MUSIC IN THE CONTEXT OF ANGLO-PORTUGUESE RELATIONS — A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

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The contact between England, later Britain, and Portugal, through alliance, treaty, marriage, trade and other areas of exchange, has had an impact on the most varied aspects of life, not only political and economic, but, of course, also cultural. And since Music constitutes a fundamental manifestation of the culture of any people, it should come as no surprise that it has consistently played a part in the rich interchange between these two countries: in terms of repertoire, personnel, instruments, performance, publication, research, and so on. In this article I seek to give an overview of the many areas where Anglo-Portuguese relations have led to musical exchange, in some instances suggesting where further work might be fruitful.

The Middle Ages

> Oh how great the jubilation of all! Oh how great our glory! O how many tears of rejoicing and gratitude flowed when, in praise and honour of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, the standard of the redeeming cross was seen by all, placed at the highest point of the castle, as a sign of the city's submission, and the Archbishop [of Braga] and Bishops with all the clergy and everybody else, not without tears, singing with wondrous joy "Te Deum laudamus" with "Asperges me" and other prayers of devotion. [1]

[1] "O quanta omnium leticia! O quanta omnium specialis gloria! O quanta prae gaudio et pietate lacrimarum affluentia, cum ad laudem et honorem dei et

Thus speaks Osbert, an English eyewitness of the siege and taking of Lisbon in 1147 by Afonso Henriques, the first King of Portugal, for Osbert was among the crusaders from England, Germany and Flanders who, sailing from Dartmouth for the Holy Land, had stopped off in Portugal and agreed to give their support in liberating the city from the Moors. And here already music was present, in the form of Gregorian chant. The hymn (canticle) *Te Deum laudamus* is associated with thanksgiving; the *Asperges me*, an antiphon taking its text from verse 8 of Psalm 50 (*Miserere mei*), which it normally precedes and follows, is associated with ritual purification. The fact that Osbert goes so far as to name the antiphon suggests that it may have been used not merely as a standard opening to the ceremony (as in the Roman Mass) but in the context of a fuller cleansing of the castle area, 'tainted' by the infidel.

Five days later, on All Saints' Day, a similar ceremony took place. In the words of the anonymous author of the *Crónicas dos Sete Primeiros Reis de Portugal*:

> The King went with everyone else and in a great procession they walked to the mosque, where now the Cathedral stands, and they cleansed it of the ceremonies of the sect of Mafamede [Mohammed] that used to take place there. And after that, all the Bishops, dressed in accordance with the occasion, entered the place to *Te Deum laudamus*. And in this way, all the Christians consecrated and built it in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Our Lady. And therein they celebrated the divine offices and declared it a Cathedral, provided the Holy Father should agree. [2]

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sanctissimae virginis Mariae crucis salutiferae vexillum in summa arce positum subiactae in signum urbis ab omnibus videretur, praecinente archyepiscopo et episcopis cum clero et omnibus non sine lacrimis admirabili iubilo «te deum laudamus» cum «asperges me» et orationibus devotis." José Augusto de Oliveira (ed.), *Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros (1147): Narrações pelos cruzados Osberno e Arnulfo, testemunhas presenciais do cêrco*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, S. Industrias da C. M. L., 1936, p. 106. Here and elsewhere, unless otherwise stated, author's translation.

[2] "...foyse elRey com todolos outros, e com grão precyção se forrom a mesquyta, onde hora he edefyquada a Se, e fezea alimpar das serjimonjas que aly erom da seyta de Mafamede. E depojs desto os Bispos todos, reuestidos segundo sua ordem, com «Te Deum laudamus» emtrarom em ela. E asy el Rey e todolos Christãos a comsagrarom e edeficarom a omra da Virgem santa Marja, nosa Senhora. E fizerom em ela os hofiçios devinos e nomearom-na por See, se ao Padre Santo prouuasse." Anon. (ed. Carlos da Silva Tarouca, S. J.), *Crónicas dos Sete Primeiros Reis de Portugal*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História (Fontes Narrativas da História Portuguesa N° 1), 1952, Vol. I, Crónica do Rei D. Henriques, Cap. XXIII. Although this ceremony, both in the form given here and the shorter version that appears in Duarte Nunes de Leão's *Crónicas dos Reis de*

Fig. 1 — An example of musical iconography that came to Portugal from England. This lithograph, published in Lisbon in the early 19th century as "A vingança d'um vizinho, ou o musico desesperado" [The neighbour's revenge, or the exasperated musician], was actually copied directly from William Hogarth's engraving "The enraged musician". In the window is the Italian violinist and conductor Gaetano Pugnani (1731-89), who directed the opera at the King's Theatre, London, 1767-69. (Author's collection)

Once again, the ritual purification would certainly have included the repeated singing of *Asperges me* — the Tridentine consecration ceremony, to which this would have been broadly similar, begins with three circuits of the exterior of the building being consecrated, aspersing respectively the upper part, middle and foot of the church, while this antiphon is sung. It would have been an essential part of the ceremony, prior to entering the building and the singing of *Te Deum* and whatever followed.

It was on this occasion that the Englishman, Gilbert of Hastings, was elected the first Bishop of the liberated Lisbon, once again subject to Papal confirmation. [3] At a time when the rites of the Roman Catholic Church were subject to a degree of local variation, Bishop Gilbert, initiating practices in a new diocese with no recent traditions, is likely to have been influenced in his ministry by the Use with which he was familiar, almost certainly the Use of Salisbury or Sarum (codified by St Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, in the late 11th century), in particular in the observance of certain feasts and saints' days. [4] Of course, any liturgical adaptations of this kind, would have had musical consequences, involving new chants and variants of chants already familiar in the Iberian Peninsula. There is no evidence, however, that Bishop Gilbert introduced Sarum Use on a wholesale basis. [5]

It is in the context of the immediate aftermath of the signing of the historic Treaty of Windsor, celebrated between England

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Portugal, is strikingly similar to that above described by Osbert, the latter is clear in distinguishing the ceremony at the castle and the consecration of the Cathedral. Given that he was an eyewitness, we must suppose that they really were separate occasions. The dress appropriate for the clergy would have been white or gold, which is considered liturgically equivalent to white.

[3] He was inducted by João Peculiar, Archbishop of Braga, though the latter was usurping jurisdiction, encouraged by D. Afonso Henriques, who wished in this way to affirm Portugal's ecclesiastical independence. Prior to the Moorish invasion, Lisbon was within the Province of Mérida, since 1120 governed from Santiago de Compostela. The Archbishop of Compostela duly protested to the Holy See but it was only in 1199 that the then Pope, Innocent III, resolved the dispute, in Compostela's favour.

[4] It is unlikely, however, that this would have included St. George. Although the veneration of this Saint in England, at least as a local saint, goes back to well before the Norman Conquest of 1066, it was only at the national Synod at Oxford in 1222 that 23rd April was formally declared a 'lesser holiday', to be commemorated throughout the country as the martyrdom of St. George.

[5] This widespread belief and the further belief that it then remained in use till the early 16th century is refuted by Pe. Miguel de Oliveira (rev. Pe. Artur Roque de Almeida), *História Eclesiástica de Portugal*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, Europa-América, 2001, p. 121. In a footnote he cites an article of his own authorship clarifying this issue. However, the reference he gives is incorrect and I have been unable to trace the article in question to pursue this matter as fully as I would like.

and Portugal in 1386, that we must look for the next references to music in the context of Anglo-Portuguese relations. Following the defeat of the Spaniards by King João I at Aljubarrota the previous year, with the help of English archers, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, set out for Galicia with a view to enforcing his claim to the throne of Castile with Portuguese support. The King and Duke met at Ponte do Mouro, between Monção and Melgaço, close to the border with Galicia. Jean Froissart in his *Chroniques* tells us that on the day of their first meeting, King João was the host and that at dinner "There were many minstrels, and his entertainment lasted till night." [6] Two days later it was John of Gaunt's turn to entertain King João and the Portuguese nobility. Once again at dinner "there were numbers of minstrels, who played their parts well; and the duke gave them and the heralds one hundred nobles each". [7] What these minstrels might have played and sung can only be guessed at, but it is worth drawing attention to the fact that both contingents evidently travelled with minstrels in tow.

It was in February of 1387 that King João was married to John of Gaunt's younger daughter, Philippa of Lancaster, and music once more played its part. To quote the *Chronicles* of Fernão Lopes, describing the procession as Philippa approached Oporto cathedral, "The Archbishop [of Braga] led the Queen by the reins [of her horse]. Before [them] went pipes ['*pipas*'] and trumpets and other instruments, so many as to be deafening. Young noblewomen and girls from the city followed behind, singing, as is the custom at weddings." [8] Given the context and loudness of the instruments described, the term *pipas* is likely to refer to shawms, rather than the high-pitched flutes implicit in the terms *flautas* and *pífaros*, usually given instead of *pipas* in modernised Portuguese versions of the text.

According to Fernão Lopes, after the ceremony and following dinner, "they rose and began to dance and the ladies in a group

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[6] From the website: http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/1385gaunt-portugal.html Though this site does not indicate it, the translation is taken from that of Thomas Johnes, published in London in 1803-10. The practice of abridging Froissart began at an early stage and all of the editions in the original French that I have consulted, including two from the 16th century, omit this and the following passage.

[7] *id.*

[8] Fernão Lopes (ed. William J. Entwistle), *Cronica del Rei Dom Joham I*, Parte Segunda, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1968, Ch. 96, p. 209. "E o arçebispo leuaua a Rainha de redea. Deamte hiam pipas e trombetas e doutros estormentos tanto que se nom podiam ouuir. Donas filhas dalgo e jsso mesmo da çidade cantauom himdo detras, como he costume de uodas."

around began to sing with great pleasure." [9] Or as Froissart put it, "that night the festivities continued right the way through till the next morning, in dance, carols and revelling: and thus they passed the night" [10] — "carols" in this context, at this period, refer to courtly dance-songs. And "all of the next night [too] they did nothing but dance, sing and revel." [11]

In those days the pious of the secular world as well as those in monastic orders kept the canonical hours (the divine offices mentioned above) and Philippa of Lancaster was exemplary in her devotion. "She always prayed the canonical hours, according to the Use of Salisbury; and ... her chaplains and other honest folk received instruction in it from her. Every Friday she was in the habit of praying the psalter, not speaking to anybody until she had finished it all." [12] It is probable that some, if not all, of the canonical hours would have been sung; nor should we exclude the possibility that she sang all the psalms — the number of tunes would have been quite limited, since the same chants were used for several different psalms. By this time the Use of Sarum had largely supplanted all others in southern England, and in much of Scotland and Ireland. [13] It was natural, therefore, that she should use it. That she should have needed to teach it to the priests and other "honest folk" is indicative of the degree of difference from the Use to which they were accustomed. [14] This would have been as true of the music as of the word text.

The exact extent to which Sarum Use went beyond Queen Philippa's chapel is unclear. In the next generation, we are told in Frei João Alvarez's Chronicle of her youngest son, the 'Infante

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[9] "...alçarrom-sse todos e começarom a damçar, e as donas em seu bamdo cantando arredor com gramde prazer." *id. ibid.*

[10] "& celle nuict on fit les vigiles de la feste, iusque au lendemain, des dances, de carolles, & d'ebatemens: & passerent ainsi la nuict." Jean Froissart, *Le premier [-quart] volume de LHistoire et cronique*, Lyon, Ian de Tournes, 1559-61, Vol. III, p. 173.

[11] "& toute la nuict ensuyant on ne fit que dancer, chanter, & ebatre." *id. ibid.*

[12] "ella rezaua sempre as oras canonicas pello costume de Saresbri; e ... seus capellaães e outras honestas pessoas reçebiam nelle pera ella emsinamça. Todallas sestas feiras tinha costume rezar o psalteiro, nom fallando a nenhuuma pessoa ataa que o acabaua de todo." Fernão Lopes, *op. cit.*, Ch. 98, p. 211.

[13] Northern England and Wales practised other similar local Uses, namely those of York, Hereford and Bangor. See, for example, William Maskell, *The ancient liturgy of the Church of England*, London, William Pickering, 1844.

[14] For a summary of the differences between Sarum and Roman Use, see F. Thomas Bergh's entry 'Sarum Rite' in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 13, Robert Appleton Company, 1912; also available on-line: http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/134/9a.htm. For its musical implications, see also John Harper, *The forms and orders of Western liturgy from the tenth to the eighteenth century*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991.

Santo', Prince Fernando, that "from the age of 14, as long as he lived, he made a point of praying all the canonical hours, according to the English Use of Salisbury", and that "his chapel was richly decorated with many vestments and ornaments, according to the Use of Salisbury, and was served permanently by many priests and singers." [15] We must also suppose that the chapters dedicated by King Duarte, in the *Leal Conselheiro*, to the running of his chapel and the lengths of the services — where there are frequent references to the choir and the music — describe an institution in which Sarum Use was practised, [16] for it was only in 1439 that the next King, Afonso V, sought of the Pope, and obtained, a Bull authorising a return to the Roman Rite as such. Outside court circles there was also limited influence on the Use of Braga, which took on the Sarum form of ceremony for the Deposition of Our Lord. [17]

It was also, no doubt, the connection between the Aviz dynasty in Portugal and the House of Lancaster in England that led King Afonso V in the 1450s to send the singer, and later chapelmaster, Álvaro Afonso to England to find out about the organisation of the English Chapel Royal. Unfortunately, we do not know to what extent his findings then influenced the functioning of the Portuguese Royal Chapel.

In 1549 Thomas Cranmer's Prayer Book replaced the books of the Sarum rite in England, and the Gregorian chants for the Mass were replaced by John Merbecke's chant settings for the Anglican Holy Communion, published the following year. Although there was a brief respite during the Catholic Queen Mary's reign, the Sarum rite was officially abolished in 1559, as the Protestant

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[15] "Des idade de xiiij annos em quanto viueu teue regra de rezar todas las oras canonicas, segundo costume jngres de Salesberry; ... Tynha muy ricamente ornamentada sua capela de muitas vestimentas e bõos coregimentos, segundo o costume de Salesbery, e servida conthinuadamente de muitos saçerdotes e cantores..." Fr. João Alvarez (ed. Mendes dos Remédios), *Chronica do Infante Santo D. Fernando*, Coimbra, F. França Amado1911, p. 8 (referring to *fol.* 3r). I am grateful to Jorge Filipe de Almeida for drawing my attention to this reference.

[16] Joseph M. Piel (ed.), *Leal Conselheiro o qual fez Dom Eduarte Rey de Portugal e do Algarve e Senhor de Cepta*, Lisbon, Livraria Bertrand, 1942, pp. 351-357. The chapters are "Capitullo LRVI Do rregimento que se deve teer na capeella pera seer bem regida" and "Capitullo LRVII Do tempo que se deteem nos oficios da capeella".

[17] I am grateful to Manuel Pedro Ferreira for this information and that in the following paragraph. See also Solange Corbin, *Essai sur la musique religieuse portugaise au moyen age (1100-1385)*, Société d'Édition «Les Belles Lettres», Paris, 1952, pp. 302, ff., and *La déposition liturgique du Christ du Vendredi Saint: sa place dans l'histoire des rites et du théâtre religieux (analyse de documents portugais)*, Paris, 1957.

Queen Elizabeth established her rule. From that point on, the wealth of Elizabethan church music that forms the core of the Anglican musical tradition to this day began to be composed.

The Seventeenth Century

It was the religious intolerance of the more extreme elements in the Church of England that led to the exit of many Catholic recusants, despite the threat of heavy fines, for greener pastures on the continent. Among musicians, the best-known are Peter Philips (1561-1628), who travelled widely and settled in what is now Belgium, and Richard Dering (1580-1630), who also worked in Belgium before returning to England in 1625 as organist to Queen Henrietta Maria, upon her marriage to Charles I.

Although nothing is known of his origins or how he came to be in Portugal, the composer Roberto Tornar (c. 1587-after 1624), who worked at the Ducal Palace of the Dukes of Braganza in Vila Viçosa, is thought to have been such a recusant. [18] With reference to the musical training of the future King João IV of Portugal, Francisco da Cruz in the *Bibliotheca Lusitana* informs us:

> His teacher was Roberto Tornar, an Englishman, whom his father, Duke D. Teodósio II, had hired for him and sent to Madrid to be taught. And because [Tornar] found that Philip II's Chapelmaster, Philippe Rogier, had just died, he remained there and studied with Rogier's disciple Géry de Ghersem instead, and also had lessons with Capitán, and after staying in Madrid for five years he came to Vila Viçosa, where he became master of the Ducal Chapel. [19]

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[18] See Michael Ryan, *Music in the Chapel of the Dukes of Bragança, Vila Viçosa, Portugal c. 1571-1640*, doctoral thesis, University of London, 2001, pp. 191-202.

[19] Translation from Rui Vieira Nery, *The Music Manuscripts in the Library of King D. João IV of Portugal (1604-1656): a study of Iberian music repertoire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, 2 vols., doctoral thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1990, p. 101; also cited in Ryan, op. cit., p. 193. Original text, here with modernised spelling and additional punctuation: "Teve por Mestre Roberto Tornar, Inglês, que lhe mandou vir Seu Pai, o Duque Dom Teodósio segundo do nome e 7° Duque, e ensinar a Madrid, e porque achou a Filipe Rogier, Mestre da Capela de Filipe 2°, morto, a quem ia remetido, ficou aprendendo com Géri de Ghersem, seu discípulo, e teve lições de Capitán, aprendidos em Madrid cinco anos veio a Vila Viçosa, onde foi Mestre da Capela Ducal." Cited in Rui Vieira Nery, *A Música no Ciclo da «Bibliotheca Lusitanta»*, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1984, p. 141. Philippe Rogier (c. 1561-1596) was Flemish by birth, as was Géry de Ghersem (c. 1573/5-1630). 'Capitán' was a kind of nickname given to the composer Matthieu Rosmarin (1575/6-1647), known in Spain as Mateus Romero, also of Flemish origin.

Though some of the details of this cannot be relied upon, it seems that Duke Teodósio II of Braganza, in the context of generous support for a number of recusants, sent the young musician for the best available 'local' training, namely at the Royal Chapel, Madrid. Tornar was certainly back in Vila Viçosa in 1608, composed Christmas *chançonetas* for use at the Ducal Palace in 1610 and was Chapelmaster there from 1616 to 1624. He also got married to one Caterina Lopes de Quintana in the Ducal Chapel on 2 February 1617. [20]

It seems that Tornar had great difficulty in motivating the future Duke of Braganza and King; indeed, all the evidence is that the latter had little respect for him. It is noticeable, for example, that neither as Duke nor as King did João ever sponsor the publication of any of his compositions, which he did for a number of other composers. [21] The only works of Tornar's to have survived are the four psalms, *De profundis*, *Beati omnes*, *Levavi oculos* and *Confitebor tibi*, all of which are to be found in two choirbooks preserved at the Ducal Palace Library, Vila Viçosa. [22] Of these, only *Beati omnes* has been published. [23]

More a curiosity than directly relevant, Francis Tregian (1548-1608), one of the most celebrated Catholic recusants, after some 30 years in prison, went into exile and came to live in Lisbon, where he joined the Jesuit community. Here he was known, as indeed he had always been, for his steadfast devotion and his charity — he gave away to the poor the pension Philip II of Spain had bestowed upon him. When he died, he was buried in the Church of São Roque, where to this day there is a stone slab carved in his memory. [24]

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[20] For this information, see Ryan, op.cit., particularly pp. 191-202.

[21] João Lourenço Rebelo and Frei Manuel Cardoso, to name the two most notable cases.

[22] Manuel Joaquim, in *Vinte livros de música polifónica do Paço Ducal de Vila Viçosa*, Lisbon, Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1953, catalogued them respectively as choirbooks 9 and 11; José Augusto Alegria, in *Biblioteca do Palácio Real de Vila Viçosa — Catálogo dos Fundos Musicais*, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1989, gives them the call marks A3 and A5, respectively.

[23] *Antologia de Polifonia Portuguesa 1490-1680* (transcriptions by Robert Stevenson, Luís Pereira Leal and Manuel Morais; introductory study by Robert Stevenson), Portugaliae Musica, XXXVII, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982; all four psalms are transcribed in Ryan, op.cit., Appendix 8.

[24] The stone is beneath the pulpit on the Epistle side of the church. There have been various modern biographies of Francis Tregian (senior), most notably Helen Trudgian, *Histoire d'une famille anglaise au XVIe siècle — Les Tregian*, doctoral thesis, Paris Sorbonne, 1934, cited (p. 138) in the excellent scholarly book by P. A. Boyan & G. R. Lamb, *Francis Tregian — Cornish Recusant*, London, Sheed & Ward, 1955; more recently, Raymond Francis Trudgian, *Francis Tregian 1548-1608*, Brighton, U.K./Portland, U. S., Alpha Press, 1998.

His son, also Francis, was, in due course, also imprisoned (as was another younger son, Charles). Among Francis junior's talents was music. As was usual, among the nobler prisoners, he was able to 'rent' a private room at the Fleet Prison, where he gathered a considerable library and whiled away the time in copying music. Three great manuscripts have come down to us in his hand, the best known of which is the so-called Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, by far the most substantial surviving collection of Elizabethan and Jacobean keyboard music, now housed in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge. [25] We may truthfully state that but for Francis Tregian senior's determined recusancy, which his whole family followed, we would not have any of his son's great musical manuscripts.

But returning to King João IV, a matter of central importance to music in the context of Anglo-Portuguese relations is the massive musical library that he assembled. His father had already considerably enriched the stock of music available for use in the Ducal Chapel, but this was nothing to what the 'Livraria' was to become in his own hands, for by the 1640s, it must certainly have been the most comprehensive music library in the Western World. On being made King, in 1640, João transferred it from Vila Viçosa to Lisbon and in 1649 published the first part of an *Index* of the works it contained: choirbooks and parts, printed music and manuscripts, sacred and profane, vocal and instrumental, and a number of theoretical treatises. [26] Alas, the entire library was lost in the earthquake that struck Lisbon on 1 November 1755, or rather in the fire that ensued. However, from the two copies of the *Index* that have survived, we know a substantial part of what the library had contained. In general

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[25] With the call-mark Mus.32.G.29/Mu.MS.168, publ. J. A. Fuller Maitland, & W. Barclay Squire (eds.), Breitkopf & Härtel, London & Leipzig, 1894-99, republ. with corrections and preface by Blanche Winogron, New York, Dover Publications Inc., 1979-80. The other two manuscripts, British Library, Egerton 3665, and New York Public Library, Drexel 4302, contain mostly vocal music both sacred and profane. The entry 'Tregian, Francis' by Thurston Dart/Richard Marlow in *The New Grove* (see General Reference Works, below), Vol.19, gives further details of these manuscripts, further biographical information on Francis Tregian (junior) and a bibliography.

[26] *Primeira Parte do Index da Livraria do Muyto Alto, e Poderoso Rey Dom IOÃO o IV. Nosso Senhor*, Lisbon, Paulo Craesbeck, 1649. One copy has survived at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the other was formerly at Alcobaça Monastery and is now housed in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. The Alcobaça copy was published in facsimile edition as *Livraria de Música de El-Rei D. João IV: estudo musical, histórico e bibliográfico*, ed. Mário de Sampaio Ribeiro, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1967, 2 vols. The second volume discusses the contents of the first six of the forty bookcases whose volumes the *Index* describes.

terms, it makes staggering reading, but of particular interest here are the considerable holdings of English music.

It would be true to say that the Livraria contained a comprehensive collection of English printed music from the second half of Queen Elizabeth I's reign and that of King James. There were volumes of madrigals by many composers, such as Thomas Morley (c. 1558-1602), John Wilbye (1574-1638), Thomas Weelkes (1576-1623), Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625), Michael East (c. 1580-1648), John Farmer (*fl.* 1591-1601), Francis Pilkington (c. 1570-1638) and John Bennet (*fl.* 1599-1614), not to mention such important collections as *The Triumphes of Oriana* (London, 1601); airs by John Dowland (1563-1626), Thomas Campian (1567--1620) and Tobias Hume (c. 1569-1645); and consort music by Anthony Holborne (*fl.* c. 1584-1602), as well as manuscripts of instrumental music by Orlando Gibbons and John Coprario (c. 1575-1626), one of the two by Coprario being autograph.

It is noticeable that almost all the sacred music listed by English composers is by recusant Catholics, though there could have been more Anglican music in the part of the library destined for Part 2 of the *Index*, which was never printed. King João possessed all of the sacred music publications by William Byrd (1543-1623), including the *Cantiones quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* of 1575, composed jointly with Thomas Tallis (c. 1505-1585); and also those of the composers who fled to the continent: Richard Dering and particularly Peter Philips, the works of the latter two being printed in Antwerp. In the case of Philips, the library had all his printed Italian madrigal editions and all his printed volumes of sacred music in its holdings, including a Mass and Psalms, and a posthumous volume of motets — no copy of either of these has survived to the present day.

Reference should also be made to an English book on musical pedagogy included in the *Index*, namely Thomas Robinson's *The Schoole of Musicke* (London, 1603), a milestone in the teaching of lute technique. A manuscript by King João's music librarian João Álvares Frouvo, entitled *Scriptores de Musica*, evidently postdating the publication of the *Index*, indicates that the 'Livraria' also possessed Thomas Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597) and *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Song*, by the Irish-born (and therefore, at that time, an English subject) William Bathe (1564-1614).[27] Bathe was

[27] Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, Cod. 6958, respectively ff. 89r and 88r, cited in Nery (1990), op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 289-90 .

briefly the Principal of the Irish College in Lisbon (the so-called 'Colégio dos Inglesinhos'), from 1604 to 1606, when he settled in Salamanca. [28]

During the reign of King João IV two musical incidents took place that should be recounted here, one involving an English lutenist in Portugal, the other the Portuguese Ambassador in England.

The first concerns a certain Richard Flecknoe (?-c. 1678), poet, lutenist and composer, who, upon arriving by boat at Cascais, was immediately seized by the authorities on suspicion of being a spy. When it became apparent that he played the lute, he was sent straight away to an English gentleman's house for accommodation and soon summoned by the King. As he himself tells us:

> And now behold me (my Lord) safely arrived in Portugal at Cascais, some twelve English miles from Lisbon, where the Governour (besides the ordinary vice of that Nation, the foolisher the wiser they pretend to be) would needs play the States men, and be wiser than the Truth, in suspecting me for some Spie, or else come thither upon some great design, and so presently he sent me to Lisbon with a Souldier along with me, with express order not to leave me till he had delivered me to the Secretary of State, who being altogether as great a Politician as my Governour, made great defficulty of my stay in the Country, till spying my Lute, the suspition I was a Musician, as "clavis clavem pellit" [29], soon drove out of his head the suspition that I was a Spy: so lodging me by way of caution in an English Gentlemans house, a great Confident of the Kings, till he might inform his Majestie of me (who being an excellent Musician, was covetous of knowing all Strangers of that profession). He no sooner understood of my arrival, but he sent for me to Court and was so well satisfied with me, as continuing my lodging in Mr Muley's the same English gentlemans house, than which the whole Town afforded not more noble accomodation. The next day he sent for me again, where after some 2 or 3 hours tryal of my skill, (especially in the composative parte of musick, in which his Majesty chiefley exceeded) I past Court Doctor. [30]

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[28] See *The New Grove*, op. cit., Vol. 2, entry William Bathe.

[29] literally "the key forces out the key", i.e., in this context, "one suspicion drives out another".

[30] Richard Flecknoe, *A relation of ten years travels in Europe, Asia, Affrique, and America*, London, 1654, Letter XIX, p. 50. Cited in Mário de Sampayo

Two comments need to be made about this quotation. In the first place, we should not wonder that the first reaction to Flecknoe was to suspect him of being a spy. The Portuguese in the years following the Restoration were ever fearful of invasion from Spain, and all unknown foreigners were suspect. Secondly, we should have no illusions as to the King's objectives in summoning this foreign lutenist — not so much to satisfy his curiosity as to show off his own musical wealth, namely his own skill, his chapel and his library.

We should understand in a similar light, though in a different cultural and political context, a corresponding English desire for musical ostentation. The peace treaty of 1642 signed between João IV and the English crown was under severe strain, following the execution of Charles I by Oliver Cromwell in 1649 and the Portuguese king's subsequent sheltering of Charles' cousin, Prince Rupert, and his fleet in Lisbon. Having eventually succeeded in getting Rupert to leave Portuguese territory, João was anxious to regain the support of the English government, now in the hands of Cromwell and the 'Commonwealth'. In the course of the negotiations in London, the English entertained the Portuguese ambassador, João Rodrigues de Sá Menezes, Count of Penaguião, with the masque *Cupid and Death*, newly composed by Christopher Gibbons (1615-76), possibly in conjunction with Matthew Locke (1622-77), which was performed on 26 March 1653. [31] The negotiations were protracted, the English demands being considerable, and the new treaty was only signed on 10 June 1654.

With the death of Cromwell and the restoration of the English monarchy in 1660, Charles II became King. It was as the result of another treaty, ratified on 23 June 1661, that King João's daughter, Catherine of Braganza married the English King. Setting sail from Lisbon on 25 April 1662, she reached Portsmouth on 13th May, where she was married to the King in a private ceremony, with the Roman Catholic rite on 21st, before a public Anglican marriage the following day, with the Bishop of London presiding. Throughout her stay in England, in accordance with

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Ribeiro's introductory essay to: El-Rei D. João IV, *Defensa de la Musica Moderna Contra la Errada Opinion del Obispo Cyrilo Franco*, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 1965; p. XXXVIII; and in Nery (1990), op.cit. Vol. I, pp. 173-74.

[31] The surviving manuscript, British Library Additional MS. 17,799, relates to a new production in 1659 with revisions by Locke. It is unclear whether Locke was involved only in the revised version or also in the music for the original production.

the treaty provisions, she maintained a Catholic chapel, at first at the Palace of St. James and later at Somerset House.

Catherine brought with her a number of singers and instrumentalists from Lisbon in her retinue. [32] As soon as 9 June, John Evelyn heard a Portuguese ensemble at Hampton Court, which he described as "Pipes, harps and very ill voices". [33] Samuel Pepys records his first visit to the Chapel at St. James's Palace on 21 September the same year in the following terms:

> [I] saw the fine altar, ornaments, and the fryers in their habits, and the priests come in with their fine crosses and many other fine things. I heard their musique too; which may be good, but it did not appear so to me, neither as to their manner of singing, nor was it good concord to my ears, whatever the matter was. [34]

The combination of the two accounts tells us a good deal. What Catherine brought with her was the practice she had grown up with — a small choir with accompaniment on the harp and double-reed woodwinds, particularly the *fagotilho* and *baixão* (dulcian), somewhat raucous instruments similar to the modern bassoon. Evelyn was completely dismissive of this sound, which must indeed have sounded strange to English ears. Pepys, while confessing it didn't sound good to him, admitted that the problem might reside in his perception rather than in the music. As we shall continue to see, Pepys was to remain open-minded, though his tolerance was at times strained.

At quite what point the Queen's Chapel acquired Italian singers is unclear, but it may have been in the aftermath of Thomas Killigrew's unsuccessful attempt to introduce Italian opera in around 1664. After Pepys had visited the Chapel again on 2 April 1666, he admitted, "I do not so dislike the music". [35] Returning again on 15th of that month, he compared the music favourably with that at the King's Chapel in Whitehall:

> Walked in the Park to the Queene's chapel, and there heard a good deal of their mass, and some of their

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[32] See Peter Leech, "Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza, 1662-92", in *Early Music*, Vol. XXIX/4, November 2001, pp. 570-587. This excellent article for the first time supports an assessment of Queen Catherine's chapels on the basis of documental evidence.

[33] Leech, *op. cit.*, p. 573, citing *The diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E.S. de Beer, Oxford, 1955, vol. III, p. 322.

[34] Richard, Lord Braybrooke (ed.), *Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, F. R. S. etc.*, 4 vols., London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1890, vol. I, p. 356.

[35] *id.*, vol. II, p. 306.

> musique, which is not so contemptible, I think, as our people would make it, it pleasing me very well; and, indeed, better than the anthem I heard afterwards at White Hall, at my coming back. [36]

In April 1667 Pepys makes specific reference to the Italian musicians there. Following a walk in the park on 7th he "heard the Italian musick at the Queen's chapel, whose composition is fine, but yet the voice of eunuchs I do not like." The 'eunuchs' were, of course, *castrati*. Peter Leech is of the opinion that one of the Portuguese musicians, Timotheo de Faria, consistently described in documents as "*al[ia]s tiple*" (treble) is likely to have been a *castrato*, [37] but this is most improbable — there was no tradition of *castrati* in Portugal until their introduction into the Royal Chapel by King João V, some 50 years later. More likely, since Faria came to England still in his teens, is that at that time his voice had not yet broken and *tiple* was a nickname left over from those times when he was naturally a treble. In his final entry regarding the Queen's Chapel on 27 September 1668 Pepys was unambiguous in stating that he "there heard some good singing". [38]

Probably upon Catherine's marriage and certainly by the following year, 1663, Matthew Locke was appointed organist to the Queen's Chapel. He no doubt played the new organ that Pepys heard in January 1667. Pepys didn't like it and described its sound, when doubled by a virginal as a "bauble". [39] Locke was still organist when Catherine's Chapel moved to Somerset House in 1671. Two years later, the Italian Giovanni Battista Draghi (c. 1640-1708) was also appointed organist. Though it is generally stated that Draghi was appointed over Locke's head, Leech finds there is no actual documentary confirmation of this — on the contrary, Locke is consistently described in Chapel records as "our organist", a term applied to Draghi only after Locke's death in 1677. [40] Unclear too is exactly which if any of Locke's surviving sacred works, including those in a clearly italianate style, were intended for the Queen's Chapel. [41]

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[36] *id.*, vol. II, pp. 309-10.
[37] Leech, *op. cit.*, p. 583.
[38] *Diary*, vol. IV, p. 14.
[39] Entry for 23 January 1667 in *Diary*, vol. III, p. 11.
[40] Leech, *op. cit.*, p. 581.
[41] The arguments are best set forth in Peter Le Huray's Introduction to *Musica Britannica XXXVIII, Matthew Locke: Anthems and motets*, London, Stainer & Bell, 1976; also the notes by Peter Holman with the CD *Matthew Locke: Anthems, Motets and Ceremonial Music*, Choir of New College Oxford/The Parley of Instruments/Edward Higginhottom, Hyperion, 1990, CDA66373.

Locke was not the only Englishman in Queen Catherine's Chapel. Though a number of adults are recorded from the late 1660s onwards, it was particularly the boys that were English. These boys, though not great in number, seem to have taken a very full part in the life of the Chapel, living and eating in adjoining accommodation and receiving their musical training there — much the same conditions of service as those of the boys in the Chapel Royal. [42]

Following Charles II's death in 1685, Queen Catherine remained in England and maintained her Chapel at Somerset House, returning to Portugal only in 1692. A number of musicians are likely to have travelled with her and formed the nucleus of the choir in the Palace of Bempostinha, where she established her residence in Lisbon. The fact that five of them — Timotheo de Faria and four Englishmen — were named as beneficiaries in her will of 1699 suggests they were still in her service at that time. [43]

According to Catherine's entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "The first Italian opera performed in England was acted in her presence. She was fond of masques and plays were constantly performed before her." However, the source cited, *Calendar of State Papers*, 1666, Vol. CLXXIX, p. 305, only partially supports this statement. The document to which it refers — an order of payment to Thomas Killigrew — simply mentions that it was in settlement of "severall plays acted before his Majesty and Royall Consort y [the] Queen". [44] Though, as we saw above, Killigrew was responsible for the first attempt to introduce Italian opera in England, there is no mention of this occurrence here; nor can we assume that the Queen enjoyed the performances she attended — though as the highly cultured lady she was, she may well have done — for she was evidently present in the call of duty, to accompany the King.

Before we leave the seventeenth century, mention should just be made of an English instrument, by an unknown maker, that has found its way to the collection of the Lisbon Music Museum — a bandora. [45] The bandora, a low-pitched plucked string instrument, was widely used in consort music and to accompany

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[42] Leech, *op.cit.*, pp. 583-84.

[43] *id.*, p. 585.

[44] London, Public Record Office: Signet Office — Docquets — SP38/23, p. 51, dated November 1666. I am grateful to Juliet Perkins for tracing this document for me and sending me a transcript.

[45] Inv.° MM 257. My thanks to the Lisbon Music Museum for providing me with a comprehensive list of the English instruments in their collection.

solo songs, in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, but by the end of the seventeenth century its used had died out.

The Eighteenth Century

On 3 December 1712 a 15th-century parchment manuscript was sold in Venice for 250 *lire*.[46] The manuscript in question, copied probably in Ferrara around 1465, is made up of two halves. The first half (ff. 1r-50v) consists of two musical treatises, the second (ff. 51v-79r) a series of nineteen polyphonic songs, eight of which are by Guillaume Dufay (*c.* 1400-1474), the greatest master of this period, and seven of which are by English composers of the mid 15th century: John Bedyngham, Robertus de Anglia and Galfridus de Anglia. At some point in the 18th century, possibly as a direct result of the 1712 purchase, this manuscript was acquired by the Monastery of Santa Cruz, Coimbra, at that time a thriving centre of musical activity. Following the dissolution of the Portuguese monasteries and the expropriation of their contents in 1834, it became part of the holdings of the Biblioteca Municipal do Porto. The manuscript is regarded as one of the most important sources of secular 15th-century polyphony, particularly for English music, both because it is the unique source for several of the works it contains and because, from those for which there are further sources, it is clear that its readings are particularly good. It has recently become available to the general public in facsimile edition, with an introductory essay by Manuel Pedro Ferreira.[47]

For a period of about 50 years, from the 1680s to the 1720s the dance ground 'La folia' gained a certain popularity in England. The earliest written references to the dance are of Portuguese origin in the first quarter of the 16th century, notably in a number of Gil Vicente's plays.[48] It then appears in Spanish sources in the second half of the 16th century and Italian early in the 17th. In England it is first documented in 1682 as the music for "The King's Health", a political text by Thomas d'Urfey (1653-1723). Three years later, in London, John Playford published a set of violin variations based on it by the French composer Michel Farinel (1649-?), as a result of which the

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[46] Biblioteca Municipal, Porto, Ms. 714, indication on the inside of the back cover.

[47] Manuel Pedro Ferreira (ed.), *Porto 714: Um Manuscrito Precioso*, Porto, Campo das Letras/Porto 2001 Capital Europeia da Cultura, 2001.

[48] See José Sasportes, *História da Dança em Portugal*, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1970, especially pp. 67, 71, 88, 92 and 95.

ground was known in England as 'Farinel's Ground'. D'Urfey republished "The King's Health" in the six-volume collection *Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Melancholy*, London, 1719-20. This was the source that John Gay (1685-1732) used when he selected it for inclusion in his phenomenally successful *The Beggar's Opera* (1728). It appears here in truncated form as Air LXIII, with the title "Joy to great Caesar", but with the rather baser text "If thus — A man can die / Much bolder with brandy."! [49]

In the 1760s London, for the first time, witnessed an opera linked to a Portuguese historical theme: *The Captive*, a ballad opera with a libretto by Isaac Bickerstaffe, based on an episode from John Dryden's play *Don Sebastian*. First performed at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket on 21 June 1769 and subsequently given at the Crow Street Theatre, Dublin, in 1772, it was musically a pastiche. There were five new numbers by Charles Dibdin (1745-1814), the remaining ones being borrowed from earlier works, by Dibdin (once again), [Baldassare] Galuppi (1706-85), [Gioacchino] Cocchi (1715-1804), [?Leonardo] [50] Vinci (?1696-1730), [Vincenzo] Ciampi (1719-62), [Davide] Perez (1711-78, *maestro di cappella* at that time at the Lisbon court), [Mattia] Vento (1735-76) and [Egidio] Duni (1709-75). Though the work has received attention from a literary point of view, it has yet to be examined thoroughly from a musical perspective. [51]

Also in the 1760s particular mention must be made of Pedro António Avondano (1714-82) and his association with the English colony in Lisbon. Avondano, a Portuguese violinist of Italian extraction in the Lisbon Court Orchestra, after hosting a number of concerts in his own home, initiated the first known public concerts in Lisbon, at the Assembleia das Nações Estrangeiras. [52]

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[49] *The Beggar's Opera by John Gay* (facsimile edition, with commentaries by Louis Kronenberger and Max Goberman), Larchmont (New York), Argonaut Books, 1961. The song appears on p. 43 of the music section, with relevant references on pp. XXV and LII.

[50] The printed libretto, published in London in 1769, gives no first names for the composers. That an aria by Leonardo Vinci should still have been in the repertoire as late as 1769 is, to say the least, surprising, but assuming that the attribution is correct, there is no other Vinci who could have been involved. Both Cocchi and Vento were working in London at the time *The Captive* was staged.

[51] See M. Zulmira Macedo Leal, "Isaac Bickerstaffe e Frederick Reynolds, Adaptadores de Dryden" in Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa (ed.), *D. Sebastião na Literatura Inglesa*, Lisbon, Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1985. Peter A. Tasch, *The dramatic cobbler — the life and work of Isaac Bickerstaff*, Lewisburg, Bucknell University Press, 1971, pp. 185-87, provides some useful information on the music, probably drawn from the printed libretto.

[52] See Manuel Carlos de Brito, "Concertos em Lisboa e no Porto nos finais do século XVIII" in *Estudos de História da Música em Portugal*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1989, p. 171.

The Assembleia was particularly associated with the English colony, and Richard Twiss, visiting it in 1772, spoke of two long-rooms where the English would meet twice a week for dancing and cards. Avondano's close connection with the English is borne out by the fact that, though he never set foot in England, four of his works were published in London between 1761 and 1770, apparently at the cost of the English colony in Lisbon: *A Second Sett of Twenty-Two Lisbon Minuets* (1761), *A Collection of Lisbon Minuets* (1766), *Eighteen entire new Lisbon Minuets* [1770?], and *A Favourite Lesson* [for harpsichord] (1770).

Just as Flecknoe's tale of being taken for a spy and ending up playing the lute before the King provides us with a revealing musical anecdote with regard to King João IV, Twiss's *Travels* [53] are a priceless source of information on musical life in Portugal in the early 1770s. Indeed, his book marks the beginning of regular insights into musical life that are to be gained from reading the accounts of visitors. [54] In late 1772 he attended a performance of Jommelli's *Ezio* at the Teatro da Ajuda. He describes the theatre and the total silence on the part of the audience throughout the performance. All performers being men, he was greatly shocked by the dancing between the acts, in which the women's roles were played by "men with great black beards and broad shoulders, dressed in female apparel". [55]

We saw above, with *The Captive*, that though Davide Perez was court chapelmaster at Lisbon, his music was known in London. This ties in with a comment Twiss makes at the end of an account of an event he attended at the Church of São Roque on 26 November 1772. The performance, of music once again by Jommelli, lasted three hours and was to mark St. Cecilia's Day.

> ... the band was placed as follows:
>
> The organ over the church door; and in the organ gallery were ten eunuchs from the King's chapel: on one

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[53] Richard Twiss, *Travels through Portugal and Spain, in 1772 and 1773*, London, G. Robinson, etc., 1775.

[54] Rui Vieira Nery is nearing completion of an exhaustive compendium of musical references from travel books. When it is published, it would be important to make a proper assessment of the role of English travellers in giving us a picture of Portuguese musical life. In this article I have restricted myself to quoting some of the most directly relevant works that have come to my attention.

[55] The account is to be found on pp. 10-12. See Manuel Carlos de Brito, *Opera in Portugal in the eighteenth century*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989, p. 51, and footnote 127 on p. 212, for the context of the performance and the value of Twiss's description. Twiss gives the date of the performance as 17 November, which Brito properly calls into question.

> side were sixteen violins, six basses [i.e. 'cellos], three double basses, four tenors [i.e. violas], two hautboys [oboes], a French horn, and a trumpet; and underneath them, about sixty voices for the chorusses; and, on the other side, were the same number of vocal and instrumental performers... The whole concert was under the direction of the celebrated Mr. David Perez; some of whose compositions have been lately published in London. [56]

Indeed arias from some of Perez's operas, namely *Didone abbandonata*, *Ezio* and *Farnace*, as well as an overture, had been published in London in the 1750s and 60s. [57]

Twiss's passing references to a number of other musicians are also of interest. Among amateur musicians he mentions a "Mr. May, a merchant, whose wife was a talented harpsichordist." [58] He also tells of hearing the Portuguese António Rodil (?-1787), whom he mistakenly describes as Spanish, and "whose skill on the German [i.e. transverse] flute and hautboy is well known in London." [59] Rodil became a member of the Lisbon musicians' guild, the Irmandade de Santa Cecília, in 1766 and played in the orchestra of the Teatro da Rua dos Condes, but nothing is known of his stay in London. Twiss also heard "a Portuguese young lady's performance on the musical glasses, which were empty, but her fingers were occasionally dipped in water". [60]

To his musical references to the musical life of Lisbon we must add what he tells us of his visit to Mafra. As well as mentioning the six organs and two carillons of the Basilica, he describes in fascinating detail the dancing of the landlord and lady of the inn where he was staying.

> I was agreeably entertained with seeing my landlord and landlady dance the *fandango*, to the music of the guitar. [61] The person who played on it struck merely a few

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[56] Twiss, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[57] All of these items are to be found in the British Library.

[58] *id.*, *ibid.*

[59] *id.*, p. 10. In the eighteenth century, unlike nowadays, it was entirely usual for flautists and oboists to be one and the same individuals. Many operas, for example, have some numbers that require flutes and others oboes, but never together, since both instruments were played by the same musicians.

[60] *id.*, *ibid.*

[61] At this period, he would have been referring either to the French guitar or some other local type of *viola*, not the modern Spanish or Portuguese guitar.

chords in triple time, and beat time with the same hand on the belly of the instrument. [62]

continuing

But to return to the fandango. Every part of the body is in motion and is thrown into all postures, frequently into very indecent ones. Stamping the time with the feet, and playing all the while with the *castañetas*, which are a kind of small shells of ivory, or hard wood, of which two are rattled together in each hand. When they have not these instruments, they snap with their fingers and thumbs. The dancers approach, turn, retire, and approach again; the man with his hat on. I afterwards saw this dance to greater perfection on the stage, to the music of the whole orchestra. It seems the tune is always identically the same. When those dancers were tired, and in a profuse sweat with the violence of the exercise, their place was immediately supplied by another couple, as the room was by this time filled with most of the decent people of the village, who having danced in their turns, I discharged the musician. [63]

It was in the 1780s that the Portuguese salon songs known as *modinhas* first appeared in Lisbon. Probably of Brazilian origin, but ultimately the result of the constant interchange between Portugal and its Brazilian colony, they were composed for one or two voices over an accompaniment played on a keyboard (fortepiano or harpsichord) or guitar (French or English, of which more below). Often sensuous in both their words and music, English visitors to Portugal were entranced by them, none more so than William Beckford. Describing them as "an original sort of music different from any I ever heard, the most voluptuous imaginable, the best calculated to throw saints off their guard and inspire profane deliriums", such was his attachment that he confessed "I am a slave to modinhas, and when I think of them I cannot endure the idea of quitting Portugal." [64] Among other English visitors to make mention of *modinhas* were Walter Henry (1808), Richard Barnard Fisher (1811), John Milford (1816), A. P.

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[62] *id.*, p. 17.

[63] *id.*, p. 18.

[64] From Beckford's *Journal*, cited in Rui Vieira Nery's preface to Manuel Morais (ed.), *Modinhas, Lunduns e Cançonetas*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2000.

D. G. (1826) and William Morgan Kinsey (1829). [65] Both A. P. D. G. and Milford went so far as to print musical examples. *Cruel saudade* by Manuel José Vidigal (*fl.* 1794-1824), reproduced by A. P. D. G., has been published in modern edition, [66] the examples in Milford's book are reproduced here in facsimile (pages 89 to 95).

As was mentioned in the previous paragraph, one of the principal instruments used to accompany *modinhas* was the English guitar. This instrument, which developed from the cittern around 1750 was extremely popular in England from then till early in the 19th century. It is characterised by having 10 strings, 2 single and 4 double, a pair-shaped body with a flat back and, from about 1760, a tuning system involving the so-called 'watch-key' mechanism rather than pegs. Such was its popularity that a good many instruments were imported by the English colony in Oporto. Thus when the Oporto guitarist and composer António da Silva Leite (1759-1833) published his guitar method *Estudo de Guitarra*, in 1795, reprinted the following year, it was to the English guitar that he was referring. That Silva Leite should have found it necessary to write this method is indicative of how popular the instrument had already become among the Portuguese too. Indeed a number of local makers turned to producing English guitars. The Museu de Música, Lisbon, possesses English guitars of Portuguese origin made by Domingos José de Araújo (Braga 1806 and 1812) and Henrique Rofino Ferro (Lisbon, 1st half of 19th century); the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, possesses instruments by João Vieira da Silva (Lisbon, c. 1780) and again by Henrique Rofino Ferro (Lisbon, c. 1850). [67] It was from the English guitar that the 12-stringed Portuguese guitar developed in the mid 19th century, so familiar nowadays because of its use in accompanying *fado*.

At this point reference should be made to three other eighteenth-century Portuguese instruments that have found their way to England. The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, also possesses a small positive organ dating from around 1700. It comes from the Igreja de São Salvador, Santa Cruz, Madeira, and was presented to the Museum in 1886 by a Dr. Grantham of Madeira. It has 45 notes (four octaves C-c'', with short octave at

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[65] All but Milford are cited in Nery's preface, *op. cit.*; John Milford (jun.), *Peninsular sketches during a recent tour*, London, 1816.

[66] Morais, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-19.

[67] The instruments in the Victoria and Albert Museum are incorrectly identified as Portuguese guitars.

the bottom) and three stops, but is not in working order. According to Gerhard Doderer, [68] there are two eighteenth-century keyboard instruments in England that were built by the Antunes family. The Finchcocks Museum possesses a harpsichord by Joaquim José Antunes, dated Lisbon 1785. To judge by the Antunes harpsichord at the Museu de Música, Lisbon, this must be a very precious instrument indeed. In private hands is an undated fortepiano, possibly by Manuel Antunes.

Conversely, a number of eighteenth-century English instruments are now in the Lisbon Music Museum, namely a bass viol, made by Barak Norman (dated 1711), and two other viols (one dated 1743, the other undated), two 'cellos, made by John Hare (dated 1722) and Henry Lockey Hill (late 18th century), a harpsichord (dated 1785) built by Longman and Broderip, a harp, by J. A. Strumpff, and a number of early pianos, of various kinds. [69]

The Napoleonic Period

The upheavals of the Napoleonic period, in general, and, in particular, the British involvement in Portugal during the Peninsular Wars and their aftermath had significant and sometimes surprising consequences in musical terms.

For example, the normally close relations between Portugal and Italy with regard to opera were temporarily strained. During the first decade of the nineteenth century, as Napoleon increased his grip on most of the continent of Europe, a significant number of Italian singers in Lisbon did not wish to return to Italy but chose instead to accept contracts in London. Thus the great artists Angelica Catalani (1780-1849) and Giuseppe Naldi (1770-1820) moved to the King's Theatre, London, following the Carnival season of 1806. This had significant repercussions in terms of repertoire, for each of them sang in London operas that had been written for them in Lisbon. Madame Catalani, in particular, championed the operas composed for her by Marcos Portugal (1762-1830). Of the four that she introduced to the London

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[68] Gerhard Doderer (ed.), *Libro di Tocate Per Cembalo — Domenico Scarlatti*, facsimile edition, Lisbon, Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1991, pp. 39-40.

[69] Respectively, Inv.° MM 4, 5 and 2, 38 and 39, 371, 211, and, for example, the pianos 448 (Broadwood, grand), 455 (Gunther and Horwood, square), 461 (Johannes Pohlmann, square, dated 1770). The Hare cello belonged at one time to King Luís, the Henry Lockey Hill to Guilhermina Suggia.

stage, *La morte di Semiramide*, with which she gave her debut at the King's Theatre, on 13 December, 1806, was by far the most successful, not only in terms of the number of performances she gave but because it led to the printing in London of a substantial number of arias from the opera [70] and various engravings of the singer in the role of Semiramide. [71]

At Carnival 1809, following the ousting of the first French invasion of Portugal, there was a second major wave of Italian musicians moving to London, including virtually all of the opera singers — Dorotea Bussani, Luigia Calderini, Angiola Bianchi, Diomiro Tramezzani and Prospero Pedrazzi — and also the composer Pietro Carlo Guglielmi (1763-1817). To them was added the theatre's poet, Giuseppe Caravita, some time the following year. It is probable that three operas, two by Portugal, one by Valentino Fioravanti (1764-1837), all composed in Lisbon to libretti by Caravita, and now in the Parry Library at London's Royal College of Music, were brought to London by the librettist.

In late 1812, as Napoleon's power began to wane, there was a corresponding move from London to Lisbon. This involved the composer Felice Radicati (1775-1820) and his wife, the soprano, Teresa Bertinotti (1776-1854), and probably (though possibly later) Carlo and Angiolina Cauvini, Giuseppe Bertini and Giuseppa Collini, with whom she had been working at London's Pantheon. Like Catalani and Naldi, they brought scores with them from London to Lisbon, and later on to Oporto. Among the works that reached Portugal in this way was Mozart's *Così fan tutte*, performed at the Teatro de São João, Oporto, around 1815, and very probably at some time before that at the Teatro de São Carlos, Lisbon. [72]

Another phenomenon was the music, of various kinds, that resulted more directly from the Peninsular War and the British military involvement in it. In the first place, in the months after the French were removed from the Portuguese capital, following the signing of the Treaty of Sintra on 30 August 1808, a number of

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[70] The British Library possesses nine items.

[71] As well as at least two where this is explicit, there are others in which she is portrayed with the coronet that she wore in this role.

[72] The phenomenon of operatic interchange between England and Portugal at this time is described at length in David Cranmer, "Operatic relations between Portugal and London during the Napoleonic period" in *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, Vol. 10, Lisbon, Associação Portuguesa de Ciências Musicais, 2000, pp. 11-30, and "Relações operáticas entre Portugal e Inglaterra durante o período napoleónico" (I Congresso Internacional de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, Lisbon, May 2001), to be published in the proceedings.

celebratory theatrical works were composed and performed in the various Lisbon theatres. João José Baldi (1770-1816) composed music for a *Drama* entitled *À Feliz Restauração de Portugal [To the Happy Restoration of Portugal]*, performed at the Teatro da Rua dos Condes on 2 and 3 October. [73] Also in 1808 there were performances of an allegorical '*drama heroico*' by Miguel António de Barros, among whose characters feature not only "O Génio de Portugal" [The Spirit of Portugal] and "O Nume Tutelar de Hespanha" [The protective god of Spain] but also "O Nume Tutelar de Inglaterra" [The protective god of England]. [74] Although we do not know the composer of the music in 1808, at the Palácio Ducal, Vila Viçosa, there is an autograph manuscript score of this work by the Brazilian composer Father José Maurício Nunes de Garcia (1767-1830), dated 1809, composed to celebrate the Portuguese Prince Regent João's name day on 24 June. [75] It seems certain that this was composed in Rio de Janeiro.

In many respects, the most interesting of these celebratory works was one entitled simply "Cantata" and performed at the Teatro de São Carlos to celebrate Queen Maria I's birthday on 17 December 1808. Once again it was an allegorical drama, the text being by Giuseppe Caravita, the music by Pietro Carlo Guglielmi. The importance of the British presence on this occasion is once again apparent, not only because one of the characters is the "Genio Britannico" [British spirit] but in that the libretto was trilingual. The text was printed not only in Italian (the language of performance) and Portuguese translation, as was the usual practice, but, uniquely in the theatre's history, also in English. [76]

Besides these works there were others that celebrated or described the battles and sieges of the War itself. Once again at the Palácio Ducal, Vila Viçosa, there is music manuscript material of a march for chorus and orchestra entitled *A Defeza de Saragoça*. As well as an autograph score, there is the prompter's copy which ascribes the work to Fortunato Mazzioti (*fl.* early 19th century) and gives a date of 1812. [77] Presumably recalling one of the two sieges of Saragossa (1808-09), this chorus may have

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[73] The *argomento* published is to be found in the Jorge de Faria collection at the Faculdade de Letras, Coimbra, and at the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon.

[74] Libretto at the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon (Fundo do Teatro de São Carlos)

[75] MS. N.° G prática 13.

[76] Libretto in the Jorge de Faria collection at the Faculdade de Letras, Coimbra, and at the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon.

[77] MS. N.° G prática 84a.

formed part of a dramatic cantata or have been inserted in some other musical form.

In addition, there were a number of battle ballets performed at the Teatro de São Carlos, particularly between 1809 and 1811. Among these were *A batalha do Vimeiro* [*The battle of Vimeiro*] (1809, repeated in 1815, though probably with different choreography), *A restauração do Porto ou Um dos triunfos do herói Wellesley* [*The restoration of Oporto or One of the hero Wellesley's triumphs*], *Os patriotas de Aragão ou O triunfo de Palafox* [*The patriots of Aragon or Palafox's triumph*] and *O 1° triunfo da Espanha ou o rendimento de Dupont* [*Spain's 1st triumph or the surrender of Dupont*] (all 1810), and *A defesa da ponte de Amarante por Silveira* [*The defence of the bridge at Amarante by Silveira*] (1811).

A printed edition survives of a piano piece by António José do Rego (?-after 1837) entitled *A Batalha do Buçaco* [*The battle of Bussaco*]. In this multi-sectional work, each section describes a different phase in the battle. At regular points text is inserted in the score, giving a kind of running commentary of the battle, indicating the various incidents to which the music corresponds. [78]

A striking figure from the Age of Napoleon, yet very much a man of his time was the pianist and composer João Domingos Bomtempo (1775-1842). Politically a Liberal, for which he was to suffer in the aftermath of the Vilafrancada (1823), and particularly during the repressive years of King Miguel's usurpation of the crown (1828-33), he turned his back on his Italian ancestry (his Italian father was oboist in the court orchestra) and the Portuguese obsession with Italian opera, as the be-all-and-end-all of successful musical activity, to become a pianist and to study in France. As well as the considerable time he spent in France (1801-10 and briefly in 1820), he also spent a number of years in London (1810-11 and 1816-20). The influence of his London years was critical to his development, for it was in the English capital that he found the model for the Philharmonic Society and concerts that he established in the 1820s upon his return to Lisbon.

It was also in London that Bomtempo published most of his works, including the "March of Lord Wellington", an arrangement for piano duet of part of his *Hino Lusitano* (Op. 10), also published

[78] The apparently unique copy, formerly belonging to José Blanc de Portugal, was acquired by the Centro de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, following the auction of his library.

as *La virtù trionfante*, a work in the celebratory cantata tradition we saw above. The monthly London-based Portuguese periodical, *O Investigador Portuguez em Inglaterra*, dedicated a substantial article to the composer in the May 1813 edition. Entitled "Catalogo das Obras do insigne professor Bomtempo publicadas em Londres", it lists the works he had published there up to that time and includes reviews of various of his concerts given in Paris and in London. [79] Although Bomtempo's activity as performer in Paris has more recently been the object of a more comprehensive study, [80] his reception in London needs much fuller investigation. This would hopefully bring us to a fuller understanding of the striking discrepancy between the flattering reviews Bomtempo received from the Parisian press and the extremely negative views we find in various other sources. [81] This is what Marianne Baillie, hearing him in Lisbon in 1821, had to say:

> I have also been at a party where I heard the first piano forte player in Portugal; his name is Bontempo, and you must have heard of him in London, some time ago; his execution is miraculous, but he failed in interesting my feelings to the smallest degree; his defects appear to proceed from a want of sensibility, and as true genius, never exists without it, I cannot consent to reckon Bontempo a real master of his art; depend upon it, that if poor Merlin had lived a few years longer, he would have made a wooden man who should have composed and executed pieces of music much in the same style, and fully as well. [82]

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[79] Vol. VI, May 1813, pp. 384-88. There was a follow-up article entitled "Catalogo das Obras de J. D. Bomtempo, publicadas em Londres", in Vol. XVI, August 1816, pp. 265-67.

[80] Joseph Scherpereel, *João Domingos Bomtempo, musicien portugais (XIXe. Siècle)*, Paris, Centre Culturel C. Gulbenkian — Portugal, 1994.

[81] As well as Marianne Baillie, see David Cranmer, "Opiniões estrangeiras sobre dois músicos portugueses J. D. Bomtempo e J. A. Canongia", in *III Encontro Nacional de Musiologia — Actas*, Lisbon, Associação Portuguesa de Educação Musical, Boletim 48, Janeiro/Março 1986, pp. 33-5. This cites and assesses the various reviews from the Leipzig periodical *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, relating to concerts given by Bomtempo in Paris and in Lisbon.

[82] Marianne Baillie, *Lisbon in the years 1821, 1822 and 1823*, 2 vols., London, John Murray, 1824, vol. II, pp. 17-18 (letter of 14 November 1821). She returned to this theme after hearing him again, in her letter of 8 April 1822. For a discussion of her contribution to our understanding of music in Lisbon at this time, see David Cranmer "Music in Lisbon in the years 1821, 1822 and 1823", in *The British Historical Society of Portugal's 15th annual report and review 1988*, Lisbon, June 1989, pp. 113-25. Marianne Baillie's book has recently been published in Portuguese translation with an introduction by Albano Nogueira, as *Lisboa nos anos de 1821, 1822 e 1823*, Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, 2002.

The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

England was described in the second half of the nineteenth century as "Das Land ohne Musick" — the land without music. Writing somewhat earlier, Almeida Garrett would probably have had some sympathy with this view. At any rate, he considered the English incapable of singing other than when drunk on good Portuguese wine. As he tells us in Chapter 7 of *Viagens na Minha Terra*, while passing through Cartaxo:

> How can a loyal English throat, rasped by the anarchic acids of those French vinaigrettes, intone God-save-the-King properly in a national toast! How, without port or madeira, without Lisbon or Cartaxo, does a British subject dare to raise his voice, in that harmonious, insular out-of-tuneness which is typical of him, and part and parcel of his respectable national character — it is, really; don't laugh: the Englishman does not sing unless he drinks ... in fact, when he is DRUNK. *Nisi potus ad arma ruisse.* Juggle it around: *Nisi potus in cantum prorumpisse...* And of course, how on earth, in the state he's in, is he to lift his voice in that sublime, tremendous popular hymn Rule-Britannia! [83]

In one respect, however, nineteenth-century Portugal did look to England for musical inspiration: in the supply of musical instruments, particularly pianos. The Lisbon Music Museum alone possesses in excess of twenty nineteenth-century English pianos — grand, square and upright — by such makers as Clementi, Broadwood, Kirkman, and Collard & Collard. Luísa Cymbron mentions a Broadwood and a Collard & Collard as being in the Museu Carlos Machado, Ponta Delgada, as well as a Euphonicon — a kind of upright piano with the longest strings extending vertically outside the case in a wing shape — made by

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[83] "Como pode uma leal goela britânica, rascada pelos ácidos anárquicos daquelas vinagretas francesas, entoar devidamente o God-save-the-King em um toast nacional! Como, sem Porto ou Madeira, sem Lisboa, sem Cartaxo, ousa um súbdito britânico erguer a voz, naquela harmoniosa desafinação insular que lhe é própria e que faz parte do seu respeitável carácter nacional — faz, não se riam: o inglês não canta senão quando bebe... aliás quando está BEBIDO. *Nisi potus ad arma ruisse.* Inverta: *Nisi potus in cantum prorumpisse...* E pois, como há-de ele assim *bebido* erguer a voz naquele sublime e tremendo hino popular Rulle-Britannia!" Almeida Garrett, *Viagens na Minha Terra*, Porto, Lello Editores, 1998, pp. 34-35. The Latin sentences mean: "Only if drunk does he rush to arms" and "Only if drunk does he break into song".

John Steward. [84] In recent years an early nineteenth-century Clementi piano in the possession of the National Palace, Queluz, has been restored and is used for concerts and recordings. Most other instruments are in varying degrees of neglect, in some cases beyond repair.

Though not on the same scale, a number of Portuguese churches possess English organs. Besides St. George's Anglican church, Lisbon, with an organ by Henry Fincham from the 1880s and Corpo Santo Roman Catholic church, with a slightly later Forster and Andrews, the organ in the Chapel of the Colégio dos Inglesinhos is one of three made by Gray and Davison around 1860, the other two being in the church of Santo António à Sé, Lisbon, and the parish church of Tomar. Among other nineteenth-century English instruments scattered around the country is another by Fincham in the parish church of Portimão.

The island of Madeira is particularly rich in English organs. Though now altered almost beyond recognition, the organ of Funchal Cathedral, transferred from the Anglican church in the 1930s, is of English origin. A number of instruments came to Madeira in the aftermath of the devastating flood of 1803, including three by Flight and Robson — at the church of São Pedro, Funchal, and the churches at São Vicente and Estreito de Câmara de Lobos. The best-documented is the G. P. England organ at Nossa Senhora do Monte. [85] Dating from the second decade of the nineteenth century, it is a small instrument with a single manual and just eight stops.

In the Azores, at the Convento de Esperança, Ponta Delgada, there is a curious hybrid piano-organ. Originally a small grand piano by Collard & Collard, with a 'patent repeater' action, at some point pipes and mechanism for a small organ were added to it, so that it can function as a piano, organ or both simultaneously. When the present author saw it in the mid 1980s it was barely functional, but it has since been restored. [86]

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[84] "O piano e a sociedade açoriana oitocentista: subsídios para um estudo organológico em Ponta Delgada" in *IV Encontro Nacional de Muscologia — Actas*, Lisbon, Associação Portuguesa de Educação Musical, Boletim 52, Janeiro/Março 1987, pp. 83-85.

[85] Christopher Kent, "The George Pike England organ in the Church of Nossa Senhora do Monte, Island of Madeira", in *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, N.° 6, Lisbon, Associação Portuguesa de Ciências Musicais, 1996, pp. XX-XX.

[86] For further information on this instrument, see Luísa Cymbron, *op.cit.*, and David Cranmer, "Órgãos dos Açores", ibid., pp. 86-90; also David Cranmer, "Organs in the Azorean Archipelago", in *Arquipélago, Revista da Universidade dos Açores: Número especial 1988: Relaçoes Açores-Grã-Bretanha*, Ponta Delgada, 1988, pp. 149-63, which includes a number of photographs of the instrument as it then was.

The Music Museum also possesses a number of nineteenth-century English transverse flutes, a piccolo, three clarinets, a double flageolet and a so-called 'Russian' bassoon.

It has only been possible to trace two Portuguese instruments from this period that have found their way to Britain. The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, has a *machete* (*cavaquinho*) of Madeiran origin from around 1860. The Horniman Museum, London, has a nineteenth-century *rajão*, a five-string guitar, often, as in this instance, in the shape of an elongated fish.

Though I have mentioned a substantial number of instruments here, they represent merely the tip of the iceberg. There are doubtless many more English instruments in palaces and in other institutions in Portugal, and the number in private hands is incalculable. Only in the case of organs has there been any serious attempt to produce an inventory. Similarly, there may be a significant number of Portuguese instruments in Britain, but there has been no systematic attempt so far to collate them.

Equally patchy is our knowledge of other aspects of Portuguese musical life from the 1830s till the Second World War (after which personal recollection becomes an increasingly valuable source) — not because information is unavailable, but because the collation and evaluation of it is still at an early stage. At the same time, there is no reason to suppose, other than the rather one-way movement of instruments, that there was more than sporadic interchange between Britain and Portugal during this period. Composers, after all, whether in the British Isles (including Ireland) or Portugal, looked to France and Germany, and beyond, not to each other, in search of possible models, as they sought to establish their own national musical identities.

In the midst of this, a few cases of interchange stand out as exceptions. In the first place, from the late nineteenth century onwards, a number of Portuguese musicians visited or settled in London. In particular the Andrade brothers, António (1854-1942) and Francisco (1856-1921), celebrated for their opera performances, made various concert and stage appearances in London. António (tenor) sang there in 1889 and 1890, while Francisco (baritone) performed regularly at Covent Garden and elsewhere in London each Spring during the years 1886-90, as well as making a tour of northern England, Scotland and Ireland in the autumn of 1889. [87]

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[87] See the extensive entries for these two artists in the first volume of Mário Moreau, *Cantores de Ópera Portugueses*, 3 vols., Lisbon, Livraria Bertrand/ Bertrand Editora, 1981/1984/1995.

Much more permanent was the stay in London of the great Portuguese 'cellist Guilhermina Suggia (1888-1950), who spent the years from the beginning of the First World War to the beginning of the Second in London, giving concerts and teaching at the Royal Academy of Music. She has been the subject of two recent biographical works by Fátima Pombo. [88]

Rather out of the mainstream, but important for other reasons, was King Manuel II (1889-1932), who, after being deposed in 1910, found exile in London. An amateur organist, of competent but modest technique, as well as sponsoring the installation of a new organ at his local Roman Catholic Church, he also had one built for his home at Fulwell Park, Richmond. It was for this instrument, at the King's request, that the great French composer Camille Saint-Saëns (1835-1921) wrote his 3rd organ Fantasia (1919), dedicated to King Manuel.

In 1936 appeared a book of enormous importance in making Portugal better known in Britain, and hence to the history of Anglo-Portuguese relations, *Portugal: a book of folk-ways*, by Rodney Gallop (1901-48). The author, a diplomat and anthropologist of enormous energy and perspicacity, working within a clear theoretical framework, studied and wrote about Portuguese traditional beliefs and customs, folk-music and folk-literature. If his tone is occasionally paternalistic, his research is rigorous and his perception penetrating. His book makes fascinating reading throughout, portraying, as it does, a society that has largely vanished, and his chapter on *fado* particularly repays reading, for he manages through his own careful observation and research to avoid the many myths surrounding the genre's birth and development. Gallop, who also published a collection of 130 Portuguese folksongs, [89] was a pioneer and in every sense the father of Portuguese ethnomusicology.

The father of Portuguese historical musicology was also a British national, though of a German piano-making family: Macário Santiago Kastner (1908-92). His editions of and writings on Portuguese keyboard writers, especially Carlos Seixas, were especially notable. It would also be true to say that almost all

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[88] Fátima Pombo, *Guilhermina Suggia ou o violoncelo luxuriante*, Porto, Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 1993; and *Guilhermina Suggia. A sonata de sempre*, Matosinhos, Câmara Municipal de Matosinhos/Edições Afrontamento, 1996. Both are reviewed by Teresa Cascudo in *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, Nos. 7-8, Lisbon, Associação Portuguesa de Ciências Musicais, 1997/98, pp. 212-15.

[89] Rodney Gallop, Lisbon, *Cantares do povo português*, Instituto para a Alta Cultura, 1937.

leading musicologists in Portugal now, if not actually pupils of his, have in one way or another been touched by his enormous knowledge, generously shared.

As far as music is concerned, the oldest alliance is at present active and well. A substantial number of British musicians currently work in Portugal, especially in the orchestras and teaching institutions. Among those that have made notable contributions to the musical life of Portugal over the last twenty years are the composer and teacher Christopher Bochmann, conductor of the Orquestra Sinfónica Juvenil. British musicians have also been responsible for a number of outstanding recordings of Portuguese music, particularly important contributions coming from Owen Rees, Harry Christophers and James O'Donnell with their respective groups. Many Portuguese musicians, especially singers, have studied in England, principally in London. The young Portuguese marimba player, Pedro Carneiro, has made London his base and gained a substantial reputation there.

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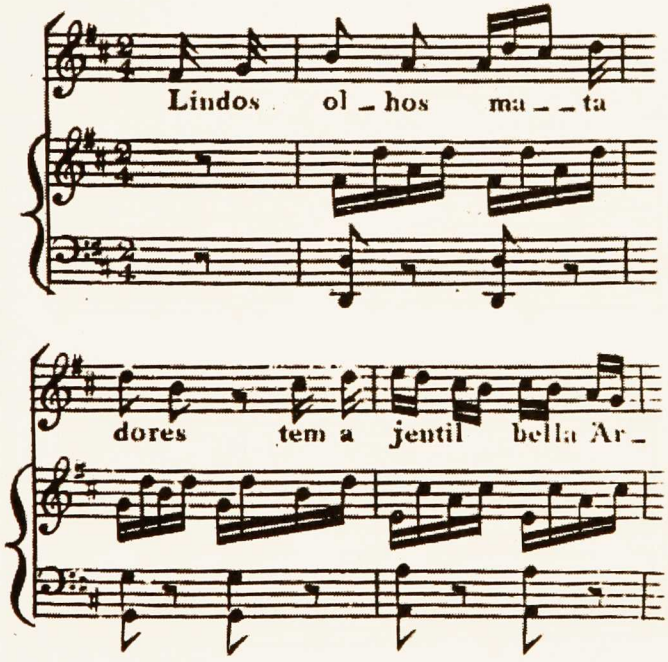
PORTUGUESE MODINHA,

OR

AIR



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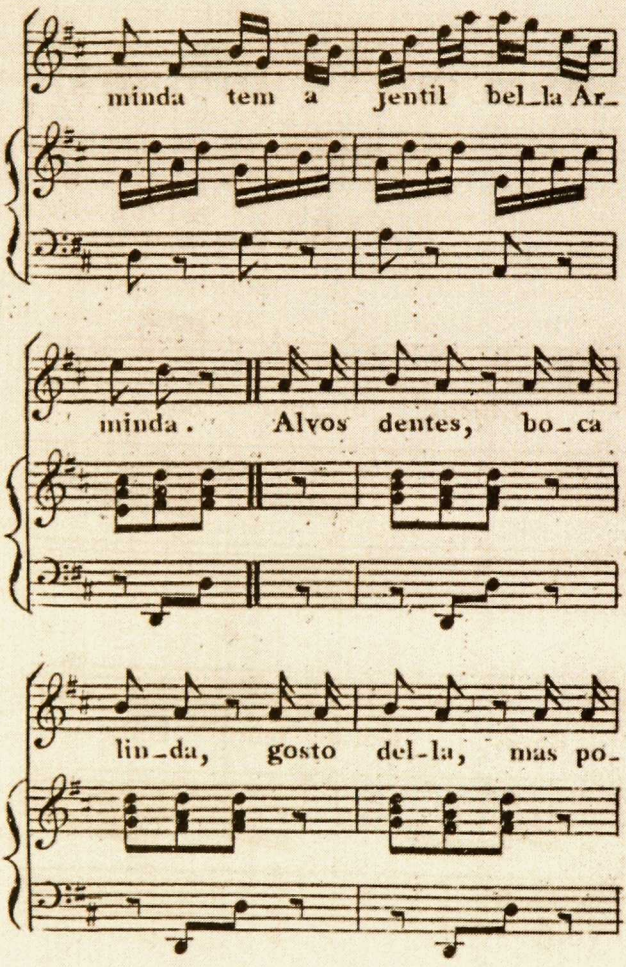
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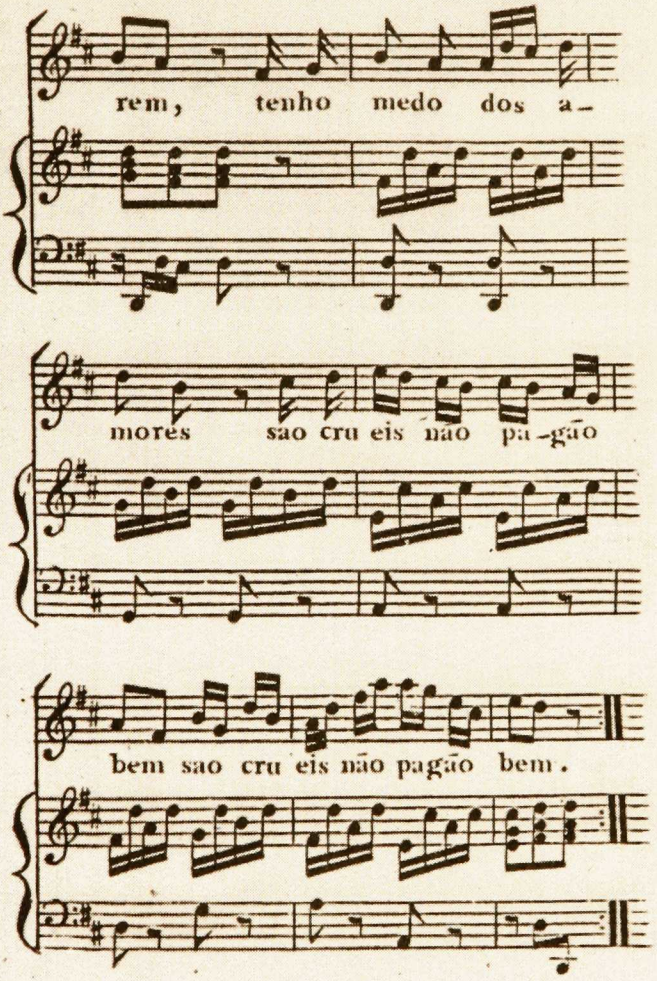
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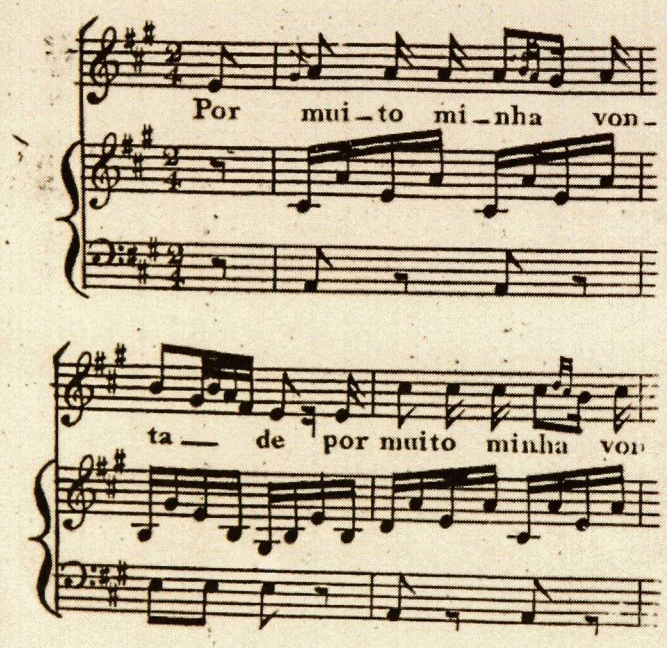

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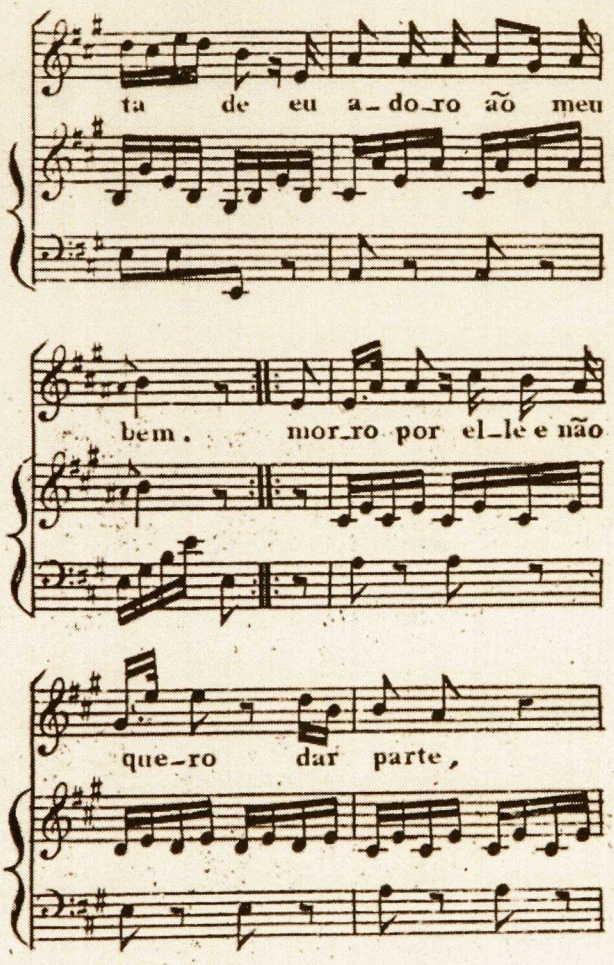

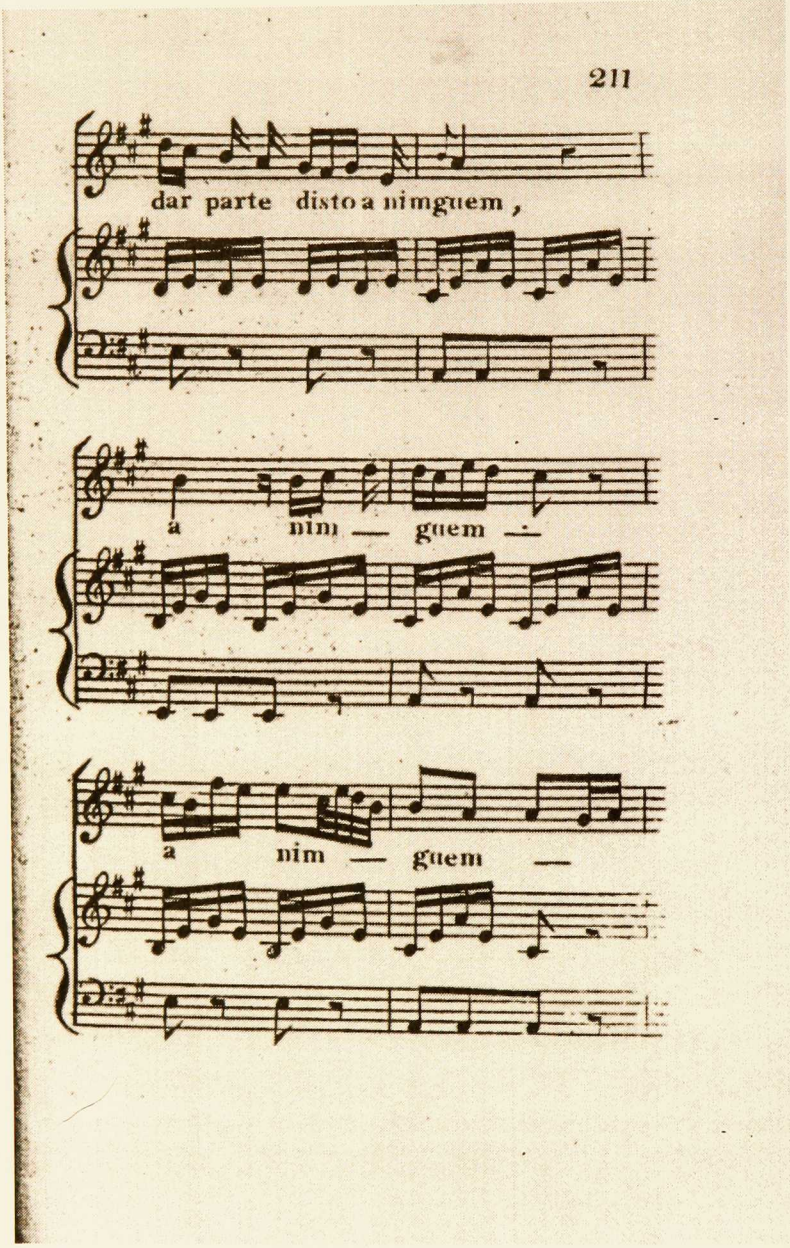
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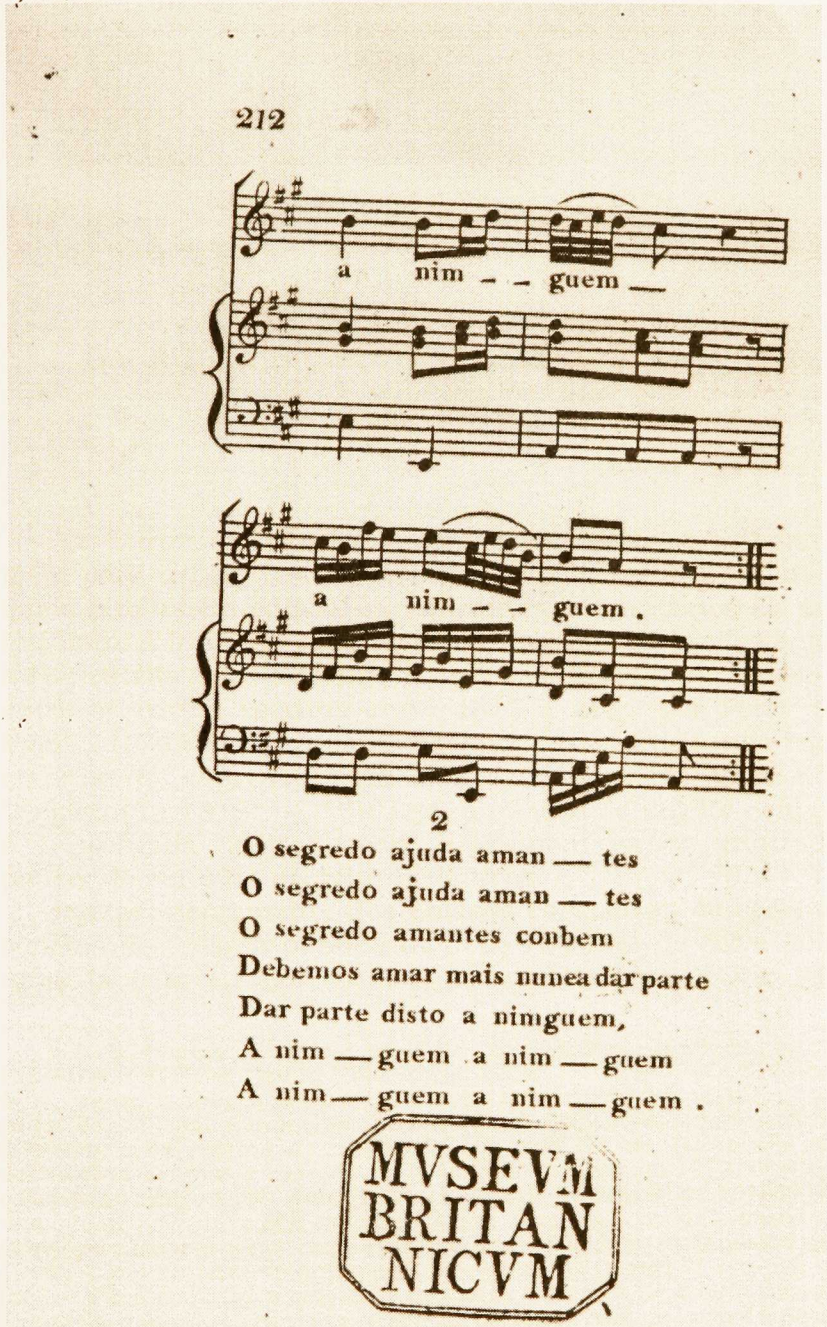

Fig. 2 — Two *modinhas* published by John Milford in his *Peninsular sketches during a recent tour*, London, 1816. (British Library, 1050.g.6; reproduced by permission)