

8 Portugal

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Historical Overview

References to the harpsichord in Portugal can be traced back to the late fifteenth century. In his chronicle of King João II (b. 1455; r. 1481–1495), Garcia de Resende (1470–1536) refers to an ambassador of the King of Naples whom the Portuguese king heard performing several times in Torres Vedras in 1493 as “the greatest harpsichord and organ player then known.”¹ It is therefore safe to assume that harpsichords existed and were in use at the court in the early 1490s.

In 1523, King João III (b. 1502; r. 1521–1557) appointed a craftsman named Copym (or Copy) de Holanda – thus probably of Flemish birth – as “master of building our harpsichords” with responsibility for their maintenance, stringing, and tuning, assigning him an annual salary and later granting him extra pensions.² In January 1544, Cardinal *Infante* Dom Henrique (1512–1580), King João III’s younger brother and the archbishop of Évora since 1540,³ took into his service the organ builder Heitor Lobo (ca. 1495–after 1571) for the purpose of having repaired and tuned “the musical instruments of reeds and harpsichords” existing in his house.⁴ There are also a number of references to the instruments owned by Catherine of Austria (1507–1578), the queen consort of King João III. Three harpsichords and their repairing by Diogo de Aranda in late December 1538 are mentioned on January 3, 1539 in the book of expenditures of Queen Catherine.⁵ On March 5, 1556, another payment was ordered by the queen to the same Diogo de Aranda for repairing and stringing a claviorgan and three harpsichords.⁶ These were possibly the same three harpsichords already existing in late 1538. The claviorgan was probably the instrument commissioned in May 1511 by Juan de Santa Maria on behalf of King Manuel I of Portugal (b. 1469; r. 1495–1521) from the renowned builder Mahoma Mofferiz, known as the Moor of Zaragoza.⁷ On September 27, 1552, António do Valle, a harpsichord player, was paid for the lessons he had given to one of the queen’s maids, Joana da Costa, and her sister.⁸ Two years later, on August 11, 1554, a payment was made to Pantaleoa Afonso, the widow of Jorge Gonçalves, “master of making harpsichords,” for a choir of strings he had made for one of the queen’s instruments.⁹ According to an inventory dated between late 1555 and

1557, there were three stringed keyboard instruments in the chambers of Queen Catherine at the royal palace in Lisbon: “a large claviorgan inside of a case of maple,” “a clavichord inside of a case of maple,” and “a small square harpsichord covered with leather of [a] scabbard-maker,” probably a virginal.¹⁰ Nothing is known about the characteristics of these instruments and, with the exception of the claviorgan (possibly the one made to order in 1511), their origins are unclear, although a number of the existing harpsichords from this time were probably imported from Flanders,¹¹ Portugal’s main supplier of luxury goods, until at least the middle of the sixteenth century.¹² Others may have been built locally, given the fact that a Lisbon census from 1551 lists three organ builders, four clavichord makers, and twenty professional keyboard players.¹³ Also the merits of the workshop of musical instruments – namely harpsichords, clavichords, viols, and guitars – in the Augustinian monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra earned the visit of King João III in 1550.¹⁴

The harpsichord was regularly used for solo and chamber music. For instance, reporting on the visit of the four famous Japanese boys to the palace of the Dukes of Bragança in Vila Viçosa in September 1584 on their way to Rome,¹⁵ Luís Fróis (1532–1597) tells us in his *Historia de Japam* that the duke, Teodósio II (1568–1630), ordered for a harpsichord and some viols to be sent to his chambers and that all present marveled at seeing the young men playing and improvising with a viol and the harpsichord.¹⁶ Regular practice of a stringed keyboard instrument – more often the clavichord, because it was portable and built at a low cost, but also the harpsichord – was also part of the daily life in Benedictine, Cistercian, and Canons Regular monasteries.¹⁷

A significant number of harpsichords found their way to the Portuguese overseas settlements and possessions starting in the early decades of the sixteenth century, to be used primarily by the Jesuits in their missions, seminaries, and colleges on the coasts of Africa and Brazil and in the Far East. All types of keyboard instruments often served an ambassadorial role, since they were presented to local authorities as exemplars of Western technology.¹⁸ It also appears that it was fairly common for the harpsichord to be used in liturgical music outside European Portugal, at times taking over the function of the organ.¹⁹

The discovery of gold in Brazil in the late seventeenth century; the reestablishment of the Atlantic trade in sugar, tobacco, and tropical woods for the growing market for luxury goods in Europe; and the exportation of slaves from West Africa to Brazil, allowed King João V (b. 1689; r. 1706–1750) to develop a complex political and diplomatic program designed to bring the kingdom to modernity while at the same time legitimizing the absolutist power of the Portuguese Crown. One of the

main objectives of such a program was the endorsement of Rome, the center of international prestige and global influence. As a result, significant cultural changes occurred in Portugal in the 1710s and 20s that accelerated the process of “Italianization” begun in the late sixteenth century – that is, the process whereby Italian models that gradually merged into Portuguese culture, including music, were assimilated, processed, and adapted.²⁰ This had a positive effect on the local manufacture and use of the harpsichord.

Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757), although often absent traveling, was in Lisbon in the service of the Portuguese Crown between late November 1719 and early February 1727, returning for a short period in late September 1729 before going permanently to Spain. The *Infante* Dom António (1695–1757), King João V’s younger brother, seems to have been a key figure in the history of stringed keyboard instruments in Portugal during the first half of the eighteenth century. He became a student of Domenico Scarlatti and achieved a professional level as a harpsichord player.²¹ Dom António also promoted connections with the Florentine workshops of stringed keyboard instruments, allowing Lisbon to join Florence as an important center in the development of the early pianoforte.²²

It should be noted here that the harpsichord and the pianoforte were named with the same term at this time, “*cravo*” (harpsichord), owing to the similar design of the outer case, but often with a qualification referring to the type of mechanical action: “*cravo de penas*” (harpsichord with quills); “*cravo de martelos*” (harpsichord with hammers); and also “*cravo de martelinhos*” (harpsichord with little hammers). In the 1790s, both instruments would almost always be mentioned with their different names. However, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the harpsichord and the pianoforte coexisted and were used indistinctively and often also interchangeably so that the music written for one was considered suitable for the other. Differentiation of their respective idioms was primarily a matter of performing technique. This can be seen for instance in the many pieces having such indications as “*per cembalo o piano forte*”²³ and in the announcements of new pieces published in the periodical *Gazeta de Lisboa*.

Nevertheless, even as the pianoforte increased in popularity, the harpsichord remained a favorite in the houses of the nobility throughout the eighteenth century and beyond. English instruments were increasingly present from the 1780s onwards. For example, a harpsichord ordered by the prince regent, later King João VI (b. 1767; r. 1816–1826), for his wife, Carlota Joaquina de Bourbon (1775–1830), arrived from London in September 1799.²⁴ Customs records tell us that harpsichords were still exported and imported – and thus built and kept in use in Portugal – until at least the early 1840s.²⁵

Repertory and Sources

It is usually assumed that keyboard repertories composed in Portugal before the early decades of the eighteenth century were primarily intended for the organ. Chronologically, the first known source for this is Gonçalo de Baena's *Arte nouamente inuentada pera aprender a tãger* (newly devised art for learning how to play), printed in Lisbon in 1540.²⁶ Although its title page depicts a keyboard and the pipes of an organ, the colophon uses the generic "keyboard instrument" and the prologue refers to the clavichord (*monocordio*) throughout. The intabulations in this collection – using a unique alphabet-based system – can therefore be performed on any keyboard instrument available during the first half of the sixteenth century, including the harpsichord. Most of the pieces fit within the compass of short octave C/E (described on page 4) to e2, as in the keyboard shown on the title page, but a few can only be accommodated within the larger compass of C/E (this short octave lacking the F#) to g2. As shown on the woodcut illustration in Virdung's 1511 treatise,²⁷ this is presumably the usual range of early sixteenth-century northern-European harpsichords. On the whole, the intabulations in Baena's *Arte* follow the vocal originals closely but he also tells the performer to add ornamentation at his discretion as long as it is "done with skill and not at whim."²⁸

The next relevant Portuguese source for keyboard (and consort) music is P-Cug MM 242, a manuscript in open-score format copied and used in the Augustinian monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra and dated to the third quarter of the sixteenth century. It contains more than 265 pieces, including textless *chansons*, madrigals, and motets possibly intended to be provided with *glosa* and performed by a consort or a keyboard instrument, or more likely for study; *ricercares*, *tentos*, and *fantasias*; psalm-tone versets, *fabordões*, and other instrumental pieces based on chant; and *glosa* and cadential formulas. Many pieces in this manuscript were copied from Italian, Flemish, and Spanish prints dating from between 1547 and 1556.²⁹ This manuscript includes three instrumental pieces by Heliodoro de Paiva, an Augustinian canon regular who died in 1552, and reworkings of seven of Jacques Buus's *ricercares* from his 1547 *Libro primo*.³⁰ Four pieces in this manuscript bear unequivocal attributions to António Carreira ("A. car.," "carreira," and "A. carreira"), commonly identified as António Carreira the Elder, master of the Portuguese Royal Chapel.³¹ One of these pieces is a version of the *canción Con qué la lavaré* for solo voice with four-part accompaniment, which can be played by a consort or on the keyboard.³² Another has the attribution "A.c." and fifteen other pieces are headed "ca." Although in one case "ca." is known to stand for Antonio de

Cabezón,³³ most of these pieces, including some without attribution, may also be the work of Carreira, as first suggested by Santiago Kastner.³⁴ Charles Jacobs, however, included them in his edition of Cabezón's music, while admitting that the issue of their authorship remains open.³⁵ All the instrumental works attributed to Carreira fall into the genres of the polythematic *tento*, with up to five independent subjects presented in imitation with a motet-like polyphonic texture and structure; and the monothematic *fantasia*. The more these pieces use melodic diminution and have relatively wide-ranged parts, the more instrumental they are in character. Not all pieces are suited for keyboard performance, but some, particularly those making use of eighth-note-based *glosa* patterns in long-running segments and avoiding awkward part crossings, are certainly natural to the harpsichord.³⁶ One example is a fully written out glossed version of an unidentified *chanson* of likely Franco-Flemish origin featuring block-chord segments, motifs with repeated notes, and varied patterns of *glosa* mostly in the upper part and the bass. Although anonymous, Kastner assigns this work to António Carreira on stylistic grounds.³⁷

Manuel Rodrigues Coelho (ca. 1555–ca. 1635) took the late sixteenth-century keyboard *tento* to its peak in his *Flores de mvsica*. Though collected before 1617 and including older pieces probably spanning the composer's entire career that began in the early or mid-1570s,³⁸ this volume was printed in Lisbon in 1620.³⁹ Coelho uses the open-score format throughout, which became common for the notation of keyboard music in Portugal until the early eighteenth century. In the title and the prologue to his collection, the composer refers to “the keyboard instrument, and the harp.” Only in the individual titles of specific liturgical pieces is the organ mentioned.⁴⁰

The twenty-four *tentos* in the *Flores de mvsica* cannot easily be characterized as a unified whole, but the writing is always idiomatic for the keyboard, including fluent figuration arranged in sequences, and *glosa* is now fully incorporated into the texture, rather than serving as decoration superimposed on the polyphonic fabric. The opening subject, sometimes accompanied by a second countersubject, even if in long notes, has an abstract instrumental quality and is treated fugally. Subsequent entries, also normally introduced by overlapping points of imitation, are often derived from the first subject through metrical diminution, augmentation, or variation. Some of the *tentos*, however, develop different unrelated subjects. Diminution passages, taking on a variety of rhythmic profiles in short note values including dotted rhythms, eighth-note triplets, and other figuration in *sesquialtera* proportion, can suddenly occur and also provide materials for more or less extended “free fantasia” segments or motivic interplay. A substantial section in triple time may be interpolated or, more

frequently, would conclude the piece. Musical materials are freely invented, so that the *tento* is not strictly a liturgical genre, though it could be – and was – used during liturgy. Late manuscript copies of individual sections from Coelho's *tentos* were clearly intended to fulfill such a function.⁴¹

The four pieces that Coelho entitled “*Susana grosada a 4 sobre a de 5*,” that is, the four glossed versions of Lassus's *Susanne un jour*, supplement the *tentos* and summarize the composer's methods for glossing, which are not very different from the “*modo di paseggiari alla bastarda*” explained and exemplified by Francesco Rognoni in his *Selva de varii pasaggi*.⁴² The openings of Coelho's four *Susanas* retain most of Lassus's contrapuntal disposition; although excluding the original *quinta pars* (tenor II), the first and third *Susanas* are essentially based on Lassus's bass part, and the second and fourth are almost entirely limited to the original bass part. As in the *tentos*, long diminutions are achieved through the joining of two simple *glosa* formulas, which can be further extended through sequential arrangement.

Glossed versions of Lassus's *Susanne un jour* appear in the most important Iberian prints of keyboard music, becoming a paramount vehicle for the art of diminution, as they were throughout Europe in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.⁴³ Other such settings are also found in late seventeenth-century Portuguese manuscript sources.⁴⁴ One of these is the *Susana* or *Obra de 2.º tom* by Pedro de Araújo in the composite manuscript *P-BRp* Ms. 964.⁴⁵ As distinct from Coelho's, Araújo's version follows the contrapuntal structure of Lassus's *chanson* closely (though reducing it to four parts), alternating extensive soloist *glosa* in the upper part and the bass.

Setting aside the pieces specifically intended for the organ with divided keyboard including soloist parts for the right or the left hand calling for horizontal reed stops *en chamade* (that is, the “*meio registo*” and the “*batalha*”), we find in the works of Pedro de Araújo pieces with terms such as *tento*, *obra*, and *fantasia*.⁴⁶ This probably reflects the variety of influences converging in his keyboard style, which is nevertheless in the lineage of Rodrigues Coelho, Aguilera de Heredia (1561–1627), and Correa de Arauxo (1584–1654). Pedro de Araújo's harmonic language is colorful, at times suggestive of the Italian *durezza e legature*, and elements of the toccata style and the *style brisé* are not infrequent especially in his fantasias, which are particularly suited to the harpsichord. A sense of coherency arises from the thematic and motivic treatment, as a main subject is usually present throughout a piece, often in diminution or augmentation, also generating new contrasting motifs and minimal chromatic motifs frequently developing in sequences.

The first repertories appearing in Portuguese sources that are commonly acknowledged as specifically conceived for the harpsichord are Italian.⁴⁷ They consist of small collections of dances, airs, and sets of variations, including the *Partite sopra la aria della folia da Espagna* by Bernardo Pasquini (1637–1710). The first pieces in these collections are labeled “foreign or Italian” (*estrangeiras ou italianas*) and some are nevertheless assigned to the organ or harp. Their origin is Roman, as stated on the manuscript itself.⁴⁸ Indeed, two of the pieces in P-BRp Ms. 964, the *Ballo del Ciclope di Frascati* and the *Aria dello Organo di Frascati*, are the only likely examples of the music for the panpipes of the statue of Cyclope and the automatic organ in the *Stanza di Apollo o del Parnaso* at Villa Aldobrandini in Frascati, near Rome.⁴⁹

The emergence of the binary sonata for keyboard instruments in Portugal is probably related to the process of accelerated “Italianization” mentioned previously, but the genre was certainly already known to Portuguese composers before the arrival of Domenico Scarlatti in Lisbon in late November 1719.⁵⁰ One of those composers – by far the most noted and prolific in his time – was Carlos Seixas.⁵¹

Seixas’s surviving sonatas are contained in eleven manuscript sources dating from between around 1750 (P-Ln MM 5015) and the late 1790s (P-Ln CIC 110). Ninety-four – or indeed one hundred and seven, if we take the second movements occurring as separate pieces within certain sources – are considered authentic. To these we must add another twenty-seven pieces (nineteen sonatas and eight minuets) that are conjecturally attributed to him in modern editions.⁵² However, since only thirty-four of the sonatas considered authentic have an individual attribution, further careful assessment of authorship issues will undoubtedly reduce these numbers.⁵³

Almost all of Seixas’s sonatas were written to be played on a keyboard instrument, and primarily the harpsichord. Only four are specifically assigned to the organ, and two others could have been imagined for a melodic instrument and continuo or at least could have been played as such. The composer, or clearly the copyists in some cases, favored structures with two or more movements, the last, with only a few exceptions, being a minuet.

Seixas displays an impressive diversity in the handling of form.⁵⁴ In two-reprise movements, he usually seeks for the establishment of functional, clearly defined component parts and searches for coordination between the tonal and thematic-motivic plans. This ultimately results in a peculiar type of a symmetrical convergence around the structural points of modulation on each side of the double bar, which involves parallelism not only of the postmodulation material, but also of the material

immediately preceding it (e.g. no. 6–6/i in D minor). Many of his sonata movements reflect the simple textures of the first *galant* style, but they also feature technical display such as the interplay of hands (e.g. no. App. 15–1 in G major), repeated notes (e.g. no. 16–1/i in G minor; no. 16–8/i in G minor), extended leaps (e.g. no. 5–3/i in D major; no. 6–6/i in D minor; no. 12–3 in F minor; no. 19–4/i in A major), the crossing of hands combined with leaps (e.g. no. 5–3/i in D major; no. 15–3 in G major), synchronized thirds and sixths (e.g. no. 21–3/i in B \flat major; no. 1–6/i in C major; no. 19–4/i in A major) and carefully notated rhythmical articulation (e.g. no. 10–1 in E minor). On the whole, these sonata movements show an independently developed and highly demanding keyboard technique.⁵⁵

Seixas's harpsichord concertos in A major and G minor should also be mentioned. Both are three-movement works ending with a gigue and therefore belong to the group of early Italian keyboard concertos. The A major concerto is undoubtedly one of the earliest if not the very first in this group, testifying to the absorption of Vivaldian models. Its brevity, thematic uniformity, melodic writing largely in the *Fortspinnung* style and the somewhat old-fashioned open-ended middle movement suggest a date of composition no later than the mid-1730s. The G minor concerto is a longer piece in the *galant* style. Its last movement, despite the tutti–solo alternation, essentially constitutes an extended two-reprise form in which material and tonality converge around the structural points of modulation on each side of the double bar. This unique feature is a Seixas hallmark. The fact that it introduces elements of binary structure within the concerto ritornello form, following southern-European trends of the early 1740s, suggests that this concerto was probably composed shortly before the composer's death in 1742.⁵⁶

The three surviving one-movement binary sonatas by Jacinto do Sacramento (b. 1712), Seixas's near contemporary and a friar of the Order of St. Paul, reveal a different approach. They are basically monothematic, with frequent broken-chord figuration, fuller texture created by four-part block chords in the left hand and extensive passages in parallel thirds and sixths in the right. The harmony is richer and more chromatic than one finds in a typical Seixas work, particularly because of Sacramento's use of secondary dominants.⁵⁷

In summary, variety in the internal arrangement of form, the mixture of local and foreign elements, and a stylistic balance between late-baroque, post-baroque and *galant* idioms are characteristics of the Portuguese keyboard sonata in the first half of the eighteenth century. Much of the Portuguese keyboard repertory from the latter half of the eighteenth

century, however, remains unexplored, even if some pieces are available in modern editions. Among the harpsichord music from this period are the nine extant sonatas by Pedro António Avondano (1714–1782);⁵⁸ the five sonatas by José Joaquim dos Santos (ca. 1747–1801);⁵⁹ the four sonatas by Manuel Elias (fl. 1767–1805);⁶⁰ and the four sonatas and fourteen minuets by João Cordeiro da Silva (fl. 1756–1808).⁶¹

The most popular genres found in this last period include the sonata in one, two, or three movements; the minuet (often presented in sets); and, later in the century, variations on popular dance and song themes, marches, contredanses, rondos, and waltzes. Good examples are two collections of keyboard sonatas printed between the mid-1760s and the mid-1770s: the *Sei sonate* by Alberto José Gomes da Silva (fl. 1758–1795) and the *Dodeci sonate* by Francisco Xavier Baptista (d. 1797).⁶²

Portuguese composers also began to lean towards full *galant* and early classical forms and styles. Among Seixas's authenticated sonatas, there were already a couple of examples of a formal type quite common in the works of "transitional," mid-century composers such as Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1773), Giovanni Benedetto Platti (before 1692–1763), Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788), and Johann Christian Bach (1735–1782). This is characterized by having the initial material restated right after the double bar in the dominant key and again fully or partially restated after the return modulation in the tonic, the whole structure being further balanced by parallel closings.⁶³ Occurrences of this and similar formal types became usual in Portuguese keyboard sonatas of the 1760s and 1770s. Some of the earliest datable examples are the first movements of Francisco Xavier Baptista's Sonatas II, V, and XI from his *Dodeci sonate*.

Movements with an overall ternary disposition also occur after the 1760s. For instance, in a sonata wrongly attributed to Seixas, No. App. 19–2 in A major,⁶⁴ the first movements of Baptista's Sonatas IX and X,⁶⁵ and the one-movement Sonatas in B \flat major and C major by João Cordeiro da Silva,⁶⁶ we find ternary thematic organization with a simple polar-type tonal plan; highly contrasting thematic materials in complementary key areas, restatement of the first theme in the tonic arriving early in the second part of the movement after a brief development or a separate idea, varied reprises, and parallel closings restricted to the very last bars. This type of structure also became frequent in more or less extensive rounded-binary minuets as, for instance, in Manuel Elias's Minuet in D major.⁶⁷ In minuets, however, and in a number of sonatas like Pedro António Avondano's Sonata in C major,⁶⁸ the tonic incipit is more often restated at the end of the second part, opening the final cadential phrase. This late restatement occurs when a separate idea, a longer elaboration of

previously heard motifs, or an exercise for technical display (usually the crossing of hands) immediately follows the double bar.

Nevertheless, binary forms of varying types remained in use throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. There was also a growing tendency towards periodicity, the use of the Alberti bass and similar accompaniment figures, a relatively slow harmonic rhythm, motivic repetition and symmetry, delicate chromaticism, and melodic writing that implied ornamentation by the performer. A prime example of these features is the only keyboard work assuredly attributed to the Neapolitan-trained João de Sousa Carvalho (1745–ca. 1800)⁶⁹ – a three-movement Sonata in D major probably written around 1785.⁷⁰ Most of the keyboard music of the ensuing generation of composers like António Leal Moreira (1758–1819) and Marcos Portugal (1762–1830), by relying on a more songful sort of melodic writing and on marked agogic and dynamic variation, is already unmistakably of the realm of the pianoforte.⁷¹

Notes

1. Garcia de Resende, “Vida e feytos d’el-rey Dom João Segundo,” in *Lyuro das obras de Garcia de Resẽde* (Lisbon: Luís Rodrigues, 1545), fols. [viii]v–456r, at fol. 105v, available at <http://purl.pt/14664> (February 5, 2016). Resende was a chamberlain (*moço da câmara*) to King João II in 1490 and his private secretary (*moço de escrevaninha*) from the following year until the king’s death in 1495.
2. P-Lant Chancelaria de D. João III, Liv. 3, fol. 54v, Liv. 14, fol. 3r, and Liv. 16, fol. 53v; see the transcripts in Sousa Viterbo, *Subsidios para a Historia da Musica em Portugal* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1932), pp. 284–285.
3. Cardinal *Infante* Dom Henrique was archbishop of Braga (1533–1540) and head of the Portuguese Inquisition (1539–1578). He ruled the archdiocese of Évora between 1540 and 1564 and again between 1575 and 1578. In the interim, he was archbishop of Lisbon (1564–1570), acting also as regent for his grand-nephew, Sebastião (b. 1554; r. 1557–1578), until he reached his majority in 1568; he was himself later made king following the death of the young monarch in the disastrous battle of El-Ksar-El-Kebir in Morocco on August 4, 1578.
4. In Easter 1543, Heitor Lobo had been put into the service of Évora Cathedral with the duty of maintaining and tuning “the organs he has built and will build,” working there until late February 1553. See P-EVp Cód. CVII/1–29, *Liuro da fazemda do If.^{te} don Amrrique q’ começou em Janj.^{ro} do ano de quinhentos trimta e oito annos*, fols. 93r, 140r, 162r, and 203r; see also Armando Nobre de Gusmão, “Cantores e Músicos em Évora nos anos de 1542 a 1553,” *Anais da Academia Portuguesa de História*, 2nd series, 14 (1964), pp. 95–121, here pp. 117–118.
5. See the transcript of the register in Viterbo, *Subsidios*, p. 57.
6. P-Lant Corpo Cronológico, Parte I, maço 97, doc. n.º 97.

7. See Pedro Calahorra Martínez, *La Música en Zaragoza en los siglos XVI y XVII*, Vol. 1, *Organistas, organeros y órganos* (Zaragoza: Institución “Fernando El Católico,” 1977), pp. 100 and 104, available at http://ifc.dpz.es/recursos/publicaciones/06/53/_ebook.pdf; see also Carmen Morte García, “Mahoma Moferriz, maestro de Zaragoza, constructor de claviórganos para la corte de los Reys Católicos,” *Aragón en la Edad Media* 14–15, no. 2 (1999), pp. 1115–1124.
8. *P-Lant* Corpo Cronológico, Parte I, maço 88, doc. n.º 132.
9. *P-Lant* Corpo Cronológico, Parte I, maço 93, doc. n.º 48.
10. *P-Lant* Códices e documentos de proveniência desconhecida, no. 64, *olim* Casa Forte, no. 64, fol. 58v. This manuscript consists of an inventory of the wardrobe of Queen Catherine of Austria including items possibly housed in adjoining chambers. The instruments are listed under the header “*crauos*” (harpsichords). An eighteenth-century copy exists in *P-La* Ms. 50-V-26, with the erroneous title *Livro da Recamara dos Reis Dom João 3º de Portugal e Dª Cnª*. See Annemarie Jordan, *The Development of Catherine of Austria’s Collection in the Queen’s Household: Its Character and Cost* (PhD diss., Brown University, 1994), pp. 174–175.
11. For instance, three harpsichords from Flanders are listed in the postmortem inventory of the Duke of Bragança, Teodósio I (d. 1563); see Bernadette Nelson, “Music in the Chapel of the Dukes of Braganza during the 16th Century,” in *Da Flandres: Os azulejos encomendados por D. Teodósio I, 5º Duque de Bragança (c.1510–1563)*, edited by M. A. Pinto de Matos and A. N. Pais (Lisbon: Museu Nacional do Azulejo and Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 2012), pp. 21–24, here p. 24.
12. Portugal had an important factory in Flanders, which was first located in Bruges and, from 1498, in Antwerp. Portuguese representatives mediated in the regular commissioning and purchase of Flemish art for Portuguese patrons. The factory was officially closed in 1549 but remained active until 1795 when it completely disappeared.
13. Cristóvão Rodrigues de Oliveira, *Lisboa em 1551: Sumário em que brevemente se contém algumas coisas assim eclesiásticas como seculares que há na cidade de Lisboa (1551)*, apresentação e notas de José da Felicidade Alves (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1987), pp. 94–95.
14. See Ernesto Gonçalves de Pinho, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra, centro de actividade musical nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1981), pp. 153–157.
15. The four noble Japanese youths were representatives of three of the most important Christian feudal lords in western Japan. They left Nagasaki on February 20, 1582, reaching Lisbon on August 11, 1584, and traveled through Portugal, Spain, and Italy for two years before returning to Lisbon, from where they finally set sail on April 13, 1586 for Nagasaki, where they arrived on July 21, 1590. See Derek Massarella, “The Japanese Embassy to Europe (1582–1590),” *The Journal of the Hakluyt Society* (February, 2013), pp. 1–12, at www.hakluyt.com/journal_index.htm.
16. “[M]andou vir alli cravo, e violas a sua camara; m.tº se admirarão todos de os ver tanger, e descantar cõ viola, e cravo.” *La première ambassade du Japon en Europe, 1582–1592. Première partie: Le traité du Père Frois (texte*

- portugais*), edited by J. A. Abranches Pinto, Yoshitomo Okamoto, and Henri Bernard, *Monumenta Nipponica* 6 (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1942), p. 53.
17. For the Benedictine nuns and the Ursulines, see Elisa Lessa, "A música no quotidiano das monjas nos séculos XVII e XVIII – Mosteiros de beneditinas e ursulinas em Portugal," *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia* 7–8 (1997–98), pp. 47–58, available at www.rpm-ns.pt/index.php/rpm/article/view/156/267.
 18. For an overview on the subject of the role of music and musical instruments in the Portuguese expansion, see Manuel Carlos de Brito and Luísa Cymbron, *História da Música Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 1992), pp. 63–77. On the diplomatic function of keyboard instruments, see Ian Woodfield, "The Keyboard Recital in Oriental Diplomacy, 1520–1620," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 115, no. 1 (1990), pp. 32–62; see also Victor Anand Coelho, "Music in the New Worlds," in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 88–110, especially pp. 96–98.
 19. For some references on this use of the harpsichord, see Gerhard Doderer and John Henry van der Meer, *Portuguese String Keyboard Instruments of the 18th Century: Clavichords, Harpsichords, Fortepianos and Spinets* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2005), pp. 309–310.
 20. On the musical aspects of this process, see particularly 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, *Ad Parnassum Studies* 3 (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2008), pp. 17–68, especially pp. 42–57; d'Alvarenga, "'To Make of Lisbon a New Rome': The Repertory of the Patriarchal Church in the 1720s and 1730s," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 8, no. 2 (2011), pp. 179–214; and d'Alvarenga, "Allo stile dei musici di questa nazione: Balancing the Old and New in Portuguese Church Music from the 1720s and 1730s," *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis* 38 (2014; published 2018), pp. 33–53.
 21. Dom António had received his literary education and musical training in the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra. Upon arrival in Lisbon, Domenico Scarlatti was assigned to his service.
 22. See Stewart Pollens, "The Early Portuguese Piano," *Early Music* 13, no. 1 (1985), pp. 18–27 and *The Early Pianoforte* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 118–156. The *Infante* Dom António was the dedicatee of Ludovico Giustini da Pistoia's collection of twelve *Sonate da cimbalò di piano, e forte detto volgarmente di martelletti*, printed in Florence in 1732. On January 17 that year, Niccolò Susier, a theorbo player at the court of the Medicis, reported in his diary on the death of Bartolomeo Cristofori that King João V had paid the astounding sum of two hundred gold louis for some of Cristofori's pianofortes.
 23. Among several possible examples, two are the *Concerto o sia quintetto per cembalo o piano forte con due violini, violetta, e basso* (P-Ln MM 209/1)

- and the *Duetto per cembalo o piano forte e violino* (P-Ln MM 247//7) by José Palomino (1755–1810), whose copies are dated 1785. Palomino was a Spanish violinist who settled in Lisbon in 1774.
24. P-Lant Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Liv. 365, *Passaportes, 1794–1809*.
 25. See Michel'Angelo Lambertini, "Industria instrumental portueguez (apontamentos)," *A Arte Musical* 16 (1914), pp. 141–144, 150–154, here pp. 151–152, quoted in Doderer and van der Meer, *Portuguese String Keyboard Instruments*, p. 316. On the trade of music and musical instruments in the latter half of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century, see Vanda de Sá, *Circuitos de Produção e Circulação da Música Instrumental em Portugal entre 1750–1820* (PhD diss., Universidade de Évora, 2008), pp. 329–354.
 26. Gonçalo de Baena, *Arte nouamente inuentada pera aprender a tãger* (Lisbon: Germã Galharde, 1540); only known copy in *E-Mp VIII/1816*. On the author (a player of the viol and chamber musician at the Portuguese court between the late 1490s and sometime after 1552), the context for this printing and the repertory it contains, see *Gonçalo de Baena: Arte para tanger* (Lisbon, 1540), ed. Tess Knighton (Lisbon: Colibri and Centro de Estudos de Sociologia e Estética Musical, 2012).
 27. Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht und aussgezogẽ* (Basel: Michael Furter, 1511), fol. [G i].
 28. As an example, Juan de Badajoz's three-voice setting of the *Pange lingua* shows a mixture of contrapuntal writing and extensive scalic *glosa* patterns. The same kind of glossing also features in the two-voice elaborations of hymn chants included in Baena's collection. See *Gonçalo de Baena: Arte*, ed. Knighton, pp. 234–236 (no. 34) and 164–172 (*Contrapuntos*, nos. 16, 17, and 18) respectively.
 29. *P-Cug* MM 242 is closely related to *P-Cug* MM 48, a manuscript also in open-score format and dating from the 1550s or 1560s, whose contents include many textless vocal pieces likewise copied from Italian and Flemish prints dating from between 1539 and 1547. On these manuscripts, see Owen Rees, *Polyphony in Portugal c. 1530-c. 1620: Sources from the Monastery of Santa Cruz, Coimbra* (New York and London: Garland, 1995), pp. 271–282 and 325–364 respectively; and Filipe Mesquita de Oliveira, *A gênese do tento para instrumentos de tecla no testemunho dos manuscritos P-Cug MM 48 e MM 242* (PhD diss., Universidade de Évora, 2011), chapter 2. It is now generally agreed that both MM 48 and MM 242 most probably had a didactic function, some of the pieces they contain clearly being compositional exercises, and were not used in actual music performance. See Bernadette Nelson, "The Chansons of Thomas Crecquillon and Clemens non Papa in Sources of Instrumental Music in Spain and Portugal, and Sixteenth-Century Keyboard Traditions," in *Beyond Contemporary Fame: Reassessing the Art of Clemens non Papa and Thomas Crecquillon*, edited by Eric Jas (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 167–189, especially pp. 177–185.
 30. *Recercari di M. Iacques Bvvs Organista in Santo Marco di Venetia da cantare, et sonare d'organo & altri stromẽti nouamente posti in luce. Libro*

- primo a quatro voci* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1547). On the reworkings in P-Cug MM 242, see Oliveira, *A génese do tento*, chapter 4.
31. On António Carreira the Elder, see Rui Vieira Nery, “António Carreira, o Velho, Fr. António Carreira e António Carreira, o Moço: Balanço de um enigma por resolver,” in *Livro de Homenagem a Macário Santiago Kastner*, ed. Maria Fernanda Cidrais Rodrigues, Manuel Morais, and Rui Vieira Nery (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1992), pp. 405–430 and João Pedro d'Alvarenga, *Polifonia portuguesa sacra tardo-quincentista: estudo de fontes e edição crítica do Livro de São Vicente, manuscrito P-Lf FSVL 1P/H-6* (PhD diss., Universidade de Évora, 2005), Vol. 1, pp. 197–236 and addenda, including a discussion of the vocal works attributed to António Carreira the Elder and his son, Fr. António Carreira (d. 1599).
 32. A modern edition of these four pieces is in *Antologia de organistas do século XVI*, edited by Cremilde Rosado Fernandes with an introductory study by Macario Santiago Kastner, *Portugaliae Musica* 19 (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1969), nos. 1, 5, 19b, and 21. Editions in this volume are to be used with caution because of the many uncorrected errors.
 33. There is a concordance in Luis Venegas de Henestrosa, *Libro de cifra nveva, para tecla, harpa, y vihuela, en el qual se enseña breuemente cantar canto llano, y canto de organo, y algunos auisos para contrapunto* (Alcalá de Henares: Ioan de Brocar, 1557).
 34. Thirteen of the “ca.” pieces attributed to Carreira and the piece headed “A. c.” are published in modern edition in *Antologia de organistas*, nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 23. One of the “ca.” pieces, the longest one, was not published because Kastner believed it might be a motet; see *Antologia de organistas*, p. lxi; see also the inventory of P-Cug MM 242 in Rees, *Polyphony in Portugal*, pp. 326–337. The piece not included in *Antologia de organistas* is no. 140 in Rees’s inventory; it is published along with three other conjecturally attributed pieces in Pedro Crisóstomo, *António Carreira: 4 peças inéditas para órgão* (MA diss., Universidade de Évora, 2013).
 35. *The Collected Works of António de Cabezón*, edited by Charles Jacobs, Vol. 5, *Intabulations and opera incerta* (Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1986). The discussion of the authorship issue in Nery, “António Carreira, o Velho,” pp. 417–421, is also inconclusive.
 36. According to Rees (*Polyphony in Portugal*, pp. 357, 360, and 364 fnn. 16–18), *Antologia de organistas* nos. 1 and 5, featuring complex voice-crossing and occasional unison doubling in imitative entries, are likely to be consort pieces; no. 8, because of its restricted range and lack of instrumental ornamentation, is possibly a vocal piece, even if textless. M. S. Kastner (*Três compositores lusitanos para instrumentos de tecla* [Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1979], p. 26) suggests a connection of this latter piece with Jacob Clemens’s motet *Erravi sicut ovis*.
 37. *Antologia de organistas*, no. 9, originally entitled “canção.” It should be noted that Kastner’s perception of the style of Carreira is rather circular, as it derived from the study of the pieces he believed to be attributed to the composer.

38. Manuel Rodrigues Coelho was born in Elvas near the Spanish border probably around 1555. He was a substitute organist at Badajoz Cathedral between 1573 and 1577. In the 1580s and 1590s, he held the post of organist at Elvas Cathedral, moving to Lisbon Cathedral in 1602 or 1603. Coelho was appointed a chaplain and organist of the royal chapel in Lisbon on February 25, 1604. He retired on 13 October 1633.
39. Manuel Rodrigues Coelho, *Flores de mvsica: pera o instrvmento de tecla, & harpa* (Lisbon: na officina de Pedro Craesbeeck, 1620); copy in P-Ln CIC 95 V. digitized at www.purl.pt/68; modern edition in *Manuel Rodrigues Coelho: Flores de musica pera o instrumento de tecla & harpa*, ed. Macario Santiago Kastner, *Portugaliae Musica* 1, 2 (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1961). The most recent and comprehensive study of Coelho's *Flores de mvsica* is Edite Rocha, *Manuel Rodrigues Coelho "Flores de música": Problemas de interpretação* (PhD diss., Universidade de Aveiro, 2010).
40. This collection is representative of the genres of keyboard music then in use in Portugal. It includes twenty-four *tentos* (three in each of the eight church modes, though using on the whole ten different tonal types); four glossed versions of Lassus's *Susanne un jour* (which Coelho also calls *tentos*); four cantus-firmus settings of *Pange lingua*, and four other similar settings of *Ave maris stella*; a set of five versets on phrases of the *Ave maris stella* chant; eight sets of verses from the Magnificat and the Nunc dimittis "to be sung with the organ"; eight more sets of versets for *alternatim* performance of the *Magnificat* and the *Benedictus*; and seven sets of Kyrie versets following the order of the tones from C-*sol fa ut* to B-*fa*, thus implying transpositions with up to two flats.
41. In *P-BRp* Ms. 964; see below.
42. Francesco Rognoni, *Selva de varii pasaggi*, parte seconda (Milano: Filippo Lomazzo, 1620), pp. [2] and 63–65; see Rocha, *Manuel Rodrigues Coelho*, pp. 207–230.
43. Two settings by Hernando de Cabezón are included in his father's *Obras* (1578); four settings in Coelho's *Flores de mvsica* (1620), as just seen; and one more setting in Francisco Correa de Arauxo's *Facultad organica* (1626).
44. For instance, in the *Liuro de obras de Orgão juntas pella curiosidade do P. P. Fr. Roque da Cõeicão Anno de 1695*, *P-Pm* Ms. 43, *olim* Ms. 1607, fols. 130v–131v; modern edition in *Fr. Roque da Conceição: Livro de obras de órgão*, edited by Klaus Speer, *Portugaliae Musica* 11 (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1967), No. 65.
45. Pedro de Araújo was a teacher at the St. Peter and St. Paul's Seminary in Braga between 1662 and 1668. He was also second organist at Braga Cathedral until 1665, when he was given a benefice at the Church of the Divine Saviour in Joane (south of Braga in the nearby of Famalicão). His activities are documented up to 1704 in *P-BRp* Ms. 964, fols. 136v–139r. This manuscript is the subject of Gerhard Doderer's 1975 doctoral dissertation, later published as *Orgelmusik und Orgelbau im Portugal des 17. Jahrhunderts: Untersuchungen an Hand des Ms 964 der Biblioteca Pública in Braga* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1978), with an incomplete inventory at pp. 20–29. The contents of *P-BRp* Ms. 964 were partially

- published in modern edition in *Obras selectas para órgão: Ms 964 da Biblioteca Pública de Braga*, edited by Gerhard Doderer, *Portugaliae Musica* 25 (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1974). Araújo's *Obra de 2.º tom* is no. 18 in this edition.
46. Thirteen keyboard works bear explicit authorship attribution to Pedro de Araújo in manuscripts *P-BRp Ms. 964* and *P-Pm Ms. 43*. Six other works in both sources can be attributed to him on stylistic grounds. All these are published in modern edition in *Obras selectas para órgão*, ed. Doderer, and *Fr. Roque da Conceição*, ed. Speer. See also Sérgio Rodrigues da Silva, *Os tentos de meio-registo e as batalhas de Pedro de Araújo: questões de autoria e edição crítica* (MA diss., Universidade de Évora, 2010).
 47. These were copied into two of the later fascicles of manuscript *P-BRp Ms. 964* (fols. 216r–230v and 253r–259r), which can be provisionally dated to around 1715–1720.
 48. *P-BRp Ms. 964*, fol. 224v: “continue the foreign pieces that came from Rome.”
 49. Another fascicle in *P-BRp Ms. 964* (fols. 146r–161v), also datable to around 1715–1720, contains a number of verses from the Lamentations and the *Miserere* for solo singing with the accompaniment either of the organ or harp.
 50. Late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Italian and possibly also South and Central German repertoires of chamber and keyboard music are found in manuscript sources from Santa Cruz in Coimbra; see Fernando Miguel Jalôto, *Música de câmara da 1.ª metade do século XVIII nas fontes do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra: Os códices P-Cug MM 62 e MM 63* (MA diss., Universidade de Aveiro, 2006). *P-Cug MM 60*, a composite manuscript also from Santa Cruz in Coimbra, contains a number of organ and harpsichord works by Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725) which were most probably acquired without his son's mediation; see *Alessandro Scarlatti: Toccatas and Various Compositions (Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, Secção dos Reservados, Ms. MM 60)*, ed. Andrea Macinanti and Francesco Tasini, *Complete Works for Keyboard 3* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2007).
 51. José António Carlos de Seixas was born in Coimbra on June 11, 1704. At the age of fourteen he succeeded his father as organist of Coimbra Cathedral and moved to Lisbon in early 1721, being appointed organist of the Royal Chapel and Patriarchal Church, a post he held for the rest of his life. He was made a knight of the Order of Christ in 1738 and died in Lisbon on August 25, 1742.
 52. The most influential of these editions are *Cravistas portuguesas*, edited by Macario Santiago Kastner (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1935); *Cravistas portuguesas II*, edited by Macario Santiago Kastner (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1950); *Carlos Seixas: 80 Sonatas para instrumentos de tecla*, ed. Macario Santiago Kastner, *Portugaliae Musica* 10 (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1965); *Carlos Seixas: 25 Sonatas para instrumentos de tecla*, ed. Macario Santiago Kastner and João Valeriano, *Portugaliae Musica*

- 34 (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1980); and Carlos Seixas: *12 Sonatas*, ed. João Pedro d'Alvarenga (Lisbon: Musicoteca, 1995).
53. A first approach to the problems of authorship attribution of Seixas's keyboard works – certainly requiring further research – is found in Alvarenga, "Some Preliminaries in Approaching Carlos Seixas' Keyboard Sonatas," *Ad Parnassum: A Journal of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Instruments* (April 2009), pp. 95–128, including a list of sources, important modern editions and a preliminary catalogue of the sonatas at pp. 110–123. Of the ninety-four sonatas considered authentic, one – no. 2–1 in the catalogue – is in fact the 2nd movement of a C minor sonata by Francesco Durante (1684–1755) in *GB-Lbl Ms. Add. 14248*, fols. 2v–4v. One of the conjecturally attributed sonatas – no. App. 2–1 in the catalogue – is partially by Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762), as its 2nd, 3rd and 4th movements appear in the same positions in "Sonata VII" from this composer's *Sonate a violino, violone, e cembalo*, Op. 1 (1716). Also no. App. 19–2, because of its ternary disposition, cannot be the work of Seixas, as argued in João Pedro d'Alvarenga, "Handling of Form, Style Markers and Authorial Identity: Two Case Studies around the Work of Carlos Seixas," in *Anais do IV Encontro de Musicologia de Ribeirão Preto*, ed. Rodolfo Coelho de Souza (Ribeirão Preto, São Paulo: Laboratório de Teoria e Análise Musicais, 2012), pp. 288–295, here pp. 293–295; corrected version at www.academia.edu/1902471.
 54. On the forms and style of Seixas's keyboard sonatas, see the seminal study by Klaus F. Heimes, *Carlos Seixas's Keyboard Sonatas* (PhD diss., University of South Africa, 1967).
 55. On the harpsichord style of Carlos Seixas and the supposed influence of Scarlatti on his keyboard technique, see Klaus F. Heimes, "Carlos Seixas's Keyboard Sonatas: The Question of Domenico Scarlatti's Influence," *A Arte em Portugal no século XVIII: Actas do Congresso, III, Bracara Augusta* 28, no. 65–66 (1974), pp. 447–471.
 56. On Seixas's harpsichord concertos, see João Pedro d'Alvarenga, "Carlos Seixas's Harpsichord Concerto in G Minor: An Essay in Style Analysis and Authorship Attribution," *Ad Parnassum: A Journal of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Instrumental Music* 10, no. 19 (2012), pp. 27–50. Noncommercial editions of the A major concerto at www.academia.edu/13817944 and the G minor concerto at www.academia.edu/13818038.
 57. These are published (with many inaccuracies) in *Sonatas para tecla do século XVIII*, edited by Janine Moura, Macario Santiago Kastner and Rui Vieira Nery, *Portugaliae Musica* 38 (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982).
 58. The main sources for Avondano's keyboard sonatas are manuscripts *F-Pn Vm*⁷ 4874 (late eighteenth century) and *P-Ln MM* 337 (third part, dated 1774–1775). A two-movement Sonata in D major was printed in London in around 1775 with the title *A Favourite Lesson for the Harpsicord* (also in manuscripts D-B Mus. Ms. 936 and *F-Pn Vm*⁷ 4874, no. 11). This was published in modern edition as *Pedro António Avondano: Tocatta per cembalo* (Lisbon: AvA Musical Editions, 2015). All other works are unpublished.

59. The five keyboard sonatas by José Joaquim dos Santos appear in manuscript *F-Pn Vm*⁷ 4874 (one also in *P-Ln* MM 4529); all are unpublished.
60. Sources are *P-Ln* MMs 40//57, MM 338, MM 951, MM 4329 and *F-Pn Vm*⁷ 4874; modern editions (not wholly reliable) in *Sonatas para tecla do século XVIII*, ed. Moura, Kastner and Nery, nos. 6, 7, 8, and 9.
61. Cordeiro da Silva's keyboard sonatas appear in manuscripts *F-Pn Vm*⁷ 4874, *P-Ln* MM 951, MM 4521 and MM 4530; all are unpublished. A set of twelve *Minueti per cembalo* is in *P-Ln* MM 69//10. This was published in modern edition as *João Cordeiro da Silva: 12 minuetti per cembalo*, edited by Cândida Matos and José Lourenço (Lisbon: AvA Musical Editions, 2007); the first minuet in the set is also published in *Portugiesische Sonaten, Toccaten und Menuette des 18. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Gerhard Doderer, *Organa Hispanica 2* (Heidelberg: Willy Müller, Süddeutscher Musikverlag, 1972), No. 8. Two more unpublished minuets are in manuscripts *P-Ln* MM 69//11 and MM 2284.
62. Alberto José Gomes da Silva, *Sei sonate per cembalo: opera 1 composte per il Sigre. Alberto Giuseppe Gomes da Silva maestro e compositore di musica* (Lisbona: si vendono in casa del Sigre., n. d.); copies in GB-Lbl d.8 and P-Ln CIC 87 V.; and Francisco Xavier Baptista, *Dodeci sonate variazioni minuetti per cembalo: opera 1 composti da Francesco Zav^o Battista Maestro e compositore di musica, stampati a spese degli sigr. assinanti* (Lisbona: sculpte. da Francesco D. Milcent, stampati da Francesco Manuel, n.d.); copy in P-La 137-I-13, no. 1. Modern editions in *Francisco Xavier Baptista (d. 1797): 12 sonatas para cravo (Lisboa, ca. 1770)*, edited by Gerhard Doderer, *Portugaliae Musica 36* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1981), and *Alberto José Gomes da Silva (+ 1795): Sei Sonate per Cembalo, Lisboa ca. 1770*, edited by Gerhard Doderer and Mafalda Nejmeddine (Mollerussa, Lleida: Scala Aretina, 2003). With the exception of Sonata III in three movements and Sonata XII in a single movement, Baptista's sonatas have two movements. Sonatas I and II conclude with a theme and variations. The remaining two-movement sonatas end with a minuet. Four of Gomes da Silva's sonatas have two movements, the last one being a minuet. Sonatas I and II are three-movement works, the first one starting with a *Sinfonia-Allegro* and the second one beginning with a *Preludio-Allegro assai*. The minuet of Sonata IV in E minor is headed "*Nell stille della chitarra Portugese.*" Although intended for the "*cembalo*" on their respective title pages, pieces in both collections were certainly imagined for all kind of "harpsichords" then in use in Portugal, including the one-manual and the two-manual harpsichord "with quills" and the harpsichord "with hammers."
63. See Seixas's Sonatas Nos. 20–3 in A minor for organ and No. 9–1 in E major.
64. See Alvarenga, "Handling of Form," pp. 293–295.
65. Baptista's Sonata IX appears in a longer, possibly earlier version and coupled with a different minuet in the first part of manuscript *P-Ln* MM 338, dating from around 1765 (the minuet in *P-Ln* MM 338 is published in *Portugiesische Sonaten, Toccaten und Menuette*, ed. Doderer, no. 7). This is preceded by a two-movement Sonata in D major also attributed to Baptista.

The second part of manuscript *P-Ln* MM 337 consists of a two-movement Sonata in F major whose title page reads: “*Tocata per cemballo del Sig^{te} Francisco Xavier Baptista Alle Dame 1765.*” Four other movements from Baptista’s *Dodeci sonate* appear in different versions in manuscript *P-Ln* MM 4510, also datable to the mid- or late 1760s. The extant keyboard output of Francisco Xavier Baptista also includes a set of seven minuets (*P-Ln* MM 1297) and a two-movement Sonata in G major for harpsichord and violin (*P-Em* Ms. 138); this latter piece was published as *Francisco Xavier Baptista: Sonata em Sol maior para violino e cravo (piano)*, edited by Ivo Cruz (Lisbon: Conservatório Nacional, 1971). Recent research by Mafalda Nejmeddine (“O género sonata em Portugal: Subsídios para o estudo do repertório português para tecla de 1750 a 1807” [PhD diss., Universidade de Évora, 2015], pp. 316–329) revealed that Francisco Xavier Baptista was known in the 1780s by the surname “Bachixa” (also spelled “Baxixa”, a word that in Spanish America refers to the Italian people and the Italian language, undoubtedly deriving from the apheresis of the proper name “Giambattista” through its Genoese version, “Baccicia” – thus a possible clue for Baptista’s ancestry). Consequently, the two single-movement sonatas with attribution to “*Francisco Xavier Bachixa*” in *F-Pn* Vm⁷ 4874 (no. 30, in D major, and no. 31, in F major) are also his work.

66. *F-Pn* Vm⁷ 4874, nos. 25 and 27 respectively.
67. *Minuete de Fr. Manuel Elias*, *P-Ln* MM 86//15; modern edition in *Portugiesische Sonaten, Toccaten und Menuette*, ed. Doderer, no. 9.
68. No. 4 in manuscript *P-Ln* MM 337 and no. 2 in manuscript *F-Pn* Vm⁷ 4874.
69. Sousa Carvalho studied with Carlo Cotumacci (ca. 1709–1785) at the Conservatorio di Sant’Onofrio a Capuana in Naples, where he enrolled on January 15, 1761 thanks to a royal grant. On returning to Portugal in 1767, he was appointed professor of counterpoint in the Patriarchal Seminary. He succeeded the renowned Neapolitan David Perez as music teacher to the royal family in 1778. Perez (1711–1778) had been hired in 1752 on the orders of King José I (b. 1714; r. 1750–1777) for the purpose of running court opera productions. Three harpsichord sonatas of a marked *galant* idiom by David Perez, probably composed in Lisbon, survive in manuscripts *P-Ln* MM 337 and *F-Pn* Vm⁷ 4874.
70. *P-Ln* MM 321, no. 2, fols. 6v-10r. The piece has the overall range AA–d³, which fits within the compass of GG–g³ found only in instruments from the 1780s. Noncommercial modern edition at www.academia.edu/13835355 (March 16, 2016). For the critical commentary and a reference to other editions of this piece, see João Pedro d’Alvarenga, “Sobre a autoria das obras para tecla atribuídas a João de Sousa Carvalho,” *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia* 4–5 (1994–1995), pp. 115–145, at pp. 144–145, available online at www.rpm-ns.pt/index.php/rpm/article/view/149/152. Delicate melodic chromaticism can be seen especially in an anonymous one-movement Sonata in C minor from manuscript *P-Ln* MM 338 published in *Portugiesische Sonaten, Toccaten und Menuette*, ed. Doderer, no. 3.
71. See for instance, Moreira’s two-movement Sonata in B^b major (*P-Ln* CN 145 no. 5) and Portugal’s Sonata in D major (*US-Wc* M23.P794S6; coupled with a Rondo in C major and a set of variations in E^b major), this latter

published as *Marcos Antonio Portugal: Sonata y variaciones (sonata e variacoens) para piano*, edited by Alfred E. Lemmon (Madrid: Unión Musical Española, 1976; reprinted Niedernhausen: Edition Kemel, 2009).

Further Reading

- d'Alvarenga, João Pedro. "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, Ad Parnassum Studies 3. Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2008.
- Coelho, Victor Anand. "Music in the New Worlds," in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 88–110.
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