’Orta (1504-70) wrote, “I say that nowadays is known more in one day by the Portuguese than one knew in a hundred years through the Romans.”¹⁰⁴ Orta, who was a botanist and a leading Portuguese humanist, was not alone in his exaltations of his fatherland and was joined by fellow countrymen and visiting humanists alike. Sá de Miranda (the poet who introduced Roman and Italian poetic style into Portuguese literature), Luís de Camões (author of the Portuguese national epic, *Os Lusíadas*), João Castro, André de Resende, Pedro Nunes (author of the first algebra book in the Portuguese language), Damião de Góis, Heitor Pinto (a Christian Platonist), João de Barros, and Nicholas Cleynaerts (a Flemish humanist, who worked for several years in Portugal), among many others, all praised Portugal over Rome and Greece in their writings.

All of these scientists and writers were inspired by the overseas expansion, and they perceived the Lusitanian Empire to be the modern counterpart of the Roman Empire. Together, they formed part of the humanist circle in Portugal. Although this group was a

¹⁰² See *ibid.*, 111-136.

¹⁰³ Hooykaas, 19.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

“small and rather select group closely attached to the court,”¹⁰⁵ because many men, especially the younger ones, were typically abroad tending to the overseas expansion of the nation, it wielded tremendous influence on the educational and court systems of Portugal. They imposed on the nobility and the wealthy burghers their need to devote themselves to humanistic studies, and they possessed a great deal of power over the cultural affairs of the kingdom, including music.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Hirsch, 163.

¹⁰⁶ Hooykaas, 44.

CHAPTER IV

Music of Sixteenth-Century Portugal in Art and Historical Accounts

In his search for the music of the “Golden Age” of Portuguese history, musicologist Manuel Carlos de Brito asserts that Portugal’s position as a wealthy European power was too short lived to permit the flowering of a productive artistic atmosphere. Thus, sixteenth-century Portugal, as Brito suggests, was in many ways isolated from the musical and cultural mainstream of Europe. While this perhaps could be argued for Portugal in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when the Empire slipped quietly into unprecedented isolation and obscurity, the same cannot be said of Portugal in the sixteenth century. Surely Brito’s frustrations, undoubtedly informed by the Empire’s twentieth-century introversion, must be based on the present lack of musical sources attesting to and displaying Renaissance Portugal’s musical splendor.

Despite this, a wealth of other evidence and documentation in our possession, in the form of iconographic material and written historical accounts, reveals the extent and breadth of sixteenth-century Portugal’s musical and cultural climate. It is the aim of this chapter, then, to investigate the evidence for music and the extent to which humanist ideals were manifest in the arts of sixteenth-century Portugal. Following a brief outline of Portugal’s economic and political relations with other important fifteenth- and sixteenth-century European centers, especially the Low Countries, the musical iconography in Flemish and Portuguese art bearing Flemish influence will be analyzed, not only for the purpose of refuting Brito’s theory, but also because no study of this kind has yet been made available. Iconographic evidence reveals the strong influence artists from the Franco-Flemish world, generally recognized along with the Italians as the most

talented in Renaissance Europe, had on Portugal. Sixteenth-century Portuguese musical aesthetics are also revealed in surviving historical documentation, a discussion of which concludes the chapter. These writings attest to the splendor of Portuguese music in this era at various centers in the nation and suggest its influence on other nations, especially on neighboring Spain.

Relations between Portugal and Flanders in the Sixteenth Century

Portugal's economic and cultural contacts with Flanders and the Low Countries in the Renaissance were as strong as those with Italy. As did the sizable Italian colony in Lisbon, Franco-Flemings, too, established themselves in Portugal. In fact, while immigrants came from all over Europe, those from the Low Countries were especially numerous. With the discovery of riches readily available overseas, the Portuguese countryside quickly became somewhat depopulated as many Portuguese men filled posts in Lisbon or went to distant lands as sailors and merchants to gain wealth or as soldiers to fight, spread the Christian faith, or secure national holdings. Immigrants from the Low Countries helped to replenish the population. Owing to this exodus from the countryside, however, famines became common, and often the Dutch had to import Prussian wheat into Portugal.¹⁰⁷ Thus, Portugal was bound economically to the rest of Europe, particularly to the Franco-Flemish world and other northern states.

To facilitate and manage its trade with the Low Countries and with northern Europe in general, the Portuguese established factories in Bruges and Antwerp. These factories were critical also for the cultural and artistic connections between these two

¹⁰⁷ Hooykaas, 32-33.

burgeoning regions of Europe. Portuguese art collectors used the factories' managers as intermediators and soon large numbers of Flemish paintings, tapestries, and other works of art were imported into Portugal through them. Such pieces, and the influence they had on Portuguese painters, not only attest to the close connections between Portugal and Flanders, they are also informative for their depictions of music and humanistic themes.

Representations of Music in Flemish and Portuguese Art

Because of these economic links, numerous Flemings left their homeland to serve as the practitioners of the "mechanical arts" in Portugal.¹⁰⁸ Painting and music were famously cultivated in the Low Countries, and Portugal's economic ties to Bruges and Antwerp lured artists and craftsmen to serve the churches, monasteries, and palaces of the Lusitanian Empire. This Portuguese patronage contributed greatly to the cultural climates of both the Low Countries and Portugal itself. Portuguese patrons commissioned, bought, and sold great quantities of art from the artistically rich centers of northern Europe, and their influence was very quickly felt in Portugal. The Flemish masters not only served as the models for Portuguese art, but also became the teachers of the important school of painters that developed in Portugal early in the sixteenth century.

As art historian Robert C. Smith notes, this great school of Portuguese painting can be traced to the fifteenth century, and the "greatest fifteenth-century paintings are profoundly Flemish in style and in technique."¹⁰⁹ Smith suggests that this Flemish

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 37.

¹⁰⁹ Smith, 16 also 195.

influence can actually be traced back to the famous Flemish master Jan van Eyck.¹¹⁰

The wedding of Isabella of Portugal to Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1430 — an event important in the history of Portugal, politically, musically, and artistically — brought Van Eyck to Portugal in 1428 to paint the portrait of Isabella, who was the daughter of Dom João I and Philippa of Lancaster. It is likely that Van Eyck's presence influenced the artist Nuno Gonçalves, whose style is of unquestionable Flemish origin; Smith suggests that Gonçalves may have learned from Van Eyck directly.¹¹¹ Gonçalves is one of the greatest painters of Renaissance Portugal, and his influence on his contemporaries and the generations of artists that followed him cannot be emphasized enough.

So greatly was Gonçalves's and Flemish art admired, studied, and imitated that by the reign of Dom Manuel I in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, it can be said that the Flemish style was also that of the Portuguese. As Smith notes, "With the empire building of the sixteenth century these tendencies were amplified and whole colonies of foreign artists entered Portugal, which was then among the richest lands in Europe."¹¹² To give just one example of the degree of foreign artistic influence, especially those from Flanders, in Portugal, one needs to look only at the important monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra.

In his study of the musical manuscripts at Santa Cruz, musicologist Owen Rees comments on the strong artistic connection between Coimbra and Antwerp that resulted

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 196.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 196.

¹¹² Ibid., 16.

in the “importation of considerable quantities of paintings, sculptures, tapestries, and books from northern Europe during the same period.”¹¹³ Rees explains that

Such imports often followed the principal lines of overseas trade. The principal Portuguese trading-post (factory) was at Antwerp, and its presence there encouraged the growth of a large colony of expatriates from Portugal. The superintendent [*sic*] (or ‘factor’) of the factory in Antwerp, in addition to his commercial duties, acted as a diplomatic agent on behalf of his royal masters, and also commissioned or purchased works of art and books at their request.¹¹⁴

During the reign of Dom Manuel, records reveal that about 150 tapestries of Flemish origin alone were imported from Antwerp to Lisbon and distributed throughout Portugal, and that the superintendent of the Antwerp factory himself was directly responsible for purchasing and shipping such artworks and books for the king.¹¹⁵

The Flemish tapestries are evocative statements of the Lisbon court’s ideologies, aesthetics, and political achievements. Functioning like panels in a large retable, the tapestries were often commissioned in series based on unifying themes. One such tapestry held at the Museum in Lamego¹¹⁶ illustrates the importance of music at the royal court. The enthroned figure centered at the top of the piece represents the Portuguese monarch — it is not entirely clear whether it is Manuel I or João III who is alluded to here — surrounded and attended by various courtiers and members of the

¹¹³ Rees, 1995, 35.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹¹⁵ See *ibid.*, 36, and his source, J.A. Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales (Portugais, Espagnols, Italiens) à Anvers de 1488 à 1567* (Louvain, 1925).

¹¹⁶ For a reproduction see *Feitoras*, 83, plate 15.

nobility. A consort of three recorders, an organist, a trio comprised of recorder, harp, and drum, a lutenist, and a female singer accompanied by a long three-hole flute and keyboard all stand out from the crowd in the forefront of the tapestry. These combinations point towards the dilettante musicians of noble status known to have performed often at the court, as well as to the simple three-voiced vilhancicos and other works preserved in the *Cancioneiro Musical d'Elvas*, the *Cancioneiro Musical* at the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon, and the *Cancioneiro* at the Bibliothèque de l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Paris.

Such scenes are vividly recorded in accounts by Damião de Góis (1502-74), who served as a chronicler at Dom Manuel's court, and, if Góis himself did not ship this particular tapestry to Lisbon, he certainly did send others like it later to João III,¹¹⁷ for the tapestries were commissioned by Manuel and João from their agents in the Low Countries. Góis, an important Portuguese humanist, historian, and composer, served as secretary of the Antwerp factory from 1523 until 1529 and was intimately acquainted with northern European art through his position at the factory. He knew, for instance, the German artist Albrecht Dürer, who painted his portrait.¹¹⁸

Dürer himself proves to be an interesting figure in the history of the Portuguese arts, for he seems to have been on personal terms with many prominent Portuguese figures and often presented his paintings and drawings to them in hopes of acquiring their

¹¹⁷ Lowe, 287.

¹¹⁸ For a reproduction see "Damião de Góis: Cronista, Filósofo e Humanista" in *Revista da Armada*," accessed March 01, 2006, <http://www.marinha.pt/extra/revista/ra_nov2002/fig7.jpg>.

patronage.¹¹⁹ Among the most famous of Dürer's works demonstrating his close connections to Portugal are the drawing and engraving of the unfortunate rhinoceros Dom Manuel sent as a gift to Pope Leo X in 1513, which met a tragic end en route after having been extravagantly paraded through Lisbon.¹²⁰ Many of Dürer's works were bought by the superintendent of the Antwerp factory and disseminated throughout the major centers of Portugal. Rees notes that one of the bas-reliefs at the Monastery of Santa Cruz shows the direct influence of Dürer.¹²¹ Those works bought at the factory and others inspired by Dürer can still be found scattered throughout Portugal today.

Thus, the political, economic, and cultural relations between Portugal and Flanders and the rest of the Low Countries throughout the entire Renaissance are readily apparent. This web of trade, politics, and artistry proves critical to our current understanding of the musical life of sixteenth-century Portugal, for much of the Flemish and Portuguese artwork available to us lavishly depicts scenes of musical performance, celebration, and worship.

¹¹⁹ Afonso and Pereira, 34.

¹²⁰ For a full account of the life of the rhinoceros and its significance, see Silvio A. Bedini, *The Pope's Elephant* (Nashville: J. S. Sanders, 1998): 111-36.

¹²¹ Rees, 1995, 35-36.

Music and Art at the Wedding of Alessandro Farnese and Maria of Portugal

The close relationships between the Portuguese and Flemish royal and noble courts is evident well into the sixteenth century with the marriage in Lisbon and in Brussels in 1565-66 of Maria of Portugal, niece of João III, to Alessandro Farnese, the only son of Marguerite of Parma, regent of the Netherlands. Though by the 1550s the Lusitanian Empire had begun to wane as its wealth and opulence diminished, the marriage with the Portuguese Avis dynasty was still considered crucial enough for the festivities of the wedding to be portrayed as nothing less than brilliant. According to Bertini,¹²² however, the wedding festivities were less grandiose than usual, owing in part to Portugal's financial crisis, but more so to political opposition to the wedding at the Lisbon court; her move to Italy worried many since the line of succession put Maria close to the throne.

Little documentation exists concerning either the composition of the Lisbon court or the exact manner in which it held celebrations and ceremonies, either during this time or throughout the whole of the Avis ascendancy, though it is known that the aforementioned wedding was celebrated first in Lisbon in 1565, before the future princess of Parma left by ship for parallel festivities in Brussels. No official firsthand account of the wedding celebrations at Lisbon survives owing to the fact that no one in Portugal was assigned to describe them and inform Parma,¹²³ yet reports by Italians

¹²² See Bertini's in Lowe, 48.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 49.

reveal that, though she was not the king's daughter, Maria's wedding was celebrated with all the pomp befitting a princess.¹²⁴

Indeed it was none other than Damião de Góis himself who was sent by the Cardinal Infante Henrique (1512-80) — who in 1578 was the only surviving legitimate heir to the Portuguese throne and who died in 1580 without having been permitted by the Vatican to produce an heir — to welcome the foreign guests of the wedding at Belém and who hosted his own banquet in honor of the court from Parma.¹²⁵ It is likely that Góis, himself a composer and greatly enamored of music, would have followed the Portuguese custom among the nobles and the court of celebrating banquets with constant musical performances, as it happened at the royal court on this occasion at which “the sweetest music and most divine singing were heard throughout.”¹²⁶ Bertini notes that after the wedding ceremony proper, the celebrations took the form of the traditional Portuguese evening entertainment known as the *saraú*, in which “various pieces of music and courtly discourses of love which kindled the hearts of lovers more and more to dance” were performed.¹²⁷ Bertini, again quoting Marchi's account, stands as the most informative for our purposes, underscoring the importance here of dance, which was performed ““with so much refinement, grace, and purity, with such veneration and courtesy towards

¹²⁴ See references in *ibid.*, 49.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹²⁶ Quoted in *ibid.*, 56.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 56.

the ladies, that without doubt' the Portuguese 'surpass in this by a great distance all other nations.'"¹²⁸

These accounts of the celebrations of this important wedding in Lisbon are enhanced by a series of anonymous Flemish miniature paintings preserved at the library of the University of Warsaw that depict the extravagant festivities held at Brussels,¹²⁹ which paralleled those at Lisbon. The depiction of the actual wedding ceremony indicates the performance of a polyphonic mass by twelve *a cappella* singers in four parts likely directed by Pierre du Hotz, who was choirmaster for Marguerite of Parma, came from Breda, and had been cantor in Charles V's chapel in Spain.

In most of the remaining miniatures,¹³⁰ music and dance are vividly depicted as central elements of the scenes. Dances, jousts, parades, and banquets are all celebrated in these paintings by the sounding of trumpets numbering anywhere from pairs to dozens. As was the case in Lisbon, these festivities were celebrated throughout Brussels before the married couple set out for Parma to live uneventful yet happy lives together until Maria's death. The exact musical repertory performed at these festivities remains a mystery, though it may be possible to uncover more about the wedding ceremony at Brussels in future studies.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Ibid., 56-57.

¹²⁹ Ibid., color plates 2-5.

¹³⁰ For reproductions see Lowe, color plates 2-5 and *Portugal et Flandre*, 76, 88-89.

¹³¹ For a more detailed, though musically uninformative, description of the festivities at Lisbon and Brussels, see *ibid.*, 88-91.

Depictions of Music in the Santa Auta Retable

Of the numerous works of art extant in Portugal from the school of Portuguese painters that developed at the end of the fifteenth and into the sixteenth century, perhaps none captures the spirit of the age more than the lavishly ornate retable of the convent of Madre de Deus, attributed to Garcia Fernandes and Cristóvão de Figueiredo, depicting the arrival of the relics of Santa Auta.¹³² One of the most well-known works of Portuguese art of this era, this piece accurately depicts the elaborately decorated doorway into the convent in the Manueline style named after Dom Manuel I, under whose reign this method of architecture flourished. In the foreground at the extreme bottom right of the painting, a small rowboat carries an organist, who provides the music for the ceremony.

That Damião de Góis chronicled the procession of the relics to the convent highlights the importance of this grand event of 1517.¹³³ Indeed, the relics were a gift from none other than Emperor Maximilian of the Holy Roman Empire, who was the cousin of Leonor, former Queen of Portugal, sister of Dom Manuel I, and patroness of both the convent and the retable. Leonor is one of the women praying behind the head of Santa Auta in the painting. Though documentation of this event exists in the form of Damião de Góis's chronicles, we know nothing concerning the details of the music performed. However, it may be possible to identify the organist in the retable. Carneiro de Sousa, in his studies of the court of Donna Leonor, uncovered the name of one Tomé

¹³² Lowe, color plates 13.

¹³³ See Lowe, 231 and Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, D. Lopes, ed., 4 vols. (Coimbra, 1949-55), iv and 68.

Toscano, likely of Tuscan origin, in her employ as a singer and organist of her chapel.¹³⁴ Though more detailed information on this grey-haired musician awaits further research, it is not improbable that we have here a representation of Toscano.

A second panel from the same Santa Auta retable at Madre de Deus, now also housed at the National Museum of Ancient Art, affords us greater insight into records attesting to the fact that Dom Manuel owned a band of black musician slaves from Guinea.¹³⁵ Here six instrumentalists performing on loud instruments, shawms of various sizes and a sackbut, with perhaps their director looking on from behind, serenade various royal and noble members of Manuel's court from a balcony. It appears from this account that the musicians, who seem to be quite young, had been trained in polyphony.¹³⁶ Neither the instrumentalists nor the director are as yet identified, but it

¹³⁴ See Lowe, 13.

¹³⁵ For a reproduction see Edmund A. Bowles, *Musikleben im 15. Jahrhundert*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern 3, No. 8 (Werner Bachmann, ed. Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1977): 31, plate 12, or online at *Art.com*, Art.com, Inc., accessed on March 01, 2006 <<http://images.art.com/images/-/Master-of-Saint-Auta/The-Engagement-of-St-Ursula-and-Prince-Etherius-detail-of-the-black-musicians-c1520--B11722088.jpeg>>.

¹³⁶ With regards to African musicians in Portugal, Nery, 75 writes:

As a matter of fact, wind players and percussionists usually came from the lower classes....Sometimes they were even slaves, as was the case of the ten shawm players mentioned among the thirty six black slaves of Duke D. Teodósio I.

And in footnote 61:

As a matter of fact, black and mulatto instrument players are often portrayed in Portuguese paintings of the time, and as late as 1619 the Spanish Duke of Sesse, Lope de Vega's employer, described Lisbon as

may be that the young onlooker is of Franco-Flemish origin and that the musicians may be performing a polyphonic motet or secular song; such was the repertory of loud bands. The king was fond of loud bands and, as was common throughout Europe and especially at Lisbon as we have noted above with the banquets for the wedding of Maria of Portugal, such ensembles were constantly heard at royal feasts and dinners hosted by Dom Manuel. One wonders if these African musicians also played the wonderfully ornate Afro-Portuguese ivory horns discussed earlier (see Chapter I).

The panels of the Santa Auta retable, though bearing some Italian features, are entirely in the spirit and technique of the masters of the Franco-Flemish school of painters that were so widely known and active in Portugal. Aside from the close attention paid to details of perspective and color, one of the common traits of Renaissance Franco-Flemish painting is the representation of music as marvelous, a feature that can be traced as far back as Jan Van Eyck, whose altarpiece at Ghent is well known in studies of musical iconography. Jan Gossaert's rendition of the Virgin surrounded by musician-angels, a scenario favored by Renaissance artists, particularly the Franco-Flemings, was also once housed at Madre de Deus.¹³⁷

Another of the many important Flemings whose works were shipped to Portugal and who was very well known there is Gerard David, who also renders the Madonna surrounded by a host of musician-angels.¹³⁸ In this painting, the three groups of three musicians (plus one organ) are clearly performing three-part polyphony. Of particular

having "too much heat, too little snow, and far too many fleas and mulatto musicians."

¹³⁷ For a reproduction see *Feitoras*, 75, plate 8.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 68, plate 2.

interest is the trio comprised of singer, lute, and harp in the right foreground, for they, along with the blue-clad Madonna, bear a striking similarity to the depiction of the Annunciation by the foreign artist and friar Carlos, whose studio was near Évora at the monastery of Espinheiro.¹³⁹

It is clear that the Flemish style had become so fully entrenched in Portugal during the reign of Manuel I, at whose court music was performed as often and with such grandiosity as it is depicted in the artwork of the time, that by the time of João III, lavish representations of music in the same manner by the group of painters known as the “Masters of Ferreirim” was commonplace. The Ferreirim masters included Cristóvão de Figueiredo, whose work on the Santa Auta retable has been identified, and the royal painter to both Manuel I and João III, Gregório Lopes.¹⁴⁰

Lopes married the daughter of Jorge Afonso, another eminent Portuguese artist, who also served both monarchs and who was head of an important art workshop in Lisbon, where he taught the leading artists of the subsequent generation. As Pereira notes, we are not able to securely identify any of Jorge Afonso’s works, for, as with many other artists of the era, Portuguese artists worked in studios and sought to fuse together individual characteristics.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ For a reproduction see Afonso and Pereira, 37 or online at *University of Coimbra – Seis séculos de pintura portuguesa*, accessed March 01, 2006 <<http://www.ci.uc.pt/artes/6spp/frames.html>>.

¹⁴⁰ For a reproduction see *University of Coimbra – Seis séculos de pintura portuguesa*, accessed March 1, 2006, <<http://www.ci.uc.pt/artes/6spp/frames.html>>.

¹⁴¹ Pereira, 168-70.

Given the great artistic activity in Renaissance Portugal and the opportunities that Flemish artists, admired throughout Europe as the greatest, had of finding work there, it is not surprising that so many of them gravitated towards the wealthy patrons of Lisbon and other important centers. Flemish musicians, among the most sought-after in all of Europe throughout the entirety of the Renaissance, were not likely to be too far behind their artist compatriots.

Portuguese Music in Written Historical Accounts

As historian John Hale maintains in his synthesis of Renaissance European culture, "...word spread along diplomatic and commercial networks that the best music, like the best tapestry, was being fabricated in the North....Whereas the greatest visual artists stayed at home and sold their wares abroad, composers, who were not financially dependent on workshops, travelled freely, scattering their spores from one centre to another."¹⁴² That great numbers of Franco-Flemish artists, regrettably all anonymous, opted to leave the burgeoning centers of Bruges and Antwerp for the shores of Portugal attests to that nation's status as a hub of artistic patronage and production.

Given that music is so frequently depicted in Portuguese and Luso-Flemish works of art, it would be surprising if the spread of musical taste and practice from Franco-Flemish lands had not reached Portugal. Indeed, the musical exchange between Portugal and Flanders must have been similar to that of the other forms of artistic expression, and the claim that the musical atmosphere of Portugal in the Renaissance was anything less

¹⁴² John Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance* (New York: Antheneum Macmillan, 1994): 314.

than flourishing can be easily refuted with a brief survey of surviving contemporary historical records.

Portugal's legacy as a powerful maritime state can be traced back to the fifteenth century when it opened up the seas and the world to Europe. It is fitting then that one of the most important and most oft-cited documents of Portugal's lavish support of the musical arts in the first half of the sixteenth century is Luis de Milán's *Libro de Música de Vihuela de Mano intitulado El Maestro*, with its dedication to Dom João III, which reads: "The sea into which I have thrown this book is fittingly the kingdom of Portugal, which is the sea of music—since [there] they esteem and also understand it so much."¹⁴³ Portugal is lauded, quite poetically, as "the sea of music" in one of the most important compendiums of music in history by one of the most important Iberian composers of the time.

Published in Valencia in 1536, Milán's instructional manual on how to play the *vihuela* is highly valued as the first of only seven sources that contain the entire surviving repertory of music for the instrument. It is also the first known source that indicates and prescribes tempo markings, which appear in connection with almost every instrumental and vocal work in the collection. Half of the twelve villancico texts in *El Maestro* are written in an unusual form of Portuguese exhibiting many Castilian features. It is certain that Milán intended to flatter João III with his dedication and his Portuguese-texted villancicos. It seems that the king reciprocated with a very generous 7,000 *cruzado*

¹⁴³ Charles Jacobs, ed., *Luis de Milán: El Maestro* (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971): 12.

pension, a practice not uncommon for João III.¹⁴⁴ According to the historian Oliveira Marques, a sum of only a little over twenty times this was sent to Brazil and Guinea to support a whole fleet of defense ships during the early part of his reign.¹⁴⁵ The crown's flamboyant patronage of music supports Milán's statement that it is the Portuguese who "esteem and also understand it so much."

This ostentatious appreciation of the arts was apparent in the fifteenth century as Portugal was on its way to establishing its position as a world power. When the Portuguese under Dom Afonso V's reign, captured the Moroccan city of Arzila in 1471, they solidified their position in North Africa more strongly than ever before — Tangiers would soon follow suit — and established a firm control over the region. This was an extremely important step politically, economically, and religiously. A fifteenth-century tapestry located in the church of Pastrana in Spain clearly depicts the extent to which this important event was accompanied by music. The tapestry portrays numerous invading Portuguese ships, each crowded with soldiers, landing on the North African shore.¹⁴⁶ The foreground in the bottom, left-hand corner of the tapestry is of particular interest from a musical iconographic standpoint. Not only are there two trumpets performing simultaneously, each is extravagantly adorned with the Portuguese royal emblem (here with only six of the eventual seven fortress symbols that represent the Portuguese military conquests of the Moors).

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁴⁵ Oliveira Marques, 262.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 156.

In the Pastrana tapestry, the design of which is attributed to Nuno Gonçalves by Portuguese art historian Reynaldo dos Santos,¹⁴⁷ no fewer than six musicians, each brandishing a large trumpet and leading an attack ship, can be quickly singled out from the densely-packed battle scene. The importance of the trumpet and trumpet bands in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe has been highlighted by Wegman in his study of Obrecht's Mass oeuvre.¹⁴⁸ At Ghent, Obrecht's father was a member of the trumpeter's guild and served the city for life as a member of a trumpeters' band, which perhaps coincidentally also numbered six. Wegman explains that the high cost of maintaining such an organization was far outweighed by what it brought to the city in terms of political power and prestige.

The city could easily meet its musical needs by hiring freelance trumpeters on an *ad hoc* basis, as it had always done in the past. By appointing six men for life it undertook a new, and not inconsiderable, financial obligation....Evidently the advantages perceived in having a permanent band of trumpeters were considerable, and these were most keenly felt in times of crisis. No doubt the trumpeters were expected to serve an important political and diplomatic goal: the public manifestation of Ghent's sovereignty and power.¹⁴⁹

Thus, the trumpet, not to mention a whole band of them, was a thing of great symbolic meaning in Renaissance European culture. Given that Portugal's connections with the Low Countries were so strong throughout the Renaissance, it is not in the least surprising that the trumpet would figure prominently in the spread of the Avis dynasty's influence across the world. Such iconography showing the sounding of trumpets as the

¹⁴⁷ Smith, 196.

¹⁴⁸ Rob C. Wegman, *Born to the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 27.

Arzila tapestry, or the tapestry of the Portuguese arrival in India, and the paintings of the wedding of Maria of Portugal to Alessandro Farnese discussed earlier, then must be understood as more than just decoration and should be recognized as a representation of power, influence, and wealth. Again in the eighteenth century, Portugal, under the reign of João V, who ushered in the second “Golden Age” of Portuguese history when gold and diamonds were discovered in Brazil, was home to an important and highly respected school of trumpeters and composers of the trumpet repertory, which helped place the Empire once again at the forefront of European consciousness.

More than half a century before Dom Afonso V’s forces captured Arzila and the weaving of the Pastrana tapestry, the Portuguese custom of commemorating significant historical events with the sounding of trumpets was practiced with one of the most lavish displays in the history of music when the Portuguese conquered the city of Ceuta in 1415. According to investigations made by Solange Corbin, who does not cite the source of this information, this event was celebrated in a mosque (that was transformed into a church) with a ceremony at which, “All the clerics started in high voice a *Te Deum laudamus*, which was in very fine counterpoint, at the end of which all the trumpets sounded.”¹⁵⁰ As Corbin indicates, we have no information as to who may have composed this work, but it is clear that the victory was celebrated in a most grand manner, for it ended with the sounding of two hundred “trombetas.”¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ Quoted in Corbin, 386. The text reads: “começarom todolos clericos em alta voz Te Deum laudamus muy bem contraponteadado, em fim de qual fizeram totalas trombetas huma soada....”

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 386.

Music at the Courts of Manuel I, João III, and Sebastião

The rich musical tradition of Portugal was particularly manifested and well documented during the reigns of Manuel I and João III. Dom Manuel I, who was born in 1469 and reigned over the first large, wealthy overseas empire in European history from 1495 until his death in 1521, was described in contemporary accounts as “fair, rather thin, diligent, sparing in his food and drink, musical, vain, and fond of display. He rewarded his servants and minstrels lavishly, and...made the nobility into a court circle, recognizing seventy-two families, whose coats of arms were placed in the Sala dos Brasões of the palace at Sintra.”¹⁵²

The Portuguese discoveries in the fifteenth century made Manuel for a time the wealthiest monarch in Europe, and he was known as the “Lord of the Navigation, Conquest and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India” and as the ‘King of the Spices.’”¹⁵³ He squandered his wealth, gained from heavy taxation on trade with Asia and Africa, on florid, distinctive architecture, which now bears the name “Manueline,” drama, represented in his court by the great Gil Vicente, large collections of priceless art, and excessive displays of music. Thus, Manuel’s royal court, though little documentation concerning it survives, was one accustomed to musical lavishness.

Indeed, all accounts reveal that “the king was dedicated to music, maintained a first-rate chapel, and not only enjoyed music at leisure hours but also often asked his musicians to play while he worked....The soft tones of the spinet, harp, or violin were

¹⁵²Livermore, 132.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 142-43.

heard at intimate social gatherings, while the flute and tamborine [*sic*] provided entertainment or dance music. The drum and trombone were used in military displays and the trumpet at ceremonial functions.”¹⁵⁴ In her biography of Manuel the Fortunate, Sanceau explains:

One positive feature stands out, however, from the blurred outline of his image, and that is his passion for music. As Duke of Beja in his youth, and later on as king, he lived surrounded by musicians. He lured them to his service at any price from all the lands of Christendom. Needless to say, his chapel boasted of the finest choir in Europe; and not only in church but everywhere, from dawn to dusk, he never wanted the music to stop. Whether attending to despatches [*sic*], or resting in the afternoon, or riding out, or sailing in the royal barge, or having meals, or when he went to bed at night, his orchestra was always at his side, with sackbuts, cornets, harps, fiddles and tambourines, and every other instrument, performing solo or in unison, or in accompaniment to song.¹⁵⁵

Such lofty descriptions of Manuel’s court are based almost entirely on the chronicles written by Damião de Góis, who grew up in the court and was later given several significant appointments that were to ensure his place in history, including his position at the Antwerp factory and later his selection as official court historian under João III. It was during his youth at Manuel’s court that Damião de Góis developed, in addition to his humanistic leanings (an important subject that will be broached later in this study), his love of polyphony, for the music of Ockeghem and Josquin. His chronicles depict the musical splendor of the Manueline courts, recounting with the highest praise and flattery the degree of musical extravagance of Manuel’s Portugal.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Hirsch, 5.

¹⁵⁵ Elaine Sanceau, *The Reign of the Fortunate King 1495-1521* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1970): 9.

¹⁵⁶ Hirsch, 5-6.

Góis's accounts of the grandeur of the royal feasts, which took place every Sunday and on holy feast days, proclaim that the sounds of shawms, sackbuts, cornets, harps, tambourines, and rebecs could be heard, along with the sounds of Moorish song and instruments (lute and tabor) throughout the day, as the nobility danced throughout lunch and dinner.¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, in describing the royal chapel, Góis remarks that Manuel "had excellent singers and players who came from all the parts of Europe, to whom he gave great gifts, and gave salaries with which they kept themselves honorably, beyond this he granted them other favours so that he had one of the best Chapels of any King or Prince alive."¹⁵⁸

Regrettably we know very little about who these great musicians may have been and what repertory they performed. Court documents reveal that very often the music was performed by unidentified members of the various minstrel guilds that date back to medieval times and who were directed by individuals who were lauded with such honorific titles as "king of the shawms, king of the trumpets or king of the minstrels."¹⁵⁹ Of the master musicians associated with the court who are known to us by name, Pedro do Porto, known as Pedro Escobar in Spain, was indeed quite an important and influential composer. Serving as a musician in the King's chapel, Pedro do Porto was also a singer in the chapel of Queen Isabel the Catholic, and he seems to have crisscrossed the Peninsula on numerous occasions filling various posts of import. Pedro composed music

¹⁵⁷ Quoted in Nery and Castro, 24-25.

¹⁵⁸ Quoted in *ibid.*, 22-23.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

for the plays of Gil Vicente, who is known today as the Shakespeare of Portugal and who was a fairly adept musician and composer in his own right. The famous motet *Clamabat autem mulier Cananea*, which found its way into many Peninsular manuscripts, is thought to have been performed at the end of Vicente's *Auto da Cananeia* and was attributed to Pedro do Porto by the Portuguese chronicler João de Barros, who refers to it as the "prince of motets."¹⁶⁰

The chronicles and court manuscripts of the time also identify various other composers at the court of lesser fame than that of Pedro do Porto or Vicente, including Luis de Victoria, who is described as "an excellent player of the viol," and Alexandre de Aguiar, who played plucked string instruments and was known as the "Orpheus and Amphion of his times."¹⁶¹ Aside from these, it seems that members of the royal family were themselves talented musicians. The poet Pedro de Andrade Caminha describes the Infante Dom Luis as "the best musician of his time and a good poet," and it seems that the young prince was only following in the Avis family footsteps, for his father Dom Manuel was also known as a good poet (see Chapter VI).¹⁶² As Nery and Castro suggest, Manuel's court was bustling with very good amateur musicians and poets:

The figure of the young page, in general poor but still belonging to scale of the lesser noble men of the court, capable of singing his verses accompanying himself on the guitar with more or less proficiency, is a regular presence in the Portuguese XVI century courtly literature and especially in the theater of Gil Vicente.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 32. See also *ibid.*, 27.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

The Royal Chapel, too, was maintained at the highest level possible and at the greatest of expenses until a series of reforms was begun during João III's reign, but put into practice only when Portugal came under Spanish sovereignty at the end of the century with Philip II.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, all accounts indicate that both Dom João III, who ruled from 1521-57, and his grandson Dom Sebastião, who became king at the age of three in 1557 until his tragic death in Morocco in 1578, maintained first-rate chapels, and their courts were as saturated with musical entertainment as Manuel's.

Beyond Lisbon: Music and the Dukes of Bragança in Vila Viçosa

Aside from Lisbon itself, other centers in Portugal seem also to have been quite extravagant with their patronage of the musical arts, especially Coimbra, once home to the Portuguese capital, and Évora, which was to produce a truly great school of composers of sacred music in the second half of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. Yet nowhere is the historical documentation on the significance of music in Renaissance Portugal so rich than at Vila Viçosa in the central east of the country, not far from Évora and Badajoz, where the dukes cherished music as much as, and perhaps more than did the royal family itself. Though the documentation of music in the household of the Braganças, the next dynasty of Portuguese rulers, comes from the latter half of the sixteenth century, it nevertheless sheds light on practices known to have been similar at an earlier time in Portugal. In particular, Rui Vieira Nery's study¹⁶⁵ of sixteenth- and

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 23.

¹⁶⁵ Nery, 1990.

seventeenth-century music of the House of Bragança is important for its documentation of the musical atmosphere in Portugal outside of Lisbon and will serve our purposes well here.

The lord of the House of Bragança was described by a contemporary Italian familiar with the court as being “so powerful and wealthy that it is a monstrous [*sic*] thing that such a small kingdom should behold a prince so great and of such power other than its King.”¹⁶⁶ This immense power and wealth enabled the dukes to support a very lavish musical environment, and, as Nery notes, “A simple survey of musical activity at the Court of the Braganças...leaves no doubt about the sheer amount — as well as the actuality — of the music that accompanied most aspects of life at Vila Viçosa, whether as an integrating factor of the normal daily routine of the ducal palace or as an essential component of the solemn etiquette of special court events.”¹⁶⁷ Indeed, it seems that the Dukes sought to emulate both secular and sacred music of the royal court of Lisbon at any expense, and visitors to the court, according to their own accounts, were given nothing but a royal treatment.

When Dom João III went to Vila Viçosa in 1537, Duke Teodósio I greeted him with a rather large loud band comprised of “ten shawms, twelve trumpets and four drums,” who purportedly “all started playing at the moment the king alighted,” and by “numerous groups of dancers dressed in the most diverse attires.”¹⁶⁸ At the banquet

¹⁶⁶ Quoted in *ibid.*, 51.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 70.

¹⁶⁸ Quoted in *ibid.*, 58 and 60.

Teodósio held for the king, “the table was served with delicate morsels at the sound of harmonious instruments, while some nobles danced.”¹⁶⁹ Citing a list that mentions a consort of five viola da gamba players, which often performed such dance music, in residence at the ducal household, Nery postulates it may have been this ensemble that the king heard.¹⁷⁰

On a later visit paid to the duchy, this time in 1571 when the nephew of Pope Pius V, Cardinal Alessandrino, visited Duke João II, Giovanni Battista Venturino, secretary to the Cardinal, described the extreme extent to which the duke went to impress his guest:

Dinner lasted more than three hours. At the arrival of each new course, which was always served by nobles or knights, the drums, trumpets and tambourines would sound, more noisily than sweetly, although the accompanying flutes made such fracas bearable.¹⁷¹

A description left to us by a second member of the Cardinal’s retinue is both more specific and more positive. Indeed, the author seems to have been more awed by the degree of ceremony and pomp displayed at the duke’s banquets than Venturino.

When the evening came everything seemed to burst into fire, as it is done in the Castle of Sant’ Angelo, and with so many trombones fifes and bells that we could hear nothing else and thus, as I said, came dinner time...and with many such sounds we entered the room....As we started eating, each course would always [arrive] with music and trumpets, and when the Cardinal wanted to drink the trumpets would sound...and while we ate we always had various kinds of wind music.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Quoted in *ibid.*, 62.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 62-63.

¹⁷¹ Quoted in *ibid.*, 61.

¹⁷² Quoted in *ibid.*, 61-62.

Despite the splendor of some of the secular music performed for the Dukes of Bragança, it seems that what they prized more in terms of sheer investment was their ducal Chapel, which gained its authority from the local diocese early in the sixteenth century and was permitted to celebrate the Mass and the Office on its own terms, apparently often quite fabulously, yet always in imitation of the royal Chapel.¹⁷³ The historian Caetano de Sousa indicates that João I, Duke from 1543 to 1548, was especially keen on this last point.

The Duke determined the way his chaplains should celebrate the Office in the choir, singing Mass as it was sung at the Portuguese Royal Chapel, so that the functions would be performed with magnificence and the solemn Processions of Palm Sunday, Candelmas and Corpus Christi would follow the norms of the Chapel of the Kings; and thus [his Chapel] appeared in every way like that of a great King in its precious decorations, in the authority of its ceremonies, in its many Ministers and in its Music, which was the best in the kingdom because he would hire the most distinguished musicians at any expense.¹⁷⁴

The description left to us by the anonymous member of Cardinal Alessandrino's entourage speaks directly to the Duke's patronage of musicians for the ducal Chapel.

This Lord has a private Chapel, highly privileged and well staffed with Chaplains who receive 1,000 *scudi* a year, of whom there are ten or twelve. The music is excellent and costs him 4,000 *scudi* a year, and thus a Mass was sung with such devotion and such honest ceremonies that I do not know what more to say about it.¹⁷⁵

Though Alessandrino's secretary Venturino does not seem to have cared for the musical aesthetic of the court, which appears to favor massiveness in the number of musicians

¹⁷³ Ibid., 63-64, 67-68.

¹⁷⁴ Quoted in *ibid.*, 63-64.

¹⁷⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, 64-65.

and loudness, his account indicates that the recipients of these sums were *castrati*, who were there in great numbers.¹⁷⁶

Indeed, it seems that the whole of the Bragança family was very much drawn to music. Duke Teodósio I studied with Diogo Sigeo — who is described as “a learned man and one of the best scholars of that time”¹⁷⁷ and whose daughters were regarded as among the most expert of musicians then living¹⁷⁸ — and both Duke João I and his son Duke Teodósio II were themselves very knowledgeable on the subject. João I, according to Caetano de Sousa, “was very interested in music, whose refinements he scientifically knew.”¹⁷⁹ Teodósio II, likewise

was inclined to Music, a discipline regarding which the Duke, his father, had more knowledge than affection (a knowledge which seems to have passed to his grandson [João IV]; however, Duke D. Teodósio [II] had for music the greatest affection and talent, rather than knowledge. He never refused to listen to it; instead, he enjoyed it whether he was ill or in good health, not only because of his natural inclination to it but also because he felt that its Harmony restored the strength to his mind, weary of so many other events and exercises, and also because he felt that listening was less inconvenient than speaking. He would more attentively and with greater pleasure listen to sacred works than [*sic*] secular ones.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ Quoted in *ibid.*, 64.

¹⁷⁷ Quoted in *ibid.*, 70.

¹⁷⁸ See *ibid.*, 71. Nery states that “Luisa and Angela, both of whom had also studied mainly with their father, were both accomplished musicians. Angela Sigea [*sic*], indeed, was said to be ‘so learned in the Art of Music and of instruments that she could compete against the most eminent experts in this field.’”

¹⁷⁹ Quoted in *ibid.*, 71.

¹⁸⁰ Quoted in *ibid.*, 71-72.

Theodósio II's passion for sacred music reflects the spirit of the time — by the reign of Dom Sebastião the Portuguese Jesuits had taken control of the nation's noble and royal courts and were very influential in the proceedings of the Council of Trent — and is well documented.

The magnificence of his Chapel was great and resembled that of the Royal Chapel, having a Dean who was always an aristocrat, a Treasurer, sixteen Chaplains, Choirboys, Singers, Musicians and instruments, employing many people at the expense of nine to ten thousand cruzados a year....He so much favoured the great in this profession (music) that he attracted many of them to his service by offering them large rewards, and thus the most remarkable among them in the Peninsula would come to him to be employed in the service of his Chapel, whose expense and state were indeed royal.¹⁸¹

This statement by Caetano de Sousa is confirmed by the Duchy's account books, which indicate that the post of *mestre da capela* at the ducal chapel was filled in turn by António Pinheiro, probably a student of the famous Spanish composer Francisco Guerrero, Francisco Garro, and the Englishman Roberto Tornar.¹⁸² Furthermore, documentation indicates that the Duke also set aside the sizeable sum of 10,000 reis in 1590 to commission works by Philippe Rogier for the Chapel at Vila Viçosa.¹⁸³

Both João I and Theodósio II had great influence on João IV, who was to wrestle Portugal away from Spain in 1640 and was himself a composer and writer on music. Theodósio ensured that his son would have the most profound contact with music by bequeathing his ducal chapel to João IV in his will.

¹⁸¹ Quoted in *ibid.*, 65.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 66.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 66.

I remind my son, the Duke, that the best thing I leave him in the House is my Chapel; and thus I ask him never to neglect its embellishment, to attend as often as possible the Divine Offices celebrated in it and to make sure that these maintain the perfection and continuity they had until now in regard to chaplains, musicians, officers and all other staff. And I urge him to do so as strongly as I can for the love I have for him, since to serve God continuously is the occupation I recommend the most to him, trusting that the divine Majesty will reward him with favour for the commitment and care with which he will attend to His service. And I also want him to know such is the reason why, in order to be sure that this would happen with greater ease, I forced him, against his will, to learn music, and as he sometimes neglected it, I made him go on with such study.¹⁸⁴

The library that belonged to João IV when he moved to Lisbon as the new King of Portugal — the first of the Bragança dynasty to rule the Empire— was vast. Among the most valued items in his library were his manuscripts and prints of music, which were literally innumerable. João’s library was the largest collection of music that had ever existed up until its destruction in the devastating earthquake and subsequent tidal wave that left all of Lisbon in ruins in 1755. The surviving portion of the catalogue of this enormous music library reveals that he possessed hundreds of volumes of polyphony, not only from Portugal, but from all over Europe, in addition to *unica* manuscripts dating from as far back as Guido d’Arezzo.¹⁸⁵

It is likely that the contents of this library began to be collected as early as the end of the fifteenth century when Dom Manuel I reaffirmed the rights of the Braganças to the Duchy. Aside from envoys from the Vatican and visits from the Lisbon court to mark the prestige and atmosphere of the ducal Household at Vila Viçosa, when the royal court was

¹⁸⁴ Quoted in *ibid.*, 66-67.

¹⁸⁵ See Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro, *Livraria de música de El-Rei D. João IV: Estudo musical, histórico e bibliográfico*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1967).

disbanded after 1580 upon Philip II's claim to the throne, a legion of Lisbon's courtiers found their way to the court of the Braganças. It was in this environment, with such elaborate displays of music as were known at the royal court itself, that João IV was raised and acquired a taste for learning about and collecting music.

Portuguese Music in Later Spanish Written Sources

Even under Spanish rule, when so much of the Empire fell into decay, the Portuguese were still known for their opulence and skill in music. The Spanish writer Hierónimo Román, in an oft-cited passage, writes in 1595 that "the Portuguese surpass us (in music), namely because of the lavishness of their instrumental music and singing during Divine Office which gives them pride of place in the Catholic Church."¹⁸⁶ In this period of intense national pride that fostered the movement known as Sebastianism with its fervent belief that Dom Sebastião would return as a messianic figure to lead Portugal back to its former glories, the Portuguese took every opportunity to laud the musical talents of their nation.

Writing somewhat later than Román, in 1633, in a letter to the Spanish composer Diego de Pontac, the Portuguese composer Manuel Correia do Campo, who served at the Cathedral of Seville, emphatically states:

Since my childhood I have studied with the best singers of Spain (which is to say of Portugal), having heard the most distinguished and superior among them...and I heard the greatest musicians that there were at the illustrious royal convents of nuns of Anunciada, Santa Clara and Odivelas, in Lisbon, as well as other excellent and most perfect voices, particularly

¹⁸⁶ Albert T. Luper, "Portuguese Polyphony in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 3, No. 2 (Summer, 1950): 93-112.

at the court of the Most Serene Duke of Bragança, where I heard Cosma Orfea, a prodigy of the Art, and Maria de Parma, a miracle of Nature, as well as others who adorned the Duke's palace and Chapel.¹⁸⁷

The text of a vilhancico by Gaspar Fernandes (c.1570-c.1629), who became the chapel master at the Cathedrals of both Guatemala (Antigua) and Puebla, Mexico (1599-1606 and 1606-29, respectively) after having studied music at the famous Évora Cathedral, conveys many of the same sentiments with regard to the beauty of the voices of Portuguese singers. Written by the homesick composer in the Spanish New World, clearly in the context of nationalist pride, the vilhancico describes Portugal and its musicians as little short of divine:

Botay fora

*Botay fora do portal pastores não
canteis vos
que os musicos de Deus an de ser de
Portugal
ay Portugal.*

*Dexay ho pranto profundo
não horedes vida ninho
que vos direy hũa cantinha
que fasa lembrar ho mundo.*

*Sempre aja ficar la zagal
que eses são ofiçios meos
que os musicos de Deus an de ser de
Portugal
ay Portugal.*

*Botay fora do portal pastores não
canteis vos
que os musicos de Deus an de ser de
Portugal
ay Portugal.*

Botay fora

Come out of the stall, shepherds, and
stop singing,
for God's musicians must come from
Portugal,
ah Portugal.

Stop that deep lamenting,
don't pray for the child's life,
for I will sing you a good song,
which will enlighten all the world.

Always to stand by the child,
that will be my task,
for God's musicians must come from
Portugal,
ah Portugal.

Come out of the stall, shepherds, and
stop singing,
for God's musicians must come from
Portugal,
ah Portugal.

¹⁸⁷ Quoted in Nery, 1990, 65-66.

*Fasey mi niño calarvos
os angeles corteses
quando cantão portugueses
não tem êles que cantar.*

Keep my child quiet,
good angels,
for when the Portuguese sing
others must be silent.

*Por prematica real
vossa capela e de nos
que os musicos de Deus an de ser de
Portugal
ay Portugal.*

By royal command,
your choir and ours,
for God's musicians must come from
Portugal,
ah Portugal.

*Botay fora do portal pastores não
canteis vos
que os musicos de Deus an de ser de
Portugal
ay Portugal.*

Come out of the stall, shepherds, and
stop singing,
for God's musicians must come from
Portugal,
ah Portugal.

Owen Rees, in a review of the Paul van Nevel and Huelgas recording of this work from which this translation is taken,¹⁸⁸ was the first to connect this work to the protest movements that plagued Spanish dominance over Portugal at the end of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries and has put forward the following hypothesis:

The text of this piece — one of the Christmas vilancicos — calls for comment, with its recurring theme ‘os musicios de Deus an de ser de Portugal’ (God’s musicians [who will sing to the infant Jesus in the manger] must come from Portugal, ah [or “alas”] Portugal’). Perhaps this is simply a light-hearted boast, but one wonders whether it has anything to do with the Spanish annexation of Portugal in 1580.”¹⁸⁹

Specifically, the wrenching setting of “ay Portugal” at the end of the work alludes to such a possibility (see measures 70-73 in Figure 01). If Rees is right, then it may be possible to date the work after 1582, when the capital of the Spanish Empire was moved from

¹⁸⁸ See the liner notes for Paul van Nevel and the Huelgas Ensemble, *Canções, vilancicos e motetes Portugueses: Séculos XVI-XVII* (Sony Classical SK 66288, 1994): 28.

¹⁸⁹ Rees, 1996, 355.

Lisbon¹⁹⁰ to Madrid, and prior to 1599, when Fernandes assumed his posts in the Americas.

The image shows a musical score excerpt from *Botay fora* by Gaspar Fernandes. It consists of six staves of music. The top staff is numbered '70'. The lyrics are 'Por - tu - gal ay Por - tu - gal.' repeated across the staves. The music is written in a single system with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The notation includes various note values, rests, and phrasing slurs. The bottom staff has a bass clef and includes a bracketed section [] under the lyrics.

Figure 01: Excerpt from *Botay fora*, Gaspar Fernandes¹⁹¹

The text of a second Christmas vilhancico by Fernandes also seems to corroborate this interpretation. *Pois con tanta graça* commences as a seemingly ordinary celebration of the birth of Christ, but concludes with a striking setting of “And yet in the manger/is born the crying child/who in due time/could be the king of Portugal.”¹⁹² Though the vilhancico speaks of the child’s parents as being of high honor, it is unlikely that Fernandes is here referring to the future king João IV, whom he probably never met;

¹⁹⁰ Philip II made Lisbon the capital of the Spanish Empire from 1580-82, likely in an attempt to cement his tenuous claims to the Portuguese throne.

¹⁹¹ Robert Stevenson, ed., *Vilancicos Portugueses*, Portugaliae Musica 29 (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1976): 48.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 42. Translation by this writer.

Fernandes was in Guatemala in 1604 when João was born and remained in Mexico until his death. Given the texts of these two works and other documentation of his rebellious attitudes towards the Spanish,¹⁹³ it may be that Fernandes was well connected with at least one of the Portuguese nobles who sought to reclaim Portugal at the turn of the seventeenth century and was actively involved in the Sebastianism movements before he left for the Americas.

In any event, it seems that by the end of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese themselves joined the throngs of foreign dignitaries, musicians, and composers in their praise of the Lusitanian Empire's vast "sea of music." Contrary to Manuel Carlos de Brito's denials, sixteenth-century musical iconography and other surviving documentation confirms Portugal's status as an important center for the cultivation and patronage of music. Brito does admit, however,

It is certain that one can accuse historical musicology of exclusively immersing itself too greatly in written musical sources. In the case of Portuguese [music], José Sasportes, for example, in his excellent *História da Dança em Portugal*, outlines a rich and greatly detailed table of court feasts and of popular and religious processions during the Renaissance. For the most part, this repertory was orally transmitted, though it is admissible that the Flemish minstrels in the service of D. Manuel and D. João III utilized also written music that may have been of their own possession, not preserved, therefore, in the archives and libraries.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ See Van Nevel / Huelgas, 10.

¹⁹⁴ Brito, 1990, 543. "É certo que se pode acusar a musicologia histórica de se basear de forma demasiado exclusiva nas fontes musicais escritas. No caso português, José Sasportes, por exemplo, na sua excelente *História da Dança em Portugal*, traça um quadro muito pormenorizado e rico das festas de corte e dos cortejos e festas populares e religiosas durante a Renascença, em que a música, nomeadamente a música de dança, tinha sem dúvida um papel muito importante. Em grande parte esse repertório era transmitido por via oral, embora seja de admitir que os menestréis flamengos ao serviço de D. Manuel e de D. João III utilizassem também música escrita que seria de sua propriedade, não se tendo conservado portanto nos arquivos e nas bibliotecas...."

Thus, while he accepts that there was an extensive amount of musical activity in Portugal, Brito, unsatisfied, appears intent, nevertheless, to focus on manuscripts and prints for the substantiation of Portugal as an important center of music. Accordingly, the following chapter turns to these sources.

CHAPTER V

The Polyphony of Renaissance Portugal

In this chapter, I examine transcriptions and modern editions of extant Portuguese musical sources in order to gain a clearer sense of Portugal's musical life in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and to understand why the Portuguese considered themselves "the musicians of God." The majority of these musical sources have been discovered only recently, well after Brito's hypotheses were published. This study, then, reflects more current scholarship that has uncovered not only manuscripts of sacred music scattered throughout various Portuguese and European monasteries and churches, but also three major collections of secular works, known as *cancioneiros musicais*, located at the Biblioteca Publica Hortensia in Elvas (hereafter CMBE), at the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon (CMBN), and at the Bibliothèque de l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Paris (CMBP). I rely on the modern editions of these various sources to create a survey of music in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Portugal and to help elucidate our less than perfect knowledge of its music, enabling us to put forth answers to some long-standing questions.

Music in Fifteenth-Century Portugal

The Renaissance in music seems to have occurred in Portugal in a manner quite similar to that of northern Europe, and historical and political alliances suggest that it may have taken place at about the same time as it did in France and Italy. The foundations of the European musical Renaissance are generally traced to the end of the

medieval period in the early fifteenth century with the importation of the so-called “*contenance angloise*” to the Continent and with the music of Guillaume Dufay. Both of these elements seem to have also found their way to Portugal early on.

English Music in Fifteenth-Century Portugal

When all of the scant and scattered accounts of Portugal’s late-medieval period are brought together, they effectively demonstrate that Portuguese polyphony came under the influence of the English school very early. The marriage of Dom João I to the daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and a political truce with England in 1387 brought about a close and deep friendship between the two states that has lasted until the twentieth-first century. A miniature painting from the *Chronicle of Jean de Wavrin* portrays a banquet given by João I for the English Duke with a musical celebration accompanied by two cornetts or shawms.¹⁹⁵

That the two nations exchanged musical repertoires after these events is well known. Álvaro Afonso, *mestre da capela* to João I’s grandson Dom Afonso V, was sent to London to acquire a copy of the ceremonial proceedings and liturgy practiced in Henry VI’s Chapel Royal. Afonso returned in 1454 to Portugal with a detailed description of the Chapel written by its deacon William Say.¹⁹⁶ The extent to which the contents of

¹⁹⁵ For a reproduction see Bowles, 45, plate 27 or online at: James L. Matterer, *Gode Cookery*, accessed March 01, 2006, <<http://www.godecookery.com/chaucer/ccook25.jpg>>.

¹⁹⁶ See José Augusto Alegria, *Biblioteca Pública de Évora: Catálogo dos fundos musicais* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1977): 33 and Nery and Castro, 20.

this manuscript, still extant at the Public Library at Évora, were implemented in Portugal is not entirely known. The use of the *Sarum* rite in Portugal at this time would certainly reflect the close relationship between these nations, and the performance of this body of chant was not without precedent there. As early as the twelfth century, Gilbert of Hastings, the English bishop of Lisbon from 1147-66, introduced the liturgy of Salisbury to Portugal, which was practiced there until 1536.¹⁹⁷

Accordingly, English polyphony, the famous “*contenance angloise*,” may well have been introduced to Portugal in the early fifteenth century. Certainly, cultural contacts between Portugal and England were strongly maintained well into the fifteenth century with special efforts on the part of the Portuguese royal court to emulate the English Chapel Royal. It would indeed be surprising if the Portuguese under João I and Dom Duarte were not also acquainted with the music of such composers as Lionel Power or John Dunstable.

Certainly João I’s successors embellished what they inherited and augmented the royal court’s patronage of music considerably. Stevenson notes that

In chapter 96 of his *Leal Conselheiro* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Fonds portugais*, 5), a collection of moral essays concluded about 1438, [Dom] Duarte specified three-part singing as then the norm in the royal chapel (alto, contra, tenor), classified the music sung in the royal chapel under two types — composed music (*canto feito*) or discant (*descanto*), established six as the minimum number of singing boys, and made it the duty of the chapel master to rehearse in advance everything sung — choosing sad music for sad church seasons, happy for happy.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ Stevenson, Leal, and Morais, xxvii.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, xxvii.

Furthermore, Luper remarks that Dom Afonso V, Dom Duarte's successor, "maintained a sizeable chapel choir and had in his employ instrumental musicians and other secular performers for the entertainment of his court."¹⁹⁹ In addition, two of João I's other sons were not to be shortchanged. Both the Infantes Dom Fernando and Dom Pedro had thirteen singing chaplains and eight choirboys.²⁰⁰ Thus, though no music from these courts survives, we know that music in the time of Dufay was cultivated in Portugal.

Dufay, the Burgundians, and Portugal

Musicologists generally trace the beginning of the Renaissance in music to the contrapuntal writing of Guillaume Dufay, who, beginning in the late 1420s, came under the influence of English polyphonic practices. Various scholars have circumstantially and indirectly associated Dufay or compositions supposedly by him with Portugal. A chanson entitled *Portugaler*, perhaps a setting of a text commencing *Ave tota casta virgo*, was copied and attributed to Dufay by Coussemaker before the manuscript was destroyed, though this attribution has been disputed.²⁰¹ A second work preserved in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch entitled *Portigaler* is an organ elaboration of this piece and also is attributed to Dufay.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹ Luper, 1950, 100.

²⁰⁰ Referred to in Nery and Castro, 1991, 20.

²⁰¹ See Reese, 51; Charles Van den Borren, *Le manuscrit musical M. 222 C. 22 de la bibliothèque de Strasbourg (XV^e siècle) brûlé en 1870, et reconstitué d'après une copie partielle d'Edmond de Coussemaker* (Antwerp: Imprimerie E. Secelle, 1924).

²⁰² Reese., 659, footnote 134.

These works, as Luper notes, are clearly Burgundian in style and betray their connection to the court of Philip the Good, with which Dufay had some limited contact.²⁰³ Strong musical ties between Portugal and the Franco-Flemish world can be traced with certainty as early as 1430, when the Infanta Isabella of Portugal became the third wife of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. Musicians and artists, including the Fleming Jan van Eyck who painted the Infanta's portrait, accompanied Philip's court to Portugal; surviving documentation proves the existence of Portuguese musicians at Philip's court in 1426, before the wedding.²⁰⁴ When Isabella moved to Burgundy, she took along with her in her retinue, among others musicians, the two blind instrumentalists Jehan Fernandes and Jehan de Cordouval, said to be of Portuguese origins.²⁰⁵ In his famous *Le Champion des dames*, the poet Martin le Franc describes the reactions Binchois and Dufay had upon hearing the exquisiteness of their playing:

<p><i>J'ai veu Binchois avoir vergongen Et soy taire emprez leur rebelle, Et Dufay despite et frongne Qu'il n'a melodie si belle.</i></p>	<p>The shame-faced Binchois I have seen Silent before their rebec-tones And frowning Dufay in spleen Since no such melody he owns.²⁰⁶</p>
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In a detail of the famous painting by Van Eyck, a copy of a now lost work, in which Philip the Good and Isabella of Portugal are attended by courtiers and musicians while out hunting was painted just after their wedding.²⁰⁷ We cannot be certain if any of

²⁰³ Luper, 100.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 100.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 100; Reese, 51.

²⁰⁶ Translation by Reese. See *ibid.*, 51.

these musicians in the painting are among those known to have traveled with her from Portugal, but if this were the case, it would not be too surprising, for it is known that she was very fond of music and her musicians, as the fact that she brought them with her to Burgundy attests. The degree of her influence at Burgundy in the realm of music is revealed by the extant works described above whose titles bear the name of her homeland. It has been suggested that the chanson *Portugaler* was Dufay's present to the Duchess for her wedding.²⁰⁸

Yet another work, a *basse dance* entitled *La Portingaloise*, also attests to the presence of Portuguese music at the court of Burgundy. According to Geneviève Thibault, it was inspired by a fragmentary French song, which she does not identify, composed "en la mode du Portingal." Though we have no idea what it meant to be "in the style of the Portingal," this work curiously shares the same theme as *Ay, ay, ay, ay, que fuertes penas*, preserved in a French chansonnier,²⁰⁹ and which, according to Gaston Paris, is a lament on the death in 1491 of the young Prince Afonso of Portugal (son to João II).²¹⁰

Even if the attributions to Dufay are not entirely secure, I would like to submit that two of his other works, ones very dear to Dufay, have unmistakable Portuguese

²⁰⁷ Bowles, 91, plate 75.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 51.

²⁰⁹ Paris, BN, fr. 12744; see Gaston Paris and Auguste Gevaert, eds., *Chansons du XV^e siècle publiées d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1885): No. cxxxvii and No.137.

²¹⁰ Geneviève Thibault, "Chanson Polyphonique au XV^e Siècle" in *Histoire de la musique 1* (Paris: Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, 1960): 942.

affinities. The famous *Missa de S Anthonii de Padua* and the motet *O Proles Hispaniae/O sidus Hispaniae* were both composed by Dufay as acts of devotion for St. Anthony of Padua, who was actually from Lisbon and who to this day still serves as that city's patron saint. That Dufay esteemed this saint above all others is well documented by David Fallows in his study of the composer. Dufay decreed in his will that "The Mass for St Anthony of Padua and the Requiem Mass [left to the chapel of St Stephen in Cambrai where he was buried] were to be sung annually in his memory."²¹¹ And as Kirkman (after Fallows) notes, Dufay spent a substantial portion of his life, especially towards the end of it, occupied with the details of his funerary services and with this great Mass.²¹² In addition, Fallows explains that Dufay also specified in his will that a *O sydus Hispanie*, most likely the double-texted motet *O proles Hispaniae/O sidus Hispanie*, be sung for the Office of the feast of St. Anthony, immediately after Compline on the night preceding the feast.²¹³

²¹¹ David Fallows, *The Master Musicians: Dufay* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1982): 82.

²¹² See the liner notes in Andrew Kirkman and the Binchois Consort, *Guillaume Dufay: Music for St Anthony of Padua* (Hyperion CDA66854, 1996): 3.

²¹³ Fallows, 190-91.

The texts of this motet bear further mention in their allusions to Portugal:

O proles Hispaniae/O sidus Hispaniae

*O proles Hispaniae,
Pavor Infidelium,
Nova lux Italiae,
Nobile depositum
Ubis Paduanae,
Fer, Antoni, gratiae,
Christi patrocinium,
Ne pro lapsis veniae
Tempus breve creditum
Defluat inane. Amen.*

*O sidus Hispaniae
Gemma paupertatis
Antoni pars Scythiae
Forma puritatis
Tu lumen Italiae
Doctor veritatis
Ut sol nitens Paduae
Signum claritatis! Amen.*

O proles Hispaniae/O sidus Hispaniae

O Scion of Spain [i.e., Portugal],
terror of the infidel,
new light of Italy,
noble store
of the city of Padua
be our advocate, O Anthony,
for the grace of Christ
lest the short time
of mercy
run out wasted. Amen.

O star of Spain,
jewel of poverty,
Anthony, part of Scythia,
the model of purity
you are a light to enlighten Italy,
a teacher of truth,
shining like the sun at Padua,
an emblem of glory. Amen.²¹⁴

“Terror of the infidel” proves to be quite tantalizing, given Portugal’s significant fifteenth-century conquests over Ceuta and Arzila in Morocco, among many other battles against Muslim forces in North Africa. The possible reference here could be to Portugal’s 1415 capture of Ceuta, an event critical to Christendom’s crusade against Islam; St Anthony (1195-1231) had himself gone to Morocco in 1220 as a Franciscan missionary. It is possible, given Dufay’s many, though perhaps entirely coincidental, connections with Portugal, that he intended the motet as a commemoration of the great event, which occurred when he was in his late teens and still quite impressionable. It is more likely, however, that the St. Anthony mass and motet reflect Dufay’s strong ties to Padua.

²¹⁴ Translation from Kirkman and the Binchois Consort, 1996, 10-11.

Beyond what is outlined above, almost nothing else is known about music in Portugal during the epoch in which the majority of the overseas discoveries were made. Yet, we know that the cultivation of music must have been rather intense and was in keeping with trends apparent elsewhere in Europe. Indeed, given Portugal's immediate ties with England and Burgundy, it would be expected that Portugal was at least the recipient of, if not also an integral factor in the development of, the many significant musical features of early Renaissance music.

Foreign Music and Musicians in Sixteenth-Century Portugal

While very little is known about music in fifteenth-century Portugal, the situation is much improved for Portugal under Doms Manuel I, João III, and their successors. In terms of manuscripts of music in Portugal, we have documentation for the existence of a rather sizeable repertory. However, if we are to count only those manuscripts still extant, this repertory is substantially reduced. Though few and often in poor condition, manuscript sources of sixteenth-century polyphonic music do survive in Portugal that suggest the extent to which music composed by non-Portuguese composers was known there.

Hale notes that manuscripts containing the music of Henricus Isaac and his student Ludwig Senfl are known to have been in Portugal.²¹⁵ In addition, Robert Stevenson cites MS. 1783 housed at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna as having been "ordered by Philip the Fair as a gift for Manuel the Fortunate of Portugal and

²¹⁵ Hale, 314.

his Spanish wife Maria.”²¹⁶ The contents of this manuscript, according to Kellman,²¹⁷ amount to a total of 21 masses by such celebrated European composers as Josquin, Barbireau, Gaspar, La Rue, Agricola, De Orto, Verbonnet, Brumel, and Isaac. Josquin’s *Missa Ave maris stella* is singled out both in the manuscript and by Stevenson as having been of specific importance, for Josquin was regarded throughout Europe as the greatest of composers.

According to Stevenson, who has conducted a significant amount of archival work in Portuguese libraries, monasteries, and churches, Josquin, in particular, enjoyed considerable status both in Spain and Portugal, for his works were quite regularly performed throughout the Peninsula.

The more notable...is the fact not registered by either Smijers or Sartori that the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon owns both Superius and Tenor part-books of the 27 September 1502 *Missae Josquin*. No late import but a contemporary purchase, the Portuguese part-books belonged before suppression of the monasteries in 1834 to the Cistercian royal abbey at Alcobaça (near Leiria), founded in 1148.²¹⁸

An instrumental arrangement of Josquin’s *Salve Regina a 5* is also extant in Portugal and preserved in Music Manuscript (hereafter MM) number 48 at Coimbra University.²¹⁹ In

²¹⁶ See Stevenson in Edward E. Lowinsky, *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference Held at the Juilliard School at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21-25 June 1971* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976): 224. See also Herbert Kellman, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500-1535* (Amsterdam: Ludion, 1999): 141, in which Kellman explains that there is no conclusive evidence, one way or the other, to suggest that the manuscript ever reached Portugal.

²¹⁷ See Kellman in *ibid.*, 210.

²¹⁸ Stevenson in Lowinsky, 1976, 225.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 227.

addition to this, six polyphonic choirbooks containing a total of eight masses by Josquin were purchased by the royal monastery at Tomar, again during the reign of Dom João III, for the sum of 25,000 reis.²²⁰ The degree to which Josquin was admired in Portugal is recorded in the works of the Portuguese playwright António Prestes, who Stevenson conjectures may have also been a singer at the royal chapel in Lisbon. As Stevenson notes, “Prestes mentions that the music of Josquin and those of his ‘stripe’ is ‘Sweet enough to make stones weep.’”²²¹ Prestes also makes two other allusions to Josquin in his plays, and it seems that the master’s name “was enough of a household word in Lisbon for audiences there to savour a Josquin joke” presented onstage.²²²

What is interesting to note, is that despite Josquin’s importance both in Portugal and across Europe, it is the music of the following generation of northern composers that survives in Portuguese archives. Preserved in the same codex at Coimbra as the arrangement of Josquin’s *Salve Regina a 5* is a rather substantial collection of motets by such foreign composers as Arcadelt, Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, Gombert, Hellinck, L’Héritier, Lupus, Mouton, Richafort, Sermisy, and Verdelot, who are joined by a fair number of Spanish and Portuguese composers, including Morales, Andre Lopez, and Ribeira.²²³

²²⁰ Ibid., 226.

²²¹ Ibid., 235.

²²² Ibid., 236.

²²³ Ibid., 226-27; Rees, 271-82.

The musical manuscript collection at Coimbra is indeed rather extensive, as Owen Rees's systematic study of the archives demonstrates.²²⁴ Aside from a rather large collection of chant repertory, there is a fairly substantial repository of sacred polyphonic music known to have been performed liturgically. Through concordances and attributions within the manuscripts, Rees attributed many compositions in the 21 manuscripts he investigated to various composers of Franco-Flemish origin. Thus, MM 2 contains works composed mostly by Franco-Flemings, including compositions by Mouton, Pierre de la Rue, and Willaert, among others. MM 12 contains music by Johannes Urreda, who worked in Spain. More significantly, copies of works by Clemens non Papa, Mouton, Gombert, Willaert, Lassus, and especially Crequillon are extant in MM 242. To a much lesser degree, composers of Spanish and Italian origins are also represented in these manuscripts originally belonging to the Monastery of Santa Cruz. These include Guerrero²²⁵ (one in MM 34), Alonso Lobo (MM 217), Ortiz (MM 44, 242), Morales (three works in MM 6), Peñalosa (MM 12, with a few in MM 32 and elsewhere), Cabezón (several in MM 242), Palestrina (a few in MM 44), and Luis Moran who, if of Spanish origin,²²⁶ has more than any of the others (MM 6, 9, 12, 32).

²²⁴ The following passages are based on inventories compiled by Rees in *ibid.*, 133-364.

²²⁵ See also Josep M. Llorens i Cisteró, "El MM. 40 de la Biblioteca Municipal de Oporto Fuente Única de la *Misa L'Home Armé* de F. Guerrero, *Misa Pequeña* de C. Morales y de otras novedades," *Anuario musical: Revista de musicología del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas* 49 (1994): 75-102; and Owen Rees, "Guerrero's L'homme armé Masses and Their Models, *Early Music History: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music* 12 (1993): 19-54, for manuscripts of Guerrero's music in Portugal.

²²⁶ Whether he was originally from Portugal or Spain has not yet been determined. See *ibid.*, 1995, 49-50.

Indigenous Music and Musicians in Sixteenth-Century Portugal

Of the Portuguese composers whose music survives in these sources, the majority seems to come from the latter half of the sixteenth century and hail from the region of Coimbra. Thus, Pedro de Cristo, who was *mestre de capela* at the Augustinian Monastery of Santa Cruz, not surprisingly overshadows his countrymen considerably in terms of the quantity of his output preserved in the manuscripts. (See the works Rees has attributed to him in MM 18, 44, 36 and especially 33 and 53.) In addition, works by Pedro Escobar (MM 12), Bartolomeo Trosilho (MM 34, 44), Vasco Pires (MM 9, 12, 32), Heliodoro de Paiva (MM 12, 44, 242), Aires Fernandes (MM 44, 217, and especially, 53), Antonio Carreira (MM 53), and Pedro de Cristo's likely teacher Francisco de Santa Maria (MM 3, 9, 33, 44, 53, and 70), among other composers whose careers all encompass the reigns of Manuel I and João III, also survive in these sources.

The works of these composers of sacred music are accompanied by a vast number of pieces whose authors have not yet been identified. In fact, the majority of the corpus of music extant at Coimbra remains anonymous, though it is likely that a good percentage of it was composed by local Portuguese composers. Those manuscripts comprising primarily anonymous works are MM 6, MM 7 (which, with the exception of one work, leaves almost 25 pieces entirely anonymous), MM 8 (with the exception of those works Rees attributed to Pedro de Cristo²²⁷), MM 70 (almost entirely anonymous, except for those works by Dom Francisco), MM 36 (except for works by late sixteenth-century Portuguese composers) and MM 242 (except for those that Rees has identified as being

²²⁷ See *ibid.*, 1994 on the attributions.

composed by Franco-Flemings). As Rees notes, almost all of this music has yet to be edited and made available in modern edition,²²⁸ though Rees has issued several recordings of this repertory with his A Capella Portuguesa.²²⁹

In fact, only six of these works (one by Fernão Gomes Correia, one by Vasco Pires, two by Bartholomeu Trosylho, and two by António Carreira) have been transcribed by Robert Stevenson and Luís Pereira Leal in theirs and Manuel Morais's *Antologia de polifonia portuguesa, 1490-1680*²³⁰ for the Portugaliae Musica series. This edition combines these works with others by a host of other sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Portuguese composers. The manuscripts for all of this music are housed in such varied locations as Lisbon, Braga, Porto, Vila Viçosa, Elvas, Évora, Munich, Basel, London, Arouca, Tarrazona, Seville, Puebla (Mexico), and Guatemala.

Three smaller collections of manuscripts of secular music serve to complement this rather extensive body of sacred music. The first of these to become known to modern scholars was the songbook at Elvas (CMBE),²³¹ which contains 65 short, three-voiced (two are monophonic) works, only sixteen of which have Portuguese texts. Consisting of simple, mostly homorhythmic polyphony, almost all of the works in this manuscript belong to the genre of vilancete or cantiga. Concordances with the famous Spanish *Cancionero Musical del Palacio* (CMP) allow for the attribution of four works to the Spanish composer Juan del Encina and three to Pedro de Escobar, who was also

²²⁸ Ibid., 11.

²²⁹ See the discography for these and other recordings.

²³⁰ See Stevenson, Leal, and Morais, 1982.

²³¹ See the facsimile edition Ferriera, 1989, and the modern edition Morais, 1977.

known as Pedro do Porto. The simple polyphonic nature of these works, suggests that they were performed by amateur and dilettante court musicians, probably of noble birth and with humanist training.

In the late 1970s a second collection of sixteenth-century polyphony (CMBN) containing both secular and sacred music was discovered at the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon. Nineteen of the secular works, all but one surviving in fragmentary form, were edited and combined with a third compendium of sixteenth-century polyphony found in Paris (CMBP) to create one volume of the *Portugaliae Musica* series. While all the works in CMBN have Castilian texts, the 130 one-, two-, three-, and four-voice pieces in CMBP have Castilian (amounting to 75% of the total collection), Portuguese (21%), and Latin (4%) texts. The modern edition rearranges the order preserved in the two manuscripts and gives precedence to the two-, three-, and four-voice compositions by placing the monophonic melodies at the end of the volume; the polyphonic works are ascribed Arabic numbers, whereas the one-voice works — which, numbering at seventy, stand as a sizeable collection of music unto themselves — are organized by Roman numbers. The three-voiced *Puestos están frente a frente* originally published by Miguel Leitão d'Andrade in 1629 is also included in the edition. This romance is a dramatic setting of a Castilian text recounting the death of Dom Sebastião in a battle in Morocco.

In terms of this secular repertory, the extant sixteenth-century polyphonic sources reveal the predilection of the secular courts for the indigenous homorhythmic villancico over that of other forms. Nery explains that

for more than a hundred years, from the mid-15th to the mid-16th century, the *villancico* was by far the most representative genre of secular polyphony in Portugal....[and] most scholars have stressed the similarities

and possible connections between the Iberian *villancico*, the French *virelai*, the Italian *ballata*, and, especially, the Arab *zajal*.²³²

In comparing the Portuguese vilhancicos to the more “madrigalesque” villancicos of the Spanish, Brito considers them as too “archaic” for the second half of the sixteenth century.²³³ However, as Nery and Castro point out, they parallel the *musique mesurée* of the French, which correspond chronologically with the vilhancicos of the second half of the century. It may be that these simple secular compositions represent the work of the courtly dilettantes, as it has been suggested; however, it cannot be denied, by their quantity alone, that they reflect a widespread and long-held aesthetic.²³⁴

One example of this aesthetic is the Portuguese dance form known as the Folia, which, though no Portuguese musical sources are extant, bears mentioning here, for its popularity during the sixteenth century and throughout the Baroque was manifest not only in Portugal, but all over Europe. A detail from a set of tapestries entitled *Conquests of D. João de Castro* (1538-45), now housed at the Vienna Art History Museum in Austria, depicts three Folia dancers wearing bells and playing tambourines (pandeiros), as was typical of Folia performance.²³⁵ Originally of late-medieval Portuguese folk origins, the Folia was a dance form that was eventually assimilated into the courtly

²³² Nery, 103.

²³³ Brito, 1990, 544.

²³⁴ Nery and Castro, 30-31.

²³⁵ For a reproduction see Manuel Morais, *A Nova Música Antiga*, June 11, 2005, accessed on March 01, 2006, <http://novamusicaantiga.blogspot.com/2005_06_01_novamusicaantiga_archive.html>.

polyphonic repertory at the turn of the sixteenth century as manifested in the theatrical works of the great court dramaturge and composer Gil Vicente. In Vicente's plays, the Folia is

associated with popular characters, usually shepherds or peasants engaging in energetic singing and dancing (hence the name "Folia", meaning both "wild amusement" and "insanity" in Portuguese), either as an easy way of identifying their social nature to the audience or as a celebration of a happy dénouement of the plot.²³⁶

The Folia, according to Nery, was performed often, upon the request of the nobility, at the court by peasants and by the early sixteenth century had already developed the basic harmonic pattern of

A E A G C G A E and A E A G C G A E A,

upon which simple polyphony could be improvised.²³⁷

That this dance music became famous throughout the Peninsula and Europe, indicates not only an aspect of the Portuguese musical aesthetic, but a larger European one, especially as the contrapuntal complexity of late fifteenth-century Franco-Flemish polyphonists gave way to a simpler style such as that cultivated in Portugal. One such simple homorhythmic Folia is the charming *Não tragais borzequis pretos*, set to a transposition of the second harmonic pattern described above and preserved in the CMBP. The text is characteristically Portuguese with its sudden change of mood to the

²³⁶ See the liner notes by Nery in Jordi Savall, *La Folia 1490-1701* (AliaVox AV 9805, 1998): 10. Given this description by Nery, it may be worthwhile to draw parallels between the ecstatic nature of the Folia and research on Tarantism and the Renaissance Italian dance known as the Tarantella undertaken by Tomlinson. For more on this see: Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward A Historiography of Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

²³⁷ See Nery in Savall, 10.

tragic at the end. In their analysis of this song, Nery and Castro suggest that it apparently refers to the degree to which João III sought to control the attire of his courtiers.²³⁸

*Não tragais borzeguis pretos
Não tragais borzeguis pretos
que na corte são defesos
ora com borzeguis pretos*

*Não tragais o que defeso
porque quem trae o vedado
anda sempre aventurado
a ser avexado e preso
verenvos andar aceso
ora en cuydados secretos
ora com borzeguis pretos*

*Não tragais borzeguis pretos
que na corte são decesos
ora com borzeguis pretos*

*Não tragais borzeguis pretos
porque quem trae o vedado
anda sempre aventurado
a ser avexado e preso
creyobos andar aceso
ora en cuydados secretos
ora com borzeguis pretos*

*Não tragais borzeguis pretos
que na corte são decesos
ora com borzeguis pretos*

*E se saber a razão
deste meu trago quereis
a cor que trago nos pes
me deu do corçoão
porque os meus cuydados
acesos e mais secretos
era ma ventura pretos*

Não tragais borzeguis pretos
Do not wear black laced boots,
For 'tis now at court forbidden
To appear with black laced boots.

Do not wear what's forbidden,
For he who wears what's proscribed
Always runs the risk
Of being ridiculed and apprehended
When they see you coming — be it
With private woes,
Be it with black laced boots.

Do not wear black laced boots,
For 'tis now at court forbidden
To appear with black laced boots.

Do not wear black laced boots,
He who wears what's proscribed
Always runs the risk
Of being ridiculed and apprehended
I presume you will come, be it
With private woes,
Be it with black laced boots.

Do not wear black laced boots,
For 'tis now at court forbidden
To appear with black laced boots.

Should you wish to know the reason
Why I'm wearing them —
The colour that I have on my feet
Comes from my heart,
Because my most consuming and
Most private woes
Have been my black misfortune

²³⁸ Nery and Castro, 30. This theory is based on Morais (1986, cxli), who suggests that the vilancete may have something to do with the anti-sumptuary laws of 1566 or 1570.

Perhaps a more plausible explanation for the curious description of the royal court alluded to in the vilancete is one that places the song's composition in the transitory period after João III's sudden death in 1557 and Dom Sebastião's ascension to the throne. After João's death, his queen Catarina, who was regent until 1565 over an empire in decline and wracked with political uncertainty, ordered a long period of national mourning for the dead king, his brothers, and other would-be heirs, who had died only a few years before. During this period, the Queen, who was "very reluctant to watch popular entertainment," mandated that the country's population wear "black clothes of poor quality" and placed a host of restrictions on the country and the courts.²³⁹ When the Cardinal, and later King, Henrique secured regency over the kingdom in 1565, he lifted the court bans on the occasion of the marriage of Maria of Portugal to Alessandro Farnese (see Chapter IV), which was then not yet retracted.

Suddenly, there appeared the richest garments "of silk and velvet in gold and different colours", a transformation which also affected the houses' saddle-clothes and servants' liveries, and which testified "through external signs" to the happiness and satisfaction...[of]...the court.²⁴⁰

It is in this context then that the festive mood of the music and the revealing nature of the text of *Não tragais borzeguis pretos* fits, the black-laced boots representing now an outmoded form of mourning. Henrique, who was distrustful of Catarina for being a Spaniard, undermined most of her cultural mandates when he came to power.

Though we have no musical sources aside from this vilancete to inform us of the musical climate at the time of Dom João III's death, probably owing to Queen Catarina's mandates, we do have the opportunity here to explore that of his father's, Dom Manuel I.

²³⁹ Bertini in Lowe, 51.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 51.

Manuel's *Book of Hours* is an important source of information on the Portuguese monarch and his court during this important period Portuguese history. An illumination preserved in the book shows us how elaborately the death of an important European ruler was commemorated at the time.²⁴¹ Manuel's requiem mass, depicted in its own central panel in the illumination, is attended by an enormous contingent of mourning noble figures on horseback, who accompany their dead king (d. 1521) in procession to the chapel under the light of a full moon. The striking use of perspective leads the eye to the banners with the Portuguese coat of arms, to Manuel's bier, and to two groups of clergy, who surround two very large books, at least one of which may be a book of liturgical music.

The composer of Manuel's requiem, if it was not sung in plainchant, is not known; however, I would suggest that it may have been a *Missa pro defunctis* in four voices by Pedro do Porto that was performed at the ceremony. Tess Knighton maintains this work's importance by stating that it is "one of only a handful of polyphonic settings from the turn of the 15th century, and the earliest [known] of Iberian origin."²⁴² However, she is unable to assign the work definitively to the funerary services of any single Spanish or Portuguese royal family member who died at the turn of the century, though she seems to favor a Portuguese.

If the requiem mass is to be ascribed to the funeral of any member of the Avis dynasty, it seems more likely to be that of Manuel I, although this would make its date of

²⁴¹ For a reproduction see the cover of *Early Music* 22, No. 2 (May, 1994).

²⁴² See liner notes to Quodlibet, *Pedro de Escobar (c. 1465 - d after 1535): Motets, Hymns, Missa pro defunctis* (CRD Records LTD CRD 3450, 1989): 3.

composition a couple of decades later than Knighton proposes. Pedro de Porto was most actively associated with the Avis courts in 1521, the year of Manuel's death. In Gil Vicente's play *Cortes de Júpiter*, Pedro was praised as the leader of a group of "'tiples,' 'contras altas,' 'tenores' and 'contrabaxas.'"²⁴³ The play was performed for the wedding of Manuel's daughter, the Infanta Beatriz, to Carlo III of Savoy. Stevenson postulates that the anonymous *Ninha era la infanta* in four-part polyphony may very well have been Pedro do Porto's own gift to the princess and performed for her wedding.²⁴⁴ Also in 1521, Pedro do Porto was also made *mestre da capela* to the Cardinal Dom Afonso, who was administrator of the diocese of Lisbon and Évora, and may have accompanied the Infante to Évora in the following year.

A second work by Pedro de Porto also suggests a connection to Dom Manuel's court. A vilancete attributed to him,²⁴⁵ *Passame por dios barquero*, which is found in three sources (CMBN, CMBE, CMP), fits well the scenario of two plays by Gil Vicente. In Vicente's 1518 *Auto da Barca do Purgatório*,²⁴⁶ a farmer encounters Satan at a river, across from which lies God. A similar situation is encountered in Vicente's *Auto da*

²⁴³ Robert Stevenson, "Escobar, Pedro de (Pedro del Puerto; Pedro do Porto)," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., vol. 8, Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds. (New York: Macmillan, 2001): 314.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 314.

²⁴⁵ Morais, 1977.

²⁴⁶ António José Saraiva, *Teatro de Gil Vicente*, 4th edition (Lisbon: Portugália Editora, 1968): 125-131.

*Barca do Inferno*²⁴⁷ of the previous year, dedicated and written for the contemplation of Dom Manuel I and Queen Leonor. Given the similarities of both the texts of these plays and that of the vilancete and the close ties between Vicente and Pedro do Porto in 1521, as well as the fact that Vicente claimed Escobar's *Clamabat autem mulier Cananea* as the inspiration for his *Auto da Cananea* of 1534, it is possible to propose yet a third point of contact here in either 1517 or 1518.

As this brief survey of the musical sources shows, a considerable variety of music was cultivated throughout Portugal in the sixteenth century.²⁴⁸ What survives indicates that Portuguese religious institutions throughout the country celebrated the Christian liturgy in much the same manner as it was practiced in the rest of Europe, with full polyphonic and plainchant embellishment. In addition to this, figures of status, power, and wealth at the various royal and noble courts were constantly entertained with songs about love and war and, more frequently than previously thought, about themselves.

Given the sources described above, as well as the partial catalogue of João IV's enormous music library (discussed in Chapter IV),²⁴⁹ music evidently played a far more important role in Renaissance Portugal than previously thought. It is worth mentioning at this point that the survival of these manuscripts is in many ways miraculous, for documents of a historical nature have not weathered Portugal's history very well. The

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 89-123.

²⁴⁸ See also José Augusto Alegria, *O ensino e prática da música nas séis de Portugal (Da reconquista aos fins do século XVI)* (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa Ministério da Educação, 1985) for a discussion of all the major centers where sacred polyphony was performed.

²⁴⁹ Nery, 1990.

1755 earthquake off the coast of Lisbon, which was felt as far away as Seville, and the resulting tidal wave, aside from decimating João IV's music library, left little of Lisbon to salvage and was only the first of several catastrophic events that destroyed Portugal's archives. The Anglo-Portuguese struggle against the Napoleonic invasions, especially in the north of the country, forced the helpless to use volumes of "scrap paper," such as manuscripts of music, found in churches and monasteries to light rockets against the enemy; whatever did not go up in smoke was either looted by the French or found its way to French archives and awaits rediscovery. The suppression in 1834 of all religious orders in Portugal resulted in the destruction of precious documents housed in the many wealthy monastic centers throughout the country. Nevertheless, given the considerable body of music sources still extant, it is no wonder that Gaspar Fernandes boasts in his *Botay fora* that "the musicians of God must come from Portugal."

CHAPTER VI

Polyphony and Humanism in Sixteenth-Century Portugal

As suggested above, Portugal in the sixteenth century appears neither isolated nor peripheral with respect to the broader European developments in both humanism and music. Like elsewhere, Portugal bore witness to many kinds of humanism and to the plurality of approaches in its application to music. Two general tendencies regarding the development of music and humanism over the course of the sixteenth century, however, do make Portugal a special case. Polyphony in Portugal became increasingly more florid, just as the intellectual climate became more conservative, favoring both Christian humanism and the reforms brought on by the Council of Trent. This situation is contrary to that in the rest of Europe, especially Italy, where by the end of the sixteenth century liberal humanism led to the development of new secular forms of music, whereas conservative sacred polyphony dominated Portuguese musical expression. Nevertheless, all of this music was informed by humanism.

In this chapter, I argue that a more liberal atmosphere at the beginning of the century encouraged an aesthetic for music with simpler texture, particularly for homophony and perhaps even monody. By mid-century, corresponding more or less with the reigns of Doms João III and Sebastião, the situation began to change as the conservative Portuguese Christian humanist factions started to assume control. In this era, one finds that the relationship between music and humanism is more complex as social and religious forces begin to influence musical aesthetics, often in inconsistent ways. Moreover, these musical developments in Portugal are contradictory to general European currents at the time. At the end of the century, the full flowering of elaborate

Portuguese polyphony is established, decades later than everywhere else in Europe and in a style now considered archconservative or even outmoded. These developments are not, as Brito argues, signs of Portugal's marginality in sixteenth-century cultural matters, but are idiosyncratic manifestations of humanism combined with the Empire's religious and political preeminence.

Erasmus of Rotterdam and the Impact of Moderate and Conservative Humanism on Sixteenth-Century Portuguese Music

Despite considering itself superior to both ancient Greece and imperial Rome, Portugal remained ever in the shadow of these great civilizations and, as we have seen, sought to imitate them in many respects. In addition, the Portuguese were perhaps the most devoutly Christian people of Europe, characteristically rivaling both the Spaniards and the Italians. The Portuguese were even more pious than the dignitaries and clergy at the Vatican itself, representatives of which perceived the visiting Portuguese prelates as "unusually devout."²⁵⁰ In fact, notable Portuguese religious figures contributed greatly to the proceedings of the Council of Trent,²⁵¹ and it is perhaps not surprising, given this context, that Portugal was the first European nation to accept unequivocally and without reservation all of the mandates and reforms issued by the Council.

The humanist who most influenced sixteenth-century Portugal was Erasmus of Rotterdam (c. 1466-1536), who in many ways shared his ideological and religious

²⁵⁰ Lowe, 3.

²⁵¹ Concerning Portuguese contributions to the Council of Trent's reforms, see A. D. Wright, "The Interaction of the Portuguese and Italian Churches in the Counter-Reformation," in Lowe, 61-74.

leanings with the Portuguese. Well-known and warmly received throughout Europe, Erasmus was one of the most prominent figures in European humanism. His views were strongly conservative in nature, making him the greatest representative of the school of Christian humanism.

With respect to music, Erasmus struggled to free liturgical worship from the florid counterpoint of his Franco-Flemish compatriots, which he, in some respects, considered both anti-humanist and contrary to the spirit of the Divine Mass. Clement A. Miller determines from a close reading of Erasmus's many writings on music that his beliefs were "strikingly similar to those of various [religiously conservative] synods and councils of the time."²⁵² Erasmus preferred restraint in the musical embellishment of plainchant as well as in polyphony and, in the vein of the more puritanical humanists, bitterly attacked florid polyphonic music for its inability to express the true intentions of the text. Reflecting the opinion of other humanists,

he firmly believed in the value of music as a force for moral betterment. Imbued with antiquity's concepts of music, especially those of Plato, he was well disposed towards a musical art that promoted the good of society.²⁵³

Erasmus imposed his humanistic views of antiquity on Christianity and called for "the return of liturgical services to practices that obtained among early Christians, to 'pure, biblical Christianity,' and advocated the removal of many customs that had been

²⁵² Clement A. Miller, "Erasmus on Music," *The Musical Quarterly* 52, No. 3 (July, 1966): 332. For more recent scholarship on Erasmus and his views on polyphony see Rob C. Wegman, *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe, 1470-1530* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

²⁵³ Quoted in *ibid.*, 345.

added in the course of centuries.”²⁵⁴ Given this stance, it is not surprising that he should have approached music in a similar manner. With respect to plainchant, Erasmus was particularly concerned with “the intelligibility of a text in a musical performance, as well as the quality of moderation and decorum in the music,”²⁵⁵ and in his writings he explains that

The emerging [early] Church...allowed a kind of music closer to modulated recitation than to song, first among the Greeks, then among the Latins, an example of which one can still see in the Lord’s Prayer.²⁵⁶

Erasmus reproached the “thunderous noise and ridiculous confusion of voices” that produce “a spectacle unworthy of divine worship,”²⁵⁷ and he complained that “the clamor of voices and organs is heard and the scriptural text never or very rarely is heard.”²⁵⁸

Given that these strong statements are directed at the practice of performing Gregorian Chant, one can imagine his feelings towards the celebration of the Mass in polyphony. Erasmus was extremely critical of polyphony and sought its reform. In a lengthy tirade on contemporary musical performance practices in the church and the dangers of complex polyphony, Erasmus wrote:

In some countries [according to Miller, Erasmus is here referring to England] the whole day is now spent in endless singing, yet one

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 333.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 333.

²⁵⁶ Quoted in *ibid.*, 334.

²⁵⁷ Quoted in *ibid.*, 334.

²⁵⁸ Quoted in *ibid.*, 338.

worthwhile sermon exciting true piety is hardly heard in six months,...not to mention the kind of music that has been brought into divine worship, in which not a single word can be clearly understood. Nor is there a free moment for singers to contemplate what they are singing.

What else is heard in monasteries, colleges, and almost all churches, besides the clamor of voices? Yet in St. Paul's time there was no song, only speech. Later song was accepted by posterity, but it was nothing else than a distinct and modulated speech (such as we presently use in the Lord's Prayer), which the congregation understood and to which it responded. But what more does it hear now than meaningless sounds?....

...We have brought into sacred edifices a certain elaborate and theatrical music, a confused interplay of diverse sounds, such as I do not believe was ever heard in Greek or Roman theaters. Straight trumpets, curved trumpets, pipes and sambucas resound everywhere, and vie with human voices. Amorous and shameful songs are heard, the kind to which harlots and mimes dance. People flock to church as to a theater for aural delight.

...Those who are more doltish than really learned in music are not content on feast days unless they use a certain distorted kind of music called *Fauburdum* (*sic*). This neither gives forth the pre-existing melody nor observes the harmonies of the art. In addition, when temperate music is used in church in this way, so that the meaning of the words may more easily come to the listener, it also seems a fine thing to some if one or other part, intermingled with the rest, produces a tremendous tonal clamor, so that not a single word is understood. Thus the whims of the foolish are indulged and their baser appetites are satisfied...Let us sing vocally, but let us sing as Christians; let us sing sparingly, but let us sing more in our hearts.²⁵⁹

Though Erasmus's view of both chant and polyphony was severe, he condemned not the music, but its misuse and contemporary performance practice. His ideals of musical aesthetics and his approaches to sacred as well as secular music were influenced by his intensive study of and writing about antiquity, which were disseminated throughout Europe.²⁶⁰ This aesthetic revolves around the Platonic notion that music has the capacity to influence profoundly human temperament and morality. Perhaps nowhere

²⁵⁹ Quoted in *ibid.*, 339.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 349.

is this sentiment more strikingly presented than in Hieronymus Bosch's famous rendition of Hell in his triptych *The Garden of Earthly Delights* (1505-10).²⁶¹ In the right wing panel music is placed in the context of the most base of human behaviors. Grotesque demons play their instruments or use them as devices for physical torture, and throughout the panel the relationship between music and perverse acts of sexual deviancy are vividly depicted. The allegory here is clear: Music, when misused, has the ability to corrupt the Christian mind and induce behaviors meriting eternal damnation.

Such Christian humanistic beliefs were strongly held by sixteenth-century Portuguese, who had no European challenger in terms of devotion and piety. The National Museum of Ancient Art in Lisbon possesses in its collection an anonymous sixteenth-century painting reminiscent of Bosch's in which human souls are tortured and tormented by beastly creatures, while a chief demon sounds a trumpet.²⁶² A second triptych by Bosch, also held in Lisbon at the National Museum of Ancient Art, depicting the temptation of St. Anthony, may have been the inspiration of this piece.²⁶³ It is clear from iconographic evidence that Bosch's conceptions of the potentially evil powers of

²⁶¹ For a reproduction see Nicolas Pioch, *WebMuseum, Paris*, accessed on March 01, 2006, <<http://www.ibiblio.org/wm/paint/auth/bosch/tempt-ant/tempt-c.jpg>>. The detail of the central panel depicts the celebration of a Black Mass with a demon playing a harp in the foreground. The right wing of the panel similarly depicts a demon playing a trumpet. <<http://www.ibiblio.org/wm/paint/auth/bosch/tempt-ant/tempt-r.jpg>>.

²⁶² For a reproduction see *Portugal et Flandre*, 202 or online at *University of Coimbra – Seis séculos de pintura portuguesa*, accessed on March 01, 2006, <<http://www.ci.uc.pt/artes/6spp/frames.html>>.

²⁶³ For a reproduction see *Bosch, Hieronymous: The Temptation of St Anthony*, Mark Harden's Artchive, accessed on March 01, 2006, <http://www.artchive.com/artchive/B/bosch/tempt_c.jpg.html>.

music found their way to Portugal. The Portuguese who were sympathetic to both Erasmus and the more conservative and more humanistic understandings of music would likely have had their beliefs affirmed by such paintings.

Though Erasmus was not entirely a conservative, perhaps more a moderate, his following in Portugal was strong, and his more strict writings on musical aesthetics were closely read. It is in the context of intense, conservative Christian humanism that Erasmus was asked to come to Portugal by Dom Manuel I, though he did not accept the invitation, and that his writings were so influential on Portuguese humanists.²⁶⁴ Aires Barbosa (c. 1470-1540), who taught Greek at the University of Salamanca, was clearly affected by Erasmus, though we are uncertain whether or not his *Antimori*, published at Santa Cruz de Coimbra in 1536, was a critique of Erasmus.²⁶⁵ More significantly, André de Resende, who was the teacher of several of the Portuguese princes and a professor at the University of Coimbra, was the leader of the Erasmian circle in Portugal and the greatest supporter of Erasmian humanism after Damião de Góis.²⁶⁶ Erasmian humanism, therefore, was well known in Portugal, especially at the royal court.

The evidence, however, indicates that such moderate leanings were eclipsed by a more radical conservative humanism manifest in Portugal and that such humanists outnumbered the liberals and Erasmians at the court and at the Universities of Lisbon and Coimbra. Hirsch maintains that Resende “was greatly annoyed by the old-fashioned

²⁶⁴ See for instance Joseph A. Klucas, “The Erasmian Tradition in Portugal” (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1978).

²⁶⁵ For more on the debate see Martins, vol. II, 459ff.

²⁶⁶ Hirsch, 166.

jurists in the entourage” of Dom João III and that he was quite clearly a minority voice at the University of Coimbra.²⁶⁷ Rees supports this when he writes that the reactionary “Catholic humanists” fiercely rejected liberal humanism at Coimbra.²⁶⁸

The conservative humanists saw Portugal in the light of ancient Sparta, and sought simplicity and connections to nature like their austere predecessors. Such humanists as António Ferriera called out for the “artless minds and intrepid souls” of ancient Lusitania and medieval Portugal to forsake the lavishness and luxury of the trade wealth.²⁶⁹ This conservative humanist perspective had a strong influence on the court music composed for both Dom Manuel and Dom João III and provides insights into the nebulous musical life of sixteenth-century Portugal.

Humanism and Polyphonic Music in Early Sixteenth-Century Portugal

The reign of Dom Manuel I (1495-1521), from which time so little music survives, witnessed the opening up of the debate between modernity and classicism and the extent to which the former should rely on the latter. Specifically, musical and contextual sources indicate that the Portuguese were already concerned with such matters in music as the primacy of text, the power of music to influence morals, and an interest in thinner musical textures, preferring simple polyphony, and perhaps even monophony.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 180.

²⁶⁸ Rees, 1995, 39.

²⁶⁹ Hooykaas, 26, 28-30.

As discussed in Chapter III, Portuguese humanists, in adapting the ancient Roman concept of using language to establish empire, had attached special significance to the Portuguese language already in the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth century, the importance of the vernacular became especially emphasized. Equally important was the adoption of many words of classical Latin and Greek origin. Thus, by 1536 Fernão de Oliveira (1507-81) published his *Gramática da Linguagem Portuguesa*, which traces the history of the Portuguese language and the nation in the typical Christian humanist mélange of Biblical and classical imagery. As Lawrence explains, this treatise

gives a history of the language which starts with the Flood and the fanciful legends of Berosus of Babylon (that is, the forged *Annals* of Giovanni Nanni published in Rome in 1498): the founding of ‘the ancient nobility and science of our people and land of Hispania’ by Noah, the invention of ‘good laws and letters’ by Tubal Cain, the foundation of Lisbon and Évora by Hercules of Libya, the naming of Lusitania after her eponymous hero Lusus, and the coming of the Turdogalli who gave her the new name Portugal.²⁷⁰

Lawrence further notes that the great tradition of Portuguese literature is not reckoned via the illustrious Galician-Portuguese poetry of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but via Italian humanistic notions of antiquity. Portuguese literature is traced back to the Biblical figure Tubal Cain, who was a blacksmith and was often confused in the sixteenth century with his brother Jubal, the Biblical inventor of music and Christianity’s answer to Apollo or Orpheus.²⁷¹

With respect to the importance of language in music, the 1516 *Cancioneiro Geral* of the Christian humanist Garcia de Resende (c.1470-1536) gives the best evidence for

²⁷⁰ Jeremy Lawrence, “Medieval Portuguese Literature and the *Questione della Lingua*” in Lowe, 141.

²⁷¹ Genesis, 4: 5.

the influence of humanist approaches to music during the reign of Dom Manuel I. Resende's anthology of poems by over three hundred contemporary literary figures reflects the late fifteenth-century and sixteenth-century concern with preserving the Portuguese language and further developing literature in the vernacular, which by this time had already established an old and great tradition.

Resende, who was both a musician and a poet, traveled to Rome in 1514 with Manuel's embassy to Pope Leo X and appears to have fallen exactly into the pattern of Renaissance Portuguese poets who were more enamored of Italian classicism than of their own literary tradition. Though he compiled the *Cancioneiro Geral* "with the express purpose of illustrating the imperial dignity of the Portuguese language by rescuing 'the art of the troubadours,'" clearly his models are classical.²⁷² Thus, many of the poems, although they have Iberian roots, are clearly influenced by the works of Dante and Petrarca.

As with the corpus of medieval troubadour poetry, the poems of the *Cancioneiro Geral* were sung homophonically, or perhaps monophonically, rather than spoken or recited. In fact, most of the works composed by the great humanist poets of sixteenth-century Portugal were meant for musical performance, such as the renowned *serões de paço*, the evening entertainments that took place at court of Dom Manuel I. Regrettably, none of this music survives to the present. As Nery and Castro write,

The fact that the musical support of almost all of this repertory has been lost is very probably owing to the fact that this Music circulated above all by ear, rarely coming to be written down.... [It was treated as] a musical repertory of an ephemeral existence, which seems to have fallen out of favour at the end of the XVI century, and that from then no special care

²⁷² Lawrence in Lowe, 140.

was taken to preserve the musical manuscripts on which, in spite of all, some of these songs had been notated.²⁷³

Although the actual musical settings of the poems in the *Cancioneiro Geral* are not extant, compositions with textual variants of some of these are found in the three later Portuguese songbooks, CMBE, CMBN, and CMBP. The homorhythmic character and simple musical means of the pieces in these manuscripts, although already common in Iberia and elsewhere in Europe at the time, support the humanist notion of the intelligibility of the text and suggest the attempts of humanist thinkers to create humanistic music.

Certainly, several of the poems in the *Cancioneiro Geral* are informed by the Platonic notion, already well established in the sixteenth century by Ficino's earlier translations, that music should be used to inspire social order and proper moral and ethical behavior. The poems of Francisco de Sá de Miranda (1485-1558), in particular, are sharply critical of the materialism and ambition brought on by the overseas discoveries. As Hooykaas maintains of the authors represented in the *Cancioneiro Geral*,

they expressed their dismay at the rapid change they saw during their own lifetime; they were vexed by the extravagance and effeminacy of the new fashion of feeding and clothing and the import of foreign food and textiles.²⁷⁴

Drawing further parallels between the Portuguese and their classical models, Hooykaas explains that just as

The Portuguese present had its vices, the Roman Empire had them too. Portugal had grown wealthy and powerful and decadence had crept in, and the Portuguese who looked back at Rome as the great luminous example

²⁷³ Nery and Castro, 27-28.

²⁷⁴ Hooykaas, 30-1.

could not help seeing there, too, that the more power and wealth had increased, the more decadence had set in.²⁷⁵

Sá de Miranda is regarded as one of “the pioneers of Renaissance Petrarchism in Portugal.”²⁷⁶ Between 1521 and 1526, he traveled throughout Italy, meeting with such important humanist thinkers as the Cardinal Pietro Bembo and learning humanist poetic forms and meters, including the canzones and sonnets of Petrarca and tercets of Dante, which he later introduced into Portugal. His lyrical output, in Portuguese, Castilian, or a hybrid of the two, includes cantigas, songs, elegies, and his twenty-nine sonnets.

Quem te hizo Juam Pastor, an anonymous vilancete preserved in the CMBP, although possibly postdating the *Cancioneiro Geral*, is set to a poem that was paraphrased by Sá de Miranda, and later by Jorge Montemayor (c. 1520 – c. 1562). Multiple settings of the text exist in the CMBP, one for three voices (Figure 02) and two for one voice (Figures 03 and 04), with another three-voice setting attributed to Badajoz in the Spanish *Canionero Musical de Palacio*. The three-line refrain is attributed to the Spanish poet, dramatist, and composer Juan del Encina.²⁷⁷ In all four versions, the text, with slight variants in spelling, recounts the story of the happy shepherd Juam (João) who has fallen into despair on account of the changing times:

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 42.

²⁷⁶ Lawrence in Lowe, 140.

²⁷⁷ For an overview see Morais, 1986, cxlix.

Quem te hizo Juam Pastor
Quem te hizo Juam Pastor
sim guazajo e sim prazer
quem alegre solias a ser

Solias a ser que tenias
Alegres los pemsamentos
amse mudado los tienpos
i con elhos las alegrias
Ia no eras quem solias
quem te hizo sim prazer
que tu alegre solias a ser

Quem te hizo Juam Pastor
Who made you Juam Pastor
without desire (?) and without pleasure?
For you were so happy.

For you were one who had
happy thoughts
before times changed,
and with them your happiness.
You were not who you are.
Who made you be without pleasure
for you were so happy?²⁷⁸

The seven-line stanza is typical of Sá de Miranda and of the writings of humanist authors of his and the following generation, which he strongly influenced. The lyrics reflect the compassion and reason that is characteristic of Renaissance humanist writing, while alluding to the moral decline of contemporary Portuguese society, of which Miranda was a strong critic.

In the CMBP, two versions of this work are preserved for single voice only, while a third is a three-part polyphonic setting. The three-part setting does not appear to be intended for three singers, because the bass has wide leaps and figuration more appropriate for an instrument.

²⁷⁸ Translation by this writer, based on *ibid.*, cxxvi.

1. Quem te hi - zo Juam pas -
 4. Ja no e - ras quem so - li -

8 Quem te hi - zo
 Quem te hi - zo

- tor [Juam pas - tor] Sim gua - za - jo e
 - as [quem so - li - as] Quem te hi - zo

sim pra - zer Que tu a - le - gre
 sem pra - zer [S.]

so - li - as a ser 2. So - li -
 3. Am - se

Fine

a a ser que te - ni - as A - le -
 mu - da - dos los tiem - pos l con

- gres los pem - sa - men - tos
 e - lhos las a - le - gri - as

D.C. al Fine

Figure 02: *Quem te hizo Juam pastor*, Anonymous²⁷⁹

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 65 (No. 54).

In fact, such a line is not characteristic of secular vocal polyphony in Iberia at the time, especially considering that the two upper voices are homorhythmic. The treble (*tiple*) melody varies in all four surviving versions, but a note preceding the second single-voice melody in the CMBP indicates that it is the correct one (Figure 04).²⁸⁰ The monophonic settings of this vilancete are copied in the original manuscript on the back of a folio with the poetry on the front.

Figure 03: *Quyem te hizo Juam pastor*, Anonymous²⁸¹

Figure 04: *Quiem te hizo Juam pastor*, Anonymous²⁸²

²⁸⁰ Ibid., cxlix explains: “Before the beginning of the music is written: ‘esta he a propria soada.’”

²⁸¹ Ibid., 89 (No. IV).

²⁸² Ibid., 89 (No. IVa).

Over seventy other single-line trebles, representing roughly one-third of the extant sixteenth-century secular Portuguese repertory, were notated in a similar manner. The fact that only the melodies were notated, including the variants in the trebles of the *Juam Pastor* vilancete, supports Nery and Castro's claim that the early musical accompaniment of the large body of humanist-inspired poems in the *Cancioneiro Geral* were originally extemporized and were passed on in the oral tradition, only having been written down later. I would also submit that these single-line works were not necessarily always performed polyphonically, and may have even been conceived of as monophony. If so, then this repertory represents a very early attempt to create humanistically-inspired monody, although this cannot be verified and certainly there are concordances elsewhere that demonstrate that many of the trebles were also accompanied by lower voices in polyphony.

Nevertheless, the musical settings of *Quem te hizo Juam Pastor* betray the influence of humanistic thought as much as the texts. There is first and foremost an attempt to present the text and express its meaning as clearly as possible. The text is set syllabically in all cases with only incidental melismsas, largely at cadential points. Furthermore, the Mixolydian mode, characterized by half-steps between the third and fourth and sixth and seventh scale degrees, is particularly effective in conveying the somber nature of the text. Even in the case of the three-voice setting with its ornate bass line, the text is set homorhythmically in the upper voices, except at the cadences.

Another important Portuguese literary figure associated with the *Cancioneiro Geral* is Gil Vicente (c. 1470 – c. 1536), court playwright to both Doms Manuel I and João III, who also helped Resende compile the songbook. His writings are infused with

Italian humanist thought and Erasmian notions, and his numerous works, including farces, tragicomedies, and morality plays, represent early applications of these ideologies to drama. As with Sá de Miranda, his writings were often satirical, decrying the corruption of court clergy and the growing social disparities created by the trade wealth.

Vicente's writings were typically lyrical, and portions of his plays call for musical embellishment. His *Auto de Inês Pereira*, for instance, opens with the eponymous heroine singing *Quien con veros pena y muere*. Music for this text, with slight variants, survives in both monophonic and polyphonic versions, the former in the CMBP (Figure 05), the later in the CMBE (Figure 06). The anonymous vilancete uses the opening lines of the play in the refrain, but continues with a four-line stanza, perhaps by Portuguese humanist poet Pedro de Andrade de Caminha (c. 1520-89), who composed two stanzas to this refrain.

The farce was first performed for Dom João III at the Monastery of the Knights of Christ in Tomar in 1523. It recounts the story of Inês Pereira, a woman who marries above her station in order to avoid doing household chores, only to find that her husband is a tyrant. After his death she marries her first suitor, a farmer, who treats her kindly and allows her to do as she pleases. The lyrics of the vilancete capture well the sentiment of the play, which is that respect for individuality allows for better living.

Quien con veros pena y muere
Quien con veros pena y muere,
Que hará cuando no os viere?

Bivera triste muriendo,
Dia y años perdiendo.
Y la vida consumiendo
Esso poco que biviere?

Quien con veros pena y muere
 He with true pity and death,
 What will he have when it comes?

Living sadly, one dies,
 Day and years lost.
 And life is consumed
 What is it to live only so little?²⁸³

As with *Quem te hizo Juam Pastor*, the text is set syllabically with few melismatic passages allowing for a clear presentation of the text. The polyphonic setting (Figure 06) is harmonically and rhythmically more uniform than the previous example and is indicative of the court aesthetic for music with simpler textures. While it is true that the vilancete is similar in character to secular polyphony composed elsewhere in Europe and that its structure is the same as that of other Iberian works, we must keep in mind that humanism in music, especially this early in the sixteenth century, was not manifested directly in compositional terms. What was important to humanists was that the text, which ideally contained a moral lesson, would not be obscured by elaborate, imitative counterpoint.

Figure 05: *Quien por verso pena y muere*, Anonymous²⁸⁴

²⁸³ Translation by this writer, based on *ibid.*, 1977, 16 (No. 17).

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 1986, 90 (No. V).

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Quiè cõ veros pena y muere, q̄

Quiè cõ veros. &c.

Quiè cõ veros. &c.

mue - re, Que ha - ra quan - do no os vie -
mien - do E - sso po - co que bi - vie -

re ? 2. Bi - vi - ra tris - te mu - rien - do,
re ? 3. Di - as y a - fíos per - dien - do.

D.C. al Fine

Figure 06: *Quien con verso pena y muere*, Anonymous²⁸⁵

One final example from the early sixteenth-century demonstrating this aesthetic comes from Dom Manuel I himself. The anonymous tercet *Aquella voluntad que se ha rendido*, preserved in the Elvas manuscript, sets a poem identified by Manuel Pedro Ferreira in his facsimile study of the *Cancioneiro* as having been composed by the king:

Aquella voluntade que se á rendido
Aquella voluntade que se á rendido,
Al puro resplandor d'a aquellos ojos,
Por quien todo lo al pongo en olvido.

Aquella voluntade que se á rendido
 That will that is rendered
 In the pure brilliance of those eyes
 By whom I put all in forgetfulness²⁸⁶

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 1977, 16 (No. 17).

Although the lyrics are not especially humanistic in nature, — except for possibly implying that the character being sung about is strong in will, which would be in keeping with the Platonic call for music to impart optimism and positivity — the musical setting (Figure 07) seems to be rather sensitive to the text. Frequent use is made of repeated pitches and harmonies, creating a rhythmic drive that allows for clear textual differentiation. This homorhythmic tension is then typically released into a lilting rhythmic pattern or into slightly more elaborate polyphony. These compositional devices serve to bring out the meaning of the text.

²⁸⁶ Translation by this writer, based on *ibid*, 67.

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Aquella voluntad q̄ se á rendido, A - quel - la vo - lun -

Aquella voluntad. &c.

Aquella voluntad. &c.

tad que se á ren-di - do, Al pu-ro res-plan - dor d'a - quel - los o - jos, Por to-do lo quien

al pon-go en ol - vi - do. Por quien to-do lo al pon-go en ol - vi - do. Fine

Figure 07: *Aquella voluntade que se á rendido*, Anonymous²⁸⁷

The dotted rhythm in the alto at the beginning, for instance, allows for the proper stress of the word “aquella” without disturbing the emphatic opening that establishes the character of the piece. Immediately afterwards, the tension is released by a harmonic change as the treble moves up in pitch, providing an

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 67 (No. 64).

upward lift and commencing a lilting progression to the cadence. This setting of the word “voluntad” seems initially contradictory to its meaning, but in fact alludes to the mental state of the speaker, whom we find losing his own will in the eyes of another.

The setting of “Al puro resplandor d’a aquellos ojos” seems to be yet another attempt at a kind of word painting, though one that is not consistent with or as developed as that established elsewhere in Europe later in the century. The word “puro” is set in the treble to the highest pitch of the piece and is followed by a slight rhythmic instability in the alto that is suggestive of the shimmering of the word “resplandor.” But it is the following passage that receives the rhythmic and polyphonic elaboration that one would expect. The setting here is nuanced and sensitive to the poetry, not literally tied to it. Thus, “resplandor” and “ojos,” that which is “brilliant,” are clearly pronounced and yet highlighted by the more florid polyphonic setting of the less significant text in between.

Humanism and Polyphonic Music in Mid Sixteenth-Century Portugal

Humanism under Manuel I, though by no means a meager concern, seems to have developed only minimally in comparison with the measures taken under Dom João III.²⁸⁸ João III facilitated the great flourishing of humanism that had developed in Manuel’s Portugal by cementing humanism’s educational foundation. His educational reforms included moving the University of Lisbon to Coimbra in 1536-37 and employing

²⁸⁸ Rees, 1995, 32.

leading humanist thinkers and philosophers to teach there. He sought to keep students at Coimbra rather than continue the long-established tradition of having them travel to Salamanca, Paris, or Bologna to receive their humanistic training. In so doing, he decentralized the cultivation of humanist thought in Portugal, making it possible for its spread and development outside of Lisbon.

Dom João III was himself a product of humanist teaching and, like his father Manuel I, was an important patron of the arts, especially early on in his reign, as discussed above with the plays of Gil Vicente and with the music of Luis Milán (see Chapter IV). Milán's famous *Libro de musica de vihuela de mano intitulado el maestro* published in Valencia in 1536 merits further discussion here because of the connections it draws between João III and humanist music inspired by classical antiquity. This book, dedicated to the Portuguese monarch, contains an engraving of Orpheus playing a *vihuela*.²⁸⁹ The *vihuela*, a guitar-shaped instrument that held the same status in Iberia as the lute did elsewhere in Europe, was the musical symbol *par excellence* of courtly civility as defined by humanism and is very often depicted in humanist-inspired texts.²⁹⁰ The association of the *vihuela* with Orpheus is not only a specifically Iberian translation of the classical myth, but implies also the superiority of the moderns over the ancients, a sentiment that was strongly held by humanists at the Portuguese court.

²⁸⁹ For a reproduction see Jacobs, 24, or online at *Music in Time*, Queen Margaret University College, accessed on March 01, 2006, <<http://www.musicintime.co.uk/images/milan.jpg>>.

²⁹⁰ See Nery, 1990, 72-74, for a detailed discussion of the *vihuela* and its role in the musical training of princes and noble courtiers taken from *El Principe Christiano*, which was originally intended for the education of Dom João III. *El Principe Christiano* is one of the many Iberian versions of Castiglione's well-known *Il Corteggiano*, which is dedicated to Miguel da Silva, the Portuguese ambassador to Rome.

The dedication of *El Maestro* to João III is in itself revealing from a musical and humanistic standpoint in that it contains several references to antiquity and Italian humanism. Milán addresses João III by referring to the writings of Petrarca and comparing modern man to the ancient Romans:

Very high, Catholic, and powerful prince, king, and lord: the very famous Francisco Petrarca (*sic*) says in his Sonnets and Triumphs that each one of us follows his star.... Affirming that we are born beneath a star to which, by inclination, we are subject, the Romans in times past studied this closely....²⁹¹

Milán then recounts a story of a Greek philosopher who inspired him to submit his book of *vihuela* pieces to the Lusitanian monarch because his knowledge of music was superior to that of his contemporaries.²⁹² Charles Jacobs identifies this story as that of Polycrates, Tyrant of Samos (who ruled from 532-22 B.C.E.) from the third book of Herodotus's *The Persian Wars*. Milán thus cleverly flatters the king by asserting that he has no equal in knowledge of classical antiquity and musical sensitivity.

In fact, it is during the reign of João III that the influence of humanism on Portuguese music is most evident. This is due in part to the availability of musical and poetic sources, which seem to derive roughly from the mid-sixteenth century, though many, as we have seen, date back to the turn of the sixteenth century and to the reign of Dom Manuel I. The flourishing of humanism and an increased interest in antiquity may have inspired the attempt to preserve music and poetry of the past in the songbooks that have come down to us today; this would explain, for instance, why many of their

²⁹¹ Jacobs, 11.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, 12.

surviving poems indicate that the song in question is “velho” (“old”) or “alheio” (“unknown,” “anonymous”) in the manuscripts.

Although the *cancioneiros* do preserve examples of music from the whole of sixteenth-century Portugal, including earlier songs discussed above, the vast majority can be traced specifically to the reigns of Dom João III and of his grandson Sebastião.²⁹³ In these later works, as well as those preserved elsewhere, developments first made under Manuel I with respect to musical humanism are more widespread and some even demonstrate further advances.

The anonymous three-voice song *Levantese el pemsamento* from the CMBP echoes the concerns of declining morality already evident in the works of Sá de Miranda and Gil Vicente.

Levantese el pemsamento

I *Levantese el pemsamento*
 Abram los ojos el seso
 Porque vejo amdar em peso
 Alma e vida

II *Vejo pasar de corrida*
 Los dias meses e anhos
 No vejo si no emganho
 Conocydos

...

VII *El mundo es carreçar de buenos*
 De los malos es menyrom
 I al fim de una comdiçiom
 Usa com todos

...

Levantese el pemsamento

Thoughts take their rise,
My eyes lay reason bare,
For I see with difficulty
My soul and this life.

The days, the months and years
I see quickly passing;
I do not see
If I am betraying my friends.

...

The world is stingy with good
And abundant with ill
And at the end of the day
Everywhere it is so.

²⁹³ This holds true not only for secular court music, but for sacred polyphony as well. See Rees, 1995.

[X]	de su libertad se priva quien corre traz cosas vanas i em esperanças livianas Se detiene ...	He who chases after trivial things Deprives himself of freedom And is left With false hopes ²⁹⁴ ...
-----	--	--

Unlike the earlier works that display a bit more freedom, the text here is set (Figure 08) in unrelenting homorhythm with only fleeting passages of variety in the bass and occasionally in the tenor voices, and then only at cadential points. The treble is a strictly syllabic rendering of the poem, with only minor exceptions occurring when the music is repeated to different text, as mandated by formal structure. This severe approach is standard in the *cancioneiros* of the mid-century and betrays an almost radical attempt to ensure that each syllable is distinctly pronounced within the polyphonic setting.

²⁹⁴ Translation from Van Nevel, 1996, 26-28.

1. Le - van - te - se el pem - sa - mem -
 2. Ve - jo pa - sar de cor - ri -
 Le - van - te - se
 Le - van - te - se

- to A - bram los o - jos el se - so Por - que ve - jo am - dar em pe -
 - da Los di - as me - ses i a - nhos No ve - jo si no em - ga -

- so Al - ma e vi - da, al - ma e vi - da
 - nhos Co - no - cy - dos, co - no - cy - dos

Fine

Figure 08: *Levantese el pememsamento*, Anonymous²⁹⁵

Such an approach is consistent with more liberal humanist composers such as Petrus Tritonius and Pontus de Tyard. In fact, despite the overwhelming power that conservative Christian humanists were about to assume in Portugal, liberalism was tolerated under Manuel I and for a while under João III. Although such radicals were in the minority, their influence was considerable.

²⁹⁵ Morais, 1986, 77 (No. 64).

Radical approaches to the setting of text led to an early instance at Coimbra of classically inspired theater. Coimbra, to where João III had moved the University of Lisbon, was the most important Iberian center of humanist thought outside of Salamanca. As early as the 1550s, the Augustinians and Jesuits had developed an aesthetic for varied and avant-garde repertoires, including Italian madrigals and programmatic French chansons.²⁹⁶ The Jesuits of Coimbra, as well as of Évora, mounted religious dramas performed to music inspired by classical antiquity during regularly held festivals. Owen Rees explains that they put on Neo-Latin plays (*ludi litterarii*) showing the influence of Virgil and Seneca and making frequent use of Greek choruses that commented on the action.²⁹⁷

A fragment of a polyphonic *Divinis habeas* by Francisco de Santa Maria in MM 70, although in Latin, served such a function (Figure 09).²⁹⁸ The surviving treble demonstrates the techniques of speech-song; the text is set in a strictly syllabic manner with much pitch repetition. Rees explains that such choruses were

heavily indebted to the language and dramatic techniques of classical theatre.... We might then expect that where music was integral to the drama—that is, primarily, in the settings of choruses—it too would both demonstrate a classicising tendency and be in some way ‘rhetorical,’ two qualities which were of course intimately linked in the humanists’ view of the proper nature of music (that is, following classical precedent in being

²⁹⁶ Rees, 1995, 94.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 99-102.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 106-109.

texturally simplified and obedient to the text) and of its potential power.²⁹⁹



[D]ivinis Di - vi - nis ha - - be - as, non ha - be - as
 6 fi - dem va - tum con - si - li - is, dif - fi - ci - les de - i au - res, aut
 12 fa - ci - les vo - ci - bus ap - pli - ces om - ni fi - xa ma - net tem - po - re ve - ri - tas
 18 ru - pe im - mo - bi - li - or, æ - re pe - ren - ni - or con - stans, pu - ra, gra -
 24 - vis, ne - sci - a fal - le - re. Nul - lis o - ra ge - rit tin - cta co - lo - ri -
 30 - bus, ex - ter - ni - que ni - hil ro - bo - ris in - di - ga se se cau - ta su - o
 36 ro - bo - re su - sti - net. Er - go sæ - va lu - es im - pi - e cri - mi -
 42 - na men - da - ci ni - mi - um cre - du - lus au - gu - ri, fi - xus le - thi - fe - ra pe - ctus a - run -
 48 - di - ne, fi - es gra - ta ca - ni præ - da do - me - sti - co; præ -
 54 - di - xit mi - ni - tans nu - per ut E - li - as. Non te lu - da - i - ci no - mi -
 60 - nis in - cly - tus reg - na - tor ma - ni - bus sub - tra - hat hos - ti - cis, nec mu -
 66 - ta - ta ru - di pur - pu - ra teg - mi - ne te - li sub - mo - ve - at cia - de vo - la - ti - lis;

Figure 09, Excerpt from *Divinis habeas*, Francisco de Santa Maria³⁰⁰

²⁹⁹ Ibid., 106.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 107.

Such examples, more so than the Italian intermedio tradition of the time, foreshadow developments in music drama that would take place later in Florence and Mantua.³⁰¹

While it may seem odd to find conservative Jesuit monks mounting religious drama with music inspired by the methods of liberal thinkers, the aesthetic aspect upon which all the various humanist factions of Portugal converged was that music should be based on a morally beneficial text that was intelligibly performed. Furthermore, we must remember that this is an era of transition in sixteenth-century Portugal, one in which the practical application of humanist thought to music could lead to very disparate results.

The cantiga *Ja não podeis ser contentes*, preserved in the CMBE and the CMBP with textual and musical variants, is a striking manifestation of this ambivalence. The lyrics were probably composed by the Infanta Dona Maria (1521-77), daughter of Dom Manuel I and an important patroness of writing and the arts.³⁰² With references to “past glories” and “present woes,” the poetic text is more critical of contemporary Portuguese life than usual.³⁰³

³⁰¹ Ibid., 102.

³⁰² See Morais, 1986, cxxiv.

³⁰³ Although I have provided several examples of lyrics that may be interpreted as expressions of declining moral standards resulting from the rapid wealth brought by trade with the East, it must be remembered that these were to some extent rare. The majority of this courtly repertory concentrated on amorous topics.

Já não podeis ser contentes
Já não podeis ser contentes,
Lembranças desesperadas
Pois vossas glórias passadas
Morrem de males presentes.

De que serve visitardes
Un triste, que vive tal,

Que cuida que o seu mal
Está todo em lhe lembrades.

Fazei-vos de todo ausentes,
Lembranças desesperadas,
Deixay, que glórias passadas,
Mourão de males presentes.

Já não podeis ser contents,
Lembranças desesperadas
Pois vossas glórias passadas
Morrem de males presentes.

Já não podeis ser contentes
Now you cannot be happy
Hopeless memories,
For your past glories
Are dying from your present woes.

Why visit a wretch,
Who lives as such,

Who believes that his woes
Come from his memories.

Be gone
Hopeless memories,
Let past glories
Die of present woes.

Now you cannot be happy
Hopeless memories,
For your past glories
Are dying from your present woes.³⁰⁴

Although the musical settings extant in the two *cancioneiros* differ rather substantially — that in the CMBP is rhythmically and polyphonically rather complex —, the version found in the CMBE (Figure 10) is predictably simple and strictly syllabic and homorhythmic in character, corresponding to the musical aesthetics of humanist philosophers as I have described them previously. What is unusual in this setting, however, is the consistent, patterned rhythm, a feature virtually nonexistent in the music preserved in the *cancioneiros*. This version of *Já não podeis ser contentes* — in a manner somewhat reminiscent of Tritonius’s Homeric odes or the French *vers mesurée*, though not as sophisticated — is based on the alteration of long and short rhythms organized into the following pattern:

³⁰⁴ Translation based on Morais, 1977, 30 (No. 30).



This allows for clear delivery of the Portuguese text, though not for its proper declamation.

fol. 68 v – 69

Ia naõ podeis ser cõtentes, Ia naõ podeis. &c.

Ia naõ podeis. &c.

Ia naõ podeis. &c.

ten - tes, Lem - bran - ças de - ses - pe - ra - das, Pois vo - ssas glo - rias pa -
sen - tes, Lem - bran - ças de - ses - pe - ra - das, Dei - xaý, que glo - rias pa -

ssa - das, Mo - rrem de ma - les pre - sen - tes. 2. De que ser - ve vi - si -
ssa - das, Mou - rão de ma - les pre - sen - tes. 3. Que cui - da que o seu

tar - des Un tris - te, que vi - ve tai,
mal Es - tá to - do em lhe lem - bra - des.

D.C. al Fine

Figure 10: *Já não podeis ser contentes*, Anonymous³⁰⁵

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 30 (No. 30).

The other version of this cantiga (Figure 11), extant in the CMBP as *Ja não posso ser contente*, also a three-voice setting, is rhythmically far more complex, in addition to having a more florid texture. The setting of the text calls for elaborate rhythmic changes within segments of the work, as was characteristic of most Portuguese (and Iberian) secular polyphony, since humanist innovations began to spread in the late fifteenth century.

1. Já não po - so ser com -
 4. A - si vi - vo des - com -
 Já não
 Já não

- ten - te Te - nho a es - pe - ran - ça per - di - da Am - do per - di - do am - tre a gen -
 - tem - te So - frem - do tam tris - te vi - da Que an - do o fi - o da gem -

- te Nem mou - ro nem te - nho vi - da [nem mou - ro nem te - nho vi -
 - te Per - di - do tris - te sem vi - da [per - di - do tris - te sem vi -

- da] 2. Mi - nha vem - tu - ra e tal Se - nho - ra por a vos ser - vir,
 - da] 3. Que pe - ra do - brar meu mal Me ti - ram po - der vos ver

Fine D.C. al Fine

Figure 11: *Já não posso ser contente*, Anonymous³⁰⁶

As Morais explains in an essay in his edition of the CMBP,³⁰⁷ this rhythmic intricacy resulted in the general tendency at the turn of the sixteenth century to simplify white mensural notation, or *canto d'orgão*, as it was called in

³⁰⁶ Morais, 1986, 62 (No. 51).

³⁰⁷ Morais, 1986, lxx-lxxxvi.

Portugal. Along with this came the relaxation of the *tactus*, or underlying pulse, indicated by the initial mensural signs. Thus, the symbol C in the treble and tenor and the C in the bass part of *Adomdestas alma mia* in the CMBP (Figure 12) should be interpreted as equivalent.



Figure 12: Excerpt from *Adomdestas alma mia*, Anonymous³⁰⁸

According to Morais, this flexibility in the notation of the Portuguese pieces derived from the humanist attention to poetry and allowed for changes in speed in certain sections, as dictated by the nature of the poetry.³⁰⁹ Although Morais warns that the application of *seconda prattica* techniques to this music is inappropriate, this relaxation of the pulse may point in that direction.

The two strikingly different settings of *Já não podeis ser contents* are representative of the experimentation involving the humanist notions of the relationship between music and text in mid-sixteenth century Portugal. Yet, while Portugal was home to such developments in musical humanism, at mid-century it was also a bastion of conservative Catholic religiosity, which was often in

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 71 (No. 59).

³⁰⁹ Ibid., lxxvi.

opposition to the reforms sought by liberals. So while Dom João III may have supported liberal and moderate thinkers early on, he also introduced the Inquisition in Portugal in 1536, after delays to Manuel I's initial request in 1515 from Rome. He appointed his younger brother Henrique, the future cardinal-king of Portugal, as Grand Inquisitor, an action that would have a serious impact on humanism in Portugal. The Inquisition led to the censorship of new books and ideas, including Erasmian humanism, and even to the trial, incarceration, and death of many important innovative thinkers.

João III's reign is also characterized by the growing power of such religious entities as the Jesuits, and we must remember that the Portuguese nobleman Simão Rodrigues (d. 1579) was a founding member of the Society of Jesus. Rodrigues was very influential in João's court, and he succeeded in gaining many recruits, though his control over them was less firm. By mid-century, the Jesuit educational institutions grew to challenge the primacy of the University of Coimbra on humanist matters, including music, as we have seen.

Damião de Góis

The story of the life of Damião de Góis (1502-1574), sixteenth-century Portugal's most famous "Renaissance man," is a case in point. Although he was the leading Portuguese humanist of the sixteenth century, as well as Portugal's most well-known composer abroad, he did not represent the conservative humanism that took hold over Portugal and its music and was therefore condemned by the High Tribunal of the Inquisition.

The figure of Damião de Góis we encountered earlier as a young page much favored by the court and serving as chief chronicler to Manuel I slowly changed in the decades before the Council of Trent, when conservative humanism and religious zealotry began to dominate Portuguese court life. As a diplomat and chronicler, he was extremely well traveled, having worked at the Casa da India in Antwerp and having been on diplomatic missions to Denmark, England, France, Italy, Norway, Poland, Russia, Spain, and Sweden. He spoke several languages, including Latin, Greek, and Ethiopian. A close friend of Erasmus — he spent an extended time as a guest in the philosopher’s residence in Germany — Damião de Góis had strong Italian humanist leanings, cultivated a deep passion for music and the arts, and was considered by his foreign humanist friends to be the leading composer of Portugal at the time.³¹⁰

Yet despite his close friendship with Erasmus and the conservative intellectual atmosphere of his native homeland, his polyphonic setting of *Ne laeteris inimica mea* (Figure 13) suggests that they did not share similar tastes in music. This motet is one of only three surviving works by him and remains among the most elaborate of the few surviving mid sixteenth-century Portuguese polyphonic works. Damião de Góis employs imitative counterpoint that obscures the text, an artifice normally denounced by conservative humanists and suspicious religious zealots.

³¹⁰ Hooykaas, 61.

by such other composers as Obrecht, Josquin des Prez, and Adam von Fulda. It demonstrated Glareanus's extension of the eight medieval church modes to twelve and was the practical attempt to show, "according to ancient principles, that polyphonic music was both aesthetically and doctrinally 'genuine.'"³¹³ Glareanus's publication of Damião's motet and his attempt to reconcile humanistic principles with modern polyphonic practice and Catholic doctrine may have something to do with the growing power of the Christian conservatives back in Portugal and elsewhere.³¹⁴

As Hirsch indicates, by the beginning of the second half of the sixteenth century, João III's "tolerance of several groups of humanists with widely divergent beliefs was no longer quite in step with the rapidly changing mood of the century."³¹⁵ Certainly the High Tribunal of the Portuguese Inquisition was growing increasingly less tolerant of florid polyphony and of such contrivances as Glareanus's Aeolian mode in which Damião composed his motet. After João III's death in 1557, Damião de Góis possessed few friends in the royal court who could come to his assistance when he was summoned before the Inquisition. Dom Sebastião, unlike his predecessor, was surrounded by the ideologues of the new age, who created a different intellectual climate in the Portuguese court — that of the Counter-Reformation, as directed in Portugal by the Jesuits.³¹⁶

³¹³ Craig J. Westendorf, "Glareanus' *Dodecachordon* in German Theory and Practice: An Expression of Confessionalism," *Current Musicology* 37-38 (1984): 44.

³¹⁴ See Sarah Fuller, "Defending the 'Dodecachordon': Ideological Currents in Glareanus's Modal Theory," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49, No. 2 (Summer, 1996): 191-224.

³¹⁵ Hirsch, 161.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 209.

During his imprisonment and trial, Damião's accusers mentioned the sounds of strange tongues and musics coming from his home on the Sabbath. His performances of florid masses and motets arranged for organ for foreign dignitaries and friends were, by this point, a curiosity for the Portuguese and were cited as evidence against him.³¹⁷ Damião de Góis was condemned by the Inquisition for his music and for consorting with Protestants and spent the remainder of his life imprisoned at the royal Monastery of Batalha.

Pedro do Porto (c. 1465 – after 1535) also seems to have shared similar experiences, and his case may help clarify that of Damião de Góis. After a prosperous career composing complex polyphony for the most powerful Iberian rulers, Pedro de Porto is found at the end of his life living in the most wretched conditions in Évora:

I have been in Castille and for many years was chapel-master for Queen Isabella, and maestro of the see of Valencia, where I spent much time and where I conversed and dealt with the most important people. There I had the greatest reputation and esteem...That was my hour on earth to live and enjoy, and not in Portugal, where I have seen nothing but frowning faces of caprice and gravity.³¹⁸

³¹⁷ Ibid., 217. Hirsch elaborates on this as follows:

It seems odd that the Portuguese people would have forgotten polyphonic music, which had been so popular under King Manuel. On the other hand, in view of the fact that the Council of Trent had cautioned against the use of this type of musical expression in churches, polyphony may have almost disappeared from Portugal's musical scene in the last quarter of the century.

In actuality, neither the historical evidence nor surviving music sources substantiates this claim for the popularity of polyphony at Manuel I's court. Furthermore, the existence of large repositories of late sixteenth-century Portuguese polyphony contradicts her latter conjecture.

³¹⁸ Quoted in Peter M. Alexander, "The Motets of Pedro Escobar" (M.M. thesis, Indiana University, 1976): 18.

As far as can be gathered from the present state of research, these two were the most celebrated Portuguese composers of polyphony, yet when they returned to their country of birth, they were relegated to the most miserable of lives, for Portugal was the least hospitable of all the nations of Europe to elaborate polyphony.

Humanism and Polyphonic Music in Late-Sixteenth-Century Portugal

In the history of Portuguese music, the last half of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries are collectively called the “Mannerist” period. While the term is somewhat problematic, it refers, in the Renaissance, to a self-conscious focus on stylistic features on the part of the artist, resulting from significant and rapid cultural changes. The term was first applied to Italian music composed in the decades after the sacking of Rome by the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V in 1527, an event that upset the rationalism of humanist thought and the supremacy of the Catholic Church. Later, the Church’s power would be further eroded by the challenges brought on by the Reformation.

On January 26, 1531, Portugal was rocked by a massive earthquake that was felt as far away as North Africa and Flanders. The damage from this and the rushing waters was devastating, and over the course of the sixteenth century no fewer than three more earthquakes continued to wrack the heart of the Lusitanian Empire. Portuguese dominance began to wane further after several decisive military losses in Morocco, increasing competition with the Venetians, Ottomans, Dutch, and English for dominance in maritime trade, and the crisis over

succession in the monarchy, resulted in the Lusitanian Empire being ruled from Madrid.

The Catholic Church soon filled the political and moral vacuum that such events created in Portugal. The influence that the Jesuits, the Inquisition, and the Counter-Reformation had on the flowering of humanist music in Portugal was considerable. Portugal was the only Catholic country in which the Council of Trent's recommendations on music became law, and, with the disappearance of the royal courts, secular music virtually disappeared.

Thus, while conservative ideology may have allowed for important advances in musical humanism in Lisbon and Coimbra, in the latter half of the sixteenth century it resulted in an often violent backlash against liberal secularism. With the decreased power of the secular courts, only sacred polyphony made any true development in the Portuguese Mannerist period. It is in this context that Portugal developed a truly indigenous florid polyphonic style, though with the restrictions endorsed by the Council of Trent.

As Nery and Castro observe,

With the exception of the occasional isolated earlier example, it is only in the second half of the century that we begin to find, in the later song-books, an evolution in the sense of a more elaborate contrapuntal technique, with more melismatic text distribution, more lively rhythmic figuration and more systematic recourse to imitation between the voices....³¹⁹

³¹⁹ Nery and Castro, 30-31.

The imitative counterpoint in *Ai dolor quão mal me trata* preserved in the CMBP (Figure 14) was at mid-century a foreign curiosity for Portuguese ears, as the case of Damião de Góis attests.

The image displays a musical score for the piece "Ai dolor quão mal me trata". It features three vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, and Tenor/Bass) and a keyboard accompaniment. The score is written in a 16th-century style with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The lyrics are: "1. [4.] Ai do - lor, ay do - lor, quão Ay do - lor mal me tra - tas Que no me a - flo - - xas ni me ma - tas, que no me a - flo - xas ni me ma -". The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "8" and "10/4".

Figure 14: Excerpt from *Ai dolor quão mal me trata*, Anonymous³²⁰

Yet this also foreshadows the contrapuntal masterpieces of the school of composers at Évora Cathedral led by Manuel Mendes (c. 1547-1605) and succeeded by his students

³²⁰ Morais, 1986, 71 (No. 59).

Felipe de Magalhães (d. 1652), Duarte Lobo (1564/69-1646), and Manuel Cardoso (1566-1650).

To give just one example of the nature of this later style of Portuguese polyphony, one considered outmoded elsewhere in Europe, we turn again to *Pois con tanta graça* (Figure 15) by Gaspar Fernandes (c. 1570-1629), who was also active at the Évora Cathedral and whom we encountered earlier (see Chapter IV). This villancico is one of some two hundred and fifty by Fernandes still extant. New here is the use of imitation, the thicker polyphonic texture, which has grown considerably from the three-voice writing more typical of the earlier sixteenth century, as well as the inclination to vary the polyphonic fabric from full ensemble to passages of as few as one or two voices. Yet tradition has not completely vanished; the villancico, also popular among the Spanish in the late sixteenth century, is a special case of a secular music surviving in a sacred context. Along with the cantiga and romance, the villancico endured the anti-secular backlash and was incorporated in the liturgy on such important feast days as the Conception of the Virgin, Epiphany, Corpus Christi, and especially Christmas, surprisingly retaining many secular features.³²¹ Most evident among these are the syllabic setting of a secular text to sophisticated rhythms.

³²¹ Nery and Castro, 72-73.

50

de amor - es da may don - se - la e seu
 may don - se - la ay de amor - es da may don - se - la e seu
 de amor-es da may don-se - - la de amor - es da may don -
 8 - se - - la de a - mor-es da may de a - mor-es da may de amor - es da
 8 - es da may don - se - la may don - se - la may don - se - la may don -
 de amor - es da may don - se - - la de amor - es da may don -

be - lo fi - dal - gui - ño be - lo fi - dal - gui - ño.
 be - lo fi - dal - - gui - ño be - lo fi - dal - gui - ño.
 - se - la e seu be - lo e seu be - lo fi - dal - gui - - ño.
 8 may de amor-es da may don - se - la e seu be - lo fi - dal - gui - - ño.
 8 - se - la may don - se - la e seu be - lo fi - dal - gui - - ño.
 - se - la may don - se - - la be - lo fi - dal - gui - - ño.

Figure 15: Excerpt from *Pois con tanta graça*, Gaspar Fernandes³²²

Indeed, this “Golden Age” of Portuguese polyphony did not mean that mannerist techniques, still very much indebted to the ideals of humanism, were not also applied to secular music, whatever of it still remained in the late sixteenth century, or that

³²² Stevenson, 1976, 50.

humanism in music disappeared entirely from Portugal. Certainly the spirit of humanism still lingered on the compositions of such significant individuals as António Marques Lésbio (1639-1709), who was learned in the classical tradition, probably from his education from the entourage of the Portuguese Chapel Royal. His acquired surname is likely connected with the Greek island of Lesbos, homeland of poets Terpander, Alcaeus, and Sappho. Matias de Sousa Vila-Lobos in his *Arte De Cantochão* calls Lésbio an “Apollo of our times, very worthy master of the Chapel Royal, great and unique in the science of music.”³²³

Mannerist compositional techniques used in late-sixteenth-century Portuguese secular polyphony are extensions of the humanist desire to make music serve the text. These include the move away from strictly three-part writing, an increasing sense of triadic harmony, and a growing tendency to use chromaticism and other artifices to express more clearly the sentiment of the poetic text. Some of these are already evident in the settings of the secular poetry of the great Luís Vaz de Camões (c. 1524-80), whose *Os Lusíadas* is the Portuguese national epic and recalls the writings of Virgil. Though no music for his famous depiction of the voyages of Vasco da Gama survives, three anonymous settings of his redondilhas³²⁴ are extant in the CMBP. The treble and tenor in the charming *Minina dos olhos verdes* (Figure 16) move in parallel thirds throughout, while the bass often completes the full triad.

³²³ Alegria, José Augusto, *Vilancicos e tonos: António Marques Lésbio*, Portugaliae Musica 46 (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985): xxiii.

³²⁴ See Luís [Vaz] de Camões, *Lírica*, selected by and with introduction and notes by Massaud Moisés, 4th edition (São Paulo: Editôra Cultrix, 1972): 41-42.

Minina dos olhos verdes

*Minina dos olhos verdes
porque me não vedes*

- I *Vedeme senhora
olhai que vos vejo
e que meu desejo
creçe de ora em ora
serdes crua agora
não hé dolhos verdes
pois que me não vedes,*
- II *Olhai que padeço
por vosos amores,
olhai minhas dores
vede o que vos peço
Olhos que eu conheço
graciosos e verdes
porque me não vedes,*
- III *Elles verdes são
e tem por usança
na cor especrança,
e nas obras não,
vossa condição
não hè dolhos verdes,
pois que me não vedes,*

Minina dos olhos verdes

Girl with green eyes,
Why do you look at me not?

- Come, regard me, my lady,
See how I do gaze at you,
And how my desire
Waxes by the hour
Hard-hearted you are now;
These green eyes have I not,
For you look at me not.
- Look, I suffer
For love of you.
See my yearning,
Look at what I seek of you.
Eyes, you whom I know,
Captivating and green,
Why do you look at me not?
- Green they are,
And customarily bear
Hope in this color,
But not in your deeds;
Thus it is with you;
These green eyes have I not,
For you look at me not.³²⁵

³²⁵ Translation from Van Nevel, 42-44.

1. Mi - ni - na dos o - lhos ver -
 4. Ser - des . cru - a a - go -
 8 Mi - ni - na
 8 Mi - ni - na

- des Por - que me nam ve - des, por - que me nam ve - des, por - que me nam ve -
 - ra Não hé do - lhos ver - des Pois que me não ve - des [pois que me não ve -
 8
 8

- des] 2. Ve - de - me se - nho - ra O - lhai que vos ve - jo
 - des] 3. E que meu de - se - jo Cre - çe de o - ra em o - ra
 8
 8
 8
 Fine
 D.C. al Fine

Figure 16: *Minina dos olhos verdes*, Anonymous³²⁶

The other two anonymous compositions in the CMBP on lyrics by Camões's make use of chromatic alterations to highlight specifically expressive words. As Nery and Castro point out³²⁷ for *Na fonte esta Lianor* (Figure 17) the word “chorando” (“weeping”) is set to a chromatic pitch. A more detailed analysis reveals that this occurs

³²⁶ Morais, 1986, 52 (No. 43).

³²⁷ Nery and Castro, 70.

on the second syllable of the word, which moves into a full triad, before cadencing on hollow octaves, thereby emphasizing not only the profundity of the emotion, but also its bitter loneliness. The other iteration of this triad, the only other full triad employed in the piece until this point, is at “Lianor,” the heroine of the poem, with whom the listener must, by virtue of the harmony, associate with this emotion.

Na fonte esta Lianor
Na fonte esta Lianor
Lavando pote chorando
...

Na fonte esta Lianor
Lianor is at the spring
Washing the pot and weeping³²⁸
...

³²⁸ Translation by this writer, based on Morais, 1986, cxxxviii.

1. Na fonte esta Lianor Lavam -
 do po - te cho - ran - do He as a - - mi - gas pre - gun - tan - do Vis - tes
 - lhos que lhe dão dor E as que vi - nhão pre - gun - tan - do
 2. Ne - nhu - ma lhe da re - zão -
 3. Por - que não no ter pre - sen - te
 la ho meu a - mor, vis - tes la ho meu a - mor

Fine

D.C. al Fine

Figure 17: *Na fonte esta Lianor*, Anonymous³²⁹

A similar use of pitch alterations is employed to a greater extent in *Foyse gastando a esperança* (Figure 18), which requires adjustments of as many as four

³²⁹ Ibid., 80 (No. 66).

different pitches in all voices throughout. Particularly noteworthy is the setting of the word “enganos” (“mistakes”), which cleverly requires alterations in both the treble and tenor to pitches not previously introduced in the song and results in the clash of a minor seventh between the alto and the bass. Equally effective is the rhythmic displacement in the alto that disrupts the largely homorhythmic motion of the piece up until this point.

Foyse gastamdo a esperança

Foyse gastamdo a esperança
Fuy emtendendo os enganos
Do mal fiqarão mos danos
E do bem so a lembrança
...

Foyse gastamdo a esperança

Hope wasted away
As I understood my mistakes
From misfortune everything is in ruins
And all goodness is only a memory³³⁰
...

³³⁰ Translation by this writer, based on *ibid.*, cxxxvii.

1. Foy - se gas - tam - do a es - pe - ran -
4. E pois is - to so se al - cam -
Foy - se
Foy - se

- ça Fuy em - tem - den - do os en - ga - nos Do mal, do
- ça Em pa - go de tam - tos da - nos Não cegem, não

mal fi - qa - rão mos da - nos E do bem so a lem - bram -
ce - gem mais os em - ga - nos A quem ce - gou a es - pe - ran -
do quem - che - ci - da

2. Es - ta
3. Em lu -
me fi - qua da vi - da Per - di - da ser - vin -
gar de me dar bem Me da a mor - te co -
D.C. al Fine

Figure 18: *Foyse gastando a esperança*, Anonymous³³¹

³³¹ Ibid., 78 (No. 65).

In *Foyse gastamdo a esperança* the tenor and especially the treble drop out of the three-voice texture frequently. At “do mal,” this effectively creates an opportunity for the treble to sigh and reflect on the tragedy expressed in the text.

Although these settings of Camões’s lyric poetry are difficult to date, owing in no small part to the very incomplete biography of the master poet, they may have yet been composed in his lifetime, perhaps as early as 1552, when he returned to Portugal from military service in Morocco, but more likely between 1570, when he returned from the East, and June 1580, when he died in poverty. When compared to techniques employed in the madrigals of the Italian Mannerist era, these later Portuguese developments in musical humanism seem tame indeed. We must remember, however, that the Portuguese tradition of secular musical humanism, based on classical models and ideals and so well-established early on in the first half of the century, was disrupted by radical cultural, political, and economic upheaval already apparent in the time of Dom João III. In addition, given the often hostile environment to such musical artifice in secular music in late-sixteenth-century Portugal, it is no great surprise that secular polyphony nearly died out altogether and composers began to apply these techniques to sacred music.

CHAPTER VII:

Conclusion

Overview

Portugal in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was one of the wealthiest, most powerful nations of Europe. Its rulers controlled a vast commercial empire that spanned the globe and allowed them to wield considerable political influence in the Western world. Their capital at Lisbon, which by 1620 had become the third most populous city in Europe,³³² was the European hub of mercantilism, novelty, and cosmopolitanism. Even when Portuguese dominance began to wane in the late sixteenth century, Lisbon was still important enough to become the capital of a united Iberian Peninsula, as the Spanish monarchy absorbed the Lusitanian Empire into its own and created the largest, most far-reaching political entity in existence.³³³

At the same time, this power and wealth brought corruption and an increasing disparity between social classes. The devastation wrought by natural disasters and peasant uprisings cast into relief the opulence of the royal court, where even there many called for restraint and morality. Here we witness the tensions of early modern Europe as the secular and sacred vied for dominance. For a time, the Portuguese managed to balance these forces in the ideals of Christian humanism. The new Lusitania took the best elements of ancient pagan civilization and applied them to Catholicism.

³³² Tom Gallagher, *Portugal: A Twentieth-Century Interpretation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983): 7.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 8.

The Portuguese, perceiving their great Lusitania as the best suited of all the European powers to carry on the legacy of the Roman Empire, adopted the philosophies of the ancients and created a dynamic artistic, literary, and musical atmosphere in imitation of the various golden eras of classical antiquity.

Regrettably, only just enough direct evidence survives to give a general impression of the vitality of sixteenth-century Portuguese musical life. Indeed, given Portugal's position at the forefront of European affairs throughout the Renaissance, too few sources of polyphony are extant to substantiate the rich literary and iconographic documentation of its musical glory. What survives — many anonymous secular works of a simple, homorhythmic nature, the occasional motet obviously indebted to Franco-Flemish or Spanish models, and dozens of incomplete monophonic compositions — suggests a torpid, underdeveloped, and sometimes retrospective musical scene.

There is, however, a precedent in the more moderate and conservative forms of humanism that prevailed in Portugal. The lack of significant complex polyphony from the first three quarters of the sixteenth century reflects not a lack of musical achievement, but rather an aesthetic demand for simplicity grounded in the principles of the classically-informed humanism of the time. The simplicity of the Portuguese repertory conforms to an ideological demand for clarity of text and for proper decorum. The ostentation one would normally expect of an empire at the height of its greatness was, in this case, antithetical to Renaissance Portugal's classicizing tendency. Certainly, with the enormous wealth they possessed the Portuguese could listen to anything they wanted, and yet, even while some complex Franco-Flemish polyphony was known in Portugal, it

seems that Portuguese composers and patrons were neither entirely convinced by it nor drawn to it. Nery and Castro explain that

The contrapuntal sophistication of the generations of Josquin des Pres, already in the transition for the XVI century and especially the generation immediately after with authors like Certon, Gombert, Le Jeune or Jannequin, seems to have been known here [in Portugal], as witnesses the presence of the songs of some of these composers in Portuguese manuscripts of the epoch (specifically in keyboard versions reaching us in a manuscript copied in the mid-XVI century in the Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, today preserved in the General Library of Coimbra University in M.M. 48). However the style of the Portuguese song-books has an economy of means and a simplicity of language which on the one hand suggest, in some cases, that this is a repertory above all created by courtly amateurs of limited musical training, on the other hand are too consistent not to show an aesthetic option both conscious and assumed even on the part of professional composers of unarguable *métier*.³³⁴

In time, conservative religious zealots assumed authority in Portugal and severely undermined the more liberal elements operating in the courts of Doms Manuel I and João III, who demonstrated stronger support for the humanist movement than many other European rulers.³³⁵ With the advent of the Inquisition and the Counter-Reformation, Portugal's musical and intellectual scenes were turned upside-down. Humanism, which had previously reigned as a dominant ideology in the nation, came to be distrusted and understood as heretical.³³⁶ Damião de Góis and Pedro do Porto were only the most famous casualties of this cultural revolution.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century Portugal finally embraced complex polyphonic music, even when Italian and northern European aesthetics begin to favor music with far simpler textures and even monody. Thus, the most substantial collections

³³⁴ Nery and Castro, 30-31.

³³⁵ Hirsch, 161.

³³⁶ Rees, 1995, 38

of Portuguese music are those comprising elaborate sacred polyphony dating from the last quarter of the century, when Portugal had come under Spanish rule. Suddenly, with the empire in decline, musical sources become most readily available, whereas little can be uncovered from the earlier period of greater imperial opulence. Yet, as we have seen, the influence of humanist musical practices is hardly mitigated; in fact, in many ways humanist aesthetics played an even greater role in this Mannerist period.

Understanding the Connections between Music and Humanism: Towards a Reconceptualization of Music in the Portuguese Renaissance

The concerns Manuel Carlos de Brito raises regarding the substantiation of Renaissance Portuguese musical life are warranted. With the dearth of direct musical evidence and the fact that Jehan Simon de Haspres (or Hasprois) is the only foreign composer of note known to have worked in Portugal, and then not during the “Golden Age,”³³⁷ the Portuguese Renaissance is a problematic area of musicological inquiry indeed. Yet, putting aside all the obstacles to the preservation of notated music — natural disasters, wars, and the fact that extemporized music was rarely recorded —, we know from written historical accounts, literature, and art that music in sixteenth-century Portugal was cultivated to a high degree. This “secondary” evidence must be consulted in order to understand properly the music that does survive. Scholars cannot rely solely on extant musical manuscripts.

³³⁷ Brito, 1990, 540-41.

In his comparison of the mid-century Portuguese vilancetes to the more “madrigalesque” villancicos of the Spanish, Brito finds them to be too “archaic.”³³⁸ For the sixteenth-century Portuguese humanist drawing inspiration from classical antiquity, Brito’s statement would hardly be taken as a criticism. Nor does Brito’s assessment improve our understanding of Portuguese Renaissance music. In this instance, it is more productive to compare the sixteenth-century Portuguese secular polyphony to the chansons of the French *musique mesurée* with which it corresponds stylistically and chronologically on account of the influence of humanist ideals. Yet even this comparison is premature, since the Portuguese repertory needs to be fully understood in its own context.

By situating the extant secular Portuguese repertory in the realm of conservative humanist and Catholic thought, this study has shown that the nature of the music, rather than being somehow aberrant, reflects a long-held Portuguese aesthetic that is to some extent also widespread in Europe. Thus, sixteenth-century Portuguese music is neither peripheral nor inferior. Brito’s “Problems Encountered in the Study of Portuguese Musical Relations...during the Renaissance”³³⁹ are most properly solved through context-sensitive study in which music is understood as a part of the intellectual climate that created it.

Portugal did not produce or attract any polyphonists comparable to Dufay, Ockeghem, and Josquin, because their compositional styles in general were not supported by the aesthetic and ideological systems of the era. The assumption that complex

³³⁸ Ibid., 544.

³³⁹ Brito, 1984.

polyphony is suggestive of social development or musical genius is problematic for many reasons, but especially because it is contrary to the general musical evolution of sixteenth-century European music, which saw a move away from elaborate late-medieval polyphony to thinner textures that were primarily homorhythmic in nature. Moreover, the development of polyphony in Europe does not, by any means, constitute a constant line of progression from simple to complex. Indeed, Guillaume Dufay, one of the great Renaissance polyphonists also composed plainchant.³⁴⁰

Thus, we may reach several conclusions that allow for a better understanding of the nature and place of music in Renaissance Europe. First and foremost, music was not divorced from the broader intellectual and social currents of the era, as some scholarship misled by the writings of Tinctoris seems to imply. Humanist thought played a profound role in the shaping of sixteenth-century Christian and musical thought. In Portugal, the relationship between humanism, Catholicism, and music was so deep that it often led to extreme and unusual measures, such as Jesuits composing choruses in the style of ancient Greek pagans, or the “musicians of God” incorporating villancicos with secular texts into their liturgy.

Another important conclusion drawn from the study of music in this context is that humanism’s influence on Portuguese music predates the Mannerist period of the late-sixteenth century. Already in the time of Dom Manuel I we find music clearly representative of humanist attitudes regarding the relationship between music and text. These developments continued through the end of the sixteenth century into the

³⁴⁰ Barbara Hagg, “The Celebration of the *Recollectio festorum Beatae Mariae Virginis*, 1457-1987,” in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Societa Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 1987: Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, Angelo Pomilio, ed. (Turin: Edizioni di Torino, 1990): 559-71.

Mannerist period, when composers applied secular techniques to sacred texts. This paralleled broader social currents as secular features were absorbed into religion when they were deemed useful, or otherwise eliminated. Given these historical and religious factors, the Mannerist era can be understood as the logical outcome of nearly a century of refinement in Christian humanist philosophy and practice in Portugal.

Thus, the Renaissance, whether in Portugal or elsewhere, should be conceptualized as a continuous attempt to revive and reproduce ancient cultural concepts and practices in modern circumstances. The ascetic, conservative intellectual climate of sixteenth-century Portugal, rather than stymie musical development or cause it to stagnate, as might be expected, instead encouraged the proliferation of some rather unique compositions. Portuguese composers, musicians, and philosophers experimented and sought to recreate, to the best of their abilities and usually within Catholic contexts, the aesthetics and performance practices of the ancient Greeks and Romans, who were for the Portuguese at once their rivals and paragons.

Future research on music of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe, and especially that of Portugal, should benefit from this understanding. In moving Portugal away from the periphery of sixteenth-century musical studies, one hopes that the sources of extant Portuguese music scattered across Portugal or in the libraries of other European countries will undergo a reappraisal. This is particularly important now as interest in Renaissance Portuguese music has apparently dwindled following a brief, but strong surge in the 1980s and 1990s. There remains much to be done with these sources, especially in terms of socio-cultural analysis.

In addition, there is the task of identifying the composers of these surviving works. To date, only a few pieces have been attributed, often cautiously, to specific composers; the majority remains anonymous. This will be especially difficult, since the biographies of composers known to be active in Portugal at this time are largely incomplete. The probable identification of Tomé Toscano in the Santa Auta retablo in this study (see Chapter IV) may or may not be helpful in this regard.

Finally, there remains the ongoing study of Renaissance Portuguese sacred music, which is far more abundant than the secular repertory. Owen Rees, for instance, has uncovered a large body of heretofore unexplored plainchant, in addition to many sacred polyphonic works, at the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra.³⁴¹ Given the emphasis that the Portuguese placed on religious music in the sixteenth-century, this research seems to be particularly urgent. It is hoped that the present study on the influence of Christian humanism on sixteenth-century Portuguese court music will be of use to the investigation of sacred works, as well as of instrumental music, which could not be discussed here.

As I have tried to demonstrate, Renaissance Portugal is an area of research ready for deeper musicological investigation. Even with limited documentation, there is much that can be learned from Portugal in the quest to expand knowledge of both music and society in one of the most defining periods of European history.

³⁴¹ Rees, 1995.

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