

# ‘TO MAKE OF LISBON A NEW ROME’: THE REPERTORY OF THE PATRIARCHAL CHURCH IN THE 1720S AND 1730S

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## ABSTRACT

*The elevation of the Portuguese Royal Chapel to the rank of Patriarchal Church in 1716 was part of a larger process of ‘Romanization’ – that is, of assimilation and adaptation of Roman models within Portuguese music and culture. This involved the training of numerous chaplain-singers and young Portuguese composers in Rome, as well as the importation of chant books, ministers, singers and even the maestro di cappella of the Cappella Giulia, Domenico Scarlatti. According to the anonymous ‘Breve rezume de tudo o que se canta en cantochoã, e canto de orgão pellos cantores na santa igreja patriarchal’ (Brief summary of all that is sung in plainchant and polyphony by the singers at the holy Patriarchal Church) – a document written at some point between 1722 and 1724 – the repertory of the Patriarchal Church was a varied mixture of works by thirty-two identified composers, mostly Italian and Portuguese, from a period ranging from the sixteenth century to the early eighteenth century. Some of the repertory for Holy Week is also extant in three large choirbooks prepared by a copyist from the Patriarchal Church in 1735 and 1736 for use in the Ducal Chapel in Vila Viçosa. These include ‘modern’ additions to late sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century pieces and also some curious reworkings, made with the purpose of adjusting older works to newly ‘Romanized’ performance conditions and aesthetic ideals. The sources examined in this article thus show that Portuguese ‘Romanization’, far from being a simple transplantation of ideas and practices from the centre to the periphery, was a dynamic process of acculturation and adaptation rooted in emerging forms of historical consciousness.*

Upon request of King João V (1706–1750) a golden bull – *In supremo apostolatus solio* – issued by Pope Clement XI on 7 November 1716 elevated the Portuguese Royal Chapel to the rank of Patriarchal Church. The Patriarch himself, who was at the same time Head Chaplain (Capelão-Mor) of the Royal Chapel (and hence remained in the service of the king), held spiritual and temporal jurisdiction over the newly created diocese of Lisbon West and the members of the royal family.<sup>1</sup>

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The title of this article quotes Luís de Camões, *Os Lusíadas* (Lisbon: António Gonçalves, 1572), canto 6, strophe 7, lines 1–2: ‘Via estar todo o Ceo determinado / De fazer de Lisboa nova Roma’ (He saw all Heaven be determined / To make of Lisbon a new Rome). A preliminary version of this paper was read at the Fourteenth Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music, The Queen’s University of Belfast, July 2010. I acknowledge the support of the CESEM (Centre for the Study of Sociology and Aesthetics of Music) at the Universidade Nova, Lisbon, and the FCT (Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology). I thank the editors of this journal – particularly Nicholas Mathew – and the anonymous readers for their invaluable comments and suggestions, and my wife, Isabel, for her support.

1 With the creation of the Patriarchal Church the city of Lisbon and the territory of its diocese were divided into two: the Patriarchate of Lisbon West and the Archbishopric of Lisbon East. After revoking the designation of the Collegiate Church of St Thomas – a rank granted to the Royal Chapel on 1 March 1710 after the creation of the relevant parish in 1709 – it was elevated to the status of Archiepiscopal See and Metropolitan Church of Lisbon West under the invocation of Our Lady of the Assumption, continuing to function in the Royal Chapel at the Ribeira Palace until such



The creation of the Patriarchal Church was the first major achievement in a long-standing and complex political and diplomatic project designed to legitimize the Portuguese crown and the Bragança dynasty both internally and on the international stage – a pressing concern after Portugal's separation from the Spanish Habsburgs in 1640 and the restoration of independence and the establishment of the Treaty of Lisbon in 1668, which finally brought the twenty-eight-year war with Spain to an end. A number of hard-won symbolic accomplishments were added during the early eighteenth century, including such theologically and politically fraught matters of protocol as the Portuguese sovereign's right to use the title of 'Rei Fidelíssimo' (Most Faithful King) after 1749.<sup>2</sup> To seek legitimacy for the new Portuguese dynasty in this way was a project of considerable diplomatic ambition, costing huge sums of money – even to the point of financing the ballooning deficits of the Papal States.<sup>3</sup> But the political benefits of gaining the endorsement of Rome were plain: the church was a vital instrument of social control once its symbolic resources were placed in the service of an absolutist power; in practice, though, this meant disrupting historic court hierarchies and – especially important for our purposes – transforming the rituals by which the monarchy was legitimized, in part by confounding these rituals with newly adopted ceremonial practices derived from the Roman church.

The elevation of the Royal Chapel required the adoption of the liturgy, ritual and ceremonial of the Papal Chapels. This amounted, then, to a process of 'Romanization' – that is, of assimilation and adaptation of Roman models by Portuguese culture – that lasted for several years. While this 'Romanizing' process is often conceived by historians as a direct transplantation of power and symbolic resources from the 'centre' to the 'margins', the sources I examine below reveal a more complex picture: 'Roman' musical culture was transformed and adapted by its Portuguese hosts in a number of interesting ways – as had long been the case with the Portuguese reception of Italian music in the period of around 150 years leading up to the most intensive phase of self-conscious Romanization, in the early eighteenth century.

The Romanization of the Portuguese church involved importing Roman chant books and training, besides many chaplain-singers, three young Portuguese composers in Rome at the expense of the crown:

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time as a Patriarchal Basilica could be built. The architect Filippo Juvara came to Lisbon between 31 January and the end of July 1719, charged with designing the church and the attached Patriarchal and Royal Palaces. For a time King João V considered beginning the construction of the church in the 'Buenos Aires' neighbourhood of Lisbon, but the project never got underway. It was not until the reign of King José I (1750–1777) that a Patriarchal Basilica was built, following the 1 November 1755 earthquake. This new church, erected in an elevated point in Lisbon known as 'Cotovia' (nowadays the 'Príncipe Real' Garden and Square), was used from 14 July 1757, even though it was at that time unfinished; it was destroyed by fire on 10 May 1769. See João Baptista de Castro, *Mapa de Portugal antigo, e moderno*, volume 3 (Lisbon: Oficina Patriarcal de Francisco Luiz Ameno, 1762–1763), 182–202, and Fortunato de Almeida, *História da Igreja em Portugal*, volume two, ed. Damião Peres (Oporto: Portucalense; Lisbon: Livraria Civilização, 1967–1971), 10–15. See also Cristina Fernandes, 'O sistema produtivo da Música Sacra em Portugal no final do Antigo Regime: a Capela Real e a Patriarcal entre 1750 e 1807' (PhD dissertation, Universidade de Évora, 2010), 1–18 and 423–437.

- 2 Other such symbolic achievements included the promotion to the cardinalate of the nuncios at the end of their mission in Lisbon, as was usual with those in the courts of Paris, Madrid and Vienna (this was the outcome of a long diplomatic battle, which led to a rupture in relations with the Vatican between 1728 and 1730); the 1731 granting of the privilege to appoint a cardinal with veto in the conclaves; and the promotion of the Patriarch to the office of Cardinal in 1737.
- 3 King João V thus pursued a number of clearly defined objectives: a policy of neutrality in European conflicts (providing they did not threaten the Portuguese empire); a firm defence of the transatlantic possessions, especially the route to Brazil, because of their vital economic importance; the reinforcement of the internal authority of the crown; and the achievement of parity with the great nations of Europe (which was the reason for the long-term diplomatic and financial investments in Rome, Vienna, Madrid and Paris). For an overview of João V's government and political programme see *Nova História de Portugal*, volume 7: *Da paz da Restauração ao ouro do Brasil*, ed. Avelino de Freitas de Meneses (Lisbon: Presença, 2001), especially 206–210, and Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, *D. João V* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2006). On Portugal's artistic connections with Rome see Pier Paolo Quieto, *D. João V de Portugal: a sua influência na arte italiana do séc. XVIII* (Lisbon and Mafra: Elo, 1990).



António Teixeira from 1716 to 1728, João Rodrigues Esteves from 1719 to 1726 and Francisco António de Almeida from 1722 to 1726.<sup>4</sup> In addition, several senior musical and ceremonial roles came to be carried out by people imported from Rome, among whom were numbered many singers (especially from late 1719 onwards), the principal master of ceremonies, Dom Gabrielle de Cimbali, and even the maestro di cappella of the Cappella Giulia, Domenico Scarlatti, who arrived in Lisbon by land via Madrid on 29 November 1719.<sup>5</sup>

According to the official reports of the papal nuncio to Portugal (at that time Monsignor Vincenzo Bichi), Cimbali – who came from the Pontifical Chapel – entered service as First Master of Ceremonies of the Patriarchal Church in November 1718, attending the Patriarch for the first time at Mass on the First Sunday of Advent that year.<sup>6</sup> He was responsible for introducing the ceremonial of the Papal Chapels to the Patriarchal Church (though it is not certain which ceremonial exemplars he used<sup>7</sup>), by directing the Portuguese chaplain-singers in the performance of Roman chant.<sup>8</sup> Domenico Scarlatti was hired not as maestro di cappella (as is commonly stated<sup>9</sup>) but as composer of Italian music, or composer to the king, and then (along with tenor Gaetano Mossi, who was granted the title of Virtuoso) placed in the service of Prince António, the king's brother, with the title of 'maestro'. Scarlatti probably had a responsibility parallel to that of Cimbali – to introduce the Roman polyphonic repertory to the Patriarchal Church,<sup>10</sup> and João V accordingly awaited him 'con impazienza' to be 'the head and director of all his music within the Patriarchal'

4 Details of these three composers can be found in the relevant articles in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001). In 1761 António Teixeira was recorded as organist of the Patriarchal Church; he died on 20 November 1774.

5 On 20 August 1720 there were already fourteen foreign singers in the service of the Patriarchal Church, mostly Italians (at least seven of whom, including Domenico Scarlatti, came from the Cappella Giulia). In early 1734 their number reached thirty-six. On Domenico Scarlatti's Portuguese period see João Pedro d'Alvarenga, 'Domenico Scarlatti in the 1720s: Portugal, Travelling, and the Italianisation of the Portuguese Musical Scene', in *Domenico Scarlatti Adventures: Essays to Commemorate the 250th Anniversary of His Death*, ed. Massimiliano Sala and W. Dean Sutcliffe (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2008), 17–68.

6 See Cláudio da Conceição, *Gabinete Histórico*, volume 11 (Lisbon: Imprensa Régia, 1827), 288–289: 'Os principaes informadores das Ceremonias Romanas, e exactissimas circumstancias do Ceremonial Pontificio forão Monsenhor Candido Cassini, o Monsenhor João Baptista Gambaruci, Mestres de Ceremonias de Sua Sanctidade: Francisco Bolsa, da Capella Pontificia, e o Padre Fr. João Baptista Amadei, Sotto Sacrista da mesma, d'onde veio Gabriel Cimbali para a Patriarchal: além dos Ecclesiasticos Portuguezes, que El Rei mandou a Roma, para se instruirem neste ministerio, com grossos subsidios para satisfação da sua incomparavel curiosidade, e acerto das funcções do Culto Divino' (The main informants about the Roman ceremonies and more accurate circumstances of the Pontifical ceremonial were Monsignor Candido Cassini and Monsignor Giovanni Battista Gambaruci, Masters of Ceremonies of His Holiness; Francesco Bolsa from the Papal Chapel, and Father Giovanni Battista Amadei, Under-Sacristan of the same chapel, whence came Gabrielle de Cimbali to the Patriarchal; besides the Portuguese Clerics that the King sent to Rome to be instructed in this ministry, with huge subsidies to satisfy his incomparable curiosity and the correctness of the functions of Divine Worship).

7 It should be noted that documents belonging to the 'Colecção Pombalina' in the National Library of Portugal and the Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, contain countless references to the copying in Rome of music books and choir regulations and to correspondence with Roman clerics concerning ceremonial and the manner of singing chant.

8 See Gerhard Doderer and Cremilde Rosado Fernandes, 'A música na sociedade joanina nos relatórios da Nunciatura Apostólica em Lisboa (1706–1750)', *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia* 3 (1993), 69–146, especially 90. This article publishes all the relevant excerpts from the official correspondence of the nuncios, Vincenzo Bichi and, from September 1720 onwards, Giuseppe Firrao, in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Segreteria di Stato, Portogallo, volumes 65–105, covering the years 1708 to 1750.

9 For example in Roberto Pagano, 'Scarlatti, (Giuseppe) Domenico', in *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusic.com> (20 June 2010).

10 Though there are references in the Nunciature reports after 1710 to occasional performances of music 'all'italiana' in the Royal Chapel; see Alvarenga, 'Domenico Scarlatti in the 1720s', 42–49.



(il Capo, e direttore di tutta la sua musica della Patriarcale).<sup>11</sup> Soon after his arrival – and this might account for the elusive twists and turns of his career and biography – Scarlatti apparently began to act as a kind of agent for the Portuguese king; traces of most of his known voyages are recorded only in diaries and diplomatic correspondence.<sup>12</sup>

The repertory in use in the Patriarchal Church and Royal Chapel after 1719 is reported in the anonymous forty-six-folio manuscript 'Breve rezume de tudo o que se canta en cantochoã, e canto de orgão pellos cantores na santa igreja patriarchal' (Brief summary of all that is sung in plainchant and polyphony by the singers at the holy Patriarchal Church).<sup>13</sup> This document, in all probability written by order of a dignitary for his own record, constitutes a kind of ceremonial diary, dealing with such important matters as the order of rituals, the methods of performance, the distribution of parts for the ministers and singers, the participation of the organ and which chants and polyphonic pieces were to be sung on the so-called 'chapel days' and other feast days.<sup>14</sup> It records a single liturgical year, most probably one between the First Sunday in Advent 1721 and the Feast of All Saints 1724 (the last major feast recorded in the document). Among the clues as to this time frame is mention of a 'Missa de 1.º tom' for eight voices by João Rodrigues Esteves (no. 15.01 in Appendix 1), performed on the Second Octave of Pentecost<sup>15</sup> (the last Sunday in May or the first in June, depending on the year), which may well be the mass by Esteves dated 'Roma 1721: 8 de 7.<sup>broo</sup>' (Rome 1721, 8 September).<sup>16</sup> Further, the document contains no reference to compositions by Giovanni Giorgi, who arrived in Lisbon early in 1725. While the 'Breve rezume' would thus seem to date to some point between 1722 and 1724, the earlier date, soon after local forms of plainsong had been abandoned,<sup>17</sup> is perhaps most likely, since the *Rituale romanum Pauli Quinti*, used for the singing of antiphons in the Candlemas procession, is mentioned as something of a novelty.<sup>18</sup> Giorgi, who in September 1719 had succeeded Pitoni as maestro di cappella of San Giovanni in Laterano, began working as composer of Italian music of the Patriarchal Church and Royal Chapel in Lisbon and as teacher in the Patriarchal Seminary<sup>19</sup> soon after he left Rome in January 1725. That

11 Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Segreteria di Stato, Portogallo, volume 75, f. 262, 21 November 1719; reproduced in Doderer and Fernandes, 'A música na sociedade joanina', 93.

12 See Alvarenga, 'Domenico Scarlatti in the 1720s', 33, 38 and 44–45, and Jane Clark, 'Farinelli as Queen of the Night', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 2/2 (2005), 321–333.

13 P-La MS 49-i-59 (henceforth 'Breve rezume'), [iv] + 51 + [1] ff; fols 43r–51v were left blank. I am currently preparing an edition of this document with notes.

14 The liturgical ceremonies of the Patriarchal Church publicly attended by the king were known as 'Capelas Patriarcais' (Patriarchal Chapels) and the respective days of ceremony as 'Dias de Capela' (Chapel Days). The latter, since they were public ceremonies of the Royal Chapel, were also called 'Funções de Corte' (Court Functions).

15 'Breve rezume', f. 36r: 'Segunda oitava [de Pentecostes]. / Com assistencia do Senhor Patriarcha. / a Missa se cantou a 8. Autor Joaõ Rodriguez / Esteves 1.º tom' (Second octave [of Pentecost]. / With the presence of the Patriarch. / the Mass was sung in 8 parts. Author João Rodrigues / Esteves, 1st tone).

16 Autograph in P-Lf MS 72/19; modern edition in *João Rodrigues Esteves: Obras selectas*, ed. Cremilde Rosado Fernandes and Gerhard Doderer (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1980), 23–128.

17 This is recorded, for example, in the *Liber processionum, et stationum Ecclesiae Olyssiponensis*, nunc denuò auctus, & in meliorem formam redactus ab Eduardo Lupo (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1607); a second, revised edition was made for the exclusive use of the Diocese of Lisbon East: *Liber processionum, et stationum Sanctæ Metropolitanæ Ecclesie Ulyssiponensis Orientalis*, auctus ab Eduardo Lupo . . . & in meliorem formam redactus ab Antonio Petro de Carvalho (Lisbon West: ex Typographia Musicæ, 1728).

18 'Breve rezume', f. 16r: 'logo principiaõ / a Antiphona Adorna Thalamum, e he intoada por / dous Contraltos, e os mais a continuaõ en / Cantochaõ, e a cantaraõ pello retual de / Paulo 5.º' (they start off at once / the antiphon Adorna Thalamum, and this is intoned by / two altos, and the rest go on in / plainchant, and they sing it from the Ritual of / Paul V).

19 According to its 1764 *Statute* (P-Ln Cód. 3693), the Patriarchal Seminary was established as a music school for young boys attached to the Royal Chapel on 9 April 1713, when it was still a collegiate church. It remained the main Portuguese school of music during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, being abolished and supplanted by the French-modelled Lisbon Conservatory in 1835.



he was hired was perhaps a result of Domenico Scarlatti's trip to Rome in the second half of 1724 and the first half of 1725.<sup>20</sup>

The repertory in the 'Breve rezume' displays a fascinating mixture of works by thirty-two identified composers, from a period ranging from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth century (see Appendix 1). There are, for example, works said to be exclusive to the Papal Choir, presumably coming from the manuscripts of the Sistine Chapel, such as Jean Conseil's *Lumen ad revelationem* and *Nunc dimittis* (no. 13.01). Gregorio Allegri's *Miserere* (no. 02.01) also features, referred to as 'o que se costuma cantar na Cappella pontifisia'<sup>21</sup> (the one that is usually sung in the Papal Chapel); a late eighteenth-century set of parts for this work from the Royal Chapel exists in Lisbon's Biblioteca da Ajuda.<sup>22</sup> Then there are works in the Roman *stile antico*, which Girolamo Chiti, Giorgi's successor at San Giovanni in Laterano, labelled the *vero stile* – that is, the style that is both 'proper' and 'true', recognized as liturgically appropriate and faithful to Palestrinian models.<sup>23</sup> Some of these compositions, such as Palestrina's motets *Fratres ego enim accipi* (no. 26.02) and *O beata et benedicta et gloriosa Trinitas* (no. 26.05), are referred to in Andrea Adami's 1711 *Osservazioni*<sup>24</sup> and so were also part of the repertory of the Sistine Chapel. Roughly half of the pieces mentioned in the 'Breve rezume' are seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Italian works – responsories, psalms and masses – that mostly pertain to the repertory of the Cappella Giulia; the best-represented composer in this category is Francesco Grassi, with at least seventeen works. Yet there are also late sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century Portuguese and Spanish works, such as the sequences by Manuel Cardoso, André da Costa and Mateo Romero (nos 10.01, 14.01 and 28.01), that remained in the repertory, almost certainly deriving from the Royal Library of Music.<sup>25</sup> Alongside these are new works by Portuguese composers then studying in Rome – examples being the masses by Francisco António de Almeida and João Rodrigues Esteves (nos 03.01 and 15.01) – and by both Portuguese and Italian composers active in Lisbon in the 1720s: Girolamo Bezzi, Estêvão Ribeiro Francês, Gaetano Mossi, Manuel dos Santos and Domenico Scarlatti.<sup>26</sup> All in all, these make up about one third of the pieces in the repertory.

The important corpus of Italian seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century music in the 'Breve rezume' includes works by Giovanni Battista Bassetti, Pietro Paolo Bencini, Orazio Benevoli, Francesco Beretta, Giovanni Bicilli, Giacomo Carissimi, Giovanni Paolo Colonna, Francesco Foggia, Alessandro Grandi, Francesco Grassi, Paolo Lorenzani, Virgilio Mazzocchi, Alessandro Melani, Pietro Mori, Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni, Baldassare Sartori and Agostino Steffani. All of these composers, save Alessandro Grandi and possibly Pietro Mori, had been active in Rome for at least some of their careers, and a significant number of their works still exist in the collection of the Cappella Giulia now housed in the Vatican Library. Meanwhile, the works by Grandi in the 'Breve rezume' seem to match at least part of the contents of his eight-voice *Salmi*

20 Thirty years later Giorgi would retire to Genoa, supposedly horrified by the 1 November 1755 earthquake, but he continued to send works to Lisbon until his death in 1762; see Alvarenga, 'Domenico Scarlatti in the 1720s', 48–49. The autographs of 188 of Giorgi's works (248 scores and sets of parts) are extant in the archive of Lisbon Cathedral (P-Lf).

21 'Breve rezume', f. 24r.

22 P-La MS 54-iii-93<sup>36–44</sup>.

23 For a discussion of *vero stile* in the works of Davide Perez and Niccolò Jommelli see Maurício Dottori, 'The Church Music of Davide Perez and Niccolò Jommelli, with Special Emphasis on their Funeral Music' (PhD dissertation, Cardiff, University of Wales, 1997), 64–79.

24 Andrea Adami da Bolsena, *Osservazioni per ben regolare il coro de i cantori della Cappella Pontificia* (Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1711).

25 On the Royal Library of Music and its printed index see Rui Vieira Nery, 'The Music Manuscripts in the Library of King D. João IV of Portugal (1604–1656): A Study of Iberian Music Repertoire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' (PhD dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1990).

26 For an updated list of Domenico Scarlatti's vocal works composed for the court and the Patriarchal Church of Lisbon see Alvarenga, 'Domenico Scarlatti in the 1720s', 67–68.



*brevis*, published in Venice in 1629, of which the Royal Library of Music held a copy.<sup>27</sup> Works by Mori also existed in the Royal Library.<sup>28</sup> This must have been repertory familiar to Domenico Scarlatti when he was assistant and then maestro di cappella at the Basilica di San Pietro in Rome – music that he presumably brought with him subsequently to Lisbon. The rest of the older repertory was already available there, in the huge collection of music started in the mid-sixteenth century by King João IV's great-grandfather, Teodósio I, Fifth Duke of Bragança (died 1563).

Judging from the 'Breve rezume', after 1719 there was a preference in the Patriarchal Church for the *stile pieno* over the more modern *concertato* and a clear prevalence of polychoral works in the repertory. Of the 127 individually identified pieces, 104 are for eight voices (but only two with a concerted solo voice), one is for six, three are for five and nineteen are for four voices.<sup>29</sup> These nonetheless involved a variety of performance practices, from a cappella and a *cappella reale* polyphony (that is, polyphony without accompaniment and polyphony with organ accompaniment)<sup>30</sup> to *falsobordone* and improvised counterpoint over plainchant, *alternatim* in various combinations.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, most of the unambiguously identifiable extant works besides those in *vero stile* – such as Benevoli's Missa 'Paradisi portas' in G minor (no. 06.02 in Appendix 1), Domenico Scarlatti's *Te Deum* in C major (no. 31.17),<sup>32</sup> André da Costa's *Veni Sancte Spiritus* (no. 14.01) and Estêvão Ribeiro Francês's *Miserere* (no. 17.10)<sup>33</sup> – are eight-voice, *stile pieno*, *a cappella reale* pieces. Most of the handful of works for four voices, such as Girolamo Bezzi's *Beati omnes* in C major (no. 08.01) and Pitoni's *Credidi* in A minor (no. 27.03), are also in *stile pieno*, while a small minority, like Giovanni Battista Bassetti's *Dixit Dominus* in C minor (no. 04.03) and Francesco Grassi's *In exitu* in D minor (no. 19.08),<sup>34</sup> are *concertato* pieces.

The 'Breve rezume' records just a few polyphonic pieces for Holy Week, since in the year to which it refers Palm Sunday offices, the *Triduum* responsories and lessons 2 and 3 at Matins were sung entirely in plainchant,<sup>35</sup> doubtless following its 'long-established use in the Papal Chapel' ('l'uso inveterato della Cappella Pontificia')<sup>36</sup> and perhaps also because the king derived special pleasure from hearing the chant sung in the manner of the Papal Chapel ('nel modo della Cappella Pontificia'), as the nunciature reports note.<sup>37</sup> However, a portion of the a cappella, *vero stile* Holy Week repertory survives in three large choirbooks prepared by a copyist associated with the Patriarchal Church, Vicente Perez Petroch Valentino; these books were for the special use of the Royal Chapel at the Ducal Palace in Vila Viçosa (see the inventories in Appendix 2).<sup>38</sup> The earliest of these choirbooks, dated 1735, includes late sixteenth-century and

27 See *Primeira parte do Index da Livraria de Musica do myto alto, e poderoso Rey Dom Ioão o IV. Nosso Senhor* (Lisbon: Paulo Craesbeeck, 1649), 16, item no. 73.

28 See, for example, *Primeira parte do Index*, 81, item no. 377.

29 That I have newly identified certain works and composers that the 'Breve rezume' leaves ambiguous accounts for the differences between the figures I provide here and those in my earlier 'Domenico Scarlatti in the 1720s', 50.

30 A distinction made by Girolamo Chiti in his correspondence; see Dottori, 'The Church Music of Davide Perez and Niccolò Jommelli', 66.

31 For a few examples of the different performance practices referred to in the 'Breve rezume' see Alvarenga, 'Domenico Scarlatti in the 1720s', 50–51, note 151.

32 For its sources see Alvarenga, 'Domenico Scarlatti in the 1720s', 68.

33 P-Lf MS 63/1 and P-Ln CN 134 nos 4 and 5 respectively.

34 P-Lf MS 34/3, I-Rsm 97/7, P-Lf MS 27/4 and P-Lf MS 91/16 respectively.

35 See 'Breve rezume', fols 20v–34r.

36 Adami, *Osservazioni*, 35.

37 See, for example, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Segreteria di Stato, Portogallo, volume 75, f. 215 (report of 26 September 1719) in Doderer and Fernandes, 'A música na sociedade joanina', 91–92.

38 The Portuguese kings since 1640 were also Dukes of Bragança, the main estate and residence of the dukedom being in Vila Viçosa, in the northeast of the Alentejo province, near the Spanish border. For a description of Vila Viçosa's choirbooks see Manuel Joaquim, *Vinte livros de música polifónica do Paço Ducal de Vila Viçosa* (Lisbon: Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1953).



seventeenth-century compositions mostly for four voices, collected, as the title page states, from exemplars in the Royal Library of Music; only a few ‘modern’ compositions were added to the collection.<sup>39</sup>

The following year the same scribe completed a splendid two-volume collection with a similar purpose and content, but this time including works for four, five, six and eight voices.<sup>40</sup> The bulk of these 1736 choirbooks consists of works by the almost unknown mid-seventeenth-century composer Fernando de Almeida, a friar of the Order of Christ, which, according to Diogo Barbosa Machado in his *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, ‘His Majesty King João the Fifth, Our Lord, ordered to be copied when he attended the Convent in Tomar, in order to have them sung in his Royal Chapel’ (‘mandou copiar a Magestade d’ElRey D. João o V. Nosso Senhor quando assistio no Convento de Thomar para que se cantasse na sua Capella Real’).<sup>41</sup> Thus was the apparently more common, post-Tridentine practice of singing the *Triduum* responsories in polyphony reinstated.

The ‘modern’ compositions referred to on the title page of the 1735 choirbook – compositions that nonetheless follow the conventions of *vero stile* – comprise a long-winded motet by Giovanni Giorgi (*Clarifica me Pater*, no. 11 in the inventory of MS A), ten responsories and a psalm setting by Manuel Soares (MS A, nos 17, 19–21, 33–35, 46–48 and 58),<sup>42</sup> a psalm setting by Francisco António de Almeida (MS A, no. 56),<sup>43</sup> a *secunda pars* to Juan de Esquivel Barahona’s motet *O vos omnes* (MS A, no. 7) and several additional verses to existing works: to an anonymous *Gloria, laus* (MS A, no. 5) and to the *Lamentations* by Victoria and Fernando de Almeida (MS A, nos 16 and 45, and MS A, no. 18, respectively). The two 1736 choirbooks contain similarly ‘modern’ additions to Fernando de Almeida’s *Gloria, laus* (MS B1, no. 5) and *Lamentations* (MS B1, no. 14; MS B2, nos 1 and 14).

The additions in the three choirbooks are attributed in the original indices to Francisco António de Almeida (MS A, no. 5), Girolamo Bezzi (MS A, no. 18, and MS B1, no. 5) and Manuel Soares.<sup>44</sup> Francisco António de Almeida, as mentioned above, had been sent to Rome in 1722 (or possibly earlier) to study composition in the Italian manner. In the caption of a caricature of him by Pier Leone Ghezzi from 1724 he is described as ‘an excellent composer of concertos and church music, and, being young, he is a wonder and sings with incomparable taste’ (un bravissimo compositore di Concerti, e di musica da Chiesa, e per essere Giovane è uno stupore e canta con gusto inarrivabile).<sup>45</sup> On his return to Lisbon in 1726 Almeida became

39 P-VV J. 12/A. 6: ‘OFFICIUM MAJORIS HEBDOMADAE Complectens ea, Quæ à Choro cantari consueverunt in cantu figurato Quatuor vocum Á Missa Dominicæ in Palmis usque ad Missam & Vesperas Sabbati sancti: interjecto etiam ubi opus fuit cantu plano, ad majorem canentium commoditatem. Omnia ex probatissimis Regiæ Musices Bibliothecæ Auctoribus deprompta ac selecta. Quæ vero In iis desiderabantur, aliquot Modernorum non inconcinnis compositionibus suppleta sunt. Pro Sacra & Regia Capella Serenissimi BRIGANTIE DUCIS. Vincentius Perez Petroch Vale(n)tinus Sacrosanctæ Basilicæ Patriarchalis Ulixbonen(ensis) Scriptor. Exarabat. ULYSSIPONE OCCIDENTALI. ANNO MDCCXXXV’. Henceforth MS A.

40 P-VV J. 15/A. 9: ‘OFFICIUM HEBDOMADAE SANCTAE In quo continentur Ea omnia, quæ per totam Majorem Hebdomadam à Missa videlicet Dominicæ in Palmis ad Missam & Vesperas Sabbati sancti a Choro cantari solent, Octo pleraque, nonnulla sex, quinque, & quatuor vocibus concinnata. Adjecto etiam ubi opus fuit cantu plano. PARS PRIMA A Dominica in Palmis usque ad Feriam quintam In Cœna Domini. Pro Regia Capella Serenissimi DUCIS BRIGANTINI. Vincentius Perez Petroch Valentinus Sacrosanctæ Basilicæ Patriarchalis Ulixbonen(ensis) Scriptor: Exarabat. ULYSSIPONE OCCIDENTALI ANNO MDCCXXXVI’; and J. 16/A. 10: ‘OFFICIUM HEBDOMADAE SANCTAE . . . PARS SECUNDA Pro Feria sexta in Parasceve, & Sabbato sancto. Ad usum Regiæ Capellæ Serenissimi DUCIS BRIGANTINI . . .’. Henceforth MSS B1 and B2 respectively.

41 Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, volume 2 (Lisbon: Officina de Ignacio Rodrigues, 1743), 16. See also the modern edition, *A música no ciclo da “Bibliotheca Lusitana”*, ed. Rui Vieira Nery (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1984), 46.

42 There are copies of the four Maundy Thursday responsories in P-Lf MS 216/5, and of the three Holy Saturday responsories in P-Lf MS 216/6. Choirbook P-Lf MS VI contains Manuel Soares’s set of four-voice psalms for Saturday Vespers, also copied in P-VV J. 13/A. 7, fols 1v–43r.

43 A set of parts for this work with an added organ continuo is in P-Lf MS 5/11.

44 The indices at the end of the volumes also refer to most of the sources used by the copyist; see Appendix 2.

45 See Manuel Carlos de Brito, ‘Um retrato inédito do compositor Francisco António de Almeida’, in his *Estudos de*



organist of the Patriarchal Church and was probably among the victims of the 1 November 1755 Lisbon earthquake. Thirty-seven works by him – twelve secular (including a sinfonia in F major<sup>46</sup> and the first opera in Italian to be sung in Portugal, *La pazienza di Socrate* of 1733<sup>47</sup>) and twenty-five sacred – survive in Portuguese, German, French and Italian collections.<sup>48</sup> Bezzi was an alto singer from the Cappella Giulia, where he was employed from 1715 to 1719,<sup>49</sup> before he left for Lisbon in late 1719 with the first group of Italians engaged by the Patriarchal Church.<sup>50</sup> In the 'Breve rezume' there are references to six psalm settings by him; at least seventeen of his works survive complete in Portuguese archives.<sup>51</sup> Manuel Soares (died 1756) was a member of the Order of St Peter and organist of the Royal Chapel in Lisbon; according to the biographer Machado, 'the works he composed to be sung in the Holy Patriarchal Church of Lisbon . . . deserved applause and admiration from great Masters . . . which from Italy His Most Faithful Majesty, King João V of fond memory, ordered to be led to this Court' ('as obras, que compoz para se cantarem na Santa Igreja Patriarchal de Lisboa . . . mereceram applausos, e admirações de grandes Mestres . . . que de Itália mandou conduzir para esta Corte a Magestade Fidelissima, e sempre saudosa de ElRey D. Joãõ V').<sup>52</sup> Soares is not named in the 'Breve rezume', but he is the composer of most of the 'modern' works and additions in the Vila Viçosa choirbooks (MS A, nos 7, 16, 32 and 45; MS B1, nos 1 and 14; MS B2, nos 1 and 14).

The musical additions in the three choirbooks tend to imitate their exemplars in their style and technique and were apparently intended to extend them and so to provide polyphonic music for the entire *Gloria, laus* – that is, the refrain and the first five strophes out of the ten that appeared in the 1570 *Missale Romanum*, as set in the 1604 revision of the Missal by Pope Clement VII – and likewise for the *Lamentations*, according to the text division in the Breviary of Pius V (but with one verse less in each lesson, as became usual in most post-Tridentine liturgical books). Manuel Soares's responsories were certainly planned to complete Victoria's own set, which comprises only the second and third nocturn in each *Triduum* day.

The opening item in the first 1736 choirbook, an *alternatim* setting of the *Asperges me* for eight voices, is a different case, however (see Figure 1 and the edition in Appendix 3<sup>53</sup>). A note by the copyist in the index of the volume states that 'only five voices were composed by Manuel Mendes, Portuguese, as it is contained in an old manuscript: the remaining three voices were added by Father Manuel Soares' ('Quinque tantum vocibus cōpositum ab Emmanuele Mendes Lusitano, ut in vetusto Manuscripto continetur: reliquas tres addidit Pater Emmanuel Soares').<sup>54</sup> Manuel Mendes (died 1605) was maestro di cappella of the private chapel of Cardinal Infante Dom Henrique when the latter was made Archbishop of Évora in 1575.<sup>55</sup> In that same year, when he entered the priesthood, Mendes was presumably made maestro di cappella in the Collegiate Church of Santo Antão in Évora, where he held a benefice, and finally became a bachelor in the Cathedral there in 1585. Some of his works are among the most widely circulated pieces in Portuguese and

*história da música em Portugal* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1989), 123–126, especially 124.

46 D-DI Mus. 2655-N-1.

47 Only the third act of this opera survives; the incomplete autograph score is in P-La 47-ii-14.

48 The fullest available list of Almeida's works – which is, however, neither complete nor accurate – is in *Grove Music Online* <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)> (19 July 2010).

49 Or possibly between 1707 and January 1717, when he was replaced in the contraltos by Giuseppe Ulissi, according to Jean Lionnet, *Musiciens à Rome (1570–1750)* <<http://philidor.cmbv.fr/nom/1980>> (28 November 2010).

50 See Alvarenga, 'Domenico Scarlatti in the 1720s', 47.

51 These works are: P-Lf MS 34/1 to 11, P-Vs 77 and P-VV lxxxi nos 1 to 5. The sixteen psalms attributed to Bezzi in P-VV B cxxii no. 2 are incomplete.

52 Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, volume 4 (Lisbon: Officina Patriarcal de Francisco Luiz Ameno, 1759), 250; *A música no ciclo da 'Bibliotheca Lusitana'*, 225.

53 Another edition of this piece is in *Manuel Mendes: Asperges me a 8* (Mapa Mundi 254A), ed. Bernadette Nelson (Lochs: Vanderbeek & Imrie, 2008).

54 A copy of this piece, undoubtedly made from the Vila Viçosa choirbook, exists in P-Lf MS 137/1.

55 Dom Henrique was later made king (1578–1580) following the death of his grand-nephew King Sebastião (1557–1578) in the disastrous battle of El-Ksar-El-Kebir in Morocco on 4 August 1578.

Dominica in Palmis

CANTUS I. **D** O mine hyfo-  
po et mūdabor et mundabor lava-  
bis me la va bis me et fuper nivē deal ba bor.

ALTIUS I. **D** O mine hyfopo et mundabor lava bis  
me et fuper nivē deal ba bor.

TENOR I. **A** Sperges me Do mine hyfopo et munda bor  
et fuper nivem dealbabor dealba bor.

BASSUS I. **D** O mine hyfopo et munda bor et fuper  
nivem deal babor dealbabor.

Ad Asperionem

CANTUS II. **D** O mine hyfopo et mun-  
da bor la-  
va bis me et fuper ni vem dealbabor dealbabor.

ALTIUS II. **H** Y fopo et munda bor  
lava bisme et  
fuper nivem dealbabor dealbabor.

TENOR II. **H** Y fopo et munda bor  
lava bis me lavabis me et  
fuper ni vem dealba bor.

BASSUS II. **D** O mine  
lava bis me et  
fuper nivem de alba bor deal ba bor.

Figure 1 Manuel Soares's eight-voice reworking of Manuel Mendes's five-voice *Asperges me* in P-VV J. 15 / A. 9, fols [i]v–1r. Museu-Biblioteca da Casa de Bragança. Used by permission



American colonial manuscript sources in the years around 1600,<sup>56</sup> but his considerable reputation rested largely on his abilities as a teacher: for example, in a letter from Tomé Álvares to the Antwerpian printer Balthasar Moretus from 1610, he is said to have been the ‘master . . . of all good music in this Kingdom’, having apparently instructed some of the most noted late sixteenth-century Portuguese composers.<sup>57</sup>

Part of Mendes’s original five-voice setting survives in a manuscript quire appended to the front of the copy of the 1551 Jacques Moderne printing of Cristóbal de Morales’s *Missarum liber secundus*, once in Lamego Cathedral.<sup>58</sup> Given that only the central bifolium and the last folio of this additional gathering (most certainly a quaternion) are still extant, just the Superius and the Tenor parts are complete up to the end of the psalm verse. Judging from the arrangement of voices in the preceding *Vidi aquam* (quite probably also by Mendes), Altus primus and secundus and Bassus are missing (see Figure 2 and the edition in Appendix 3). Even so, it is possible to observe that Manuel Soares’s work consisted not of the simple addition of three contrapuntal parts, but of a complete reworking of the polyphonic texture of Mendes’s piece (contrary to what we can assume from the scribe’s note in the Vila Viçosa choirbook), each of the original voices providing material for more than one of the voices in the ‘modern’ eight-part version. For example, in the antiphon section Mendes’s original Superius part is redistributed in Soares’s Cantus I (bars 1–5), Tenor I (bars 5–7), Cantus I (bars 8–16), Cantus II (bars 17–19), Altus I (bars 20–21), Cantus II (bars 21–23) and Altus I (bars 24–25). Similarly, the original Tenor part is the source for Soares’s Tenor I (bars 1–5), Tenor II (bars 6–8), Tenor I (bars 11–14), Tenor II (bars 14–19), Bassus I (bars 19–23) and Tenor II (bars 23–24). In the psalm verse section Soares entrusts the psalm tone to Cantus I in the way of a cantus firmus, dividing the original Superius part between his Cantus II (bars 28–30), Altus I (bars 31–34) and again Cantus II (bars 34–35). Nothing in terms of formal outlines or tonality is changed in the broader structure of the original piece (even the floating use of F sharp against the final G is retained), and a basically five-part texture and distribution of motivic imitation is palpable until the concluding cadence of each section and the very last segment of the piece, where something like a full eight-part texture creates a cumulative *crescendo* effect. These features, while retaining the substance of Mendes’s setting, seem consistent with the repertory apparently favoured in the Patriarchal Church in its earliest years, judging by the ‘Breve rezume’: *pieno, vero stile* polyphony drawn in bold musical textures.

The picture that emerges from the ‘Breve rezume’ and the Vila Viçosa choirbooks is not of a static repertory simply imported, but rather of a more subtle process of acculturation and adaptation. This process involved a considerable degree of historical awareness, of course, as the new dynasty navigated between the poles of tradition and novelty, foreign models and domestic cultural production (a balancing act that has been a common thread in the history of Portugal, shaping its distinctively plural and syncretic culture). Indeed, many of João V’s policies were rooted in historical consciousness and cultural emulation. Seeking to validate the dynasty established by his grandfather, he did what all founders of dynasties had tended to do and ordered the building of an imposing, symbolic monument: the Royal Palace and Convent in Mafra. Started in 1717 on a neoclassical plan by the Roman-trained architect Johann Friedrich Ludwig and dedicated in 1730, the palace and convent are said to have virtually exhausted the gold from Minas Gerais in Brazil.<sup>59</sup> João V also established the Royal Academy of Portuguese History in 1720, along with a private printing press;

56 For an updated list of Mendes’s works and their sources see João Pedro d’Alvarenga, ‘Manuscript Évora, Biblioteca Pública, Cód. CLI/1-3: Its Origin and Contents, and the Stemmata of Late-Sixteenth- and Early-Seventeenth-Century Portuguese Sources’, Appendix 2, *Anuario Musical* (forthcoming).

57 Tomé Álvares, letter to Balthasar Moretus, 11 March 1610; facsimile in Armindo Borges, *Duarte Lobo (1562–1646): Studien zum Leben und Schaffen des portugiesischen Komponisten* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1986), 317.

58 It is now housed in the former Episcopal Palace in Lamego (P-LAP; nowadays the Lamego Municipal Museum), with the call number Liv. 143.

59 Afonso Henriques, the first Portuguese king, had ordered the building of the Monastery of Alcobaça in 1153; João I, founder of the Avis dynasty, the Monastery of Batalha in 1386; Manuel I – who, like João V, was not expected to succeed to the throne – ordered the building of the Monastery of Belém in 1502; and Filipe II, the Monastery of São Vicente de Fora, Lisbon, in 1582.



o mine ih  
hisopo et mundabor mundabor la tua bisme la :  
ua bisme & superni uem dealbabor deal ba bor  
Secundū magnā miseri cordiam tuam misericordiā tu  
am ij As per ges me  
o mine hisopo et mundabor, hisopo & mun :  
da br laua bisme lauabisme & superni uē deal :  
ba bor Mi se re re me i De us  
Secundū magnā miseri cordiam tu am  
miseri cordiam tu am

Figure 2 Remaining parts of Manuel Mendes's five-voice *Asperges me* in P-Lap Lv. 143, additional front gathering, f. [2]v. Centro de Estudos de Sociologia e Estética Musical. Used by permission



significantly, one of the major works produced by the Academy was the *Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portuguesa* (Genealogical History of the Portuguese Royal House) in fourteen volumes, supported by six additional volumes of *Provas* (Evidences).<sup>60</sup> And he even published a law for the protection of architectural heritage in 1721.

Within the music for the Patriarchal Church and related institutions, such as the Royal Chapel at the Ducal Palace in Vila Viçosa, this sort of historical awareness can of course be seen in the recourse to older repertoires and the imitation of older styles, with some ancient pieces reworked in order to adjust them to the values and performing conditions of the more austere Roman ceremonial. But one can also detect a historical sensibility in the composition of new works that assimilated the Italianate manner. In this respect, a historical perspective is apparent in the way that composers generally kept their rendering of the *vero stile* in marked opposition to their modern idiom (an opposition that was even marked visually, through the use of different notational styles). This can be seen clearly when comparing individual works, such as Francisco

1. **Largo**

S  
A  
T  
B  
Org

4 #3 5 6 7 6 #3 7 6 7 6 7 6

6

7 6 4 3 4 3 6 6 7 6 b4

Example 1 Francisco António de Almeida, *Miserere*, version with organ continuo, bars 1–10

60 António Caetano de Sousa, *Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, 14 volumes (Lisbon West: Officina de Joseph Antonio da Sylva, and Officina Sylviana da Academia Real, 1735–1749); and *Provas da Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, 6 volumes (Lisbon West: Officina Sylviana da Academia Real, 1739–1748).



António de Almeida's *Miserere* in the Vila Viçosa MS A and his four-voice responsory for St Anthony, *Si quaeris miracula* (see Examples 1 and 2),<sup>61</sup> or João Rodrigues Esteves's twelve-voice *Miserere* and the four-voice *Magnificat* in F major from his *Psalmi brevis a 4*, both dated 1737 (see Figures 3 and 4).<sup>62</sup> But artful combinations did exist in this polarized stylistic context: António Teixeira's twenty-voice *Te Deum* of 1734, composed for the thanksgiving office at the year's end in the Jesuit Church of St Roque in Lisbon, adopts two contrasting styles in seamless succession for its opening movement: retrospective, contrapuntal *stile pieno* with no accompaniment except the organ leads to a modern, melodic *concertato* with full orchestra.<sup>63</sup>

Several abrupt changes arising from the new dynastic regime would shape the eighteenth-century (and, indeed, nineteenth-century) Portuguese musical scene, such as the abandonment (though not the banning) of the vernacular villancicos after the establishment of the Patriarchal Church in 1716 and the subsequent

**Andante**

S  
A  
T  
B  
Org

4

Example 2 Francisco António de Almeida, *Si quaeris miracula*, bars 1–6

61 A set of parts for the responsory exists in P-Lf 5/9. For an additional source of the *Miserere* see note 43 above.

62 Autographs in P-Ln Espólio de M. S. Ribeiro 209 and P-Lf MS 72/85 respectively.

63 An eighteenth-century fair copy of the score exists in Lisbon, Church of Our Lady of Loreto; see Alvarenga, 'Domenico Scarlatti in the 1720s', 53, note 158, and 64, note 175. On the *Te Deum* 'alla Romana' tradition in Lisbon see Alvarenga, 'Domenico Scarlatti in the 1720s', 62–64.



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*Miserere* *ab Choro* *Deus*

João Rodrigues Esteves

Mise re re mei De us

Mise re re mei De us

Mise re re mei De - y me

Mi se re re mei De us

Mise re re mei me - i De us

Mise re re mei De us

Mise re re me - i De us

Mi se re - re mei De

Mi se re - re mei De

Mi se re re - mei

Mi se re re mei

M.C-209

ESPÓLIO DE M. S. RIBEIRO

Figure 3 João Rodrigues Esteves, *Miserere* for twelve voices (1737), first page of the autograph score, P-Ln Espólio de M. S. Ribeiro 209. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. Used by permission





adoption (at least nominally, until late 1718) of Roman ceremonial,<sup>64</sup> not to mention the drastic changes in the range, vocal technique and timbre of the choirs, largely because of the presence of castratos, whom the inhabitants of Lisbon heard to their amazement for the first time on 21 September 1719.<sup>65</sup> Despite all this, 'Romanization' was but one episode of a much longer and slower process of Portuguese 'Italianization' – that is, the process whereby Italian models that gradually merged into local musical production and performance were assimilated, processed and adapted. What had begun in the late sixteenth century as a cultural undercurrent emerged strongly and suddenly in the early 1720s as an immediate consequence of João V's reforms, but became dominant in musical culture at large only from around 1750, with the more decisive involvement of the crown in opera seria, which, although being emblematic of Italian baroque culture, had scarcely existed in Portugal until then.<sup>66</sup> Actually, on the orders of King João V's son, José I (1750–1777) – who, in the words of his wife, 'didn't like the Patriarchal much' ('n'aime pas tant la patriarchal')<sup>67</sup> – diplomatic efforts were made, involving secret negotiations and enormous sums of money, in order to hire the best opera singers then available in Italy (including the noted castratos Gizziello, Manzuoli and Caffarelli and the tenor Anton Raaf). In 1752 Davide Perez was appointed composer to the king, teacher in the Patriarchal Seminary and master of music to the Princess of Brazil (the future Queen Maria I), and Giovanni Carlo Sicini Galli-Bibiena came to Lisbon to design new theatres and scenery for opera: a small theatre at the Palace of Salvaterra de Magos, which was already completed for the 1753 Carnival season, and another one in Lisbon on the east side of the Ribeira Palace next to the Patriarchal Church, known today as Ópera do Tejo (Tagus Opera House). The latter theatre was then thought to be one of the largest in Europe, even though it lasted for just seven months after the opening on 31 March 1755, the Queen's birthday, with a lavish production of a new version of Perez's 1752 *Alessandro nell'Indie*.<sup>68</sup> In the meantime, as the stylistic changes in the voluminous extant works of João Rodrigues Esteves and Giovanni Giorgi suggest,<sup>69</sup> Neapolitan models and a broadly 'galant' style gradually came to supplant Roman models in the repertory of the Patriarchal Church. The *stile concertato* became the dominant musical register in church, restricting the *vero stile* to the penitential liturgy – or, beyond this, to a topic of musical expression.

64 Since at least 1640 villancicos had traditionally been sung in the Portuguese Royal Chapel at Matins and Mass on Christmas, Epiphany and the Conception of the Blessed Virgin; see Rui Cabral Lopes, 'O vilancico na Capela Real Portuguesa (1640–1716): o testemunho das fontes textuais' (PhD dissertation, Universidade de Évora, 2006); and Álvaro Torrente, "'Misturadas de castelhanadas com o ofício divino": la reforma de los maitines de Navidad y Reyes en el siglo XVIII', in *La ópera en el templo: Estudios sobre el compositor Francisco Javier García Fajer*, ed. Miguel-Ángel Marín (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, Institución 'Fernando el Católico', 2010), 193–234.

65 On the arrival of the first castratos in Lisbon, the impression they made and the envy they inspired among local musicians, see the reference in note 37 (Nunciature report of 26 September 1719).

66 On the issue of 'Italianization' in Portuguese music see Rui Vieira Nery, 'Italian Models and Problems of Periodisation in Portuguese Baroque Music', in *Routes du Baroque: la contribution du Baroque à la pensée et à l'art européens*, ed. Alain Roy and Isabel Tamen (Lisbon: Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, 1990), 217–223, and Alvarenga, 'Domenico Scarlatti in the 1720s', especially 55–57.

67 Princess Mariana Vitória de Bourbon, letter to her mother, Isabel de Farnesio, Queen of Spain, 6 April 1743, in *Cartas da Rainha D. Mariana Vitória para a sua família de Espanha*, ed. Caetano Beirão (Lisbon: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1936), volume 1, 246.

68 On opera and related genres in Portugal see Manuel Carlos de Brito, *Opera in Portugal in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

69 Esteves's surviving output totals one hundred works; most of the autographs of these works, which date from between 1719 and 1751, are now housed in the archive of Lisbon Cathedral (P-Lf). On Giorgi's extant works see note 20 above.



Appendix 1 Polyphonic repertory in the 'Breve rezume', P-La MS 49-i-59

- ANONYMOUS
- 01.01 Adoratio Crucis, 8 vv
- 01.02 Dixit Dominus (109), 8 vv, 3.<sup>o</sup> tom (= a minor)
- 01.03 Dixit Dominus (109), 8 vv, 8.<sup>o</sup> tom 'um ponto alto'  
(up a step = A major)
- 01.04 Lectio prima in feria IV Maioris Hebdomadae, 8 vv  
[ALLEGRI, **Gregorio**, 1582–1652]
- 02.01 Miserere, 8 vv  
**ALMEIDA, Francisco António de**, c1702–1755?
- 03.01 Missa, 8 vv, 2.<sup>o</sup> tom (= G minor)  
**BASSETTO = GRASSI, Francesco / Bassetti, Giovanni Battista**
- 04.01 Confitebor (110), 4 vv, 5.<sup>o</sup> tom (= C major)
- 04.02 Confitebor (110), 8 vv, 1.<sup>o</sup> tom (= D minor)
- 04.03 *Dixit Dominus (109), 4 vv, 1.<sup>o</sup> tom 'um ponto baixo'*  
(down a step = C minor) Possibly the same piece as no.  
19.06
- 04.04 Magnificat, 4 vv, 4.<sup>o</sup> tom (= E minor)
- BENCINI, Pietro Paolo**, 1675?–1755
- 05.01 *Beati omnes (127), 4 vv, 1.<sup>o</sup> tom* Possibly the same piece as  
below (05.02)
- 05.02 *Beati omnes (127), 8 vv, 1.<sup>o</sup> tom*  
**BENEVOLI, Orazio**, 1605–1672
- 06.01 Dixit Dominus (109), 8 vv, 5.<sup>o</sup> tom
- 06.02 Missa, 8 vv, 2.<sup>o</sup> tom 'por bemol' (with B $\flat$  = G minor)  
**BERETTA, Francesco** [died 1694]
- 07.01 Confitebor (110), 8 vv, 5.<sup>o</sup> tom
- 07.02 Ad te levavi oculos (122), 8 vv, 5.<sup>o</sup> tom 'um ponto baixo'  
(down a step = B flat major)  
**BEZZI, Girolamo**, fl. 1715–1736
- 08.01 *Beati omnes (127), 4 vv, 5.<sup>o</sup> tom*
- 08.02 *Beati omnes (127), 8 vv, 5.<sup>o</sup> tom* Possibly the same piece as  
above (08.01)
- 08.03 Beatus vir (111), 8 vv, 5.<sup>o</sup> tom
- 08.04 Confitebor (110), [8 vv], 5.<sup>o</sup> tom 'um ponto alto'  
(up a step = D major)
- 08.05 Dixit Dominus (109), 8 vv, 8.<sup>o</sup> tom (= G major)
- 08.06 Nisi quia Dominus (123), 8 vv, 8.<sup>o</sup> tom  
**BICILLI, Giovanni**, 1623–1705?
- 09.01 Missa, 8 vv, 8.<sup>o</sup> tom  
**CARDOSO, Br Manuel**, 1566–1650
- 10.01 Lauda Sion, 8 vv, 3.<sup>o</sup> tom  
**CARISSIMI, Giacomo**, 1605–1664
- 11.01 Credidi (115), 8 vv, 4.<sup>o</sup> tom  
**COLONNA, [? Giovanni Paolo]**, 1637–1695]
- 12.01 Missa, 8 vv, 2.<sup>o</sup> tom (= G minor)  
**CONSEIL, Jean**, 1498–1535
- 13.01 Lumen ad revelationem / Nunc dimittis, 4 vv



- COSTA, Br André da** [died 1685]  
 14.01 Veni Sancte Spiritus, 8 vv, 2.º tom
- ESTEVEZ, João Rodrigues**, fl. 1719–1751  
 15.01 Missa, 8 vv, 1.º tom
- FOGGIA, Francesco**, 1604–1688  
 16.01 Confitebor (110), 8 vv, 5.º tom ‘um ponto baixo’ (down a step)  
 16.02 Credidi (115), 8 vv, 5.º tom ‘um ponto baixo com entoação’  
 (down a step, with intonation)  
 16.03 Dilexi (114), 8 vv, 1.º tom ‘um ponto baixo’ (down a step)
- FRANCÊS, Estêvão Ribeiro**, fl. 1720  
 17.01–08 Responsoría in Epiphania Domini [I. Hodie in Jordane; II. In columbæ specie; III. Reges Tharsis; IV. Illuminare Jerusalem; V. Omnes de Saba; VI. Magi veniunt; VII. Stella quam viderant; VIII. Videntes stellam], 8 vv
- 17.09 Benedictus, 8 vv  
 17.10 Miserere, 8 vv
- GRANDI, Alessandro**, 1586?–1630  
 18.01 Beati omnes (127), 8 vv, 1.º tom  
 18.02 *Beati omnes* (127), 8 vv, 1.º tom ‘sem entoação’  
 (without intonation) Possibly the same piece as  
 above (18.01)  
 18.03 Confitebor (110), 8 vv, 2.º tom  
 18.04 Credidi (115), 8 vv, 4.º tom  
 18.05 Dixit Dominus (109), 8 vv, 1.º tom ‘com entoação’  
 (with intonation)  
 18.06 In convertendo (125), 8 vv  
 18.07 Lauda Jerusalem (147), 8 vv, 8.º tom  
 18.08 *Lauda Jerusalem* (147), 8 vv, 8.º tom ‘com entoação’  
 (with intonation) Possibly the same piece as  
 above (18.07)  
 18.09 Magnificat, 8 vv, 2.º tom
- GRASSI, Francesco** [died 1703]  
 19.01 Ad Dominum cum tribularer (119), 1 solo v, 8 vv, 2.º tom  
 19.02 Beatus vir (111), 8 vv, 5.º tom ‘um ponto alto’ (up a step)  
 19.03 Credidi (115), 8 vv, 1.º tom  
 19.04 Credidi (115), 8 vv, 2.º tom ‘com entoação’ (with intonation)  
 19.05 Credidi (115), 8 vv, 5.º tom ‘um ponto alto’ (up a step)  
 19.06 *Dixit Dominus* (109), 8 vv, 1.º tom ‘um ponto baixo’  
 (down a step) Possibly the same piece as no.  
 04.03  
 19.07 Dixit Dominus (109), 8 vv, 5.º tom  
 19.08 In exitu (113), 4 vv, 1.º tom  
 19.09 Laetatus sum (121), 8 vv, 5.º tom ‘um ponto baixo’  
 (down a step)  
 19.10 Lauda Jerusalem (147), 8 vv, 1.º tom  
 19.11 Lauda Jerusalem (147), 8 vv, 8.º tom ‘um ponto alto’  
 (up a step = A major)  
 19.12 Laudate Dominum omnes gentes (116), 1 solo v, 8 vv, 5.º tom  
 ‘um ponto alto’ (up a step)  
 19.13 Laudate pueri (112), 8 vv, 5.º tom  
 19.14 Laudate pueri (112), 8 vv, 6.º tom (= F major)



- 19.15 Levavi oculos (120), 4 vv, 1.º tom
- 19.16 Magnificat, 8 vv, 5.º tom
- 19.17 Magnificat, 8 vv, 5.º tom 'um ponto baixo' (down a step)  
**GEUCK, Valentin**, 1570/1572–1596
- 20.01 Homo quidam fecit cœnam magnam, 6 vv, 5.º tom  
**LORENZANI, Paolo**, 1640–1713
- 21.01 Magnificat, 8 vv, 1.º tom  
**MASOTTI, Virgilio** (?) = **MAZZOCCHI, Virgilio**, 1597–1646
- 22.01 Laudate Dominum omnes gentes (116), 8 vv, 3.º tom  
**MELANI, Alessandro**, 1639–1703
- 23.01 Dixit Dominus (109), 8 vv, 5.º tom 'um ponto baixo'  
(down a step)
- 23.02 In exitu (113), 5 vv, 1.º tom 'um ponto baixo' (down a step)
- 23.03 Magnificat, 8 vv, 3.º tom
- 23.04 Magnificat, 8 vv, 4.º tom
- 23.05 *Magnificat*, 8 vv probably one of the above-mentioned pieces (23.03 or 23.04)
- MORI, Pietro**, fl. 1640–1651
- 24.01 Beati omnes (127), 4 vv, 4.º tom
- MOSSI, Gaetano**, fl. 1707–1761
- 25.01 Beatus vir (111), 8 vv, 8.º tom  
**PALESTRINA, Giovanni Pierluigi da**, 1525/1526–1594
- 26.01 '*Concertado*', 5 vv [Corpus Christi ad Processionem] = O sacrum convivium (?)
- 26.02 Fratres ego enim accepi, 8 vv, 2.º tom 'por bemol'
- 26.03 *Moteto*, 8 vv [Corpus Christi ad Missam] = Fratres ego enim accepi (?)
- 26.04 'Motetos', 8 vv [Corpus Christi ad Processionem]
- 26.05 O beata et benedicta et gloriosa Trinitas, 5 vv, 5.º tom
- 26.06 O lux beata Trinitas, 4 vv, 8.º tom
- 26.07 O salutaris hostia, 8 vv, 6.º tom *recte* 4 vv (?); probably not by Palestrina
- 26.08 *Moteto*, 8 vv [die II infra oct. Corporis Christi ad Missam] = O salutaris hostia (?)
- 26.09 Pange lingua gloriosi, 4 vv, 3.º tom
- 26.10 Panis angelicus, 8 vv, 8.º tom *recte* 4 vv (?); probably not by Palestrina
- 26.11 *Moteto*, 8 vv, 8.º tom [die V infra oct. Corporis Christi ad Missam] = Panis angelicus (?)
- 26.12 Veni creator Spiritus, 4 vv, 4.º tom  
**PRIONI, Giuseppe Ottavio**, 1657–1743
- 27.01 Confitebor (110), 5 vv, 2.º tom 'por bemol'
- 27.02 Confitebor (110), 8 vv, 5.º tom
- 27.03 Credidi (115), 4 vv, 3.º tom
- 27.04 Dixit Dominus (109), 8 vv, 5.º tom
- 27.05 Magnificat, 8 vv, 1.º tom 'um ponto baixo' (down a step)
- 27.06 Missa, 8 vv, 8.º tom
- 27.07 Missa, 8 vv, 8.º tom 'um ponto alto' (up a step)  
**ROMERO, Mateo**, 1575/1576–1647
- 28.01 Lauda Sion, 8 vv, 8.º tom



- 28.02 *Lauda Sion*, 8 vv Probably the same piece as  
above (28.01)
- SANTOS, Br Manuel dos**, 1669–1737
- 29.01 Benedictus, 8 vv
- 29.02–06 Psalmi ad Vesperas [I. Benedictus Dominus (143), 6.º tom; II. Exaltabo te Deus (144), 8.º tom; III. Lauda anima mea (145), 4.º tom; IV. Laudate Dominum quoniam (146), 8.º tom; V. Lauda Jerusalem (147), 1.º tom], [4 vv]
- 29.07 Veni Sancte Spiritus, 8 vv
- SARTORI, Baldassare** [died 1717]
- 30.01 Confitebor (110), 8 vv, 6.º tom
- 30.02 Qui confidunt in Dominum (124), 8 vv, 5.º tom
- SCARLATTI, Domenico**, 1685–1757
- 31.01–08 Responsorialia in Conceptione BMV [I. Hodie concepta est; II. Beatissimæ virginis; III. Gloriosæ virginis; IV. Conceptio gloriosæ; V. Cum jucunditate; VI. Conceptio tua; VII. Beatam me dicent; VIII. Felix namque], 8 vv
- 31.09–16 Responsorialia in Nativitate Domini [I. Hodie nobis coelorum; II. Hodie nobis de coelo; III. Quem vidistis; IV. O magnum mysterium; V. Beata Dei genitrix; VI. Sancta et immaculata; VII. Beata viscera; VIII. Verbum caro], 8 vv
- 31.17 Te Deum, 8 vv
- 31.18 Missa, 8 vv, 2.º tom ‘por bemol’
- 31.19 Missa, 8 vv, 5.º tom ‘um ponto mais alto’  
(up a step further = E major, or E flat major)
- 31.20 *Lauda Sion*, 8 vv, 5.º tom ‘um ponto baixo’ (down a step)
- 31.21 *Lauda Sion*, 8 vv, 8.º tom
- 31.22 *Aperuerunt apostolis*, 8 vv, 6.º tom
- 31.23 *Spiritus Sanctus*, 8 vv, 7.º tom (= D major)
- STEFFANI, Agostino**, 1654–1728
- 32.01 *Credidi* (115), 8 vv, 2.º tom ‘por bemol’
- 32.02 *Confitebor* (110), 8 vv, 1.º tom
- 32.03 *Lauda Jerusalem* (147), 8 vv, 3.º tom
- 32.04 *Magnificat*, 8 vv, 4.º tom
- 32.05 *Magnificat*, 8 vv, 6.º tom
- VITALI, Filippo**, c1590–1653
- 33.01 *Jam sol recedit*, 4 vv, 8.º tom
- 33.02 *Pange lingua gloriosi*, 4 vv

NB Italics indicate possible duplications.

Appendix 2 Inventories of Vila Viçosa choirbooks

No.	Folios	Contents	Voices	Attributions in the original index	Sources mentioned in the original index and notes
<b>P-VV J. 12/A. 6 (MS A)</b>					
		DOMINICA IN PALMIS AD ASPERSIONEM			
1	[i]v–1r	Asperges me	4	Manuel Cardoso	Copied from <i>Liber secundus missarum</i> (Lisbon, 1636)
		AD BENEDICTIONEM PALMARUM			
2	1v–2r	Sanctus	4	Gabriel Díaz Besson	Copied from <i>Luctus ecclesiae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost; from Missa no. 14
		AD DISTRIBUTIONEM PALMARUM			
3	2v–4r	Pueri Hebraeorum portantes	4	G. P. da Palestrina	Copied from <i>Motectorum liber secundus</i> (Venice, 1584) = MS B1, no. 3
4	4v–6r	Pueri Hebraeorum vestimenta	4	Tomás Luis de Victoria	Copied from <i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> (Rome, 1585) = MS B1, no. 4
		IN REVERSIONE PROCESSIONIS			
5	6v–10r	Gloria, laus, et honor	4	Anonymous. All five verses by Francisco António de Almeida	Source not mentioned
		AD MISSAM			
6	10v–18r + 20v–23r	Missa ‘Dominicarum Adventus et Quadragesimae’	4	Manuel Cardoso	Copied from <i>Livro de varios motetes, Officio da Semana Sancta, e outras cousas</i> (Lisbon, 1648)
7	18v–20r	O vos omnes	4	Juan de Esquivel [Barahona] <i>Secunda pars</i> , Attendite universi populi, by Manuel Soares	Copied from <i>Motecta festorum et dominicarum cum communi sanctorum</i> (Salamanca, 1608)
8	23v–26r + 32v–36r	Missa ferialis	4	Fernando de Almeida	Copied from <i>Liber Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost
9	26v–32r	Credo ex Missa ‘de Beata Virgine’	4/3	G. P. da Palestrina	Copied from <i>Missarum liber secundus</i> (Rome, 1567)

No.	Folios	Contents	Voices	Attributions in the original index	Sources mentioned in the original index and notes
		FERIA SECUNDA MAJORIS HEBDOMADAE AD MISSAM			
10	36v–37r + 40v–42r	Missa ferialis	4	Anonymous	Source not mentioned
11	37v–40r	Clarifica me Pater	4	Giovanni Giorgi	
		FERIA TERTIA MAJORIS HEBDOMADAE AD MISSAM			
12	42v–43r + 45v–47r	Missa ferialis	4	Mateo Romero	Copied from <i>Liber missarum</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost
13	43v–45r	Vere languores	4	Tomás Luis de Victoria	Copied from <i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> (Rome, 1585)
		FERIA QUARTA MAJORIS HEBDOMADAE AD MISSAM			
14	47v–48r + 50v–52r	Missa ferialis	4	Gabriel Díaz Besson	Copied from <i>Luctus ecclesiae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost Sanctus = no. 2
15	48v–50r	Posuerunt super caput ejus	4	Aires Fernandes	Copied from a ‘MS with various works’ in the Royal Library of Music, lost folio 52v: blank
		FERIA QUINTA IN COENA DOMINI AD MATUTINUM			
16	53v–61r	Lectio I, Incipit lamentatio Jeremie Prophetae	4/3/5	Tomás Luis de Victoria. Additional verses by Manuel Soares	Copied from <i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> (Rome, 1585)
17	61v–63r	In monte Oliveti	4/3	Manuel Soares	
18	63v–69r	Lectio I, Incipit lamentatio Jeremie Prophetae	4	Fernando de Almeida. Additional verses by Girolamo Bezzi	Copied from <i>Liber Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost
19–21	69v–75r	Responsories I–III	4/3	Manuel Soares	
22–27	75v–85r	Responsories IV–IX	4/3	Tomás Luis de Victoria	Copied from <i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> (Rome, 1585)

No.	Folios	Contents	Voices	Attributions in the original index	Sources mentioned in the original index and notes
28	85v–88r	AD LAUDES Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel	4	Fernando de Almeida	Copied from <i>Liber Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost. Even verses
29	88v–92r	Miserere (Ps 50)	4	Fernando de Almeida	Copied from <i>Liber Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost. Odd verses, and the second part of the last, even verse
30	92v–103r	AD MISSAM Missa ‘Simile est regnum caelorum’	4	Alonso Lobo de Borja	Source not mentioned
31	+107v–111r 103v–107r	Dominus Jesus in qua nocte	5	G. P. da Palestrina	Copied from <i>Motettorum liber secundus</i> (Venice, 1572)
32	111v–116r	FERIA SEXTA IN PARASCEVE AD MATUTINUM Lectio I, De lamentatione Jeremiae Prophetae	4	[Unknown.] Additional verses by Manuel Soares	Attributed to Tomás Luis de Victoria in the original index
33–35	116v–122r	Responsories I–III	4/3	Manuel Soares	
36–41	122v–134r	Responsories IV–IX	4/3	Tomás Luis de Victoria	Copied from <i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> (Rome, 1585)
42	134v–137r	AD LAUDES Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel	4/3	Tomás Luis de Victoria	Copied from <i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> (Rome, 1585). Even verses
43	137v–142r	Miserere (Ps 50)	4	Fernando de Almeida	Copied from <i>Liber Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost. Odd verses, and the second part of the last, even verse

No.	Folios	Contents	Voices	Attributions in the original index	Sources mentioned in the original index and notes
44	142v–155r	AD ADORATIONEM CRUCIS Popule meus	4	Tomás Luis de Victoria	Copied from <i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> (Rome, 1585) = MS B2, no. 13
45	155v–163r	SABBATO SANCTO AD MATUTINUM Lectio I, De lamentatione Jeremiae Prophetae	4/6	Tomás Luis de Victoria. Additional verses by Manuel Soares	Copied from <i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> (Rome, 1585)
46–48	163v–169r	Responsories I–III	4/3	Manuel Soares	
49–54	169v–177r	Responsories IV–IX	4/3	Tomás Luis de Victoria	Copied from <i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> (Rome, 1585)
55	177v–180r	AD LAUDES Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel	4	Anonymous	Source not mentioned. Odd verses, and the second part of the last, even verse
56	180v–186r	Miserere (Ps 50)	4	Francisco António de Almeida	Odd verses, and the second part of the last, even verse
57	186v–203r	AD MISSAM Missa	4/3	Mateo Romero	Copied from <i>Liber missarum</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost
58	203v–205r	AD VESPERAS Laudate Dominum omnes gentes (Ps 116)	4	Manuel Soares	
59	205v–217r	Magnificat viii toni	4/3	Cristóbal de Morales	Source not mentioned. Odd and even verses
<b>P-VV J. 15/A. 9 (MS B1)</b>					
1	[i]v–3r	DOMINICA IN PALMIS AD ASPERSIONEM Asperges me	8	Manuel Mendes. Additional voices by Manuel Soares	Original for five voices, ‘as contained in an old MS’
		AD BENEDICTIONEM PALMARUM			

No.	Folios	Contents	Voices	Attributions in the original index	Sources mentioned in the original index and notes
2	3v–5r	Sanctus	6	Gabriel Díaz Besson	Copied from a ‘book of various works’, MS in the Royal Library of Music; lost from no. 10
3	5v–7r	AD DISTRIBUTIONEM PALMARUM Pueri Hebraeorum portantes	4	G. P. da Palestrina	Copied from <i>Motectorum liber secundus</i> (Venice, 1584) = MS A, no. 3
4	7v–9r	Pueri Hebraeorum vestimenta	4	Tomás Luis de Victoria	Copied from <i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> (Rome, 1585) = MS A, no. 4
5	9v–14r	IN REVERSIONE PROCESSIONIS Gloria, laus, et honor	6/4	Fernando de Almeida. The first three verses by Gabriel Díaz Besson and the last two by Girolamo Bezzi	Copied from <i>Liber Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost
6	14v–27r + 30v–35r	AD MISSAM Missa	6/4	Fernando de Almeida	Copied from <i>Liber Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost
7	27v–30r	Tristis est anima mea FERIA SECUNDA MAJORIS HEBDOMADAE AD MISSAM	6	Alonso Lobo de Borja	Source not mentioned
8	35v–37r + 39v–45r	Missa ferialis	8	Gabriel Díaz Besson	Source not mentioned
9	37v–39r	Circumdede runt me FERIA TERTIA MAJORIS HEBDOMADAE AD MISSAM	6	Aires Fernandes	Copied from a ‘MS with various works’ in the Royal Library of Music, lost
10	45v–47r + 50v–54r	Missa ferialis	6/4	Gabriel Díaz Besson	Copied from a ‘book of various works’, MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost. Sanctus = no. 2
11	47v–50r	Caligaverunt oculi mei FERIA QUARTA MAJORIS HEBDOMADAE AD MISSAM	6	Juan de Castro [y Malagaray]	Source not mentioned

No.	Folios	Contents	Voices	Attributions in the original index	Sources mentioned in the original index and notes
12	54v–56r +58v–62r	Missa ferialis	5	Gabriel Díaz Besson	Copied from <i>Luctus ecclesiae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost
13	56v–58r	O Domine Jesu Christe	6	Tomás Luis de Victoria	Copied from <i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> (Rome, 1585) folio 62v: blank
14	63v–73r	FERIA QUINTA IN COENA DOMINI AD MATUTINUM Lectio I, Incipit lamentatio Jeremiae Prophetae	8	Fernando de Almeida. Additional verses by Manuel Soares	Copied from <i>Liber Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost
15–23	73v–97r	Responsories I–IX	8/4	Fernando de Almeida	Copied from <i>Liber Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost
24	97v–103r	AD LAUDES Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel	8/4	Fernando de Almeida	Copied from <i>Liber Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost. Even verses = MS B2, no. 11
25	103v–116r	Miserere (Ps 50)	8/4	Fernando de Almeida	Copied from <i>Liber Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost. Odd verses, and the second part of the last, even verse folio 116v: blank
26	117v–134r +139v–143r	AD MISSAM Missa ‘Vestiva i colli’	8/4	Ruggiero Giovannelli	Source not mentioned
27	134v–139r	Fratres ego enim accepi	8	G. P. da Palestrina	Source not mentioned
<b>P-VV J. 16/A. 10 (MS B2)</b>					
1	[i]v–9r	FERIA SEXTA IN PARASCEVE AD MATUTINUM Lectio I, De lamentatione Jeremiae Prophetae	8	Fernando de Almeida. Additional verses by Manuel Soares	Copied from <i>Liber Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost

No.	Folios	Contents	Voices	Attributions in the original index	Sources mentioned in the original index and notes
2–10	9v–36r	Responsories I–IX	8/4	Fernando de Almeida	Copied from <i>Liber Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost
11	36v–42r	AD LAUDES Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel	8/4	Fernando de Almeida	Copied from <i>Liber Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost. Even verses = MS B1, no. 24
12	42v–53r	Miserere (Ps 50)	8/4	Fernando de Almeida	Copied from <i>Liber Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost. Odd verses, and the second part of the last, even verse
13	53v–66r	AD ADORATIONEM CRUCIS Popule meus	4	Tomás Luis de Victoria	Copied from <i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> (Rome, 1585) = MS A, no. 44
14	66v–77r	SABBATO SANCTO AD MATUTINUM Lectio I, De lamentatione Jeremiae Prophetae	8	Fernando de Almeida. Additional verses by Manuel Soares	Copied from <i>Liber Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost
15–23	77v–97r	Responsories I–IX	8/4	Fernando de Almeida	Copied from <i>Liber Hebdomadae Sanctae</i> , MS in the Royal Library of Music, lost
24	97v–108r	AD LAUDES Miserere (Ps 50)	8/4/3	João Rodrigues Esteves	Odd verses, and the last, even verse fols 108v–109r: blank
25	109v–112r	AD VESPERAS Laudate Dominum omnes gentes (Ps 116)	8	Giulio Belli	Source not mentioned, but possibly copied from <i>Psalmi ad vespas in totius anni solemnitatibus</i> (Venice, 1596)
26	112v–119r	Magnificat VIII toni	8	Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia	Source not mentioned, but copied most probably from <i>Canticum Beatissimae Virginis</i> (Salamanca, 1618)



Appendix 3 A setting of the *Asperges me* for eight voices from the first 1736 choirbook

# Asperges me

P-VV J. 15/A. 9, fols. [i]v-3r

MANUEL MENDES/MANUEL SOARES

Cantus I



Altus I



Tenor I



Bassus I



Cantus II



Altus II



Tenor II



Bassus II



8 As - per - ges me,

Do - mi - ne, Do  
Do - mi - ne, Do -  
Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - ne,  
Do -

5

mi - ne, hys - so - po, et mun - da -  
mi - ne, hys - so - po,  
mi - ne, Do - mi - ne,  
mi - ne, hys - so - po, et mun - da -  
hys - so - po, et mun - da - bor:  
hys - so - po, et mun - da - bor:  
Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - ne,

'TO MAKE OF LISBON A NEW ROME'



11

bor, et mun - da - bor: la - va - bis me,

et mun - da - bor: la -

8 hys - so - po, et mun - da - bor:

so - po, et mun - da - bor:

bor, hys - so - po, et mun - da - bor.

la - va - bis me, la - va -

8 la - va -

la - va -

17

la - va - bis me, et su - per ni - vem de -

va - bis me, et su - per ni - vem de - al - ba -

8 et su - per ni - vem de - al - ba - bor,

et su - per ni - vem de - al -

la - va - bis me, et su - per ni - vem de - al -

bis me, et su - per ni - vem de - al - ba -

8 - bis me, la - va - bis me, et su - per ni - vem

- bis me, la - va - bis me, et su - per ni - vem de - al -



23

al - ba - bor.  
 bor, de - al - ba - bor.  
 de - al - ba - bor.  
 ba - bor, de - al - ba - bor.  
 ba - bor, de - al - ba - bor.  
 bor, de - al - ba - bor.  
 de - al - ba - bor.  
 ba - bor, de - al - ba - bor.

8 Mi - se - re - re - me - i De - us,

26

Se - cun - dum ma - gnam mi - se - ri - cor -  
 Se - cun - dum ma - gnam mi -  
 Se - cun - dum ma - gnam, ma - gnam  
 Se - cun - dum ma - gnam  
 mi - se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am, tu -  
 mi se - ri - cor - di - am  
 mi se - ri - cor - di - am tu  
 mi - se - ri - cor - di - am tu -

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





44

nunc, et sem - per, et  
 et nunc, et sem - per, et nunc, et sem - per,  
 nunc, et sem-per, et nunc, et sem - per,  
 et nunc, et sem - per,  
 o, et nunc, et sem - per, et in sae - cu - la,  
 et in sae - cu - la, et in  
 et in sae - cu - la, et in sae - cu -  
 o, et in sae - cu -

50

in sae - cu - la sae - cu - lo - rum.  
 et in sae - cu - la A -  
 sae - cu - lo - rum, sae - cu - lo - rum. A -  
 et in sae - cu - la, et in sae - cu - la A -  
 et in sae - cu - la sae - cu - lo - rum. A -  
 sae - cu - la sae - cu - lo - rum. A - men,  
 la sac - cu - lo - rum. A - men,  
 la sae - cu - lo - rum. A - men,



56



A - - - men.

- men, a - - men.

men, a - - men.

- men, a - - men.

men, a - - men.

a - - - men.

a - - - men.

a - - - men.

[Repetitur Asperges me, Domine...]



# Asperges me

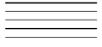
P-LAp Liv. 143, add. front gathering, fol. [2]v

[MANUEL MENDES]

[Superius]



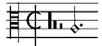
[Altus I]



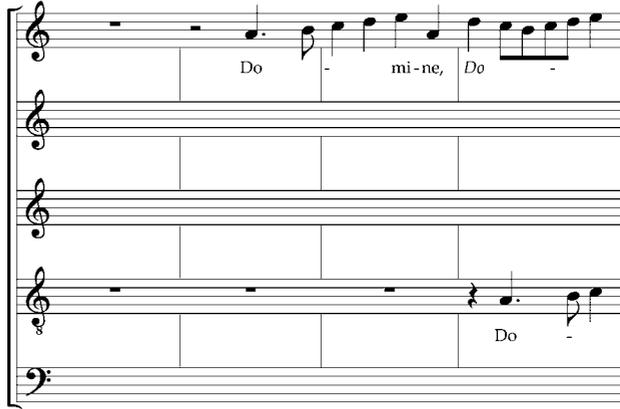
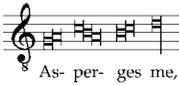
[Altus II]



[Tenor]



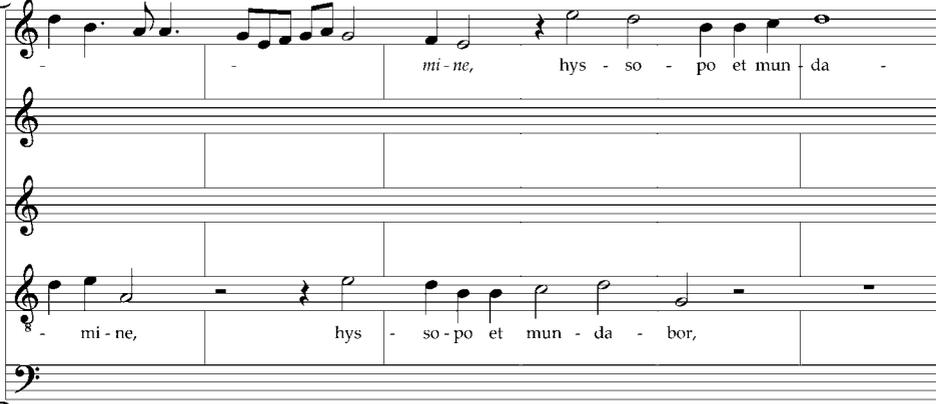
[Bassus]



Do - mi - ne, Do

Do

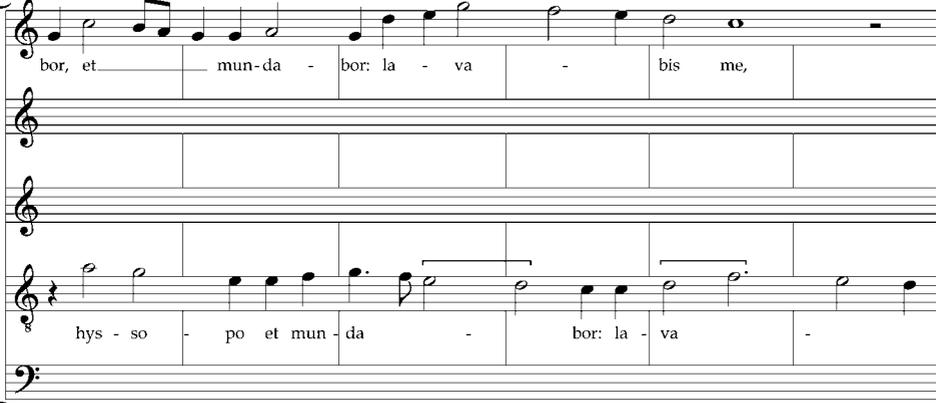
5



mi - ne, hys - so - po et mun - da -

mi - ne, hys - so - po et mun - da - bor,

11



bor, et - mun - da - bor: la - va - bis me,

hys - so - po et mun - da - bor: la - va -



17



la - va - - bis me, et su - per ni - - vem de - al -  
- bis me, la - va - - bis me, et su - per ni - vem de - al -

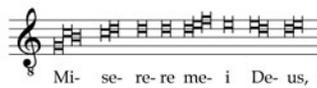
This system contains six staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The second and third staves are empty. The fourth staff is a piano accompaniment line. The fifth and sixth staves are empty.

23



ba - bor, de - al - ba - bor.  
ba - bor.

This system contains five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The second and third staves are empty. The fourth staff is a piano accompaniment line. The fifth staff is empty.



Mi - se - re - re me - i De - us,

This system contains one staff with a piano accompaniment line.

26

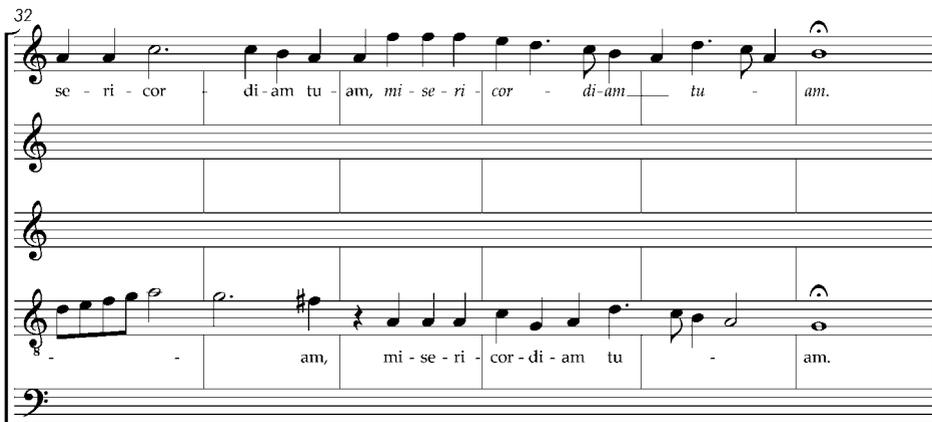


Se - cun - dum ma - gnam mi - se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am, mi -  
Se - cun - dum ma - gnam mi - se - ri - cor - di - am tu -

This system contains six staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The second and third staves are empty. The fourth staff is a piano accompaniment line. The fifth and sixth staves are empty.



32



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

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