THE TROMBONE IN PORTUGAL BEFORE 1850

Rui Pedro De Oliveira Alves

Volume I

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland & University of St Andrews

2014

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THE TROMBONE IN PORTUGAL BEFORE 1850

RUI PEDRO DE OLIVEIRA ALVES

VOLUME I

SUBMITTED TO THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PhD) TO THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS AND THE ROYAL CONSERVATOIRE OF SCOTLAND, SEPTEMBER 2013
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Preliminaries

I, Rui Pedro De Oliveira Alves, hereby confirm that I am solely responsible for the production of this submission which consists of:

VOLUME I – Thesis.
VOLUME II – Appendixes with a Calendar of references to the trombone in Portugal before 1850, and transcription of two nineteenth century trombone method books containing musical scores.

and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date …………………… Signature of candidate ……………………………

I was admitted as a research student in September 2008 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in September 2009; the higher study for which this is the outcome was carried out at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland between 2008 and 2013.

Date …………………… Signature of candidate ……………………………

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of ............... in the University of St. Andrews and any additional requirements of the regulations of the ROYAL CONSERVATOIRE OF SCOTLAND as approved by the University and that the candidate is qualified to make this submission application for that degree.

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Financial Support

This research was funded by “Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia” (FCT, Portugal) through the Ph.D. grant with reference SFRH/BD/43686/2008, and was co-financed by the European Social Fund (Fundo Social Europeu) within the program POPH - QREN - Tipologia 4.1 - Formação Avançada” and by national funds from the MEC.

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Fundação Social Europeu
Acknowledgments

The final year of this research has been kindly supported by The Leverhulme Trust, to which I am grateful.

My deepest thanks go to my primary supervisor, Dr Sandy McGrattan for his support, guidance and encouragement during the preparation of this thesis. I express my gratitude and appreciation to my secondary supervisor Professor Trevor Herbert, for his continued advice during this research.

I particularly acknowledge the assistance provided by Silvia Sequeira and the staff at the music department of the National Library of Portugal in accessing the various musical sources. I am grateful to Maria Helena Trindade, director of the Museum of Music in Lisboa, for facilitating access to the library and music collection of the Museum and to Helena Miranda, who confirmed, corrected and supplied data regarding musical instruments. I would also like to thank the staff at the Museum of Coaches in Lisbon, the Museum of Ancient Art in Lisbon, the Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon and the Oporto Municipal and Historical Archives.

On a personal note, I would like to thank my father Mario, for his support and belief and my parents in law Mondi and Shpresa for their constant encouragement and enthusiasm. To my colleagues Matt, Cameron, Simon, Rui, Artur and David, whose friendship, knowledge, kindness, and most importantly humor have kept me going.

Finally, my wife Miranda, to whom this thesis is dedicated: without you this work would have never been completed.
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Glossary

*Baixão, bajón* – double reed woodwind instrument, bass curtal or dulcian.

*Bombarda* – double reed woodwind instrument. Bombarde; larger shawm with hexagonal section inside which there is a mechanism with a metal key to enable the execution lower notes.

*Charamela, charamella, xaramela, charamelo, choromela, chirimías* – double reed woodwind instrument, shawm, shawm band, any player of the shawm band.

*Charamela-mor* – same as master of the shawm band and king of the shawm band.

*Charameleiro, xamarileiro, xamarileiro* – shawm player or player of the shawm band.

*Charamelinha* – double reed woodwind instrument, soprano shawm.

*Clarim* – trumpet.

*Corneta, corneto* – cornett.

*Corneta de chaves* – keyed bugle.

*Fagote, fugote* – double reed woodwind instrument, bassoon.

*Latoeiro* – coppersmith, brass instrument maker.

*Mestre das (os) charamelas* – master of the shawm band.

Ministrel, ministril, ministres, menestreis – minstrel and minstrels.

*Sacabucha, sacabuxa, saquabuja, sacabuja, saca-buxa, saca-bucha, sacabuche* – double slide brass instrument, trombone.
Serpentão – bass woodwind instrument in an S-shape from the cornett family. Serpent.

Rey or rei dos charamelas – king of the shawm band.

Rey or rei dos menestreis – king of the minstrels.

Rey, rei dos trombetas – king of the trumpets.

Tangedor, tangedores – instrumental player, players.

Trôbetas – trumpets or trumpeters.

Tromba longa – Trumpet or long straight trumpet.

Trombeiro, trombeteiros – Trumpeter or trumpeters.

Trombeta – S-shape trumpet.

Trombeta bastardia – Trumpet of uncertain design features, likely a short trumpet of simple design features.

Trombeta Italiana – Trumpet.

Trombeta de guerra – war trumpet.

Trombeta dos charamelas – S-shape or folded trumpet likely with a single slide.

Trombone, trobão, trombone – double slide brass instrument, trombone.

Trompa – horn.

Tuba ductilis – double slide brass instrument, trombone.
Vaca, vacas – uncertain wind instrument.
Abstract

This thesis examines the use of the trombone in Portugal between the first references to its use in the early sixteenth century and the mid nineteenth century. It is primarily based on archival research and supplemented by literary and iconographical references. This material is presented in calendar form in Volume II as Appendix 1. Volume I consists of a series of chapters that analyse and contextualise material from the Calendar.

For the earlier period the thesis focuses on the use of the trombone in royal service, and in doing so provides a detailed survey of the Portuguese royal shawm band. The use of the trombone outwith royal service it is also examined. Issues relating to terminology and instrument making in Portugal are discussed. By examining sixteenth century iconographical sources with links to Portugal, this study addresses questions concerning aspects of trombone technique that have not previously been considered and have implication elsewhere in Europe. It considers the decline of the trombone during the second half of the seventeenth century and its resurgence in the later years of the eighteenth century. It identifies the earliest orchestral repertoire containing trombones that emerges in Portugal during the last decade of the eighteenth century, as well as the first trombone players of the beginning of the nineteenth century in military bands and orchestras in Lisbon. Finally, the thesis considers the class of brass instruments of the Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon and its professors, and examines the earliest surviving trombone methods in Portugal, which introduce aspects of performance practice that are not mentioned in other contemporary sources.
Chapter 1. Introduction

This thesis examines the development and use of the trombone in Portugal from the reign of Afonso V in the mid fifteenth century to the mid nineteenth century. For the first two centuries covered by this study the main focus is the use of the trombone in the royal shawm band. Its use in municipal, ecclesiastical and aristocratic shawm bands during this period is also examined. Following a period of decline in the second half of the seventeenth century the trombone began to reappear towards the end of eighteenth century in orchestras and military bands. Finally, examined here is the class for brass instruments at the Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon established in 1835 and the method books for trombone produced for this institution in 1849 and 1850.

Between the late fifteenth century and first half of the nineteenth century, the physical characteristics of the trombone changed very little. It consists of three basic parts: the mouthpiece, the U-shaped slide and the bell section, although the early double-slide instruments may have been demountable into several more parts. Although a range of terms was used in Portugal during the period in question, the instrument is generally referred to in this study by the modern English name: trombone.

Previous research

The history of the trombone has been studied by various authors since the beginning of the twentieth century. A paper presented at the Musical Association by Galpin in 1906 formed the basis for further research by various authors including Herbert, Guion and more recently Carter. Herbert (1984) Ph.D. thesis focuses on the use of the trombone in Britain from the fifteenth century to 1800 and provides a Calendar of references to the use of the trombone in both sacred and secular music in Britain. More recently, the works by Herbert (2006) and Guion (2010) have provided an understanding of the general history of the trombone from its origins although without references to the trombone in Portugal. In 2012, Carter offered a different approach to

the history of the trombone based on iconographic depictions from the late fifteenth and sixteenth century. Carter is the only author that briefly alludes to the trombone in Portugal by presenting five sixteenth century Portuguese depictions of shawm bands containing trombones. He also offers transcriptions and translations of Portuguese literary references to the trombone from sixteenth century Portuguese chronicles as well as three royal court records referring to Flemish musicians in the Portuguese royal shawm band. The trombone has also been studied by other authors such as Bate (1978) in his study of the trumpet and the trombone, and Baines’ (1976) more general study of brass instruments.

The early development of the trombone and trombone playing in Europe was, since the first reference to its use during the fifteenth century, closely associated with the royal, municipal, ecclesiastical and aristocratic shawm bands. The shawm band has been extensively studied, and although our understanding of its role has been enhanced by authors including Keith Polk, Kenneth Kreitner and Herbert Myers, some questions regarding the formation of the band, the instruments used and the repertoire in certain parts of Europe remain to be answered. The formation of the band and the inclusion of an instrument with a single slide (the slide trumpet) have represented particular focal points in debates. Downey (1984) argues against the existence of the slide trumpet, provoking a heated discussion between scholars, in what was described by Duffin (Duffin 1989) as the strongest attack on the existence of the early fifteenth century slide trumpet. The argument in favour of the slide trumpet is based primarily on depictions of trumpeters playing S-shaped instruments and apparently manipulating slides.

Kenneth Kreitner (1992, 1995, 2009) and Pilar Barrios Manzano (1991) conduct research related to wind ensembles during the fifteenth and sixteenth century in southern and central Spain, particularly in the towns of Barcelona, Seville, Badajoz and Cáceres. Manzano identifies a number of Portuguese wind and brass players working in Cáceres Cathedral, among them three trombone players. Most of these musicians were from the Vila Viçosa region, the most important musical centre in Portugal of this period (see Chapter 6).
Although the trombone in Portugal has remained unexplored until now, general studies of the History of Music in Portugal and iconographical sources allude to the use of the trombone in the royal shawm band in the sixteenth century. Late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Portuguese sources also suggest that the trombone was in use in Portugal; however, references are scattered and fail to provide an understanding of the role of the instrument in the Portuguese musical scene. In his Os Músicos Portugueses Vasconcellos (1870) was the first to produce a dictionary of Portuguese musicians, briefly alluding to two members of the shawm band of Coimbra University, the master of the band André de Escobar and Lázaro Lopes. Vieira’s (1900) Dicionário Bibliográfico de Músicos Portuguezes was a noticeably more detailed response to Vasconcellos dictionary, claiming to be the most complete of its time. In addition to the two members of the Coimbra University shawm band, Vieira also refers to members of the shawm band of the city of Lisbon during the seventeenth century and offers further references to trombone players of the first half of the nineteenth century, both professional and amateur. Viterbo’s (1932), Subsídios para a História da Música em Portugal, an offprint of volumes 72–84 of the journal O Instituto de Coimbra, is the most complete biographical dictionary of Portuguese musicians. In his wide-ranging study of music and players in Portugal, Viterbo provides an alphabetic list of musicians active in Portugal since the fifteenth century, with transcriptions of original manuscripts in the national archives. Viterbo’s work represents special importance to this study as it offers transcripts of records from the National Archives regarding players of the Portuguese royal shawm band. The Portuguese royal shawm band from the fifteenth to the early eighteenth century is the subject of an article by Viterbo (1912), published as a supplement to the Portuguese music journal Arte Musical. Viterbo lists the names of the “kings of the shawm band”, accompanied by transcriptions of original manuscripts from the National Archives dealing with the roles and duties of these musicians. Although incomplete, Viterbo’s remains the only study devoted exclusively to the wind ensemble in Portugal.

The term ‘shawm’ (charamela) may refer to the shawm band, the shawm or any other instrument of the shawm band (including brass instruments). Between the fifteenth century and the early nineteenth century, the terms for shawm (charamela) and shawm players (charamelas and charameleiros) were used in payments records, as well as in other literary sources to describe both the wind ensemble and any of its
members, often making it difficult to establish which instrument the term referred to. Moreover, Tarr (1982 and 1988) proposes that the name *charamela real*, used during the sixteenth century to refer to the royal shawm band, was in the late eighteenth century given to the royal Portuguese trumpet corps (Tarr 1988, pp.66, 138). The eighteenth century Portuguese royal trumpet ensemble was the subject of an earlier article by Edward Tarr (1982). Tarr’s article focuses on the collection of twenty-four surviving silver trumpets (twenty-two from 1762 and two from 1785), as well as the music played by the royal trumpet ensemble, which has survived and is found in the collection of the *Museo dos Coches* in Lisbon. In his study, Tarr (1982) refers to the Viterbo’s (1912) study of the Portuguese royal shawm band and also alludes to literary and iconographical references to the Portuguese royal shawm band. It also provides and discusses three late-eighteenth century lists of players in royal service: two lists consisting of trumpeters and drummers (1780 and 1784) and one list with the names of nine shawm players (1780). Two other shawm players are added to this list in 1784 and 1834, the date that Tarr proposes to be the last reference to the Portuguese royal shawm band (Tarr 1982, pp.183–7, 229). The Portuguese royal trumpet ensemble was also discussed by Doderer (2003), who provides further details on the history, instruments and members of the royal trumpet ensemble. Doderer, acknowledges seventeenth century references suggesting the shawm band and the trumpet ensemble were two distinct groups. However he proposes that it was only during the eighteenth century that a clear difference these two groups was defined. This conclusion is based on the same 1780 lists of players presented by Tarr with separate lists of shawms (*charamela*) and trumpeters (*trombeteiros/ trombetas* and *clarins*) (Doderer, 2003, pp.12-3).

Rui Nery (1984) investigates musical references in Barbosa de Machado’s *Bibliotheca Lusitana*. Nery also examines and evaluates other contemporary catalogues in order to provide a more accurate picture of Portuguese musical life of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While Nery’s study does not increase our knowledge of the shawm band tradition, it supplies details of the life and work of one of the most distinguished shawm players of the sixteenth century, André de Escobar

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3 Published between 1741 and 1759 in four volumes, it is a compendium of the most important Portuguese authors and literary works prior to the eighteenth century.
The most comprehensive studies of Portuguese history of music are Branco (1959), and more recently Nery & Castro (1991). These studies make passing references to hauti instruments and wind ensembles in Portugal, although none of these authors discusses the royal shawm band or the trombone in particular. Nery & Castro (1991) devote special attention to musical life during the late eighteenth and nineteenth century with details of the most prominent figures and musical institutions in Lisbon. It also pays particular attention to the Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon and its role in the Portuguese musical scene of the nineteenth century (Nery & Castro 1991, pp.132–5). More recently the research undertaken by Rosa (1999) on the Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon between 1842 and 1862 affords a clear overview of the development of this institution. Although Rosa’s study does not focus specifically on the class of brass instruments, it furnishes evidence which helps establish the development of the trombone in Portugal during the first half of the nineteenth century. Pedro Marquês de Sousa (2009) has examined the role of music in the Portuguese military, offering particular details of the formation of the military bands during the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. Sousa also provides references to nineteenth century iconographical sources depicting the trombone in military bands in Portugal. These iconographic sources are now in the holdings of the Arquivo Histórico Militar.

**Research questions**

The main questions this thesis seeks to address have been identified by the study of the literature. Firstly this study investigates the introduction of a brass instrument in the royal shawm band, likely a single slide trumpet, as well as the approximate date when this instrument was replaced by the trombone. It investigates the circumstances in which the instrument was introduced in Portugal, tracing the place of origin of both the instruments and the players. The study also examines the different contexts in which the trombone was used in Portugal, and the diversity of its engagements. It aims to establish the circumstances in which the use of the trombone declined and re-emerged in Portugal, as well as to compare this pattern to other European centres.

4 See also Nery (1985, pp.11-28) for a study of seventeenth century consort music in Portugal.
Ultimately, this study aims to establish the performance practice standard in Portugal during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Format of the thesis

An annotated Calendar of references to the trombone and the contexts in which it was used in Portugal from the second half of the fifteenth to the second half of the nineteenth centuries forms the basis of this thesis. This is presented in Volume II as Appendix 1. The chapters in Volume I, which are arranged both thematically and chronologically, aim to contextualise the data from the Calendar and to address the main research questions.

This study spans the second, third and fourth Portuguese dynasties. The second Portuguese dynasty occurred between 1385 and 1581, commencing with the reign of João I, the illegitimate son of King Pedro, to Philippa of Lancaster, the daughter of John of Gaunt of England. King João I and his sons (especially King Edward and Prince Henry, known as “the Navigator”) led the country to its so-called golden age, which began with the conquest of Ceuta on the North-West coast of Africa in 1415. During this period, the Portuguese court became a literary centre under the influence of Queen Consort Philippa. The marriage of Duchess Isabel, King João I’s only daughter, to Duke Philip, the Good of Burgundy, not only fortified relations with the Burgundy Court but also with England. Portugal remained an independent country ruled by the House of Aviz until the death of Cardinal-King Henry, who died without an heir in 1580.

Between 1515 and the end of the second Portuguese dynasty, the trombone was present in musical life, particularly in the royal shawm band (charamela real) and was also used in various municipal and ecclesiastical contexts. This period will be considered through Chapters 2, 3 and 4. Chapter 2 focuses on questions arising from the use of different terminology referring to the single and double slide instruments from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. It also traces the introduction of a brass instrument in the Portuguese royal shawm band, in the second half of the fifteenth century, likely a single slide trumpet. This chapter offers evidence of brass instrument
makers active in Portugal during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Chapter 3 examines Portuguese sixteenth and early seventeenth century iconographical sources depicting brass instruments with a slide. It aims to contextualise the earlier references to the use of the trombone in Portugal in the sixteenth century as well as the way the trombone may have been played throughout sixteenth and early seventeenth century. It also considers theoretical and didactical sources for wind instruments during this period. Chapter 4 aims to identify the players of the royal shawm band and their place of origin, before the second half of the seventeenth century. Whilst it focuses on trombone players it considers other members of the royal shawm band. It devotes particular attention to the masters of the royal shawm band, who reportedly would also play the trombone, and their duties. It provides details of payments and different privileges given to trombone players and other members of the royal shawm band. Between 1581 and 1640 the kingdoms of Portugal and Spain were united, forming the third Portuguese dynasty known as the Filipino period or the House of Habsburg and payments to the Portuguese royal shawm band continued throughout this period. Chapter 5 focuses on the use of the trombone in municipal, ecclesiastical and aristocratic shawm bands until 1640. Shawm bands at services outwith the Royal Court were thriving, especially the aristocratic shawm band of Duke Dom Teodóssio II in Vila Viçosa Palace. During this period musicians appear to be more itinerant than before, travelling in and out of the country. On 1 December 1640, the Duke Dom João of Bragança was crowned King of Portugal, marking the beginning of the fourth Portuguese dynasty, the House of Bragança. This was a period of great change, both politically and musically. Chapter 6 focuses on the changes which led to the decline of the use of the trombone in Portugal. During the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century, the trombone experienced wide use in the royal, municipal, ecclesiastical and aristocratic shawm bands. By the end of the reign of Afonso VI in 1683 the signs of its decline were evident in the royal shawm band and the last record of a payment made to a trombone player of the royal shawm band dates from 1668. Within the municipal, ecclesiastical and aristocratic shawm bands the trombone seems to have followed the same pattern. This chapter also considers its subsequent resurgence from the late eighteenth century onwards. The trombone becomes well established by the second decade of the nineteenth century with positions being filled in orchestras and military bands. Chapter 7 studies the class of brass instruments of the Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon in the first half of the nineteenth century. It aims to
establish the performance level of the trombone players in Portugal during the first half of the nineteenth century. It devotes particular attention to the earliest surviving methods for trombone. The study includes an Appendix containing a list of trombone players active in Portugal between the sixteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century as well as a revised list of the Portuguese masters of the shawm band between the fifteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. A transcription and translation of the nineteenth century trombone methods from the class of brass of the Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon is also included in the Appendix.

**A note on primary sources and the principal Portuguese archives**

The majority of preparation time for this thesis has been taken up by tracing, collecting, transcribing, verifying and translating primary sources. The search for and inclusion of relevant references from these primary sources has been organised according to a list of terms which could relate to the trombone or any instrument of the shawm band (see Glossary). The method of inclusion of these references is explained in the introductory section of the Calendar. It takes into account different spellings and various contemporary known terminologies for these instruments provided by manuscripts as well as published contemporary sources such as chronicles and dictionaries.

The majority of the primary sources consulted are in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Tombo Tower National Archives), the Arquivo Histórico e Municipal do Porto (Oporto Historical and Municipal Archive) and the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (National Library of Portugal). The library sigla devised for the publications of Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM) are used in this thesis. For libraries and archives which have not been assigned RISM sigla, the city and name of the institutions are given in full (for example, Portugal - Arquivo Histórico e Municipal do Porto).
The majority of the royal manuscripts used in this thesis refer to three different sections of the National Archives: The Royal Records Office (Chancelaria Régia) with the archival location reference (PT/ TT/ CHR); The Chronological Collection (Corpo Cronológico) with archival location reference (PT/ TT/ CC); and the Grants Registry (Registro de Mercês) with archival location reference (PT/ TT/ RGB).

Additionally, documents arise from Inquisition Court of Law Procedures (Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição) with archival reference (PT/ TT/ TSO) followed by (-IE) for Évora, (-IC) for Coimbra and (-IL) for Lisbon Inquisitions. The documents cited contain [mainly] accusations against Christians and Jewish musicians working at the three main ecclesiastic centres in Portugal: Coimbra, Évora and Lisbon. The accusations vary from witchcraft to Judaism, apostasy and even sodomy, and are organised by case number.  

The Royal Records’ Office (CHR) department was responsible for the redaction and validation of royal letters (under royal seal), as well as all royal decrees. The CHR also certified private documents such as payment records, wills and land ownership. The CHR holds royal records between 1211 and 1826 in 1,162 books. The books used in this thesis start with those from the reign of King Afonso V, (PT/ TT/ CHR/ I). The last figure of the reference code represents the King. These are organised in

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5 Following the Iberian Alliance brought about by the wedding of King Manuel I and Isabel of Spain, Manuel signed a decree, dated 5 December 1496, which ordered that all Jews in the country should convert to Christianity or be expelled. One year later, the borders were closed and all remaining Jews (who were desperately trying to leave the country via the port of Lisbon) were baptised against their will. Most of these new Christians were never completely accepted, with their adherence to the faith often being called into question.

6 The majority of original records prior to 1459 do not exist; the original records were selected, copied and rearranged, under the so called reform of Gomes Eanes de Azurra, following orders of King Afonso V and subsequently destroyed during the sixteenth century. With the 1755 earthquake, most CHR books were affected. Some of these books were rebound and occasionally contained folios of CHR of more than one King.
alphabetical order, starting with King Afonso V who is represented by the letter (I) and continue respectively until King Pedro IV with letter (X).  

The Chronological Collection (CC) was organised after the 1755 Lisbon earthquake and preserves records of businesses of the kingdom up to 1699. It consists of 525 books organised in three parts: part I from 1137 to 1699 (120 books); part II from 1161 to 1648 (373 books) and part III from 1284 to 1694 (32 books). The reference codes for the CC are organised in chronological order, as indicated by the name, and follow the pattern (PT/ TT/ CC/ (part I/ II or III)/ number of book/ folio). These records include a variety of payments, grants and awards aside from regular wages.

The Grants Registry (RGM), a collection of 424 books (from 1639 onwards), retains records of positions awarded with payment specification, privileges, housing and other money payments as well as donations of land and rents. The reference codes for RGM are organised according to the different Kings, namely King Afonso VI (A) as PT/ TT/ RGM/ A/ (book number)/ folio. The reference code (N) (one book only) holds the RGM for various Kings. The RGM are also divided into thematic series.

Records of the Portuguese Royal Court: transcripts

Caetano de Sousa’s (1735-1749) is a collection of twelve volumes offering transcripts of documents from the various archives in Portugal including the National Archives, the House of Bragança, several cathedrals and monasteries as well as other private collections. The sources range from lists of royal warrant holders including names of shawm band players, to various chronicles descriptions. It covers the period from the start of the Portuguese monarchy with King Afonso Henriques in the twelfth century to the first half of the eighteenth century.

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7 See list of full reference codes for CHR in Appendix 8.
8 Reference codes (O) and (P) refer to twentieth century; (Q) and (R), grants and donations of the National Archives; (S) military orders.
A transcript of the Catalogue of the Books of Royal Warrant Holders (Inventário dos Livros de Matrícula dos Moradores da Casa Real) published in two volumes by the National Archives (1911 and 1917), offers details of the names roles and duties of the warrant holders, as well as the date of their appointment. Volume 2 of the series, covering the period between 1640 and 1744, provides the names of some of the musicians of the shawm band, as well as details of instrument played, payments and hierarchical statuses. Volume 1 (1641-1681) does not contain any references to musicians of the royal shawm band.

Other Portuguese archives: manuscripts

The only archives consulted first-hand during this research were the Oporto Historical and Municipal Archives (Arquivo Histórico Municipal do Porto). This was prompted by the study of Ribeiro da Silva (1985) suggesting the existence of a shawm band in Oporto in the second half of the sixteenth century. The consultation of other municipal archives would be beyond the scope of this research. The investigation in Oporto Archives focussed on three different sources, namely the Book of the Metal Clasps (Livro das Chapas), the Books of the Wine Commerce (Livros da Imposição dos Vinhos) and the Books of the Treasury of the Council (PT/ AHMP/ CBC).

The Book of the Metal Clasps consists of letters, decrees and provisions granted by the various Kings to the Register of Oporto city council between 1363 and 1818. These books offer the earlier records of the municipal shawm band. The Books of Payment of the Wine Company are organised into 129 volumes. Some of the volumes are divided into two books, which are often not organised chronologically and record miscellaneous expenses including various payments to musical instrument makers and the acquisition of instruments by the city. The Books of the Treasury of the City Council consist of twenty-five books covering the period between 1450 and 1828. They are perhaps the most significant collection with regard to our understanding of the municipal shawm band of the Oporto as well as the municipal trumpet corps. The books consulted cover the period between 1635 and 1636, and 1674 and 1677 and contain details of quarterly and yearly payments to the municipal shawm band. During the period of this research, some of volumes of the Books of the Treasury of the City Council prior to 1635 and between 1636 and 1674, detailing payment records
of the Oporto Historical and Municipal Archives could not be accessed due to their poor condition and the fact that some of them were undergoing a restoration process.

*Other Portuguese archives: transcripts*

One of the most important musical centres in Portugal during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century was the Palace and Chapel of Vila Viçosa, house of Duke Dom Teodósio II. Records offering a significant understanding of musicians and the instruments played in Vila Viçosa between 1583 and 1630, emerge from transcripts of the House of Bragança in *(Livro das Mercês de Dom Teodósio II, 1967)*. These transcripts are organised into two parts: part I refers to the names of the beneficiaries and provides twenty-seven entries for musicians at the service of the Duke including shawms and trombones, whilst part II does not provide details related to musicians.

Also examined were Freire de Oliveira’s *(Elementos para a História do Municipio de Lisboa, 1882-1911)*, a collection of seventeen volumes, which contains transcripts of records of the Lisbon city council between 1321 and 1882. Some of these records contain details pertaining to regular payments to the shawm band and trumpet corps of the city of Lisbon, as well as payments to other shawm bands on special festive occasions during the seventeenth century. In addition, further transcripts of the city of Guimarães *(Administração Seiscentista do Municipio Vimaranense, 1953)* provide regular payment records to the shawm band of the city of Guimarães from 1628 and for most of the seventeenth century until 1691.

*Chronicles*

The Portuguese royal chronicles represent some of the most valuable sources for this study. The purpose of the chronicles was primarily to document the life and achievements of a monarch. Portuguese royal writers were at times the keepers of the National Archives and some of them were closely related to the monarch. Over the centuries, they have offered detailed accounts of musical practice during key royal events. From baptism ceremonies to coronations, weddings and funerals, the chronicles provided details of regular and special engagements of the players of the
royal shawm band. They also offer, information regarding repertoire played as well as band formation. For the purpose of this study, the chronicles written during the fifteenth century and sixteenth century were examined. During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century royal records are sporadic and chronicles assist in establishing the music scene of the time.

Fernão Lopes was appointed keeper (guarda-mor) of the National Archives c.1418 by King João I. King Duarte subsequently nominated Fernão Lopes as the first official chronicler of the kingdom in 1434. Lopes, among others, wrote the chronicles of King Pedro I (who reigned between 1357 and 1367), which are particularly pertinent to this study, providing details regarding the complex issue of terminology referring to brass instruments. During this study a modern edition of the chronicles of King Pedro I by Giuliani Macchi (2007), has been examined. Machhi’s version also includes a critical study and glossary of terms, as well as indexes of different versions of the Chronicles.

Later in the fifteenth century, Garcia de Resende (1470 - d.1536) was appointed royal secretary of King João II. Resende was a musician, poet, chronicle writer and an architect. Moreover, he was a friend and confident of King João II for whom he wrote the chronicles. The Chronicles of King João II, which contain various references to trombones, were written between 1530 and 1533 and were published posthumously in 1554. Most of the first editions of these chronicles can be accessed on the digital online library of the National Library and were studied for the purpose of this thesis.⁹

Damião de Góis joined the Royal Court in 1518 and in 1523 was nominated secretary and treasurer of the Portuguese trading-post in Flanders under the reign of King João III. In 1548 he was appointed guarda-mor of the National Archives and seven years later completed the chronicles of King Manuel I. These chronicles identify routine duties of the royal shawm band.

⁹ See www.purl.pt.
Newspapers and periodical publications as primary sources

Various periodicals appeared in Portugal from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Whilst a thorough examination of these sources is beyond the scope of this study, a number of publications of the nineteenth-century *Gazeta de Lisboa*, and *Revista Universal Lisboense* have been examined. The study of these particular publications was prompted by secondary sources. The statutes of the Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon state that auditions for professorships were public events and therefore likely to be subject of contemporary reviews. Therefore, the publications covering the period of these auditions were examined.

Music scores with trombones

No Portuguese music manuscripts or published sources from the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries specifically call for the trombone. The earlier printed music source that may have included a trombone is the seventeenth century compositions by João Lourenço Rebelo (1657). Although there is no specific indication of instruments used in Rebelo’s compositions the scores include obbligato parts marked *vox instrumentalis*. Since the royal court had at its service a shawm band it seems likely that the obbligato parts accompanying the vocal lines were played by wind instruments.

From the last years of the eighteenth century, the trombone was commonly used in the orchestrations of major composers active in Portugal, including José Totti, António Leal Moreira and Paolo Ponfichi (see Chapter 6). The National Library holds a large collection of nineteenth century music for brass which includes manuscripts for various formations with trombones, as well as wind band with solo trombone. The earliest surviving methods for trombone used in the class of brass instruments of the Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon and written by its professor Francisco Pinto in 1849 and 1850 are also in the holdings of the National Library.
Iconography

Included in the Calendar there is a list of eleven Portuguese depictions, mostly from the mid sixteenth century, illustrating musical angels playing in shawm bands including trombones. In the style of Luso-Flemish School of Painting these depictions are representative of one of the most significant artistic periods for the arts in Europe, particularly the Flemish and Italian schools by which Portugal had directly been influenced. A sculpture dating c.1535 of a musical angel playing what appears to be a single slide trumpet, as well as a Flemish tapestry dating 1547 representing a Portuguese scene depicting a shawm band with a single slide trumpet, have also been incorporated into the calendar.

The number of iconographical references depicting shawm bands or musical angels decreases from the second half of the sixteenth century following the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent on 3 December 1563 and the decrees restraining religious depictions. Early nineteenth century sources present a more military character with details of military bands’ formation. The depictions included in the calendar are, unless stated otherwise, catalogued in the database system of the Portuguese Institute of Museums and Conservation (Instituto dos Museus e da Conservação). The Institute preserves information of the holdings of the major Portuguese museums. Full Images (and details), dates and locations of the depictions are in accordance with this database.

Final note

Although the information collected in the calendar of references cannot be regarded as comprehensive, I am confident that the discovery of any new sources would not alter the general understanding of the history and development of the trombone in Portugal as presented in this study. It is unlikely that new sources would propose that the trombone was introduced in Portugal at an earlier date than suggested here or that

10 www.matriznet.imc-ip.pt
it was frequently used in Portugal during the first three quarters of the eighteenth century.
Chapter 2. Instruments before the nineteenth century

This chapter examines different terminologies referring to the brass instruments of the shawm band from the second half of the fifteenth to the late eighteenth century. It considers the place of origin of these instruments whilst also offering new evidence relating to brass instrument makers active in Portugal during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Terminologies

The history of the trombone in Europe since the first reference to its use during the fifteenth century was closely associated with the development of the shawm band, which was a regular feature of royal, municipal and ecclesiastical musical establishments. Shawm bands became common in Europe through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, playing during royal banquets, processions as well as fulfilling military roles. The earliest bands were comprised solely of woodwind instruments. In the late years of the fourteenth century, other instruments such as trumpets, bagpipes and drums were added. Portuguese Royal Court records have survived for most of the reign of King Afonso V and his successors. During the second half of the fifteenth century, these records suggest that the Portuguese royal shawm band, consisting of woodwind and brass instruments, was already well established. Royal Court records bear a list of terminologies for musicians of the royal shawm band, although this may result in misconceptions regarding the formation of this band. This poses difficulties when it comes to identifying the dates of the introduction and the establishment of the trombone in the Portuguese royal shawm band (*charamela*). Issues of terminology can be divided into three distinct categories. The first issue relates to the use of the term shawm (*charamela, charameleiro*). This term, which denotes the woodwind double reed instrument, was also routinely used to identify any player of the shawm band independently of the instrument played, as well as the ensemble itself. Moreover, the term *charamela* is also often related to the eighteenth century

11 See Polk (1997) for a more detailed chronology of the development of the shawm band.
Portuguese royal trumpet ensemble (Tarr 1988, pp.138–40). The second issue lies with the terminology specifically referring to the earlier brass instruments of the shawm band. Although the terminology applied to the early brass instrument of the shawm band was trombeta das charamelas, meaning the trumpet of the shawm band, other terms such as trombas longas or trombetas bastardas, also used to refer to the trumpet, present difficulties in establishing whether or not these terms also referred to the trumpet of the shawm band. References to the trumpet of the shawm band, likely a single slide trumpet, appear between 1453/4 and 1465. Thirdly, further problematic terminologies arise from early references to the trombone (sacabuxa). These earlier references to the sacabuxa, which appear in literary sources from 1455, could refer to either a single slide or double slide instrument.

Trumpets

Since the beginning of the twelfth century, trumpets in Europe were regularly associated with high hierarchic status, as well as representing an element of any major military activity. According to Polk (1997) the most commonly used was a long straight trumpet, which was played in pairs, with or without other instruments, as well as together with groups of shawms. However, by the thirteenth century there was another kind of trumpet in use; a shorter, less elaborate and less expensive instrument. These two distinct instruments were the huisne and clarion; terms which likely referred to the long and the short trumpet respectively (Polk 1997, pp.41–4). However, Polk states that the terminology of long and short trumpets is unclear and occasionally misleading with little evidence available to form any definite conclusions.

In Portugal the terms frequently used to refer to trumpets are trombeta(s) or tromba(s) longas, trombeta(s) bastard(a) and finally trombeta das charamelas. In his Chronicles of King Pedro I, Fernão Lopes (1385 – d.1459) may perhaps be the first to suggest a distinction between trombetas longas and trombetas bastardas. Lopes describes King Pedro I’s fondness for partying and dancing during his reign between 1357 and 1367. He describes how dances were accompanied by the sounds of
“trombas\textsuperscript{12} longas used in those days”; instruments that the King disliked. Referring to them as “instruments used in those days”, Lopes perhaps suggests that the use of these long trumpets (longas) may have fallen into disuse by the time the chronicles were written (between 1430 and 1440), or that the contemporary design features of the instrument had changed.

And these dances were accompanied by the long trumpets (longas) that were used in those days… every time someone tried to play it he [the King] would quickly get bored and would order to give it to the devil and to bring him the trumpeters (trombeiros) (Lopes 2007, p.59).

It remains unclear as to whether or not the trombeiros were the players of shorter trumpets. As discussed above, Polk (1997) suggests that longer trumpets were played in pairs, which may also be the case with the silver trumpets described by Lopes below. In addition, the fact that these instruments were made of silver may also indicate that they were not the smaller trumpets, which in contrast were often of cheaper manufacture (Polk 1997, p.42).

The King, laying in bed one night and not being able to fall asleep, made everyone wake up and called Joham Mateus and Lourenço Pallos to bring their silver trumpets (trombas da prata) (Lopes 2007, p.60).

Although Lopes implies that some kind of design change relating to the trumpet occurred between the reign of King Pedro I and the time the chronicles were written, there is insufficient evidence with which to ascertain the nature of these changes (if any) other than that they became shorter. Terminology regarding the trumpet in Portugal remains unclear for the remainder of the fifteenth and for much of the sixteenth century.

\textsuperscript{12} Macchi (2007) shows that in the manuscript version of the chronicles held at the Tombo Tower National Archives under the reference PT/ TT/CRN/ 30/ 356/ 29 the term tromba is omitted.
Trumpet bastarda

Late fifteenth and sixteenth century Portuguese literary sources mostly describe trumpets *bastardas* played in pairs and with drums. They performed during processional ceremonies alongside other haut instruments (*menistres altos*) or shawm bands with trombones (*charamellas* and *facabuchas*). In his *Chronicles of King João II*, Resende (1622) describes how Princess Isabelle of Asturias was received in Évora in 1490. King João II, the Princess’s future father in law, made his way to the monastery to meet her, followed by “many trumpets *bastardas*, many drums, many shawms and trombones”. The following year, the arrival of Prince Afonso, son of King João II, and Princess Isabelle of Asturias was marked by music performed by many trumpets *bastardas* and many drums (*muytas trombetas baƒtardas muytos atambores*), as well as many shawms and trombones (*charamelas & facabuxas*) (Resende 1622, pp.76V, 85V). Resende’s terminology is not consistent. Firstly, the term trumpet is not always followed by the term *bastarda*. Secondly, within the same page the spelling of the term shawm appears as *charamela* and *charamella*. However, the term *bastarda* appears to be regularly associated with the royal trumpet ensemble.

In his *História Geneológica da Casa Portuguesa*, Caetano de Sousa (1742) presents a document which details the illness, death and funeral service of King Manuel I in December 1521. This document raises yet another terminology issue:

> The funeral procession was led by eight drummers, thirteen shawms (*charamelas*), fourteen trumpets *bastardas* and other instruments of *facabuxa* [other trombone-like instruments?] (*otros estrumentos de facabuxa*) (Caetano de Sousa 1742a, p.309).

Considering the number of players and the proximity of the dates, the fourteen trumpeters *bastardas* referred to here were likely the same players recorded in the Royal Court records. These records provide a list of the names of fourteen trumpeters (*trombetas*) of the King who were given clothing on 6 December 1515. However, these records show no indication of the term *bastarda*. Moreover, the quote above suggests that alongside *trombetas bastardas* there were also some trombones.

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13 See 27 November 1490.
However, the translation of the Portuguese text “otros estromentos de facabuxa” is inconclusive and may carry a double meaning. By examining these descriptions, the most direct and natural assumption would be that these instruments were indeed trombones. However, this being the case, there would perhaps be no reason to describe them separately from the shawms. The second conclusion may be that, by implying some level of comparison between trombetas bastardas and what he describes as “other trombone-like instruments” he suggests that these other instruments perhaps had a similar slide mechanism to that of trombones i.e. single slide trumpets. It therefore seems appropriate to explore both hypotheses.

Another example of the complexity of the terminology is evident in a 1603 wardrobe list, written by António Gomes, a servant of Duke Dom Teodósio II of Braganza for the occasion of the marriage of the Duke to Ana de Velasco y Téllez-Girón. Duke Dom Teodósio ordered liveries for:

- eight shawms (charamelos);
- eight trumpets (trombetas);
- three trumpets bastardas (trombetas bastardas) and eight black drummers (negros que tangem os atabales) (Caldas 1881, p.252).

Unlike Caetano de Sousa (1742) who describes all fourteen trumpeters as bastardas, Caldas (1881, p.252) clearly identifies two distinct groups of instruments, namely trombetas and trumpets bastardas. In addition, the clothing description shows that the trumpet bastardas players wore swords, whilst the trumpeters did not, thus possibly suggesting that the two groups of players fulfilled different ceremonial roles. Crucially, this reference suggests that the bastardas were not playing in the same ensemble with the shawms.

Another reference to the trumpet bastardara appears in a 1606 list of the personnel sent by Friar Dom Agostinho de Jesus, Archbishop of Braga, in reference to the translocation and reburial of the reliquaries in Vianna (today Viana do Castelo) which included “the shawms of the city with a trumpet bastardara (os charamelas [desta cidade] com hua trombeta bastardara)” (Câmara Municipal de Braga 1935, p.194).

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14 Ana was the daughter of the Juan Fernández de Velasco, 5th Duke of Frías and Constable of Castile (Condestável de Castella).
Although there are no details regarding the formation of the shawm band, the role of the trumpet *bastarda* here seems to be separated from that of the shawm band.

A late seventeenth century description of a long ivory instrument played by the natives in the Portuguese African colony of Angola in 1680 may provide more clues regarding the nature of the *bastarda* instrument. This instrument was similar to a long straight trumpet and had a “hoarsely sound like the trumpet *bastardas*, which in Lisbon are called the *vacas*”\(^\text{15}\) of the *trio* which play during the royal celebrations (Cadornega 1942, p.203). The comparison of the physical features of this instrument to a long straight trumpet with a crude sound like a trumpet *bastarda* may suggest that the *bastarda* was a straight trumpet.\(^\text{16}\) Moreover, the regulations for coppersmiths of the city of Lisbon in 1572 established that any coppersmith, among other crafts, should be capable of making a trumpet *bastarda* (Correia & Sá 1926, p.48).\(^\text{17}\) This suggests that the trumpet *bastarda* was an instrument with very basic design features and therefore unlikely to have had a movable slide system.

Cardosum’s *Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, et Lusitanico Latinum*, (1613) offers two different terminologies referring to the trumpet *bastarda*: *Cornu* and *Lituus*.\(^\text{18}\) Although the reference to *Cornu* does not provide details regarding the physical features of the trumpet *bastarda*, Cardosum describes *Lituus* as a curved trumpet (Cardosum Lusitanum 1613, pp.44, 107). Furthermore, Marques’ *Nouveau Dictionnaire des Langues Françoise et Portugalaise*, (1764) also refers to the trumpet *bastarda* as *Lituus* (or *Clairon* in French), a curved trumpet with a higher pitch mainly used by people on horses (Marques 1764, pp.403, 736). Whilst both authors suggest that the trumpet *bastarda* was not a straight trumpet, the exact design features of this instrument remain uncertain. Moreover, evidence from these sources shows that the trumpet *bastarda* does not seem to be related to the single slide trumpet or the

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\(^{15}\) The term *vaca* is discussed further below.

\(^{16}\) The reference to *trio* may allude to the group of trumpeters, flutists and drummers who played in the processions of *Corpus Christi* in Lisbon from the mid fifteenth century (see discussion on elements of exoticism in Chapter 5).

\(^{17}\) See 1572.

\(^{18}\) Cardosum’s first edition (1562) does not include entries for these terms.
shawm band. In Portugal the instrument is described on various occasions fulfilling a range of duties such as leading parades on its own and alongside other instruments, in pairs and even as part of the trumpet ensemble. In the seventeenth century, the terminology becomes consistent and the role of the instrument is separated from both the trumpet ensemble and the shawm band.

The term trumpet *bastarda* was also used in Spain where the instrument was also described as the Spanish trumpet. The connotation of the term trumpet *bastarda* in Spain, similar to Portugal, appears to have changed between the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In her article entitled “Clarines and Trumpetas: Some Further Observations”, Kenyon de Pascual (1995), concludes that the terminology regarding the trumpet *bastarda* in Spain is ambiguous and that without physical evidence of the instrument it is difficult to establish the differences between the two trumpets during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. She also notes that in Spain two theories regarding the nature of the trumpet *bastarda* prevail: firstly that the trumpet *bastarda* was an S-shape trumpet and secondly that it had a single slide system (Kenyon de Pascual 1995, p.102). Lamaña (1969) as cited by Gavaldá (2005) contends that the trumpet *bastarda* was a semi-chromatic instrument which could produce notes 3 or 4 semitones lower than the natural pitch and could therefore be considered the semi-chromatic trumpet of the Renaissance (Gavaldá 2005, p.189).¹⁹

*Slide brass instruments: trombetas das charamelas and sacabuxas*

During the late fourteenth century, advances in metal-working techniques made it possible to fashion long straight trumpets into an S-shape. The idea that the slide trumpet developed from the fixed length S-shape is generally accepted. The need for an instrument capable of playing the contratener in the shawm band appears to have encouraged the development of the slide mechanism by the early fifteenth century (Polk 1997, pp.45–6; Herbert 2006, pp.52–3). The term *posaune*, referring to the trumpet of the shawm band, first appeared in Germany in 1368. In Italy, by 1438 the

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¹⁹ See also Baines (1976, p.96).
term used was trombone, and in the Burgundy Court the term used to identify a brass instrument of the shawm band was trompette des ménestrels (Baines 1976, pp.95–6).

Downey (1984) challenges the consensus that the fifteenth century brass instrument of the shawm band was a single slide trumpet and that this represented an evolutionary stage in the development of the double slide trombone. Iconography has been essential to this debate and one of the sources on which Downey’s argument is based is a panel by Hans Memling c. 1460. Downey proposes that the handgrip used here, with the left hand holding the instrument close to the mouthpiece and right hand supporting the full weight of the [static] body of the instrument does not suggest movement of the sounding part of the trumpet. He suggests that this concurs with the handgrip used by trumpeters before cordage was wrapped around the fixed-length trumpets. Downey suggests that the elongated length of the instrument could be explained by the simple addition of a lead pipe which would lower its pitch. In summary, Downey’s work, which questions the existence of the slide trumpet, encourages debate on this matter, although it does not affect the overall consensus that the single slide trumpet not only existed, but also played an important role in the history of the trombone (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of the development of the trombone technique).

_Trombeta das charamelas_

The terminology used to refer to the earlier brass instruments of the Portuguese royal shawm band during the fifteenth century was trombeta das charamelas. The instrument was likely introduced in Portugal by Flemish players in the royal service. The earliest reference to a brass player in the Portuguese royal shawm band appears in a letter by King Afonso V to Janim de Reste, trumpeter of the shawm band (trombeta dos nossos charamelas) granting him the privilege to ride a mule in 1453/4 (see Ill. 2.1 below). Carter (2012) presents a different translation of this manuscript and proposes that Janim was given “permission and opportunity that he can travel and enjoy himself” (Carter 2012, p.97). Moreover, he suggests that this document may

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20 See Chapter 3 for a discussion relating to the similarities of handgrip used to play the single slide trumpet and the trombone.
have been issued to allow Janim de Reste to travel to Burgundy and that he was likely the same Jean de Rechtre *trompette des menestrels* listed in the Burgundy Court records from 1465 to 1474 (Carter 2012, pp.97, 70).

Illustration 2.1: Extract from the book 10 of payments of King Afonso V, showing a privilege letter to Janim de Reste trumpet of the shawm band (*trombeta dos nossos charamelas*)

Marix (1972) offers additional evidence of these minstrels at the Burgundy Court service in 1448 and again in March 1453 noting that “Adrien and Jacques de Rechtre or de Rechtre, whose names appear to be of Germanic origins, [were] former minstrels of the King of Portugal” (Marix 1972, p.95). Philipe de Bon employed Jacques de Rechtre as *trompette de guerre* and Adrien de Rechtre as *trompette des menestrels*, in 1457. The name of Adrien remains in the payment roll until 1464. In 1465 Jacques de Rechtre replaces Adrien as *trompette des menestrels*, a position he held until at least until 1474 (Marix 1972, p.274).

The term *trombeta dos charamellas* appears for the last time in Portugal in a 1465 privilege letter granting Johã De Reste (likely a relative of the above mentioned Janim and Adrien De Reste) the right to adopt his stepdaughter. In an earlier letter dated 20 April 1463 the same Johã de Reste (*trombeta dos charamelas*), was appointed king of the shawm band (*rey dos charamelas*) replacing his brother Copim [de Reste] who left the kingdom.

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21 See 21 January 1453/4.
22 See 1453/4.
23 See Chapter 4 for a discussion on the De Reste family.
24 The roles of this player were clearly separate from the Royal trumpeters who had their own king as noted in a letter dated 28 July 1471.
Guion (2010) also notes the existence of “Portuguese minstrels” at the Burgundy Court, although the suggestion of the name Jacob (de Rechter) who played trombone seems unlikely (Guion 2010, p.83). Assuming Jacob and Jacques are two distinct players, the name Jacob de Rechtre appears in the court records for the court of Philipe de Bon between 1463-64 as trompette de guerre and not trompette des menestrels (Marix 1972, p.274).

Sacabuxa

The Chronicles of King João II, written by the royal chronicler Garcia de Resende, offer the earliest reference to the term sacabuxa in Portugal. Describing the baptism ceremonies of King João II on 11 May 1455, Garcia de Resende identifies the following group of instruments:

Leading the parade carrying the Prince [the future King João II] to the Lisbon Cathedral, many trumpets, (muytas trombetas) drums (atambores), shawms (charamelas), trombones (sacabuxas) and many other instruments (Resende 1554, p.1V).

The use of the term sacabuxa here suggests an instrument with a slide system, although the question arises as to whether it was a trombone or a single slide trumpet. The event described above occurred in 1455 and the Chronicles, whilst written between 1530 and 1533, were only published in 1554. The Chronicles were written between seventy-five and seventy-eight years subsequent to the described event, thus meaning it would have been erroneous to assume that the instrument used in 1455 was fitted with a double slide system. Moreover, Royal Court records between 1453/4 and 1465 refer to the brass instrument of the shawm band as trombeta das charamelas and not sacabuxa.

In the same Chronicles, Resende describes the reburial service of King João II from Silves Cathedral, in the southern Algarve region of Portugal, to the Batalha Monastery on 17 October 1499. The convoy transporting the body of the King [João

25 See notes on primary sources in Introduction.
II] arrived at the Batalha Monastery led by his successor King Manuel I with “many trumpets (muytas trombetas), shawms (charamelas), trombones (facabuxas) and drums (e atambores).” The “mass was played with organs, shawms, trombones (& a Miffa foy tangida cõ orgaõs, charamelas, facabuxas)” and at the end of the mass the body was brought inside the chapel by the bishops, whilst the singers sang the chant of Zacharias, Benedictus Dominus Deus Iƒrael, with many voices and instruments (com tantas vozes, & e ftromentos) (Resende 1622, p.130V–2). Resende had been the private secretary of King João II for the last four years prior to the death of the monarch in 1495, and as such the descriptions of the reburial service are likely to be accurate. Although the nature of the instrument described as sacabuxa remains uncertain, it is likely that this instrument was indeed a trombone.

In 1516 Resende compiled the Cancioneiro Geral, a collection of poems and lyrics of songs by some two hundred and eighty-six Portuguese noble men from the reigns of King Afonso V, King João II and King Manuel I. The subjects of these poems were love, satire and epigram rhyme written in Portuguese and Castilian. One of these poems, a satire written by Afonso Valente in honour of Resende himself, provides one of the earliest references to the sacabuxa in Portugal. Valente mocks Resende’s physical features and his facets as a musician, comparing him and his musical facilities to those of Jacques, likely the master of the royal shawm band:

You look like a full moon [fat] , / cousin of brute [ugly], / pink faced [podgy looking], / ill looking [unhealthy]/ trombone (sacabuxa) alike (jrmão) Jacques [such a musician], / full of catchphrases / & you play everything with sparks [farts or fireworks] (Resende 1516, p.223).

While some of the earlier events described in the Chronicles of King João II (published in 1554) might refer to either a trombone or a slide trumpet, Resende’s (1516) Cancioneiro Geral may be considered the earliest Portuguese literary reference to the sacabuxa, which unequivocally refers to the trombone.

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26 See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the masters of the royal shawm band. See also Appendix 3 for a complete list of masters of the royal shawm band.

27 Words in brackets provide my understanding of the double meaning of the text, referring to the satire element.
An additional sixteenth century – although not published until the beginning of the seventeenth century – literary reference to the term *sacabuche* appears in Jorge de Montemayor (1602) *Los Siete Libros de la Diana*, describing the performance of a wind ensemble comprising three cornets and a trombone (*tres cornetas y un sacabuche*) (Montemayor 1602, p. 81).²⁸ Montemayor served both Portuguese and Spanish Courts during the Iberian Union and although Portuguese was his first language, he wrote solely in Castilian.

The earliest entry of the term *sacabuxa* in a Portuguese dictionary appears in Hierónimum Cardosum’s 1562 *Dictionarium ex Lusitanico in Latinum sermonem*, which is considered to be the earliest surviving Portuguese-Latin dictionary:²⁹

\[Sacabuxa, Tubaductilis, făbuca,œ\] (Cardosum Lusitanum 1562, p. 95).

In the 1613 edition of Cardosum’s *Dictionarium* the term *sambuca* replaces the term *făbuca*. It also notes: *sambuca* and *sambucedus*, as the player of *sacabuxa*; and *sambucistria,œ*, the female who plays the *sacabuxa*. Additionally, the term *tubaductilis* appears spread over two words i.e. *tuba ductilis* (Cardosum Lusitanum 1613, pp. 198V, 326V). Cardosum, similar to other earlier authors, mistakenly associates the term *sambuca* with the sackbut. Bluteau in the 1720 *Vocabulario Português e Latino*, is one of the first authors to establish the difference between the terms *sacabuxa* and the *sambuca*, suggesting it was an antique string instrument. He also produces a comprehensive description of the instrument and the way in which it was used:

\[Sacabuxa, a metal, wind musical instrument, similar to a trumpet except it is longer and can be extended and folded within itself from the top to the bottom. It is called this way because for the ones not familiar with the instrument it would seem as though when one plays it, or extends its slide, it looks as if they are extracting it from their stomachs. Kirker in his *Musurgia* calls it *Tuba ductilis*. Those who in the Latin language called it *Sambuca* did not realise\]

²⁸ See 1559.
²⁹ The earliest Portuguese-Portuguese dictionary is assumed to be the eighteenth century Bluteau *Vocabulário Português e Latino* (Verdelho & Silvestre 2007, p. 16).
that *Sambuca* was an antique string instrument of which Vitruvio\(^{30}\) talks, and many agree to be a harp (*arpa*) (Bluteau 1720, p.417).

The Portuguese word *sacar* (verb) or *sacão* (third person plural) means remove from or extract from, whilst the term *bucho* (noun) means stomach, or belly. The translation from the Portuguese - *(sacão, ou tirão do bucho)* would then be: remove or pull from or out of [their] belly/ stomach. The explanation presented by Bluteau agrees with Herbert’s view that the term sackbut was used “not only to denote the instrument, but also to describe the distinctive way it was played” (Herbert 2006, p.57).

*Other nomenclature questions*

Eighteenth century references from the region of Braga present yet more terminological difficulties. Lessa (1994) suggests that the term *vaca*, which appears in a number of sources in Braga in 1746 and 1748 was a trombone (albeit without any specific explanation) (Lessa 1994, p.85). In Portuguese the term *vaca* means cow and the immediate analogy (physical and construction) would perhaps be the *cornett* rather than the trombone due to its horn shape. Moreover, and as discussed in Chapter 6, the trombone would have been in decline by this date. In his eighteenth century *Memórias de Braga*, Peixoto (1992) shows that trombones and *vacas* were two distinct instruments and presents a possible hypothesis regarding the place of origin of the term [and instrument] *vaca*:

> It is believed that Dom Diogo de Sousa [in 1505], archbishop of Braga introduced the shawms (*charamelas*), but the trombones (*sacabuxas*) and the *vacas* were instruments that have been in use [Cathedral] since the Moors, these instruments were taken from them during the battles. These were instruments that they [Moors] offered in the temples (Peixoto 1992, p.69).

\(^{30}\) Marco Vitruvio Pollione, (c. 80–70 BC, after c. 15 BC) was a Roman architect, author and engineer, perhaps best known for his multi-volume work entitled *De Architectura*. Vitruvio uses the term *sambuca* as follows: Sambuca, because the scale raised with ropes formed a figure similar to the musical instrument, called Sambuca. (*Sambuca, per che la scala alzata formava colle funi una figura simile allo strumento musicale, detto Sambuca*) (Pollio 1790, p.154).
Although it remains uncertain whether these instruments (*sacabuxa* and *vacas*) have Morish origin – as suggested by Peixoto – it seems likely that these were indeed two distinct instruments.

*The earlier signs of instrument trading*

The earliest known reference to the purchase of trombones in Portugal refers to an order for two trombones (*saquabujas*) to Calisto, a German merchant in Flanders, dated 1515.⁵¹ The manuscript includes a list of six instruments, including four shawms (*charamelas*) – two sopranos (*typles*) and two tenors (*tenor*), as well as two trombones (*sacabujas*). The manuscript does not provide precise details relating to the place of origin of these instruments, or the price paid. The instruments may have been made in Flanders or indeed somewhere else in Europe. However, Nuremberg, renowned for metal crafts, and responsible for the production of the largest quantities of brass instruments from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, could likely also be the place of origin of these instruments.⁵² Hans Neuschel the Elder, a coppersmith (1479), was the founder of the oldest dynasty of brass instrument makers in Nuremberg and the first trombones to emerge are in fact those which bear the names of the Neuschel family (Herbert 2006, pp.63–4).⁵³ No other account of trombones being ordered or shipped from the Flemish region could be found in Portuguese archival sources. The reason for this might be due to the fact that these instruments might have started being produced or reproduced in Portugal.

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⁵¹ See 21 May 1515.
⁵² See Barclay (1996) for a detailed discussion of instrument making in Nuremberg.
⁵³ Hans Neuschel the Younger was a trombone player of the Nuremberg *stadfeifer* (Carter 2012, pp.232–3).
Brass instrument makers in Portugal during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were commonly referred to as coppersmiths (*latoeiros* or *latueiros*). Archival references suggest the names of three *latoeiros* active in Portugal prior to the nineteenth century who produced brass instruments: Manuel Velho from Lisbon, João Nunes from Lisbon and Damião Teixeira from Oporto.

In 1539, Manuel Velho, coppersmith or *latoeiro*, was paid for four shawms (*charamelas*) and four trombones (*sacabuxas*), which were to be given to Diogo de Valera, master of the royal shawm band (see Ill. 2.2 below). Unlike Calisto, Manuel Velho was described as being a *latoeiro* rather than a merchant or dealer. This not only indicates that these instruments were made in Portugal, but also suggests that the same manufacturer made both woodwind (shawms) and brass instruments (trombones) in the same workshop. Manuel Velho has not previously been identified as a brass or woodwind instrument maker.

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34 3 June 1539.
Illustration 2.2: Letter containing details of the purchase of four trombones and four shawms by the Royal Court from Manuel Velho, instrument maker. The document states that these instruments were to be given to Diogo de Valera, master of the shawm band (PT/ TT/ CC/ 1/ 64/ 148).35

The only known Portuguese brass instrument maker prior to the nineteenth century was João Nunes, identified in Viterbo (1912). João Nunes is also listed in Langwill’s index of wind instrument makers (Langwill 1962, p.85). Nunes was active during the reign of King João IV and was appointed by royal decree of 1653 as “official royal brass instrument maker of trumpets, [trumpet] bastardas and trombones (official de latoeiro de fazer trombetas, bastardas e sacabuxas)”.36 The absence of a reference to shawms or other woodwind instruments may indicate that João Nunes was exclusively a brass instrument maker.

Accounts from the Oporto city council dated 1635, reveal a series of payments to Damião Teixeira, a coppersmith (latoeiro) from Oporto, for a set of nine trumpets (trombetas). The payment, which totalled 23.000 réis was made in a minimum of four instalments.37 Although payment records from the city council offer knowledge of the

35 See 3 June 1539.
36 See 1653.
37 See 15 March 1635; 2 April 1635.
existence of both a trumpet ensemble and a shawm band in the city of Oporto, no further payment to Damião Teixeira or any other lateoiro regarding the acquisition of shawms, trumpets or trombones could be found. Similar to Manuel Velho, Damião Teixeira has not previously been identified as a brass instrument maker.

The largest purchase order of brass instruments in Portugal appears in the first half of the eighteenth century when a collection of twenty-four silver trumpets was acquired following instructions given by King João V to his state secretary Diogo Mendonça e Corte Real, in order to increase the size of the trumpet corps in 1721. Particular indications followed to João Gomes da Silva, fourth Count of Tarouca and diplomat in the Hague, to procure and contract the players, to make the necessary travel arrangements and to order the required instruments. Doderer (2003) presents the correspondence regarding the process of procuring and contracting the trumpet ensemble dated 1721-24, as well as a list of twenty-four silver trumpets (and twenty-four additional copper trumpets for exercise and rehearsal) ordered from Germany (Doderer 2003, pp.29–30).

The National Museum of Coaches in Lisbon holds a collection of twenty-two silver trumpets dated between 1761 and 1785, twenty of which read on the bell "D. IOSEPH. I. DG. PORT. ET. ALG. REX. 1761" and two of which read "D. MARIA. I. ET. PETRUS. [III]. DG. PORT. ET. ALG. REGES. 1785". On the basis of their design, Tarr (1988) suggests that these instruments, unlike the 1724 set of trumpets, were not imported from Germany, but possibly made in Portugal (Tarr 1988, p.140). However, the identity and nationality of this maker remains uncertain. If indeed the surviving collection of trumpets was made in Portugal it is plausible that with the 1755 Lisbon earthquake the instruments acquired in Germany in 1724 were lost or indeed destroyed and a new set of trumpets was ordered (although there is no documental evidence of this). However, Doderer (2012) also suggests that the commission of a new set of trumpets would have been too expensive and questions whether perhaps the court opted to change and fix some (if any) or all of the (1724) surviving instruments.

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38 See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the municipal shawm band of Oporto.

39 King José I reined between 1750-1777 and Queen Maria I between 1777-1816.
Instruments and instrument making in the Portuguese Colonies

References to Portuguese musicians employed in Portuguese colonies, as well as the work of Portuguese religious orders teaching music to the natives, reveal various references to musical instruments sent from Portugal to the colonies, as well as instruments being made in these colonies. In a letter from Afonso de Alburquerque, the Portuguese governor in India, to the royal treasurer Diogo Pereira dated 10 January 1510/11, Gilles, a bombard player (*bombardeiro*), was to be given four buckets (*bacias*) of copper for trumpets (*quatro bacias de latão para trombetas*). This suggests that Gilles, as well as being a bombard player, was also an instrument maker. The whereabouts of these instruments remain unknown.

References to instruments sent from Portugal to the African colonies arise in a letter dated 1578, from Novais, a Portuguese Governor in Luanda, Angola, requesting some musical instruments from Lisbon:

In the possibility of Joam Castanho having a pair of trombones (*Se lá poder aver Joam Castanho hum par de sacabuxas*) and some old [or used] shawms at a good price (*e algumas charamelas velhas*) to send [them], as they are much needed for the natives (*negros*) to learn (Brásio 1954, p.302).

According to the transcription of the original letter Joam Castanho was likely either an instrument dealer or an instrument maker. However, Carter (2012) proposes a different translation and interpretation of the same document (“if it is possible to have Joam Castanho here for the *sacabuchas*”) thus suggesting that Castanho was a trombone player (Carter 2012, pp.365, 452). While the role of Castanho in the procurement, trading or manufacture of the instruments remains undetermined, the Portuguese evidence shows that Castanho was being quizzed regarding the prospect of having used instruments to sell. Another request for instruments from Portugal appears in a 1624 letter from a Jesuit priest. Here, the ordering of “two trombones from Braga” (*duas sacabuxas de Braga para os baixos*) amongst other instruments,

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40 (*Bacia or bacias*) Bucket used here as weight measure unit. Bucket is a volume measure, roughly equivalent to 4 gallons.
may suggest the existence of a brass instrument maker in the city of Braga. This however, remains uncertain.

**Conclusions**

Documentary sources can date the use of the trumpet of the shawm band (*trombeta das charamelas*) in Portugal between 1453 and 1465. Suggestions that the term trumpet *bastarda* might have also referred to the single slide trumpet are unlikely to be accurate. The term *sacabuxa*, which is described in the accounts of the 1455 baptism ceremonies of King João II in Portugal, may refer to both a trombone or a single slide trumpet due to the gap between the period to which the chronicles refer and the time at which they were written. The lack of references to sacabuxa from Royal Court records during the second half of the fifteenth century also suggests this instrument was still not in use in the royal shawm band. The transition between the use of the single slide trumpet and the use of the trombone in Portugal was perhaps taking place between 1465, the date of the last reference to the *trombeta das charamelas* and 1499, the earliest reliable date the term *sacabuxa* refers to the trombone. The earliest definite reference to the existence of the trombone in Portugal is dated 1515. The term *sacabuxa* (and its various spellings) is used to refer to the trombone from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century in Portuguese archival and literary sources.

Despite all references to trombones being manufactured, purchased and most importantly played in Portugal and the Portuguese colonies since 1515, no Portuguese instruments have survived. The names of two brass instrument makers previously unknown have emerged during this research: Manuel Velho, coppersmith from Lisbon and Damião Teixeira coppersmith from Oporto.
Chapter 3. The trombone as portrayed in Portuguese iconography during the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century

This chapter is concerned with different aspects of the trombone in Portugal up to the beginning of the seventeenth century: When was it introduced in Portugal? What were its physical characteristics? What was its role in the Portuguese musical scene? During the process of addressing these questions, and due to the absence of any surviving instruments, this study focuses on three sources of information: theoretical and didactical material, musical manuscripts and iconography. Although there are historical reference to didactical sources for wind instruments in Portugal, such material has not survived. Moreover, there is no evidence of any musical manuscripts specifically devoted to the trombone during this period. Ultimately, in the absence of written and musical sources, iconography has become the primary focus of this study in terms of answering some of the above mentioned questions.

Didactical and theoretical sources in Europe

The earliest printed reference to the trombone appears in Sebastian Virdung’s *Musica getutsch* (1511). While this source does not provide elements that can help understand the way the trombone was played in the earlier years of the sixteenth century, the depiction of the instrument presented suggests an early design stage of the trombone with only two flat stays (see Ill. 3.2). An identical drawing, likely from the same plate, is later used in both Martin Agricola’s *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (1529) and Ottmar Luscinius’ *Musurgia se praxis musicae* (1536). These authors do not provide understanding of the way the trombone was played. The earliest music source to offer an informed explanation of the way in which the trombone was played is *Il Dolcimelo* by Aurelio Virgiliano (c.1600).41 This manuscript (although unfinished) provides the earliest trombone slide positions chart for a tenor trombone in A – in contrast to the modern trombone in B♭. It also shows that players at that time recognised four positions instead of seven associated with today’s diatonic

41 See Weiner (2011, pp. 151-60)
system and accepted by trombone players since the late eighteenth century (See Chapter 7). According to Herbert (2006) this concurs with later manuals by Daniel Speer, Joseph Majer and Johann Philipp Eisel. Furthermore, the manuals by Lodovico Zacconi’s *Prattica de Musica*, (1592) and Pietro Cerones’ *El Melopeo y Maestro*, (1613) briefly consider the range of the trombone. Cerone (1613) suggests that the trombone could play so high that it was capable of reaching A4. Similar to Virgiliano, Cerone contains information about the cornett, supporting the idea that the two instruments constituted a well established pairing. Further valuable information on technique arises from Dalla Casa’s (*Il Vero Modo di Diminuir*, 1584), which explains aspects of unequal articulation (or double tonguing). In addition, Cesare Bendinelli in (*Tutta l’arte della Trombetta*, c1614) as well as Girolamo Fantini (*Modo per Imparare a sonare di Tromba*, 1638), also offer a clear understanding of the use of articulation using various articulation syllables (Herbert 2006, pp.40–2). Michael Praetorius’s *Syntagma musicum*, published between 1614 and 1619 in three Volumes, is often regarded as the most significant and valuable theoretical source of the seventeenth century. Praetorius provides informed description of the trombone as well as of the contexts in which it was used and represents special importance to the understanding of the instrument during the seventeenth century.

*Evidence of Portuguese didactical material for wind instruments*

As discussed in Chapter 4, trombone players were known to be multi-instrumentalists, thus meaning that didactical material for other instruments, especially wind instruments, are relevant to some conclusions of trombone playing. The earliest reference to didactic material for a wind instrument written in Portuguese is a sixteenth-century manual for treble shawm (*charamelinha*) by André de Escobar (*Arte muzica para tanger o instrumento da charamelinha*, n.d.). Escobar’s manual, now lost, is listed in Barbosa Machado’s *Biblioteca Lusitana* (1741-1758) and may have been used to teach wind players in Portugal and in the Portuguese Colony of

42 “Los sacabuches van tan alto, que llegan hafta á A lamire fobreagudo; y abaxan poco menos quanto quifere e Tañedor” (Cerone 1613, p.1063).
India where Escobar is believed to have taught the shawm. On his return to Portugal, Escobar was employed by Cardinal Dom Henrique as master of the shawm band of the Évora Cathedral and subsequently took up the duties of master of the shawm band at Coimbra Cathedral and University (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of the shawm band outwith the royal during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries) (Nery & Machado 1984b, pp.90, 238).

Additional evidence of a sixteenth century didactical manual for woodwinds emerges from Nery’s article (“New Sources for the Study of the Portuguese Seventeenth-Century Consort Music”, 1985). Nery proposes that Antonio Jacques de Laserna “master of the royal shawm ensemble”, authored a didactical manual for shawm entitled (Arte de Tanger Charamela, n.d.) (Nery 1985, p.11). However, Antonio Jacques de Laserna, unlike other members of the Lacerna family, does not seem to have been one of the masters of the shawm band as suggested by Nery (1985) (see Appendix 3 for a list of master of the shawm band). In addition, there is no evidence of such work in Machado’s (1741-1758) Bibliotheca Lusitana. Instead, here Laserna is listed as the author of a didactical method for viola (viola de arco) and not the shawm (charamela). Moreover, in contradiction of his 1985 article, Nery’s (1984) study of Machado’s work A Música no Ciclo da “Biblioteca Lusitana” suggests Antonio Jacques de Laserna as the author of a method for viola. Although it remains unclear as to whether or not Laserna wrote a manual for the shawm, the possibility of a manual for viola being written by a master of the wind ensemble would be feasible. As discussed further in Chapter 4, one of the duties of the master of the shawm band in royal service, was to teach and consequently be able to play all the instruments of the named band. Additionally, during the early seventeenth century the master of the shawm band was also expected to play and teach the viola (viola

43 André de Escobar, departed to India and was the first to teach the shawm (charamelinha) there (Nery & Machado 1984b, pp.90–1, 238).
44 See 1579.
45 Antonio Jacques de Laserna, wrote in Portuguese a book entitled the art of playing the viola, offered to His Majesty João IV of Portugal (esreueo em Portugues hum livro, que intitulou: Arte da viola de arco) (Nery & Machado 1984b, p.148).
This practice was already in use during the reign of Cardinal-King Dom Henrique. Unfortunately, since neither of these two manuals has survived there is no clear evidence relating to their content.

Iconography as evidence

Iconographical representations provide valuable evidence of the development of musical instruments and historical performance practices. Musical iconography is commonly defined as the study, description and analyses of works of art containing musical elements. The sources may help with the identification of design features of a musical instrument, the manner in which it was played and the formation of ensembles. The analyses of musical iconography can also help reveal the contexts in which instruments were played, and sometimes help identify repertoire based on the scene depicted. Moreover, iconographical sources may also shed light on the social and hierarchical status of musicians through, for example, differences in clothing.

Whilst iconographical sources can be of value to music scholars, they can be problematic and need to be treated with caution. Various scholars, notably Erwin Panofsky, Emanuel Winternitz and James McKinnon, have highlighted the issues surrounding the use of iconography for musicological research. Panofsky (1955) created the basis for future debate on the significance of works of art for music research by focusing on the distinction between the terms iconography (description) and iconology (interpretation). Winternitz (1972) provides a clear overview of the major issues of iconographical interpretation. This and fifteen other essays by Winternitz have been compiled in the volume *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art* (1979), which provides a valuable introduction to music iconography during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. McKinnon (1984) focuses on the contexts in which instruments were used rather than the details of the instruments and emphasises the importance of establishing a clear distinction between symbolic and factual representations when studying iconographical sources with

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46 23 December 1615; 3 November 1646.

47 See 18 December 1578; 25 November 1592 for shawm players who doubled on the viola during the reign of Cardinal-King Dom Henrique and King Filipe I of Portugal.
musical content. Other scholars including Trindade (1999), whose work has focuses on Portuguese sources, demonstrate that iconographical analyses can provide valuable evidence of the physical characteristics of instruments, the manner in which they were played and their role in society (Trindade et al. 1999, pp.12–3).

In summary, whilst the interpretation of iconographical sources can help us understand aspects of historical performance practice, instrument design and construction, and repertoire, it is essential to consider the historical background of the sources and any associated symbolism. Problematic issues surrounding the use of iconographical sources relate to artistic license, false perspective, distortion of three-dimensional subjects depicted in two-dimensions, the representation of movement, whether the source is original or a copy and whether it has undergone restoration or alteration. With regard to the development of the trombone and its evolution from a single to a double-slide instrument, iconography has been central to the scholarly debate.

The consensus is that the earliest surviving representation of a trombone, as we know it today, is Filippino Lippi’s *Assumption of the Virgin* dating c.1488-93 in the church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome. However, it has also been suggested that other sources, such as Master Lyversberger Passion’s *The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (c.1485) (Alte Pinakothek, Munich) and Giovanni di Ser Giovanni’s (?) mid fifteen century *Adimari Wedding Cassone* (Galleria Accademia, Florence) depict trombones (Myers 2005, p.8; Herbert 2006, p.60).

Focusing on the iconography portraying the trombone, in his study “Evidence of the Emerging Trombone in the Late Fifteenth Century: What Iconography May Be Trying to Tell Us” Myers (2005) draws attention to aspects of proportion and dimension of the instrument and its design features, with the aim of establishing whether or not the instrument in question in earlier iconographical sources was a single slide trumpet or indeed a trombone.

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48 See also McKinnon (2008).
Portuguese iconographic sources depicting brass instruments with a slide

As discussed in Chapter 2 the trumpet of the shawm band (trombeta das charamelas), is believed to have been the predecessor of the trombone in the Portuguese royal shawm band, although there is still uncertainty in terms of a date when the change from one instrument to the other occurred. Crucial to this study are the eleven sixteenth and seventeenth century iconographical sources depicting slide brass instruments, by both Portuguese and foreign artists active in Portugal, as well as by foreign artists depicting Portuguese scenes. The sources show evidence of shawm bands with trombones and on one occasion with a single slide trumpet as well as a sculpture of a musical angel playing what appears to be a single slide trumpet.

Mestre de 1515, Assumption of the Virgin (Assunção da Virgem do Retábulo da Madre de Deus), (c.1515), Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 1278 Pint, Lisbon (see Ill. 3.1).

This depiction was commissioned by Queen Dona Leonor, widower of King João II, as part of the Altarpiece of the Monastery of Madre de Deus in Lisbon. The Virgin is portrayed in the centre, surrounded by seventeen musical angels including a lute, harp, viola and a psaltery with a three-hole flute depicted on the left. On the right hand side there is a shawm band, a trumpet ensemble, and a group of singing angels (see Ill. 3.1 bellow). The three trumpeters depicted in the top right hand corner, above the singers, are not playing, and hold their instruments close to the mouthpiece over their shoulders with the bells facing backwards displaying folded banners (see Ill. 3.1b).

The shawm band appears to be playing with the singers (which are depicted above the wind ensemble and seen singing from a manuscript score). The shawm band consists

49 According to Gaio (1989) the most scholars agree the Mestre de 1515 to be Afonso Jorge (Gaio 1989, p.251).

50 Royal Court records for 4 January 1514/15, show clothing allowance to three trumpeters of the King, Pedro Vicente, João de Évora e João de Final (These players might be the same depicted here, see Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion).
of three woodwind double reed instruments (shawms and bombarde) and a trombone (see Glossary).\textsuperscript{51} The various reed instruments illustrated show distinctive physical and mechanical details. This suggests that the artist was aware of the existence of different types of shawms (see detail of hexagonal section of the bombard in Ill. 3.1.a). However, the artist depicts the shawm player, first instrument from the left, with his left hand placed on the lower part of the instrument.\textsuperscript{52} The bells of the shawms also appear to be out of proportion in comparison to the other instruments depicted.

The brass instrument depicted in the shawm band appears to be a trombone. However, not all structural elements of the trombone as we know it today are evident in this depiction. The bell stay connecting the two parts of the bell section and the static inner slide stay are both missing. The absence of a second, not to mention a third stay would make the instrument very unstable (see Ill. 3.1b and 3.2).\textsuperscript{53} The movable outer slide stay is not visible, yet the way the right hand of the player is illustrated suggests the existence of one. The right handgrip appears to be underhand with the slide in a horizontal position, while the left hand is not visible (see Ill. 3.1.a). Most importantly, the trombone is held with the bell on the right hand side of the player’s head. The existence of two nodules at the connection point between slides and slide bow at the base of the U-shape slide suggests the artist was aware of different design elements of the trombone such as the existence of ferrules or claps (connection points) and agrees with McGowan’s suggestion of a loose construction of the trombone. McGowan (1996) proposes that the loose construction of the early trombone would enable the instrument to be reassembled as a single slide trumpet and vice versa (McGowan

\textsuperscript{51} Royal Court records (clothing allowance) for 15 May 1515 provide the names of the following royal shawm band players: Alberto de Arsia (charameleiro), Adrião da Marcha (charameleiro), Cornélio (charameleiro) and Luís de Flanders (charameleiro). See Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of the formation of the royal shawm band.

\textsuperscript{52} Woodwind players frequently appear depicted showing this handgrip fashion during the late fifteenth and sixteenth-centuries. See Carter (2012) for a more comprehensive list of iconographical sources.

\textsuperscript{53} The 1511 depiction of a trombone from Sebastian Virdung’s (1511) Musica Getutsch, also shows only two flat stays (one bell stay and one slide stay).
The trombone player appears to have inflated cheeks, with a centred embouchure. This may be indicative of a rudimentary stage of the blowing technique or an attempt by the artist to depict the action of blowing.


54 See also McGowan (1994, p.443)
Illustration 3.1a: Details of trombone player’s handgrip from the Mestre de 1515. Design details featured: Slide bow and ferrules of trombone and hexagonal barrilete of bombard. Detail of bell’s ferrules and missing stays (both the bell and slide stays). Technical elements: Inflated cheeks and embouchure; Details of underhand grip of trombone player’s right hand.
Illustration 3.1b: Details of angel musicians from Mestre de 1515. Shawm band plays (likely a motet) alongside singers. Trumpet ensemble depicted not playing.

Illustration 3.2: Trombone with two flat stays from (Virdung 1511). The plate used here is likely the same used in Agricola (1529) and Luscinius (1536, p.23).
Mestre do Retábulo de Santa Auta [workshop of Lisbon led by Afonso Jorge], *The Encounter of St Ursula and Prince Conan* (*Encontro de Santa Úrsula e do Príncipe Conan* from *Retábulo de Santa Auta*), (c.1522/1525), Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 1462, Lisbon.

The depiction was formerly part of a triptych depicting different stages of St Ursula’s life by the Mestre do Retábulo de Santa Auta from the workshops of Lisbon led by Afonso Jorge. Additionally, according to Lowe (2005) this specific panel (*The Encounter of St Ursula and Prince Conan*), may depict the wedding ceremonies of King João III to his first cousin the Princess Catherine of Castile (or Burgundy) in 1525 (Lowe 2005, p.158). Positioned in the top right corner of this depiction is the earliest known representation of a renaissance wind band formed exclusively by black musicians (see Ill. 3.3).

The depiction provides detailed physical and mechanical aspects of the woodwind instruments. The bombarde player is depicted holding the instrument with his left hand positioned on the lower part of the instrument. This may represent some level of artistic licence or a misrepresentation.

The brass instrument depicted shows most of the trombone’s physical features in place, with inner and outer flat slide stays (the section of the instrument where a third stay would be positioned is not visible). The handgrip of the left hand is overhand, holding the slide section close to the mouthpiece. The right hand holds the slide stay in an underhand manner allowing good slide movement. The slide (depicted extended) appears to be in proportion with the rest of the instrument. Similar to the depiction by the artist Mestre of 1515 (see Ill.3.1) the trombone is rotated and the slide is in a horizontal position with identical handgrip to that used on the slide.

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55 In the past different artists have been appointed as the possible creator of the depictions: Vasco Fernandes (by Cyrillo Volkmar Machado), Cristóvão de Figueiredo (by José de Figueiredo and Reinaldo dos Santos), Gregório Lopes (by José de Figueiredo) and Garcia Fernandes (by Luís Reis Santos) [http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt](http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt) (accessed 2 September 2013).

56 This and other elements of exoticism will be discussed further in Chapter 6.
trumpet technique. Furthermore, the bell is located on the right hand side of the player’s head. The trombone player shows inflated cheeks with centred embouchure.

Illustration 3.3: Details of a shawm band and its master from Mestre do Retábulo de Santa Auta [workshop of Lisbon led by Afonso Jorge], The Encounter of Prince Conan and St Ursula (Casamento de Santa Úrsula com o Príncipe Conan from Retábulo de Santa Auta), (c.1522/1525), Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 1462, Lisbon (from right hand side of the reader: a bombard, trombone, shawm, bombard, shawm, bombard and on top between the two last musicians the master of the shawm band).

Illustration 3.3a: Details of the trombone player’s handgrip from Mestre do Retábulo de Santa Auta (underhand movable slide and overhand around mouth pipe section) and trombone with two flat stays, (inner and outer slide stays).
Oficina de Lisboa (attributed), *Assumption of Setúbal (Assunção de Setúbal)*, (c.1519/20-1530), Museu Municipal de Setúbal, Setúbal (see Ill. 3.4).

This depiction was commissioned by Queen Dona Leonor and showcases the ascending in Heaven of the Virgin surrounded by two groups of musical angels: on the left of the Virgin, four singing angels and on the right a shawm band including a trombone and three shawms. The two groups of musicians appear to be playing together. While the Assumption of Setúbal presents a very detailed representation of a trombone with three flat stays (inner and outer slide stays and bell stay) it does show a few irregularities. The player’s left hand holds the outer movable slide stay (instead of the inner static slide stay) in an overhand manner, making it impossible for the right hand to actually move the slide. Similar to other contemporary depictions of trombones, the slide appears to be extended, thus suggesting movement. However, the position of the stays suggests the slide is in a closed position. Particular physical detail is displayed on the bell garland as well as the mouthpiece. Here the player is again depicted with inflated cheeks and holds the instrument on the right hand side. A clear distinction between the two types of woodwind instruments depicted is accentuated by particular physical details of the bombard. However, when comparing the woodwind instruments with the trombone, the dimensions of the bells of the woodwind appear to be exaggerated in relation to that of the trombone (see Ill. 3.4a.). In one such case however, perspective awareness may be taken into account.
Illustration 3.4: Oficina de Lisboa (attributed), *Assumption of Setúbal, (Assunção de Setúbal)*, (c.1519/20-1530), Museu Municipal de Setúbal, Setúbal.
Illustration 3.4a: Details of a shawm band from the Oficina de Lisboa (attributed).
Gregório Lopes (attributed), *Assumption of the Virgin (Assunção da Virgem)*, (first quarter of the sixteenth century), Museu da Música, MM 1085, Lisbon (see Ill. 3.5).  

This depiction follows the same Marian theme of the ascending Virgin surrounded by musical angels (as discussed above) with a similar group of depicted musical instruments: on the left hand side, lute and *rabeca*, and on the right, shawms and a trombone, together with a trio of singers. The trombone’s bell section, with flat stay and ferrules, is extended a considerable distance from the back of player’s head. The inner fixed slide stay is not visible and the trombone is held with the left hand close to the mouthpiece in an overhand manner. The player operates the slide with his right hand, using a similar handgrip to the standard modern trombone, thus suggesting movement. The slide, although depicted in an extended position, appears foreshortened. The position of the trombone on the right hand side of the player’s head is consistent with the depictions described above.

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57 Gregório Lopes (1470 - d.1550) was royal painter of both Kings Manuel I and João III subsequently.
Illustration 3.5: Gregório Lopes (attributed), *Assumption of the Virgin (Assunção da Virgem)* (first quarter of the sixteenth century) Museu da Música, M.M. 1085, Lisbon
Cristovão de Utreque (attributed), *Assumption of the Virgin (Assunção da Virgem)*, (first quarter of the sixteenth century), Museu Municipal Leonel Trindade, 331, Torres Vedras (see Ill. 3.6).

The Virgin is surrounded by musical angels, four singers and a shawm player on the left hand side, three shawms and a trombone on the right and two other shawm players in the two lower corners of the painting. The wind band appears to be playing alongside the four singers who are reading from a music manuscript. The trombone is depicted with two flat slide stays and a flat bell stay. The instrument is held with the left hand in an overhand manner away from the mouthpiece, below the inner slide fixed flat stay. The slide is operated with the right hand in an underhand grip while the arm is outstretched. However, similar to other contemporary depictions of the trombone, the slide is portrayed foreshortened. The bell of the trombone is positioned on the right hand side of the player’s head (see Ill. 3.6a).
Illustration 3.6: Cristovão de Utreque (attributed), *Assumption of the Virgin (Assunção da Virgem)*, (first quarter of the sixteenth century), Museu Municipal Leonel Trindade, 331, Torres Vedras.
Friar Carlos Taborda Vlame (*Frei Carlos*), *Assumption of the Virgin (Assunção da Virgem)*, (c. 1520-1530),\(^{58}\) Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 82 Pint, Lisbon.

The depiction was painted at the workshops of Espinheiro led by the Flemish Master Taborda Vlame to form part of the main altar and collateral altars of the Espinheiro Convent in Évora. The depiction is divided into two different aspects which accentuate both divine and mundane aspects of the life of the Virgin – heaven and earth.\(^{59}\) The upper level or plan of the depiction represents the Virgin surrounded by two groups of musical angels: on the left singers and an organ player with a portable organ (*orgão positivo*) and on the right a shawm band comprised of three shawms (two shawms and a *bombarda*) and a trombone. The instruments depicted display unlikely design characteristics. The trombone in particular features a very large bell with an abrupt tightening of the bell flare which extends uniformly into the remainder of the bell.

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\(^{58}\) Trindade (1999, p.57) dates this depiction 1535.

\(^{59}\) According to Trindade (1999) the two different levels of the depiction have been painted by different authors (Trindade et al. 1999, 56).
section and into the slide section (there is also no evidence of a bell stay). The player holds the instrument with the left hand on the inner slide stay next to the mouthpiece, in an overhand manner. The slide is operated with the right hand in an underhand manner. While the outer slide stay under the player’s right hand is not visible, the position of the hand on the slide suggests the existence of one (see Ill. 3.7a). The player’s body appears to be slightly bent with his right arm outstretched, thus suggesting slide movement. The embouchure of the player is centred with inflated cheeks and the instrument is held on the right hand side of the player’s head. Similarly, the shawms present exaggerated dimensions whilst the bells, especially the bombarde’s (second from the left), are particularly large. The bombarde player is holding the instrument with the left hand on its lower part.

Illustration 3.7: Details of a shawm band from Friar Carlos Taborda Vlame (Frei Carlos), Assumption of the Virgin (Assunção da Virgem), (c. 1520-1530), Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 82 Pint, Lisbon.

60 Trindade (1999) dates this depiction 1535.
Mestres de Ferreirim (Cristovão de Figueiredo, Gregório Lopes e Garcia Fernandes), Assumption of the Virgin (Assunção da Virgem), (c.1520-1540), Igreja Matriz de Sardoura, Castelo de Paiva.

The Virgin is surrounded by musical angels: on the left hand side by an organ player and singers, and on the right by a shawm band. The trombone depicted features details of ferrules on the bell, flat bell stay, and bell bow. The slide has inner and outer flat stays and there are also two rings: one on the bell and one on the slide bow. The trombone player holds the instrument with his left hand in an identical manner to the modern handgrip, close to the static inner slide stay. The slide is operated by the right hand, also in an identical handgrip to the modern trombone technique, with the hand holding the slide around the outer movable slide stay. The embouchure of the trombone player is again depicted with inflated cheeks.
Illustration 3.8: Details of shawm band from Mestres de Ferreirim (Cristovão de Figueiredo, Gregório Lopes e Garcia Fernandes), Assumption of the Virgin (Assunção da Virgem), (c.1520-1540), Igreja Matriz de Sardoura, Castelo de Paiva.

The two following iconographic sources represent two sixteenth century depictions of what appear to be single slide trumpets: a sculpture by the French artist Jean de Rouen dated 1535, and a Flemish tapestry from the workshops of Bartholomeus Adriaenzs, in Brussels completed between 1555-1560.

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61 Coimbra based [French] artist João de Ruão (Jean de Rouen) was one of the most distinguished artists (sculpture and architect) of the Portuguese renaissance. Ruão was brought to Portugal by request
Jean de Rouen (*João de Ruão*), *Music Angels (Anjos Músicos)*, (1535), Museu Nacional Machado de Castro, E97, Coimbra.

The limestone sculpture depicts an angel playing what appears to be a single slide trumpet. The instrument features a long pipe connecting the mouthpiece to the main body of the instrument (see Ill. 3.9a). While the left hand holds the instrument halfway through the descending slide pipe, the right hand is depicted holding the main body of the instrument with an overhand grip. This manner of holding the instrument would be more suitable for a natural trumpet without a moving slide and although feasible on the single slide trumpet, the overhand grip would reduce the movement of the instrument’s main body. Moreover, the position of the left hand halfway through the mouth pipe would equally reduce the already limited movement of the slide trumpet.

Illustration 3.9: Details of an angel musician playing what appears to be a single slide trumpet from Jean de Rouen (*João de Ruão*), *Music Angels (Anjos Músicos)*, (1535), Museu Nacional Machado de Castro, E97, Coimbra.

of King Manuel I in 1517/8. The sculpture (*Music Angels*) originally formed part of the Monastery of Santa Maria de Celas in Coimbra and is now held at the Machado de Castro National Museum.
Bartholomeeus Adrianzs (tapestry) and Michel Coxcie (drawings), *Entrance of Dom João de Castro in Goa (A entrada triunfal de D. João de Castro na Cidade de Goa em 22 de Abril de 1547)*, (c.1555-1560), Kunsthistorisches Museum, TXXII 10, Vienna.

This tapestry is part of a group of ten panels depicting the History of Dom João de Castro, Portuguese viceroy of Goa in India, with particular focus on his conquests and achievements between 1546-47. It was commissioned by Dom Alvaro de Castro, son of the aforementioned viceroy. This tapestry (number 3 of the series of Dom João de Castro) depicts the entrance of the viceroy in Goa on the 22 April 1547. The events have been correspondingly recorded in the chronicles of Portuguese Gaspar Correia (1858) in *Lendas da India* whilst most of the elements depicted agree with the named chronicles. The depiction shows a shawm band comprising three shawms and a brass instrument which appears to be a single slide trumpet, and presents one of the latest representations of a shawm band with a single slide trumpet. The event depicted occurred at a time when the trombone was already a well established instrument in the shawm band. However, the fact that the single slide trumpet is depicted here may suggest that the instrument was still in use by the middle of the sixteenth century. Another view would be that the artist was still using earlier musical iconographic elements on his tapestries. The single slide trumpet player holds the instrument with his left hand on the descending slide pipe with two fingers over the border of the mouthpiece fixing it against his lips. The right hand operates the main body of the single slide trumpet in an under handgrip manner extended and retracted along the slide pipe.

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62 The presence of the coats of arms of both the Vice Roy and his son, Alvaro de Castro confirm the content of the scene depicted.
Illustration 3.10: Details of a shawm band with slide trumpet from Bartholomeeus Adrianzs (tapestry) and Michel Coxcie (drawings), *Entrance of Dom João de Castro in Goa* (*A entrada triunfal de D. João de Castro na Cidade de Goa em 22 de Abril de 1547*), (c.1555-1560), Kunsthistorisches Museum, TXXII 10, Vienna.

Vasco Pereira Lusitano, *Coronation of the Virgin* (*Coroação da Virgem*), (1605), Museu Carlos Machado, Azores (see Ill. 3.11)

The last Portuguese depiction of trombones in the shawm band included in the calendar is a Coronation of the Virgin from the beginning of the seventeenth century. A group of musical angel surround the Virgin in the centre, including one trombone on each side. The player on the right, appearing to be reading from a score, holds the trombone in a similar fashion to the modern standard manner (see Ill. 3.11.a). The player on the left holds the trombone with the right hand and the slide is operated by the left hand. The bell section on this trombone is also extremely elongated compared
to the size of the instrument, meaning that the slide section appears foreshortened. These features seem unrealistic and may perhaps be attributed to artistic licence.

Illustration 3.11: Vasco Pereira Lusitano, *Coronation of the Virgin (Coroação da Virgem)*, (1605), Museu Carlos Machado, Azores
Illustration 3.11a: Details of trombone player on the right hand side of the depiction from Vasco Pereira Lusitano.

*Design features and the manner of holding the instrument as depicted in Portuguese iconographic sources*

The study and the examination of Portuguese sixteenth century iconographic sources establish that the trombone in Portugal was in use by 1515. The depictions reveal a range of design elements and physical features of these instruments, suggesting that the earlier trombones were of a loose construction with flat stays. The majority of sources depict the trombone in the shawm band in religious related scenes and on one occasion the shawm band (with a single slide trumpet) is depicted fulfilling a more secular role. Moreover, they provide some evidence of the way in which the trombone may have been played, the most apparent being the way the trombone was held.

The manner in which the instrument is held in these sources deserves special consideration and prompts a re-evaluation of this aspect of playing the instrument as it is portrayed in depictions from elsewhere in Europe. The sources included in the calendar depict six trombones, alongside other instruments of the renaissance wind
ensemble, with the main body of the instrument placed on the right hand side of the player’s head (in opposition to the standard modern left hand side). The trombones are held with the left hand close to the mouthpiece in an overhand fashion. The right hand is positioned over the flat slide stay in an underhand fashion and operates the slide which is mainly depicted in a horizontal position. The sources also provide representations of two single slide trumpets. These sources suggest that the instrument may have still been in use during the sixteenth century and therefore coexisted with the trombone.

Carter (2012) provides the most comprehensive collection of sixteenth century iconographical sources from around the world, depicting the trombone or a trombone-like instrument. At least thirty-one of the sixty-two depictions of trombones presented in Carter (2012) show the trombone on the right-hand side of the player’s head. This number does not include the Portuguese sources. In countries such as Germany, twenty-six of the forty-five sources show the trombone on the right hand side of the player’s head. However, in comparison, the percentage of the iconographical sources depicting the trombone on the right hand side of the player’s head in Portugal is higher than elsewhere in Europe. However, if this manner of holding the instrument did indeed occur, it seems unlikely that this would have been particular to Portugal alone. Although factors such as artistic licence influencing the process of depicting these instruments should be taken into consideration, I hope there has been sufficient iconographical evidence in this study to at least suggest that this could have possibly been the case.
Chapter 4. The trombone in royal service before 1640

This chapter aims to identify the earlier brass players of the royal shawm band, including their place of origin, as well as their role in the royal shawm band before the second half of the seventeenth century. Although the chapter focuses on trombone players, it also considers other members of the royal shawm band, devoting particular attention to the kings and/or masters of the royal shawm band, who reportedly would also play the trombone. It also examines references to shawm bands with trombones from sixteenth century literary sources and identifies different contexts in which the trombone was used during this period. Moreover, this chapter provides details of payments, duties and different privileges given to trombone players and other members of the royal shawm band.

Shawms and trumpets in royal service before the mid fifteenth century

Prior to the reign of Afonso V (1438-1481), documentation is scarce. During the fourteenth century the favourite haut players of the Royalty appeared to have been the trumpet players, described by Damião de Góis in his chronicles of King Pedro I. Portuguese Royal Court records containing references to shawm players (charamelas or charameleiros) start to appear during the first half of the fifteenth century, although they only become more regular by the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Calendar in Appendix 1 starts with perhaps the earliest reference to shawm bands in regular service at the Portuguese Royal Court. The reference to these royal shawm bands is recorded in the list of the personnel of the households of two of the sons of King João I, infant Dom Pedro and Dom Fernando. Although there is no clear evidence regarding the precise date of this list, it was written no later than 1437, namely the date when Prince Fernando left to Africa. The list shows that each Prince had at their service a shawm band comprising four players, a group of four

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63 This period corresponds to the second Portuguese dynasty, House of Avis until 1580 and the third dynasty, House Habsburg between 1580 and 1640. The second dynasty commenced with King João I, and Queen Consort of Portugal Philippa of Lancaster (1385-1433).
trumpeters, as well as four other minstrels (Dinis 1964, pp.134–5). There is no specific reference to any brass player of the shawm band at this date.

The earlier players of the royal shawm band

References to shawm players in the treasurer’s accounts for most years of the reign of Afonso V between 1438 and 1481 remain scarce. Records between 1446 and 1481 allude to a shawm band comprising three or four players in royal service. The names of these players suggest foreign origin. The first player to appear in the royal records is Jofrim (or Xofrim) who is referred to as minstrel (menestre) on 12 May 1446. Later on, he is referred to as a shawm player (tangedor de charamela) on 18 February 1461/2 (also the date of his death). Another name added to the royal shawm band is that of Adriam [de Reste?] appearing as king of minstrels (rei dos menetrees). In Portugal the title king of the minstrels (rey dos menestres) preceded two similar terminologies with identical roles: king of the shawms (rey dos charamelas) and subsequently master of the shawm band (mestre das charamelas or charamela-mor). Other members of the Reste family also served as players of the royal shawm band during the reign of Afonso V. They were brothers Janym, Copim and Johã de Reste and were likely of Flemish origin. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Janym is the first trumpet player of the royal shawm band (trombeta das charamelas) to appear in the records of the Royal Court. On 20 April 1463, Johã de Reste, also a trumpet player of the royal shawm band, was awarded the position of king of the shawm band (rei dos nossos charamella) replacing his brother Copim. It is not clear what instrument Copim played and whether or not he replaced Adriam in his role of king of minstrels, as the letter of his appointment does not exist. However, information regarding the

64 King Dom Afonso V succeeded his father King Dom Eduardo on 22 August 1438 aged only six. The reign was firstly under the regency of Afonso’s mother and subsequently his oldest uncle Duke Dom Pedro until 1448 when Afonso reached adulthood.

65 See 21 January 1453/4.

66 See Viterbo (1912) for transcripts of the majority of the letters used here.

67 See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the members of the family De Reste or Rechtre as suggested by Carter (2012).

68 See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the trumpet of the shawm band (trombeta das charamelas).
activity of Copim can be drawn based on the letter appointing his brother Johã in his place. The letter to Johã de Reste states that he should be given the same privileges and payment as previously given to his brother Copim, although these are not specified. The only conclusion arising from the appointment letter is that all other members of the royal shawm band should follow the instructions of Johã as master of the royal shawm band. It also seems apparent that the earlier brass players of the royal shawm band were also the holders of the higher hierarchical status i.e. king of minstrels and king of the shawm band. The last record of a trumpet player of the royal shawm band, as well as references to king of the shawm band during the fifteenth century appears in a letter to Johã dated 27 June 1465. The lack of references from the Royal Records Office (CHR) of King João II did not allow for the identification of an immediate successor to Johã de Reste as the king or master of the royal shawm band.

*The earlier trombone players of the royal shawm band and their origin*

Herbert (2006) suggests that the trombone was likely in use by 1440 and that players were being employed throughout Europe (Herbert 2006, p.62). It is difficult to establish when, or if indeed trombone players were employed during the reign of King João II between 1481 and 1495 based on royal court records. Transcripts of the Royal Records Office, edited in 1994 by Manuela Mendonça do not provide evidence of any musician in royal service of this monarch. Moreover, the research of Viterbo (1932) only provides the name of one trumpeter in royal service in 1484. The most revealing sources from the reign of King João II emerge from his chronicles, written by his private secretary Garcia de Resende. These chronicles complement the royal records by providing details of particular ceremonies in which shawms bands with trombones were used during both secular and sacred celebrations. Resende’s description of the festivities for the wedding of Prince Afonso, 69 son of João II, to Isabel Princess of Asturias, daughter of the Kings of Spain in November 1490 show that the King had arranged, at great expense, for many haut and bass minstrels to travel from Germany, Flanders, England and Ireland to perform during the wedding

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69 Prince Afonso died the next year in a horse-riding fall. Since Afonso was the only son of King João II, Manuel I succeeded King João on the throne.
ceremonies (Resende 1622, p.70). Moreover, Resende’s account of the ceremonies of exhumation and reburial of João II on October 1499 yield information regarding the context in which the shawm band performed and the repertoire played (see Chapter 2).

The reign of King Manuel I (1495–1521), cousin of King João II, was an era of Imperial growth of Portugal. It was likely during the reign of this monarch that the trombone was introduced in Portugal. In his chronicles of King Manuel I, Damião de Gois describes how he dined and supped every Sunday and holy days to the music of shawms, trombones, cornetts, harps, drums and fiddles, and on feast days with trumpets and drums (Góis 1749, p.595). The first reference to a player of the shawm band provided in the Royal Office Records of King Manuel I is dated 1 August 1507 and refers to Jaques, a shawm player. However, the circumstances in which Jaques was recruited remain uncertain. References to other players of the royal shawm band emerge from the Chronological Collection of the National Archives on 15 May 1515. These players were: Alberto de Arsia, shawm player (*charameleiro*), Adrião da Marcha, shawm player (*charameleiro*), Cornélio, shawm player (*charameleiro*), and Luís de Flanders [of Flanders], shawm player (*charameleiro*). Although there is no reference to a trombone, it is feasible that at least one of these players doubled on a brass instrument.

As discussed in Chapter 2, according to royal records the use of the trombone in the Portuguese royal shawm band can only be assumed between 1465, the date of the last reference to a trumpet player of the shawm band, likely a single slide trumpet (*trombeta das charamelas*) and 21 May 1515, the first appearance of the term trombone (*saquabuja*) referring to a letter from King Manuel I acknowledging the need for shawms (*charamelas*) and trombones (*saquabujas*). Advised by Jaques, a shawm player, Manuel I instructed Silvestre Nunes, governor in Flanders, to locate and contract four good players of shawms and trombones who could read music well (*serem bons e destros a tanger pello livro*). They were: Corneles from Mechelen (*Malynes* or *Malines*) and Gyles from Belduque 70, both of whom were shawm players, 

70 It has been difficult to establish the modern name of the city or regiona referred to as Belduque. It may refer to Belgique (French for Belgium).
and Pytre from Brussels and Gerarte from Leuven or Louvain (Lovem), trombone players. It is likely that these players were expected to join other players in Portugal as opposed to forming a shawm band of their own. Moreover, the number of instruments acquired was larger than the number of players contracted (see Chapter 2). The shawm players agreed to the terms of the employment contract at the Portuguese Royal Court and arrived in Portugal in 1516. An interesting feature of this document is the involvement during the negotiating process of Hans Nagel\(^{71}\) (see III. 4.1). Nagel was possibly the most notable sixteenth century trombone player in Europe. According to Carter (2012) Nagel was at this time a member of the town band of Mechelen (Malines or Malynes). Perhaps one or both trombone players learned with Nagel. Although this assumption is based on pure speculation, it seems reasonable to assume that the involvement of such an accomplished player of the time would reflect the playing standard of these musicians. The letter from the King specifies that the yearly wage of 30,000 réis and clothing would be paid to the Flemish musicians and that this was the same payment received by the other shawm players already in the royal service. However, the letter does not specify whether this was the payment for each one of the Flemish players or whether it was the total amount to be shared between them. Additional payment records may suggest that this amount was likely to be shared between the players, as proposed by a letter to Jaques dated 6 November 1521 which stipulates that the value of his wage for his services as a player of the shawm band was 12,000 réis. This letter also states that Jaques had the responsibility of organising shawms and trombones of the royal shawm band on all the occasions they were to play in the Royal Court as well as in any other place where the King was present. His wage also included three measures of wheat and in the previous year Jaques received the privilege to ride a mule, a common privilege awarded to the previous kings of the shawm band.\(^{72}\) Taking into account all the duties and privileges awarded to Jaques, it is likely that he was indeed the master of the

\(^{71}\) Hans Nagel was a trombone player working for the King of England in 1501. In 1509 Nagel was paid 800 libres by the Lordship and lady of Savoy in Lille. Nagel died around 1532 (Carter 2012, pp.102–4, 210, 224).

\(^{72}\) This is an additional payment. It was common for shawm players to receive extra payments in corn, wheat and other cereals.
royal shawm band, although there is no specific reference from royal records which confirm this.


This shows that, in addition to Jaques, who was likely the master of the shawm band, King Manuel I had at his service eight other Flemish players of shawms and trombones. With this said however, there is also evidence which suggests additional players may have been drafted in. In his descriptions of the departure of Princess Beatriz to Savoy to marry Charles III Duke of Savoy in 1521, Resende offers a list of her entourage. The chronicler states that amongst other musicians accompanying the Princess, there were six shawm players, three violas, one sitar, eight trumpeters and six drums. Although the names of the shawm players remain uncertain, it is likely that they were not the same Flemish players listed in 1515. One of the six shawm players accompanying the Princess to Savoy may have been Andre de Myla [Milan?] shawm player of King Manuel I. This is suggested by a payment made to Myla’s daughter on 3 July 1531, after his death. This payment was made for his services in

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73 See 15 May 1515, 21 May 1515.
74 See 4 and 5 August 1521.
different places, among others in Savoy. King Manuel I died on 13 December 1521 and his funeral ceremonies took place on 19 December. An account of the funeral ceremonies in Caetano de Sousa (1742) shows the extent of the formation of the royal shawm band by 1521. The musicians leading the funeral procession included eight drummers, thirteen shawms, fourteen trumpets *bastardas* and “other instruments of trombone”.  

*The royal shawm band during the reign of King João III (1521-1557)*

During the reign of King João III, the Portuguese empire experienced substantial growth and political stability. The peace with neighbouring Spain was achieved firstly through the King’s marriage to Catharine of Spain and later on with the marriage of his daughter Maria Manuela to Filipe II of Spain (who in 1581 became King of Portugal). During this period records show a substantial increase in the number of Spanish wind players employed at the Portuguese Royal Court. It is perhaps no surprise that references to Flemish players in the Portuguese Royal House decrease. It is also during this period that the largest number of musicians active in royal service is identified: eight chamber musicians, sixteen [minstrels of] shawms, twelve trumpeters and eight drummers as well as a considerable number of apprentices. Although there is reference to several trombone players, as well as evidence of the purchase of at least four trombones during the reign of João III, only the name of one active trombone player emerges from the royal records, specifically that of Antonio de Franca. These records also offer the names of two masters of the shawm band, Diogo Valera and [Martim] Domenyco (or Domenico Martins). In 18 January 1528/9 Diogo Valera was granted 12,000 réis to succeed the late Flemish Jaques. Later on, Martim Domenyco [Domenico] appears to have succeeded Valera in his position of master of the royal shawm band. Although there is no reference to a letter of

75 See 3 July 1531.
76 See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the terminology used here (i.e. trumpet *bastardas* and “other instruments of trombone” (*outras instrumentos de sacabuxa*)).
77 See 9, 21, 23 October 1543.
78 See 2 January 1531/2.
appointment, royal records for 29 October 1552 suggest that by this date Domenyco
was already master of the shawm band.\textsuperscript{79}

In his \textit{História Geneológica} Caetano de Sousa (1748) presents a list of royal warrant
holders of King João III (1521-1557). He provides the names of fifty-two singers,
eight chamber musicians and sixteen minstrels, of whom two were trombone players
\textit{(sacabuxas)} and fourteen were shawm players \textit{(charamelas)}. He also identifies twelve
trumpeters and eight percussionists (Caetano de Sousa 1748, pp.612, 616, 623). In
this list Domenyco and Valera appear to be trombone players of King João III
(Caetano de Sousa 1748, p.612). Sousa’s list is based on records from the royal
warrant holders of King João III. These records have been lost, likely destroyed
during the Lisbon earthquake of 1755.\textsuperscript{80} In surviving royal records these players are
described as masters of the shawm band and not as trombone players. However, as
masters of the royal shawm band they would have been expected to play all
instruments of the band.

Most of these shawm band players, or minstrels as Caetano de Sousa designates them,
are also identified in payment records from the Royal Records Office (CHR) of King
João III. Some of the players who are not mentioned in these royal records appear in
later records from the Royal Records Offices of King Sebastião and King Henrique.
Sousa organises the players in alphabetical order (transcript) as below.\textsuperscript{81} The names of
the apprentices of the royal shawm band are also listed, as are the family relations
between players. From this list it emerges that the position of member of the shawm
band was hereditary and passed on from one generation to another, sometimes even
within one generation (father to son, grandfather to grandson, brother to brother, uncle
to nephew).

\begin{tabular}{l}
Antonio Ximenes, /Bastião Nogueira,/\textsuperscript{82} Bernardim Ximenes,\textsuperscript{83} /Bartholomeu
Xara\textsuperscript{84} – shawm players \textit{(xaramellas)}
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{79} See 29 October 1552.

\textsuperscript{80} Sousa’s list was produced in 1748, before the Lisbon earthquake (1755), which reportedly destroyed
the majority of the books of royal warrant holders \textit{(Livros de Moradores)}.

\textsuperscript{81} Footnotes after specific players refer to royal records included in Calendar.

\textsuperscript{82} See 25 October 1556.
Diogo Varella [Valera]\(^{85}\) / Domenico [Martins?]\(^{86}\) – trombones (sacabuxas) Francisco Ximenes\(^{87}\) / Francisco Paes, / Francisco da Paz,\(^{88}\) Francisco Lopes, / Francisco de Castilho (son of Gaspar Castilho), / Gaspar de Castilho, Xaramella\(^{89}\) Luiz Jaques [De La Cerna], / Martim Domenico (father of Joam Domenico above)\(^{90}\), Xaramella, / Manoel Ferreira\(^{91}\), son of (filho do) Mestre Pedro [Cespedes] Tamborino- Shawm players Giraldim shawm player.

Apprentices of the shawm band (que aprende charamela) - Pedro Valeira, / Nicolao Darvelo, Carlo de Borgonha, Joao Valeira son of (filho de) Joao Valeira, Rodrigo Alemão Cithra, Diogo de Valeira son of (filho de) Diogo de Valeira [Valera?], Luiz Jaques son of (filho de) Bernardim Ximenez (Caetano de Sousa 1748, p.623).

The royal shawm band seems to have thrived during the reign of King João III. Players were involved in a variety of secular and sacred activities from daily routines to more festive ceremonies. Another context in which the royal shawm band appears to have been involved during the reign of this monarch is theatre. The development of theatrical works by royal playwright Gil Vicente during the reigns of Kings Manuel I and his successor João III, shows yet another context in which the shawm band was used. According to Nery & Castro (1991) music played a crucial role in the theatrical work of Gil Vicente. His plays included songs and dance, music which was sometimes written by the author himself (Nery & Castro 1991, p.27). The clearest indication provided by the author himself regarding the instruments used in his plays, can be found in one of his seventeen religious plays *Autos de Devoção*. This play

\(^{83}\) See 25 August 1532; 27 September 1550 (master of the shawm band).
\(^{84}\) See 17 September 1541.
\(^{85}\) See 14 October 1532, 3 June 1539.
\(^{86}\) See 29 October 1552.
\(^{87}\) See 3 July 1550.
\(^{88}\) See 7 June 1553.
\(^{89}\) See 29 October 1552; 22 April 1557.
\(^{90}\) See 29 October 1552.
\(^{91}\) See 27 February 1538/9.
entitled History of God (*Auto da História de Deos*), was first performed in the presence of King João III and Queen Consort Dona Catarina in 1527. Here Vicente specifies the use of shawms and trumpets, although with no details of the music played. The play finishes with the following indication by the author: “Here play the trumpets and the shawms and a figure of Jesus Christ resurrected appears” (*Aquí toção as trombetas e charamellas, e aparece hua figura de Christo na ressurreição*) (Vicente 1834, p.342). Directions in the script suggest that it was the dramatic context which established the nature of the music and instrumentation called for in Vicente’s theatre. These could vary from a *Villancete* to a *Te Deum* or a simple *Romance*.\(^92\)

Moreover, the use of shawms in this particular religious context may also derive from the use of the shawm band in liturgical service. Since Vicente was a royal playwright it is likely that the musicians involved in his plays were those employed by the royal court. There is no specific reference to the use of trombones in Vicente’s plays, although the reference to shawms (*charamelas*) typically indicated an ensemble of wind instruments which included a trombone.

The number of iconographical sources depicting shawm bands with trombones also seems to have flourished during the reign of João III (see Chapter 3). It is also during this period that the number of instruments acquired increases substantially. As discussed in Chapter 2, in 1539 Diogo de Valera, master of the royal shawm band, was given four shawms and four trombones, made by coppersmith (*latoeiro*) Manuel Velho. This was the largest number of trombones ever acquired by the Portuguese Royal Court.

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\(^92\) Stage indications given by Vicente as follows: The shepherd enters singing a Vilancete (*Entra Abel pastor, cantando um Vilancete*); Entering the house and finding his son Abel in such despair they all sung in a trio (*Entrando na casa de sua prisão, e achando Abel, seu filho, preso naquella infernal estancia, fizerão todos hum pranto, cantando a tres vozes*); Entering S. João in the prison and astounded by such appearance the prisoners sung the Romance *Voces daban prisioneros* [composed by the author]; At this instance the singers come in, bringing a coffin with the image of Jesus Christ dead; At the end of the first act the trumpets and shawms play (no details of the music played) and the image of Jesus Christ resurrected appears (Vicente 1834, pp.317, 321,333, 341–2).
King Dom Sebastião and King-Cardinal Dom Henrique (1557-1580)

King Dom Sebastião, grandson of King João III, was born only a few months after the death of his father Prince João Manuel. Aged only 16, King Dom Sebastião died at the Battle of Alcácer Quibir in the North of Africa, on 4 August 1578. 93 Among the dead were a large number of the Portuguese nobility whilst thousands were made prisoners including Duke Dom Teodósio II de Braganza (see Chapter 6). The expenses endured by the Portuguese Royal Court in the ransom negotiations with Morocco had major repercussions for the treasury of the country.

During the short reign of King Dom Sebastião, the musicians in royal service remained the same as previously during the reign of King João III. However, the growth of the royal shawm band which started during the reign of King João III came to an abrupt halt with the death of King Dom Sebastião. Inevitably, many of those who accompanied King Dom Sebastião in the fatal enterprise to Africa also died, including some of the musicians of the royal shawm band: Luis Jaques De Lacerna, master of the royal shawm band (brother of the late master of the shawm band, Francisco Jaques de Lacerna); Simão Ximenez, André Ximenez, João Doménico, son of the late Martim Doménico (master of the shawm band of King João III who succeeded Diogo Valera), Francisco Ximenes and his son Pero Moniz, Fernão da Paaz and his two sons, Pero Sespedes [Cespedes Tamborino] and Bento Veluz. Knowledge of the death of these players emerges from the Royal Records Office (CHR) of King-Cardinal Henrique and Filipe I of Portugal. These records refer to pension payments to the widows and daughters of the deceased members of the royal shawm band. It is during this period of unsettlement of the royal shawm band that some of the most revealing details of its hierarchy and organisation emerge. As discussed elsewhere in this chapter, the position of members of the shawm band would be inherited. The role of master of the royal shawm band would also usually be inherited, as was the case with the members of the Lacerna family: Francisco Jaques de Lacerna, his brother Luiz Jaques de Lacerna and João Jaques de Lacerna son of Francisco. However, in some cases the

93 Battle of Alcazar, near the town of ksar-el-Kebir. One of the survivors of the fatal enterprise to Northern Africa was Duke Dom Teodósio II who became during the Iberian Union one of the most active sponsors of music practice outwith the Royal Court (this is discussed further in Chapter 5).
position would be awarded following a suggestion by the chapel master of the Royal House.

Martim Doménico was replaced by Francisco Jaques de Lacerna as master of the shawm band (charamella moor) in 1562 with the wage of 12,000 réis, as well as an additional payment of 6,000 réis for a servant to carry the instruments to the Palace. After his death, Francisco was replaced by his brother Luiz de Lacerna, in 27 June 1570 as master of the shawm band of King Sebastião. Luiz was one of the shawm players accompanying King Sebastião in the fatal enterprise to Northern Africa. After his death there is no record which refers to the appointment of a replacement in the position of master of the shawm band. There is no reference to a master of the shawm band during the period between 1578, the date of his death and 1589, the date of the appointment of the next known master of the shawm band, during the reign of King Filippe I of Portugal.

Third Portuguese dynasty of the House of Habsburg (1580-1640): the Iberian Union

After the death of King Sebastião in Africa, his great uncle Cardinal Dom Henrique (brother of King João III), succeeded as King of Portugal until his death in 1580. King Filipe II of Spain (son-in-law of King João III) became King Filippe I of Portugal. This marks the beginning of the Iberian Union under the Spanish House of Habsburg. The tradition of the Portuguese royal shawm band continued throughout the Iberian Union, although with no specific references to trombone players.

The earliest known reference to a master of the shawm band arises from the Royal Records Office of Filipe. On 22 September 1589 Joao Jaques de Lacerna was appointed master of the shawm band, a position previously occupied by his late uncle Luiz, following a recommendation by the chapel master of King Filippe I of Portugal, Antonio Carreira. Carreira described Joao as one of the shawm players with the most

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94 See 23 November 1562.
95 See 11 July 1571.
96 See 25 January 1580.
sufficiency and ability. This was the first time that a master of the shawm band was appointed by recommendation of the chapel master. After João’s death the position of master of the shawm band was granted to Diogo Moniz on 1609. This position was to be occupied until Matheus Jaques de Lacerna, son of the late João, was old enough and show sufficient ability to assume the position previously occupied by his father. However, Matheus never followed the musical career of his late father. Following the death of Moniz, the position of master of the shawm band was again passed on to the Lacerna family. On 23 December 1615, Eusebio Jaques de Lacerna was appointed master of the band of King Filipe II. The exact relation of Eusebio with the other previously mentioned members of the Lacerna family remains uncertain. It is perhaps the letter of appointment of Eusebio which provides the most informed knowledge of the duties and privileges of the master of the shawm band. Eusébio was paid 12,000 réis with an additional 6,000 réis to pay for a servant to carry the instruments of the shawm band to the Palace and the Royal Chapel (this payment was with effect from September the same year). The appointment letter states that Eusébio was expected to attend both the Palace and the Royal Chapel with his fellow shawm players. Eusebio was also expected to teach and guide the apprentices who wished to learn the shawm (charamella) and viola (violla darco) and all other instruments of the shawm band. It was standard practice for the master of the shawm band to play various instruments of the shawm band, although the teaching of viola was an early indication regarding the preference of the use of string instruments (see Chapter 6 where this and other aspects of the decline of the trombone are discussed further).

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97 See 22 September 1589.
98 See 23 December 1615. See 25 November 1592 when António Domenico also doubled on shawm and viola.
Most of the duties of the shawm players have already been referred to previously in this chapter. To summarise: the responsibilities of the master of the shawm band consisted of procuring players, as well as procuring, curating and fixing the musical instruments of the shawm band (this is discussed in Chapter 2); teaching apprentices; guiding and directing all players and apprentices on all occasions at the Palace, as well as at the Royal Chapel. Shawm players attended the King or Queen, Princes and Princesses within Portugal and on occasional journeys abroad; they served at important state ceremonies such as coronations, weddings and baptisms, which were often complemented by celebratory events such as banquets. More routine duties seem to have included playing during meals on Sundays, as well as on holy days. They accompanied diplomatic missions abroad and attended upon visiting foreign dignitaries. Additionally, players of the shawm band were involved in theatrical performances of the sixteenth century. The players in the shawm band were mostly appointed by family succession, although appointment would occasionally follow a recommendation by either the master of the shawm band or in his absence by the chapel master. This process was generally initiated when a position became vacant. The apprentice could be referred to as apprentice of shawm or apprentice trombone (aprendiz de charamela or aprendiz de sacabuxa). The apprentice would eventually be granted the position of shawm player, a title which they would all hold, regardless of the instrument they played (see Chapter 2). Players of the royal shawm band were expected to follow the instructions of the master of the royal shawm band (rei dos charamelas or charamela mor). Players were multi-instrumentalists and the master of the royal shawm band was expected to play and teach all instruments of the shawm band. From the late years of the sixteenth century onwards the masters of the shawm band were also expected to play and teach the viol (this is discussed further in Chapter 6).

99 In 1550 Bernaldym Xemenez, shawm player, was paid 12,000 réis for his work rectifying the instruments of the shawm band.

100 See c.1521.
Payments and other privileges

Payments were mostly made yearly, with effect from 1 January, even before the adoption of the Gregorian calendar in 1582.¹⁰¹ When in arrears or in the eventuality of a musician taking up a position with higher payment, retroactive payment would be granted. Payments differed according to hierarchic status. During the sixteenth century an apprentice of shawm was paid 4,000 réis; a shawm player would receive between 8,000 or 10,000 réis and the master of the shawm band 12,000 réis per year.¹⁰² Quarterly and daily payments were also granted to apprentices who would receive 40 réis subsistence and ¼ measures of wheat. This was, according to the agreement details, subjected to an ability report by the master shawm. The master of the shawm band would receive extra payment of 6,000 réis to pay a servant to carry the instruments. Every player would also receive clothing worth 8,000 réis.¹⁰³ Payment penalties would apply to players for breaching the rules of residency or for unexplained absence. The decree of King Afonso V in 1464 established that no musician should travel or leave the Royal Court without license to do so. The penalty for this would be loss of housing, or any other payment. Pensions were paid in case of illness, retirement and in the case of the death of a family member. An example of the retirement pension can be seen with the case of Bastyam Nogueira who was paid 30,000 réis in 1556. In 1531/2 António de Framca, trombone player (sacabuxa), was paid 15,480 réis pension for being ill and unable to work. However, retirement and illness pensions were rare. Pensions to family members of a deceased member of the royal shawm band were also provided, mostly to widows and female minor children. Pensions were paid in money with an additional one or two measures of wheat in the same terms of the wage received by the late relatives.¹⁰⁴ The value of pensions varied between 6,000 réis and 12,000 réis.¹⁰⁵ Retroactive payments were made to members

¹⁰¹ See introduction to Calendar.
¹⁰² In other European countries, extra payment was given at the beginning of the New Year and Easter, although the Portuguese Royal Court shows no evidence of such practice.
¹⁰³ In 1560, however, Diogo Moniz was paid only 4,000 réis. In 1565 he was granted an additional 4,000 réis to add to the previous 4,000 réis.
¹⁰⁴ See 3 July 1531; 12 January 1568; 14 June 1570.
¹⁰⁵ See 1563.
of the family when in arrears. Several shawm players attained high administrative roles within the Royal Court. Privileges for royal service were in place since the fifteenth century, although with the start of the Portuguese discoveries the range of privileges expanded. Players and their families were awarded administrative roles on the merchant ships, in the spices and slaves trade.

This chapter shows that the first references to a brass instrument of the shawm band appear in 1453/4. The instrument, likely a single slide trumpet, was probably introduced by the Flemish members of the Reste family in royal service during the mid fifteenth century. The names of the first trombone players emerge in 1515 and suggest that the trombone, similar to the single slide trumpet, was introduced by Flemish players. During the first half of the sixteenth century the trombone appears to have been widely in use and was mainly played by the master of the shawm band. The trombone was used in a variety of contexts from routine duties to theatre.

106 See 1564.
Chapter 5. The trombone in the shawm band outwith royal service

This chapter examines the use of the trombone outwith the Portuguese royal shawm band, with particular focus on its use in municipal, aristocratic and ecclesiastical as well as in the university contexts. It concentrates on the main Portuguese urban centres of Oporto, Guimarães, Lisbon, Évora and Coimbra during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It studies the contexts in which the shawm bands were used and identifies periods of change and continuity by investigating patterns of employment, payment, duties and privileges of players. It also considers elements of exoticism in the shawm band.

According to Polk (1987) music in German centres was supported either by direct subsidy (i.e. by the city councils), indirectly by institutionalised subsidy (mostly devoted to sacred music) or even through individual support. Here, direct patronage was focused particularly on wind bands including shawms, bombard and a trombone.\textsuperscript{107} These players were called shawm players or pfeifer, regardless of the instrument played (Polk 1987, pp.161–3). Portuguese municipal archival records show that shawm bands in Portugal were also employed in most of the major urban centres from the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth centuries. In Portugal, players of the shawm band were called\textit{charamelas} or\textit{charameleiros} regardless of the instrument played. The standard instrumentation of the band consisted of different size shawms and trombones. The shawm band participated in all major festivities, solemn processions and other public engagements organised by the senate. The players of the shawm band were paid yearly or quarterly and occasionally for their extra services outside the municipality.

The most important of the celebrations organised by the city councils was the procession of\textit{Corpus Christi}. Introduced in Europe by Pope Urbano IV in 1264 the\textit{Corpus Christi} (\textit{Corpo de Deus}) was celebrated in Portugal, most notably in Lisbon and Oporto, no later than the reign of King João I in the late fifteenth century. In Lisbon these processions were also known as the processions of Saint George

\textsuperscript{107} See also Polk (1992) for a more detailed discussion on patronage.
(Procissões de São Jorge) (see discussion below). The presence of the shawm band in the processions of the Corpus Christi elsewhere in Europe has been studied by authors including Bowles (1964) and Kreitner (1995). More recently, Santos (2005) studies the celebration of these ceremonies in Brazil, a tradition introduced by the Portuguese.

**Municipal shawm band of Oporto**

Records from the Oporto Historical and Municipal Archive (Arquivo Histórico Municipal do Porto) show evidence regarding the presence of a shawm band (charamelas or charameleiros), as well as a trumpet ensemble in the city of Oporto. The earliest record of the shawm band at the service of the city of Oporto arises from a letter by Cardinal Dom Henrique preserved in the Book of the Metal Clasps (Livro das Chapas) dated September 1567. In this letter the Cardinal authorises the payment to five shawm players (cinquo charamelas) of the city council who were to play in every solemn procession and other public acts. The letter also increases their wage from 10.000 to up to 12.000 réis per year. Although this letter is the first record found in the municipal archives, the fact that it states an increase of wage clearly suggests that the band was already employed prior to 1567.

The Books of the Treasury of the Council (Livros do Cofre dos Bens do Concelho) for the year 1635 provide details of the players and payments, although the payment details are problematic and inconsistent. This is mainly due to the double meaning of the use of the Portuguese possessive pronoun seu(s) meaning his or their. The majority of the records show that the wage was paid to one member of the band to be shared between all the band members “for him and his colleagues” (para elle e seus companheiros). However, on a few occasions the same amount previously shared,}

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108 The earliest record of municipal players emerges in 1542 with a payment to two trumpeters. The number of these players increased to seven by 1637. However, there is evidence of a purchase of nine trumpets from a local instrument maker in 1635, suggesting that the number of trumpeters may have reached nine. In 1635 the council paid 23.000 réis for nine trumpets made by coppersmith Damião Teixeira (see Chapter 2).

109 See prefatory notes on primary sources and archives.
appears to have been given to one person only “for his quarterly wage” (do seu quartel). On 2 April 1635 Pantaleao Carvalho, player (charameleiro) of the municipal shawm band of Oporto, was paid 3.000 réis “for his (seu) [first] quarterly wage” and on the 9 July the same year Manuel Carvalho, another shawm player (charameleiro), was paid the same value for “his (seu) second quarterly wage”.

The record for the third instalment of the players of the municipal band states that the shawms (charameleiros) were to be paid 3.000 réis in total. In December the same year the name of another shawm player emerges. Antº [António] Fºs [Fernandes], player (charameleiro) of the municipal shawm band of Oporto, was paid 3.000 réis for “his (seu) fourth quarterly wage”. Later payment to Pantaleao Carvalho on 10 July 1636 states that the payment of 3.000 réis was to be shared with his colleagues “to pay the shawms their [first] quarterly wage” (pagar os charameleiros o seu segundo quartel). On 15 July the same year Manuel Carvalho was paid another 3.000 réis, which was also to be shared with his colleagues for their second quarterly instalment. Another member of the shawm band emerges through the following payment on 18 September 1636. Antº [António] Carvalho, shawm player (charameleiro), was paid 3.000 réis “to share with his colleagues for their third quarterly wage”. Finally, on 15 December the same year the name of Ant.º Fºs [António Fernandes] reappears when he received 3.000 réis for him and his colleagues for their [fourth] quarterly wage. Further records of the municipal shawm band of Oporto emerge on 24 September 1675 when the band were paid 12.000 réis for their yearly wage. Records for 1674 and 1676 do not provide any payment details for any shawm players, although payments reappear on 28 July 1677 when the band were paid 12.000 réis once again. The records identify a change in the payment pattern of the players of the municipal shawm band during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The wage of 12.000 réis was maintained through the seventeenth century although the payment method changed from yearly to quarterly and then back to yearly again in the second half of the seventeenth century.

110 The use of seu here may also refer to their.
111 See prefatory notes on primary sources and archives. During the period of this research some of the books of payment records of the Oporto Historical and Municipal Archives could not be accessed due to their poor condition and the fact that some of them were undergoing a restoration process.
The main activities in which the municipal shawm band was expected to participate were the processions of Corpus Christi, the S. Pantalião and S. João. The procession of Corpus Christi was certainly the most important celebration of the city, and included expensive theatrical and allegorical representations called invenções. Besides these festivities, municipal shawm bands also participated in other public engagements for which they would receive extra payment. On 2 January 1636 the shawm players received 320 réis for their participation in the occasion of exhumation and re-burial of St. Pantaleão. The following year shawms and trumpeters\textsuperscript{112} (charameleiros e trombeteiros) were paid 640 réis for the occasion of the festivities of the appointment of Dom Gaspar Rego da Fonseca as Bishop of Oporto, organised by the city council.\textsuperscript{113}

The formation of the shawm band of Oporto city Council remains uncertain and there is no specific reference to trombone players in this band. However, as it was common practice in other contemporary shawm bands, it is likely that the municipal shawm band of Oporto also included a trombone. In 1567 the municipal shawm band included five players, although later records do not provide sufficient evidence to determine the number of players or instruments played. According to Ribeiro (1985) new members of the shawm band were appointed by nomination from existing members of the municipal shawm band and only if and when a place became vacant. The nominator would have to provide the senate with evidence of the applicants’ technical and musical ability on their instrument (Ribeiro, 1985, 718). Although no family relation can be established between the players of the municipal shawm band of Oporto, the fact that several players shared the same surname may indicate some level of family relation. This would also agree with the standard recruitment pattern and family learning tradition within the shawm band in royal service (see Chapter 4).

\textsuperscript{112} The same year on 28 August the trumpeters received 20.000 réis at 2.000 réis each (acada hu adous mil réis) for their yearly wages regarding the years of 1673 and 1674 which, for unknown reason, were in arrears.

\textsuperscript{113} Declared bishop of Oporto by Papal decree c.1636. See decrees by Pope Urbano VIII confirming the position to Bishop Rego da Fonseca in (PT/ADPRT/DIO/MITRA/0298/0024)
The earliest record of a shawm band of the city of Guimarães is a contract dating 5 November 1598. The contract stated that the two sons of António Fr.º [Francisco], Salvador Fr.º [Francisco] and Jm.º Fr.º [Francisco] were to play in a trio of shawms with P.º Lopes and his son António d’Almeida. The contract also states that “all four players should play at every occasion in and outside the city and all profits should be shared equally between them”. It also specifies that in the event of a vacancy in the shawm band, the new player should be a member of the family of one of the existing players. There are no further details regarding the instruments played by any of these players and no specific reference to a trombone. Another contract between the city council and the shawm band is agreed on 17 July 1614 and offers particular details of the obligations of the members of the shawm band. The document states that António Carvalho formed a trio with Salvador Gomes, Pallos Domingos and Trocade Ribeiro all from the city of Guimarães. As the master of the trio António Carvalho had the responsibility of teaching the other members to play, for which they would pay him 3.000 réis (1.000 réis each). This would be a lifetime contract and therefore no one could break the terms of the agreement. This meant that apprentices could not leave the trio and the master could not replace them with new players. Indeed, if anyone broke the contract they would have to pay a fine of 30 cruzados. Judging by these two contracts it is difficult to establish a pattern regarding the recruitment process of new members of the shawm band. With this said however, the role of the master seems to be similar to the master of the royal shawm band (see Chapter 4). It is not clear whether or not there were two simultaneously active shawm bands in Guimarães. Later records from this city suggest the existence of only one shawm band. The documents also fail to provide enough details to determine the formation of the shawm band. Another interesting aspect arising form these contracts is the use of the term trio to refer to the shawm band. The terminology trio did not reflect the number of players, as it is evident that both shawm bands discussed above included four players rather than three, as suggested by the terminology used. The term was not representative of this specific region of Portugal and it is also encountered in other contemporary references to the shawm band.114

114 See 22 February 1552/3; 12 June 1581; February 1625; 14 January 1633; 28 April 1648.
The Books of Expenses (Livro de Receitas e Despesas) of the city of Guimarães, transcribed and edited by the City Council in 1953, show regular payments to the shawm band from 1628 and for most of the seventeenth century until 1691, the date of the last record for this century.\textsuperscript{115} However, the earliest record of payment made to the municipal shawm band emerging from the records of the city of Guimarães, is dated 12 May 1607 (Braga 1953, p.134). The shawm band was paid 5600 réis yearly and was obliged to play in all festivities of the city.\textsuperscript{116} The wage of these players was increased on two occasions. On 4 November 1643 there was an increase of 2.400 réis bringing the total to 8.000 réis. In 1654 the players were again paid 8.000 réis, although the following year there was another increase of 2.000 réis. Similar to the city of Oporto, extra payment was made for other public engagements as illustrated by an extra payment of 600 réis made to the shawms in 1645 for their involvement in the festivities for the occasion of the return of the Count of Castelho Melhor to the city of Guimarães.

The contracts established between the shawm band and the city council in 1598 and 1614 provide two different patterns of the organisation and learning tradition within the municipal shawm band of the city of Guimarães. The first document shows evidence of some level of family relation among members of the municipal shawm band. The second contract shows that the band was formed by the master of the band who recruited and taught three others, without any known family relation, who had to pay for their learning. In both cases the contracts were very particular with regard to the addition of new musicians to the municipal shawm band and/or the use of deputies. This seems to be confirmed by a decree of the city council on 25 April 1661 establishing that shawm players should not use deputies without authorisation of the councilman. In one such case the penalty would be the loss of their wage.

\textsuperscript{115} The first surviving book of expenses for the city of Guimarães in the seventeenth century is dated 1621. There are no further surviving books until 1628 and other later books are also missing. Payments to shawm players were yearly, although occasionally payments were not recorded.

\textsuperscript{116} The same amount was paid in 1632, 1634, 1635, 1636, 1637, 1638, (The book of expenses for 1639 only retains records for the first half of the year, and there is no book for 1640), 1641, and 1642. In 1643 wages increased by 2.400 réis. From 1643 to 1654 wage was 8.000 réis. In 1655 wages increased to 10.000 réis.
Municipal shawm band of Lisbon

In his 1804 *Livro de Grandezas* of the City of Lisbon, Nicolau De Oliveira, presents an account of the trades, activities, and crafts present in this city during the end of the sixteenth and beginning of seventeenth century. In this account Oliveira (1804) includes evidence of the existence of forty-six shawm bands [or chorus of shawms] (*charamelas quarenta & eis coros*), each with four or five players. Oliveira also states that in 1617 one of these shawm bands was paid the amount of 104.000 réis (Oliveira 1804, p.177). The amount stated seems extremely unrealistic, nearly ten times higher than the normal wage of a municipal shawm band comprising four or five players during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The transcripts of the accounts of the Lisbon City Council published at the end of the twentieth century cast light on payment details of the municipal shawm band particularly during the seventeenth century. On 10 February 1628 Marco Nunes met the councilman of the Lisbon city to agree and confirm his status as master of the municipal shawm band. In this meeting Nunes agreed to organise the shawm band which consisted of two sopranos, a tenor and an alto shawm and a trombone (*dois tiples e um tenor e um contralto e uma sacabuxa*). He also agreed to be present in every solemn procession or public act organised by the senate. The council agreed to compensate the ensemble 40.000 réis per year, to be paid in quarterly instalments of 10.000 réis. The council also provided Nunes with a flat, where his father, a former shawm player of the municipal band, also lived (Oliveira et al. 1891, p.217). This shawm band occasionally received extra payments for services not included in their contract. On one such occasion in 1648, Marco Nunes was given 15.600 réis to pay 600 réis to each of the *trios* of shawms who played for the occasion of the birth of infant Dom Pedro, son of King João IV, suggesting a total number of twenty-six shawm bands active in Lisbon in 1648. This also suggests that Marco Nunes may have been responsible for other shawm bands active in the city.
The yearly payment to the municipal shawm band of Lisbon of 40,000 réis is more realistic than the value of 104,000 réis suggested by Oliveira (1804).\textsuperscript{117} Even when considering other extra payments a shawm band would never achieve the figures proposed by Oliveira (1804). This also makes the number of active shawm bands suggested by Oliveira doubtful, particularly when confronted with the transcripts of the 1648 municipal records presented in Oliveira et al. (1891) suggesting only twenty-six active shawm bands rather than forty-six. Considering the number of shawm bands reportedly active in Lisbon by either of the above sources, and assuming that at least a few of these bands had a trombone in their formation, this particular city is portrayed as having a considerably larger number of trombone players in comparison to other cities in Portugal. The formation of the municipal band in 1628 is clear, as is the role of the players, and particularly the master of the shawm band. The recruiting process of new members of the municipal shawm band of Lisbon is not explained in any known document, but there are reasons to believe that it followed the same patterns of nomination by an existing member of the band. Furthermore, like in the royal shawm band, positions in the municipal shawm band of Lisbon appear to have been hereditary. Marco Nunes was likely taught by his father, a former member of the municipal shawm band and subsequently took his place in the same band.

\textit{The shawm band of the Dukes of Bragança: Dom Jaime and Dom Teodósio I}

The Vila Viçosa Palace and Chapel, house of the Dukes of Bragança, was one of the most important musical centres outwith the Royal Court in Portugal until 1640. It was built with the order of Duke Dom Jaime in 1501, although it was only completed before his death on 20 November 1532.\textsuperscript{118} The earliest reference to a shawm band at the service of the Dukes of Bragança is found in a transcript of the will of Dom Jaime Duke of Braganza dating 21 December 1532. The will presents the earliest surviving list of shawm band formed exclusively of black slave musicians at the service of the

\textsuperscript{117} As it will be discussed below, the payment of the municipal shawm band of Lisbon was substantially higher than its equivalents in other urban centres in Portugal.

\textsuperscript{118} Duke Dom Jayme returned to Portugal after the coronation of his uncle, King Manuel I. The Duke had been exiled in Spain from the age of four after his father, Duke Dom Fernando II, was executed by King João II following accusations of treason and conspiracy with the neighbouring kingdom of Spain.
late Duke of Braganza (Caetano de Sousa 1745a, p.86). Although the document does not provide details of the instruments played, it does provide the names of the musicians. The will states that Duke Dom Teodósio I, son of the late Dom Jaime should keep the shawm band of his father. The musicians were to be paid 1000 cruzados or sold by Duke Dom Teodósio I “in which case His Majesty the King [João III] should be informed”.¹¹⁹ According to Dom Jaime, some of the musicians had meanwhile taken other occupations. However, they were very capable and if employed, it would take them very little time to show their abilities. This shawm band was comprised of seven black musicians, namely Galante, Martinho, Jacome [Jácomo Feio], Herónimo, Cosme, Francisco and Duarte.

Caetano de Sousa (1745) presents a document entitled Memória da família do Duque D. Teodósio I (from the Registry of the House of Braganza c. 1562). The document, containing a list of personnel at the service of the Palace of Vila Viçosa, shows that Duke Dom Teodósio I had at his service twenty-six musicians and singers, as well as thirty-six slaves (escravos), ten of whom were shawm players (charamelas).¹²⁰ This shows that Dom Teodósio I not only kept the black shawm players of his father Dom Jaime, but also appears to have enlarged the number of players of the shawm band from seven to ten players. The increased number of players is confirmed by another document with details of the personnel paid by the treasurer (veador) of the Vila Viçosa Palace. This payment list includes ten shawms and twelve trumpeters (Caetano de Sousa 1745a, pp.186, 195).

No further details regarding the band’s formation are provided in the records of the Vila Viçosa Palace and evidence of the circumstances in which Dom Jaime obtained the slave musicians remains uncertain. However, details of the will may yield evidence of the involvement of King João III himself in the acquisition process of the black slave musicians. Dom Jaime states that the King should be notified in case the players were to be sold. This may suggest that the King perhaps offered the musicians to the Duke. The association of these musicians with the King may be reinforced with evidence arising from sixteenth century iconography. As discussed in Chapter 3, the

¹¹⁹ See 21 December 1532.
¹²⁰ See 1562.
sixteenth century depiction of the *Encounter of St Auta* (see Ill. 3.3), believed to be the celebration of the wedding of King João III with Catherine of Spain, incorporates the earliest known representation of a wind band comprised exclusively of black musicians.\(^{121}\) In this depiction they play shawms (*charamelss*) bombarde (*bombarda*) and a trombone (*sacabuxa*), a total of six musicians, who previously may possibly have been the seven players listed above.\(^{122}\) Standing next to the players is probably their master or the person responsible for their instructions. This individual may perhaps be Jacques, the master of the shawm band of Kings Manuel I and João III (see discussion on the masters of the shawm band in Chapter 4).

As discussed further below, the education of black musicians was generally a matter for the religious institutions in the Portuguese Colonies.\(^{123}\) However, the possibility of the use of Jacques to instruct these players suggests that these musicians may have been at the service of the King himself. According to Lowe (2005) the Portuguese Royal House had at its service various black African and Indi-American slaves who fulfilled different roles from chefs to musicians and some of these slaves achieved quite significant social positions. King João III made the black African João de Sá Panasco gentlemen of his Royal House and also had a black chaplain and singer called S. Afonso who could play the organ. Queen Catherine also had at her service many slaves, who were believed to be educated and could read and write Latin (Lowe 2005, pp.159–65). Evidence preserved in the sixteenth century anonymous collection of Portuguese Sayings Worth of Memoire (*Ditos Portugueses Dignos de Memória*) provides details of the character and life of Jácome or Jácomo Feio. He was one of the black slave musicians of Dukes Dom Jaime and Dom Teodósio’s shawm band. Jácomo Feio, who had previously been punished for thieving, found himself chained for a similar crime in Vila Viçosa. On this occasion, Feio was approached by a

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\(^{121}\) See also Lowe (2005, p.158).

\(^{122}\) The panel has been cut to fit its recent location resulting in the loss of half of one of the shawm players depicted and possibly a seventh element. See [http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt](http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt) (Accessed on 20 June 2013).

\(^{123}\) See 1571; 23 August 1578.
bachelor nicknamed Cepa, who sarcastically said to him in Latin: One cannot deny his nature (Quod natura dat nemo negare potest). Feio, who clearly understood Latin, replied with a play on words in Portuguese and Latin: You are right, because you too are Cepa and you cannot deny it. This presents evidence in support of the fact that some of these slaves were highly educated. Another interesting reference to the shawm players of the Duke Dom Teodósio I provides evidence of the duties of the players in the shawm band, as well as the fact that they were multi instrumentalists. According to Caetano de Sousa (1745), a shawm player would play an Italian trumpet (trombeta italiana) on the balcony of the Palace of Vila Viçosa to mark the beginning and the end of a hunting day (Caetano de Sousa 1745a, p.199).

The shawm band of the Duke of Bragança: Dom Teodósio II

Transcripts of the Livro das Mercês de Duque Dom Teodósio II published by the Foundation of the House of Braganza (1967), are the first to provide details of the names and instruments played in the shawm band of the Palace and Chapel of Vila Viçosa. The records present the names of the players of shawm, bass curtal, cornett and trombone players, among the list of more than one hundred musicians, chaplains and singers active between 1583 and 1626. Although the number of musicians during this period appears to vary, the permanent corpus of musicians at the Palace and Chapel of Vila Viçosa under Duke Dom Teodósio II was, according to Alegria (1983), greater than any other Portuguese cathedral (Alegria 1983, pp.24–5). The records show that in 1584 Agostin de La Barrera, João de Orelhana and later Cristovão da Silva, were employed as shawm players of the Duke. The following year the name of Jaime de La Ribera, shawm player emerges from the records. The band appears to have comprised four players until 1588 when Agostinho de La Barrera ceased his duties in the chapel. The name of António Marques, shawm player, appears in the records of Vila Viçosa in 1589, perhaps to replace Agostinho de La Barrera. Although these four players are listed as shawm(s) of the Duke

124 Cepa in Portuguese means a piece of wood. The usage of the nickname Cepa referred to this person as being thick or “thick as a log”.
125 See First half of the sixteenth-century.
126 See 18 January and 3 August 1584.
(charamela(s) do Duque), evidence from the archives of the neighbouring city of Cáceres in Spain provides evidence that João de Orelhana [Juan de Arelhano] also played the trombone. Manzano (1991) presents a transcript of the contract between the city of Cáceres and three Portuguese players in 1595: António Márquez [António Marques], Juan de Arellano [João de Orelhana] and Bernardino de Mendoza shawm players, neighbours from Vila Viçosa (ministriles de chirimias, vecinos de la Villa de Villaviciosa) (Manzano 1991, p.130). The records from Cáceres are more precise in terms of the information preserved and show that João de Orelhana was a trombone player (ministril sacabuche) and António Márques was a shawm and cornett player (ministril chirimia and corneta). António Marques was employed in Cáceres from 1595 until 1602, whilst João de Orelhana appears in the records of Cáceres until 1596. Orelhana seems to have been employed in both cities between 1595 and 1596. The names of two other members of the shawm band emerge from the archives of Vila Viçosa: Diogo de Queiroga, shawm player employed between 1597 and 1617 and Alonso de Vilches, the only other trombone player to emerge from these records, who was employed between 12 August 1616 and 29 July 1618.

Further evidence regarding the shawm band of the Duke of Vila Viçosa arises from a description of liveries awarded to personnel of the house of Duke Dom Teodósio II for the occasion of his marriage to Ana de Velasco y Girón in June 1603. The list of the personnel included players of trumpets, trumpet bastardas, drums as well as eight shawms. The number of players here is significantly higher than the number of players recorded in the books of Vila Viçosa. Another reference to the shawm band in Vila Viçosa is offered in the description of the baptism ceremonies of Duke Dom João II, son of Duke Dom Teodósio II, on 26 March 1604 (Alegria 1983, pp.30–3). Here, Manuel Peçanha de Brito describes the presence of shawms (charamelas) during the ceremonies, thus broadening the understanding of the contexts in which the shawm band was used. Unfortunately, details regarding the number of players were not recorded, nor was there any reference to a trombone player.

The formation of the shawm band of the Duke Dom Teodósio II remains uncertain; however, the shawm band during the period of 1584 and 1618 had at least two

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127 See also Barrios Manzano (1983, pp.139-44) for transcriptions of the above contracts.
different trombone players. The geographical position of the Vila Viçosa Palace surrounded by some of the most prominent Portuguese and Spanish cathedrals favoured the itinerancy of these players and somehow increased their chances of employability. The players of the Palace of Vila Viçosa were therefore itinerant (nationally and internationally) and multi-instrumentalists. They fulfilled a variety of duties at the Palace and Chapel of Vila Viçosa ranging from participation in parades and processions, weddings and baptisms, as well as liturgical services.

Shawm band of the Évora Cathedral

The Évora Cathedral is the largest in Portugal and its initial sanctuary was built between 1186 and the first years of the thirteenth century. One of the most important figures in the history of the cathedral was Cardinal Infant Dom Henrique, the youngest son of King Manuel. Cardinal Dom Henrique was initially Archbishop of Braga Cathedral (1532-1539) and subsequently became the first Archbishop of Évora Cathedral (1540-1564). He then moved to Lisbon Cathedral (1564-1574) and later returned to Évora in 1574 where he served until 1578, becoming King of Portugal during the last two years of the second Portuguese dynasty (1578-1580).

References to musicians of the cathedral arise from records from the Évora Registry, which include birth, marriage and burial certificates and have been collected by various Portuguese historians such as Barata (1909) and Espanca (1942-82) in their wide-ranging studies of the city of Évora, as well as Gusmão (1964) in his study of singers and musicians in Évora. Further references appear in the records of the Inquisition Court of Law of Évora, preserved in the National Archives. In his study of the musicians at the Évora Cathedral, Gusmão (1964) provides references to the earlier records to shawm players employed by Cardinal Henrique at the Évora Cathedral dating 18 April 1542, when André de Escobar, a shawm player, was

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129 The elevation of the Évora Cathedral by Pope Paulo III in 29 September 1540 was followed by the separation of the dioceses of Portalegre and Elvas. See discussion bellow for the musical practice at Elvas Cathedral.
130 See notes on primary sources and archives in Chapter 1.
awarded a wage of 24,000 réis. Another record with the same date shows that Francisco Golete was also employed as shawm player of the cathedral, although his payment details are not stated. Espanca (1948) presents further evidence of the players of the cathedral in a marriage certificate of the daughter of António Golete, trombone player (sacabuxa) of the cathedral in 1573, where the wedding witnesses were Salvador Calado and Francisco Golete, both shawm players (charamelas) of the cathedral. Two additional transcripts reveal the names of three other shawm players (charamelas) of the cathedral, namely Estevão de Gant\textsuperscript{131} in 1574, Alonso Peres in 1578/9, Contreras in 1580/1 and finally Luís de Mascarenhas from Japan in 1586.

Barata (1909) presents perhaps the most complete record of musicians of the Évora Cathedral in a list of payments to the musicians of the Évora Cathedral for the year of 1590. The band comprised Francisco D’Arnelos and Francisco Carvalho, shawm players (charamela) with a wage of 3,000 réis each; João de Contreras, shawm and bass curtal player (charamela and baixão) with a wage of 4,000 réis; Domingos Coelho and Vicente Golete, trombone players (sacabuxa(s)) with a wage of 3,000 réis each. This list provides the only reference to two trombone players in service simultaneously in one institution.

The formation of the shawm band at the Évora Cathedral between 1542 and 1705 is of particular importance. The number of trombone players recorded between these dates surpasses that of any other location in the country, including the Royal Court. In addition to António and Vicente Golete\textsuperscript{132} and Domingos Coelho, there is also reference to other trombone players during the second half of the sixteenth century: Nicolau de Molina and Francisco Amaro (these players are discussed further in Chapter 6).

\textsuperscript{131} Possibly from the Flemish region of Ghent.
\textsuperscript{132} The Goletes appear to have been a well established family of musicians in Évora with reference to at least four members of the family of whom two were trombonists and two were shawm players between 1542 and 1653.
Shawm band of the Elvas Cathedral

Mazza (1945) provides a transcript of a payment order from the Bishop of Elvas to the chapel master and musicians of the cathedral. On 13 April 1613 Bertholomeu Peres, shawm player (*charamela*), was paid 3 cruzados, Frº. [Francisco] Peres, trombone player (*sacabuxa*), was paid 3 cruzados, V.cº [Vasco] Sutil, bass curtal (*baixão*) was paid 3 cruzados, and two “small” shawms were paid 600 réis each. By 1616 Vasco Sotil [Sutil] was employed at the Portuguese Royal Court and by 1641 at the Vila Viçosa Palace, a position he left the following year, as discussed below.

Other references to the players of Elvas Cathedral emerge from an Inquisition Court case in 1659 where Afonso Álvares, bass curtal of the cathedral (*tangedor de baixão*), son of Rui Dias and bass curtal player of the same cathedral, was accused of Judaism.

Records of payments from Elvas Cathedral are scant and simply reveal details of names, instruments played and payment received. The only information which may allow for a broader understanding of this shawm band is the substantial difference in payment between members of the shawm band here and in other cathedrals. The lack of references regarding the context in which they were expected to play and their duties limits the understanding of the activity and routine of these players. The musical practice in Elvas was perhaps less developed than in other surrounding musical centres such as Évora and Vila Viçosa and encouraged some level of itinerancy of these players between other musical centres. There is no reference to the recruitment process of new players in place at Elvas Cathedral and existing records do not allow for the establishment of the development of the shawm band.

Shawm band of the Coimbra University and Cathedral

The first Portuguese university was established in Lisbon during the reign of King Dinis on 1 March 1290. After subsequent relocations between Lisbon and Coimbra during the fourteenth century, the university was finally established in Coimbra in 1537. According to Rees (1995) the University was partially under the jurisdiction of

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133 Following the decree *Scientiae thesaurus mirabilis* and approved by Pope Nicolau IV.
the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, although some of the faculties remained separate. From 1544 only theological subjects were read at the monastery, whilst all other departments were moved to a different part of the city. There seems to be no music provision (department) until the separation in 1544, likely due to the fact that the musicians of the monastery fulfilled all musical duties (Rees 1995, pp.30–1). In 1544 the Spanish composer and theorist Mateus de Aranda was awarded the position of Head of Music (*Lente de Musica*) of the university (Provência da Costa 1935, p.149).

The first record to shed light on the existence of shawm players at the University of Coimbra is dated 24 December 1572. A letter to Joam Ramirez Castelhano, a shawm player (*charamelas*) of the University of Coimbra, states that he had the privilege to study at the aforementioned university. Another letter followed on 11 December 1573 to grant the same privilege to Antº [António] Nunez, also a shawm player of the university. Further references appear with a letter dating 4 February 1579 confirming the position of shawm player of the university and Cathedral to Lazaro Lopes with a wage of 16.000 réis. This position was awarded by the master of the shawm band (*mestre dos charamellas*) of the university and Cathedral, André descobar [de Escobar]. The dean of the university confirms this letter on 6 February the same year and also grants Lazaro the privilege to study at the university. As discussed previously in this chapter, André de Escobar had formerly been master of the shawm band of Cardinal Dom Henrique at the Évora Cathedral (Nery & Machado 1984a, pp.90–1).134

These letters reveal two particular aspects of the lives of the shawm players of the University during the sixteenth century: firstly, as shawm players of the university they had the privilege to study at the university, and secondly their duties double as players of the university and the Cathedral. Further information on the duties of the players can also be revealed from the statutes of the university, first written in 1309 and rewritten numerous times during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Version six of the statutes dating 1591 show that the duties of shawms and trumpet players

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134 As discussed in Chapter 3, Escovar was also the author of a method for shawm, which unfortunately did not survive.
included: playing in the graduation ceremonies, as well as processions leading and following these ceremonies. Although more players are revealed from further records, there is no evidence of references to trombone players during the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

Shawm bands of the cathedrals: conclusion

Here we have examined records of payments to shawm bands of the Portuguese cathedrals. These records offer details regarding the number and identity of the players in service, and on some occasions their hierarchical position as well as the instrument played. However, questions remain unanswered regarding their main duties, contexts in which the bands were used and the repertoire played. Uncertainty also remains regarding the routine activity of these players, and what was expected from them. It seems feasible that shawm bands participated in liturgical services playing alongside other musicians and singers of the cathedral. It is also likely that, similar to the municipal shawm bands of Oporto, Guimarães and Lisbon, these shawm bands had to participate in processions and other ceremonies organised by the cathedrals. There is no surviving repertoire which specifically calls for the shawm band or indeed the trombone. Payment records also suggest that the itinerancy of these players was much more notable than in municipal and royal shawm bands.

Elements of exoticism in the shawm band

The earliest elements of exoticism in Portuguese wind music are associated with the processions of Corpus Christi organised by municipal councils, and particularly the city of Lisbon. King João I first introduced black players of shawms, trumpets and drums in the processions of Corpus Christi to commemorate the Conquest of Ceuta in 1415. The introduction of these musicians may perhaps represent a musical practice

135 The Conquest of Ceuta in Northern Africa in 1415, by Henry the Navigator, son of King João I and Philippa of Lancaster, marked the beginning of the Portuguese Empire and was responsible for the beginning of the slave trade. According to Pimentel (1989) the first negro slaves to arrive in Portugal from the Atlantic Coast were brought by Antão Gonçalves in 1441 and the commercial value of the slave trading was reinforced in 1444 with the first expedition focused on slave trading. These slaves
which was taking place in the new world, as suggested by the tapestry entitled *Cortejo Triunfal com Girafas e Músicos* (Triumphal Parade with Giraffes and Musicians) from the collection of tapestries entitled *Á Maneira de Portugal e da Índia* representing the first voyage of Vasco da Gama to India (see Ill. 5.1). In a decree of 25 August 1717 King João V banned the participation of black musicians during the processions of *Corpus Christi* organised by the city council of Lisbon. However, the participation of black musicians appears to have been maintained throughout the eighteenth century and the tradition of including black players (*pretinhos de São Jorge*) in the processions of *Corpus Christi* survived until the beginning of the twentieth century (see Ill. 5.3 bellow). The practice was also common in the Portuguese Colony of Brazil in the beginning of the nineteenth century and is evident in various lithographs by Debret (see Ill. 5.2 bellow).

As discussed previously in this chapter, black players were also included in the shawm band of the Dukes of Bragança in Vila Viçosa. Other references show evidence of bands, including black players in the service of other noblemen. Frutuoso’s (1998) description of the arrival of Dom Rui Gonçalves da Camara in the Isle of St Miguel in Azores in 1576 shows that Dom Rui had with him five Indian slaves (*escravos Indios da India*) who played the shawms and the violas (*charamelas e violas de arco*) (Frutuoso 1998, p.419). Wind bands comprised entirely or partly of slave players also appear in neighbouring Spain. These bands have been recorded on

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136 This tapestry forms part of a group of tapestries commissioned by King Manuel I of Portugal to celebrate the conquers and discoveries made by the Portuguese. A list of the series found at the National Archives and published by Barreto (1880) describes the plans for the collection of tapestries representing the first voyage of Vasco da Gama in 1497 to be made at the workshops of Tournai (*Descoberta da Índia ordenada em tapeçaria por mandado de El-Rei D. Manuel*).

137 French painter Jean Baptiste Debret (1768-d.1849) was one of the artists of the French Artistic Mission to Brazil (1816). Invited by King João VI of Portugal, Emperor of Brazil (who was exiled in Brazil) to establish an arts Academy he was commissioned to paint various portraits by the Portuguese Royal House. However, his fame lay with the picturesque images of the native Brazilians. Upon his return to Paris after 1831, Debret published these images in three Volumes entitled *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil* (1834-39).
at least two different occasions in Portugal and the frontier city of Badajoz. Caetano de Sousa (1744) provides a transcription of the diary written by the Archbishop of Lisbon, describing the journey of Princess Dona Maria, daughter of King João III in 1543 to Spain for the occasion of her marriage to Dom Philipe, son of Emperor Dom Carlos V. Upon their arrival in Badajoz, they were received by the Duke of Medina on behalf of The Spanish Royal family. The Duke of Medina was accompanied by his trumpets and shawms, some of whom were Indian [slaves] whilst the others were from Seville Cathedral (Caetano de Sousa 1744, p.124). Another reference to shawm bands comprised of slaves is provided by Velazquez (1583) in his description of the arrival of King Philip II of Spain (I of Portugal) in Lisbon in 1581. The King was accompanied by a wind band of slaved Turks (Turcos forçados) of Alvaro de Bazán, Marquis of Santa Cruz de Mudela. The band members played shawms, trombone, cornett, bass curtal, and flutes. Velazquez (1583) describes how they played their villancicos, motets and other pieces from music scores, since they were not familiar with such pieces (Velazquez 1583, p.112V). This is supported by further evidence provided by King Philippe I of Portugal himself, in a letter sent from Lisbon to his daughters in Madrid. King Philippe I of Portugal describes how he attended a service on board of the ship of the Marquis of Santa Cruz de Mudela, which was accompanied by music from slave minstrels (ministriles que son esclavos de la galera) (Bouza 2011, pp.48–51).

Bands of black musicians were also common in the Portuguese African and Indian colonies where Jesuits priests taught them music. In a letter dating 23 August 1578 from Paulo Dias Novais, Governor in Angola, he asked for a pair of trombones and shawms to be sent by João Castanho, for the “twelve or thirteen” apprentices. Here he also described the ability of the natives to play and sing masses and motets by Morales and Guerreiro. The Memoires of the Jesuit missionaries in Cochim in 1571

138 See 1543 for more details of the journey from Lisbon to Badajoz.

139 The Marquis had previously been in close association with Don John of Austria when the Holy League was formed against the Turks (1570). The Turk [slave] musicians may have been acquired after one of the previous battles against the Turks with Ali Pasha (Uluj Ali Reis).

140 See 10 July 1581.

141 The place of origin of these instruments is discussed further in Chapter 2.
present evidence of yet another shawm band taught by the missionaries. The band consisted of three negros shawms [＆] trombones (as charamelas sacabujas, eram tres).

Shawm bands formed exclusively or partly of slave players appeared in Portugal during the sixteenth century. However, the presence of black musicians has been recorded in the processions of Corpus Christi in Lisbon since the fifteenth century. Players of the shawm band were originally from the African and Indian colonies and were taught by missionaries in their native countries, where they were active in liturgical service. Some of these players were eventually brought to Portugal and were at the service of Portuguese aristocracy. There seems to be no direct evidence of the influence of these players in the development of the shawm band in Portugal or indeed the trombone.
Illustration. 5.1 Workshops of Tournai, *Triumphal parade with giraffes and musicians* (*Cortejo Triunfal com Girafas e Músicos*), (sixteenth century), Museu do Caramulo, Caramulo. Details of musicians are presented on the bottom right corner of this depiction, a band with four musicians – drum, flute, twisted trumpet and trumpet.

Illustration 5.2 Debret (1839, p.178), *Statue de S. George et son Cortege, precedent la procession de la Fête-Dieu* (*Statue of S. George and its attendant, leading the procession of Corpus Cristi*). Details of three black musicians playing two brass instruments and a piccolo.
Illustration 5.3 Lima, *Processão de Corpus Cristi, charameleiros (Procession of Corpus Christi Shawm Players)*, (1906), Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa, PT/AMLSB/LIM/001999, Lisbon. Details of a band of black players (*pretinhos de São Jorge*), during the procession of *Corpus Christi* in Lisbon. They play two brass instruments, a piccolo and two drums.

Illustration 5.3a Lima *Processão de Corpus Cristi, charameleiros (Procession of Corpus Christi, Shawm Players)*, (1906), Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa, PT/AMLSB/LIM/001999, Lisbon. Band of black players leading the procession of *Corpus Christi* playing two brass instruments, a piccolo and drums.
Chapter 6. Decline and resurgence of the trombone in Portugal

Surviving Portuguese archival records from the second half of the seventeenth century yield evidence of a significant decline in the use of the trombone in the shawm band, in and outwith royal service. This led to its virtual disappearance during most of the eighteenth century. This chapter studies the musical contexts which led to this decline. It also examines the circumstances in which the trombone re-emerges during the later years of the eighteenth century as well as its use in the beginning of the nineteenth century in orchestras and military bands. Furthermore, it provides details regarding some of the earlier surviving trombones in Portugal.

Earlier signs of decline

In 1640 Duke Dom João II of Bragança left the Palace of Vila Viçosa accompanied by his entourage, to be proclaimed King João IV of Portugal. Only those with residency obligations such as chaplains and singers remained at the Vila Viçosa Chapel (see Chapter 5). Correspondence between Brito de Sousa, dean of the Vila Viçosa Chapel, and the King, dated 25 March 1641 describes the deprived situation in which the chapel was left. This may show evidence of the first difficulties encountered when attempting to fill the position previously occupied by the trombone in the shawm band of the Chapel and Palace of Vila Viçosa:

The chapel has no master and no shawms, however this could be resolved with a shawm (tiple or typele) and a trombone (sacabucha) [...] we do not have motet books, or papers with music to sing, not even the psalm Miserere (Alegria 1983, p.42).

The following year, the situation at the Vila Viçosa Chapel appears to have remained the same, with details of this revealed from another letter from the dean of the chapel to the King in March 1642:

The chapel remains with no master (mestre), no shawms (charamelas) and no singers apart from Manoel de Oliveira e Luis Fernandes (Alegria 1983, p.42).
The King’s reply to Dean Brito de Sousa on 10 April 1642 shows evidence of what appear to perhaps be the first signs of decline of the trombone in Portugal:

I have tried to find the shawms (charamelas) but without success [...] you should talk to António da Costa Sarça requesting him to return to the service of the chapel, offering him up to 30,000 réis and a measure of wheat [...] The lack of the trombone (sacabuxa) could be resolved with a bass curtal (baixão) or if you could instead accommodate in the shawms (charamellas) the sons of Braz Pereira - that would also work (Alegria 1983, pp.44–5).

Although this does not represent definitive evidence of the start of the decline of the use of the trombone in Portugal, it provides an example of a trombone being clearly substituted by a woodwind instrument.

**Decline**

Evidence regarding the decline of the trombone also emerges from the records of various cathedrals in Portugal during the second half of the seventeenth century. A study of the music at the Viseu Cathedral by Joaquim (1944) provides details of musicians employed here from the early seventeenth century until 1799. These records offer evidence which may assist in explaining the decline, replacement and disappearance of the trombone in this cathedral. Dom João Manuel, bishop of Viseu between 1610 and 1625, created a shawm band with four or five young men from the city, arranged a master to teach them and bought them instruments.¹⁴² Prior to the creation of this shawm band, the city of Viseu would invite shawm players from other cities to perform during the major festivities.¹⁴³ The records provided by Joaquim suggest that this shawm band consisted of three or four shawms and a trombone player. There are references to a total of six players of the shawm band of the Viseu Cathedral during the period studied by Joaquim. However, of these, only one is referred to as a trombone player in the payment books of the cathedral during this

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¹⁴² See 1624.

¹⁴³ These players were normally from the shawm band of the city of Guarda. Very little is known about this shawm band apart from the fact that Gaspar Alvares, master of this shawm band, died on 9 May 1632 (Geada 1990, pp.34–5).
period. The name of João Francisco [da Costa], trombone player (*sacabuxa*), first appears in 1638 alongside Manuel Fernandes, shawm player of the Viseu Cathedral. Later, in 1646, João Francisco is referred to as shawm player and in 1657 he and his colleague Gonçalo Rebelo, shawm player (*charamela*), received payment for their service at the cathedral. The following year the names of two other shawm players emerge from the books of the Viseu Cathedral: Domingos da Costa and Miguel Tavares, who acknowledged receipt of payment for their service during the Christmas celebrations. The name of João Francisco, trombone player, appears for the last time in 1657. There are no references to trombone players between 1657 and the remainder of the period studied by Joaquim; instead, there are references to cornett players and flutists whilst the number of bassoon players increases significantly (between 1658 and 1671 there are no records of musicians at all). The growing popularity of the bassoon becomes more evident with payment records dating 1671 when Gregório de Pallácios, bassoon player (*fagote*), and João Silva, bass curtal (*baixão*), were paid 36,000 réis per month for serving at the cathedral. Further references follow in 1711 and 1723 with the names of two other woodwind players: P. João Rodrigues, bassoon (*fagote*), and José Garcia de Legorreta, bass curtal and oboe (*baixão e oboê*). In 1729 there is reference to two other bassoon players, namely P. Manuel Vaz Xequeno, bass curtal (*baixão*) with 30,000 réis (increased to 50,000 réis in 1731) and Jacinto de Almeida, bass curtal (*baixão*), with 18,000 réis (perhaps as an apprentice). These records also show that unlike the trombone players, the bassoon players were not only in constant demand, but their wages were increasing during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Further evidence regarding the decline of the trombone and the increase of the use of the bassoon can be found in a reference to a player of the Évora Cathedral in 1669. In this document, which details a court case from the Inquisition Court of Law of Évora, the defendant Nicolau Ramalho Canilho is referred to as a “trombone [and] player of bassoon” (*saca-bucha, de tangedor de fagote*) of the Évora Cathedral. The terminology is unclear and may indicate that the player could have played both instruments. However, it can also be suggested that the position of trombone was occupied by a bassoon player. Moreover, records from the

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144 Although, very likely from the same family, this is not the Gregório de Palácios employed at the Royal Court in 1643 and promoted to master of the shawm band in 1673.

145 The cornett seems to have been replaced by the oboe around 1723.
second half of the seventeenth century from Évora Cathedral show that when trombone players died their positions were not filled and were eventually replaced by another instrument, firstly the bassoon and later string instruments (*rabeca or rabecão*): Nicolau de Molina, trombone player (*sacabuxa*), was buried in 1657, Alonso Peres trombone player (*sacabucha*) of the Évora Cathedral was buried in 1691 (Peres is the last known trombone player of the seventeenth century in Portugal). With the start of the eighteenth century, evidence relating to the death of another trombone player of the Évora Cathedral emerges: Francisco Amaro, perhaps the last known trombone player (*sacabuxa*) of the eighteenth century in Portugal was buried in 1705. None of these positions of trombone player appear to have been renewed.

*The trombone in the royal shawm band: decline and resurgence*

Book six of the records of warrant holders of the Royal House of King João IV shows that trombone players were still being employed in the royal shawm band by 1641 when João Ferreira, from Évora, was granted the position of trombone (*sacabuxa*) of the royal shawm band with 50.000 réis. References to other trombone players in the royal shawm band only reappear in 1668 in book three of the royal warrant holders when Manuel Antunes, shawm player (*charameleiro*) (son of Nicolau Antunes, also a royal shawm player), was granted the position of trombone player (*sacabucha*) of the shawm band with 40 réis subsistence per day. A decree of 1653 appointing João Nunes as official royal brass instruments maker of trombones and [trumpets] *bastardas* also suggests that the trombone in royal service may have still been widely in use at the beginning of the second half of the seventeenth century.¹⁴⁶ Although there is no evidence of trombones being made, ordered or purchased around these dates, the appointment of an official brass instrument maker may reveal the prevailing demand for the instrument.

There is no evidence of any further payments to trombone players of the royal shawm band, or indeed any other references to the trombone after 1668. This continues for most of the eighteenth century and no single payment to trombone players is found in

¹⁴⁶ See 1653. See also discussion in Chapter 2.
royal records until the nineteenth century. This suggests that the position was either no longer available, not renewed or was perhaps filled by a different instrument. Moreover, references to the royal shawm band also disappear from royal records during the final years of the eighteenth century with the last record appearing in 1785. These records only reappear in 1823. It remains unclear as to why there are no references to shawm players for the last fifteen years of the eighteenth century. The lack of references to the royal shawm band during the beginning of the nineteenth century is perhaps due to the sudden exile of the Portuguese Court to Brazil in 1807 and the Peninsular war between 1808 and 1814.

The trombone appears to reemerge in the royal shawm band between 1814 and 1817. This is based on surviving repertoire for the royal shawm band entitled *Music of the shawm band* (*Música da Charamela*) dating c. 1814 – 1817 (held at the National Museum of Coaches). The collection consists of seven music manuscripts with parts for: one piccolo, three clarinets (*1st*, *2nd* and *Eb*), two horns (*1st* and *2nd*) and one trombone. The manuscripts contain minuets, polonaises and waltzes. One of the later references to the royal shawm band emerges from a newspaper article dated 19 April 1829. This article lists the names of fourteen players referred to as *charameleiros*, who received permission from the King to wear the same outfits as their colleagues of the Royal Chamber Orchestra of Lisbon. No contemporary payment records for the royal shawm band or indeed the above article, provide evidence of a trombone player. However, the surviving music manuscripts do show that the trombone was already in use in the royal shawm band during the second decade of the nineteenth century.

**Conclusion**

In Portugal, references to the trombone are scarce for most of the second half of the seventeenth century and no single payment to a trombone player could be found in the royal records during the eighteenth century. Records from various cathedrals suggest

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147 See 20 June 1785; 17 August 1785.

148 The Royal Court returned to Portugal in 1821 and records of payments to shawm players reappear on 22 February 1823.
that the position of the trombone player may have been replaced by that of the bassoon player. Since wind musicians were often multi-instrumentalists the bassoon was perhaps used more frequently and subsequently replaced the trombone. This pattern was noticeable in other European countries with only a few exceptions in German speaking countries. In 1948, Baines published an article in which he presents a manuscript by late seventeenth century scholar James Talbot. In this manuscript Talbot notes that the: “Chief use of the sackbut here in England is in Consort with our Waits or English Hautbois. It was left off towards the latter end of K.Ch. 2d & gave place to the Fr. Basson” (Baines 1948, p.19). In Portugal trombone players also occasionally doubled on string instruments, as revealed by the descriptions of the duties of the masters of the royal shawm band António and Diogo Domenico (see Chapter 4).¹⁴⁹ Portuguese cathedrals had large numbers of singers in regular service and the use of the trombone may have lasted longer in these places where it was used to double the voice line. However, here too it eventually fell into disuse and was replaced by the bassoon.

*Early signs of resurgence of the trombone in eighteenth century*

The first signs of the resurgence of the trombone during the late eighteenth century arise from the orchestral repertoire. Most of the surviving music containing trombones during the late eighteenth century was intended for liturgical service. This is reflected in the music of composer José Totti at the service of the Portuguese Royal Court and the Patriarchal Cathedral. Totti wrote a large number of compositions to be sung at the Patriarchal and at least two of his masses composed in 1783 (*Credo a cinque voci*) and 1793 (*Messa a cinque voci*) including one trombone (Vieira 1900a, pp.379–81). Other composers to include one trombone in their compositions were António Leal Moreira (c. 1758-1819) and Paolo Ponfichi (c. 1790). Later compositions such as the Requiem by João Domingos Bomtempo (c. 1775-1842) included three trombones (*trombone alto, trombonis basso and tenor*). It was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that the trombone became well established.

¹⁴⁹ See 1578.
According to Marques de Sousa, the first military wind bands established in 1740 consisted of a drummer, a flutist, two trumpeters and a shawm. In 1798 the size of the musical ensembles could vary between twelve and sixteen musicians (Marquês de Sousa 2009, pp.133–7). Starting in 1816 the army wind bands of the infantry regiment (regimento de infantaria), the battalion of riflemen (batalhão de caçadores) and the infantry of the royal guard of the police (infantaria da guarda real da policia) included trombones in their formation (Silva 1825, p.380). The earliest evidence of trombones in military bands in Portugal arises from an 1815 decree which established the formation of the wind band of the infantry regiment battalion of riflemen (regimento de infantaria n.º 4). The person in charge of organising the band of this regiment was the German wind player Erdmann (Eduardo) Neuparth. The contract appointing Neuparth bandmaster, with effect from 9 May 1815, established a wage of 16 tostões per day, to be paid every ten days. His duties included providing (composing/arranging) military music for the band as well as rehearsing and engaging the band in public performances as required. The contract established that he was also obliged to teach any soldier of the regiment chosen to be a member of the band. The band was formed from a minimum of eleven players and four apprentices. The apprentices could only join the band whenever a place became available or after demonstrating sufficient ability, in which case the number of players would rise to sixteen in total. The instrumentation of the band included: three clarinets (1st, 2nd and Eb), two horns (1st and 2nd), one trumpet (clarim), one bassoon, one trombone or a serpent (trombão or serpentão) and two percussion instruments.

150 16 December 1815 (Decree with effect from the 1 January 1816).
151 German clarinetist Neuparth held the position of 1st clarinetist at the Lowenstein Chapel and later became bandmaster in Freiburg. He was subsequently recruited by a French commissariat in Freiburg to organise musicians to the French 119.º regiment. It was during the Peninsular war that Neuparth was appointed master of the band of the 119.º regiment where he remained for three years. When the French army was defeated Neuparth joined the Portuguese infantry n.4 and was appointed bandmaster (Vieira 1900, pp.118-9).
The royal navy brigade also adopted the above formation following a decree of 21 February 1816. The decree established that the master was paid 360 réis, the other musicians 260 réis, while apprentices could receive between 160 and 200 réis according to their ability. There is no evidence that this band was formed immediately after the release of the decree. The earliest reference to the band of the royal navy brigade appears in 2 July 1817, when the band was formed specifically to accompany the archduchess Leopoldina of Habsburg to Brazil to meet her future husband Prince Dom Pedro, later King Pedro IV Emperor of Brazil. In charge of the band was again Eduardo Neuparth, previously in charge of the band of the infantry regiment battalion of hunters (Regimento de Infantaria n.º 4). A contemporary drawing by Franz Frühlech shows this band on its arrival in Brazil in 1817 (see Ill. 6.1 below). This formation of the band in this depiction agrees with the formation of the bands established by the decree of 16 December 1815. Moreover, the depiction suggests that the trombone used in this band had a forward facing bell in the shape of a head of a dragon (see Ills. 6.1 and 6.5 below).  

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152 See 6 November 1817.
Illustration 6.1: Franz Frühlech, Disembarque of Empress Leopoldina in Brazil in 1817 (Desembarque da Imperatriz Leopoldina no Brasil em 1817, (1817), Arquivo Histórico Militar, PT/AHM/010/A07/GR/09, Lisbon.

According to Pereira (1946) the band was formed with “the best and the most appropriate musicians available in the capital [Lisbon]” (Pereira 1946, p.245). He also presents a list of seventeen musicians of the band, including bandmaster Neuparth, although Frühlech’s drawing shows only thirteen players. The names of the players suggest both Portuguese and German origins. The trombone player (trompão) of this band was Leopoldo Smith (or Schmith), who similar to Neuparth, was likely of German origin (Pereira 1946, p.246). On their arrival in Brazil all musicians were invited to stay and to form the band of the royal cavalry (música das reais cavalariças). According to Neuparth’s autobiography, all musicians but one (Bulak, clarinet player) decided to stay until 1821 when the Royal Court moved back to Portugal.

153 See 24 November 1817 for a full list of the musicians of this band.
The formation of this band yields crucial evidence with regard to the understanding of the resurgence of the trombone in Portugal during the beginning of the nineteenth century. In summary, the earliest trombone player recorded in the Portuguese army band was German and living in Lisbon at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Neuparth was, since his arrival to Lisbon in 1814, a member of the Orchestra of the Theatre of the Rua dos Condes and later of the Orchestra of the São Carlos Opera (Vieira 1900b, p.120). This may suggest that Leopoldo Schmith, similar to his colleague Neuparth, may have been employed somewhere else in Portugal prior to his engagement in Brazil, likely at the chamber or opera orchestras of Lisbon.

The trombone in Portuguese orchestras

Scherpereel (1985) studies the Orchestra of the Royal Chamber of Lisbon (Real Câmara de Lisboa) between 1764 and 1834. Although the study casts light on the names of the players of the orchestra it does not provide details regarding the instruments played. The names of most players of the wind band who travelled to Brazil in 1817 and returned in 1821, now appear as musicians of the Royal Chamber Orchestra, thus suggesting that there was a trombone player employed in the orchestra from 1827. This player was Leopoldo Schmith the same trombone player who joined the wind band accompanying archduchess Leopoldina to Brazil in 1817. Schmith was paid 207,396 réis as musician of the Royal Chamber Orchestra between 1827 and 1831, the date of his death. The only other evidence of a trombone player in the Chamber Orchestra refers to a decree of 26 July 1839 appointing José António Nicolau de Oliveira supernumerary trombone player of the orchestra. Nicolau de Oliveira was also principal trombone of the orchestra of the São Carlos Opera Theatre from 1837 (Nicolau de Oliveira’s solo career is discussed in Chapter 7). It is not clear as to whether or not there was a trombone player in regular employment at the São Carlos Opera since its formation in 1794. Nicolau de Oliveira died in 1867 after suffering a stroke as a result of an argument with José Alberto, director of opera orchestra, who blamed him for missing a rehearsal (Vieira 1900b, p.344). The name of another trombone player of the São Carlos Opera emerges in 1843. Rorich (or
Roricke), who previously in 1839 was appointed supernumerary trumpet player\textsuperscript{154} of the Royal Chamber Orchestra of Lisbon, appeared as the principal trombone of the São Carlos Opera Orchestra. One of his sons, Miguel Rorich also played the trombone as well as all other wind instruments (Vieira 1900b, pp.263–4).

\textit{Earliest surviving trombones in Portugal}

The Music Museum in Lisbon holds a collection of surviving nineteenth century trombones by both national and international makers (see Appendix 4 for a complete list of surviving trombones). Of the instruments examined three deserve special consideration in this study: the two tenor trombones by Raphael Rebello and a trombone with a forward facing bell in the shape of a dragon’s head. The earliest surviving trombones which were made in Portugal are the two nineteenth century tenor trombones by Raphael Rebello held at the Music Museum in Lisbon. Raphael Rebello (d. 20 March 1876) had his workshop in Lisbon’s Largo da Graça since 1830, as it reads on the bell of the two surviving tenor trombones, (see Ills. 6.2 and 6.3 below).\textsuperscript{155} In 1835 Rebello also became master of the workshop of the army with the aim of providing the wind bands of the Portuguese music regiments with musical instruments without the need of the foreign market. Rebello was renowned for the quality of his bugles, natural horns, keyed bugles, and ophicleides (\textit{cornetas, trompas lisas, cornetas de chaves e ophicleides}), although most particularly for his slide trombones (\textit{trombones de varas}). According to Vieira (1900), Rebello’s trombones were preferred by the Portuguese players to those of foreign makers (i.e. French instruments). However, later on, Rebello’s activity came to an end with the introduction of the instruments with Adolph Sax system. Since Rebello could not reproduce such instruments which were in great demand amongst Portuguese players, he found himself in the factories of the Portuguese railway making horns, hoots and other such objects (Vieira 1900a, p.234).

\textsuperscript{154} See 22 March 1839.

\textsuperscript{155} Langwill (1962) suggests different dates to those used here which are according to Vieira (1900).
Illustration 6.2: Raphael Rebello, Tenor trombone (nineteenth century), Museu da Música, MM 639, Lisbon.

Illustration 6.3: Raphael Rebello, Tenor trombone (nineteenth century), Museu da Música, MM 168, Lisbon.

Also held in the Music Museum in Lisbon is a trombone with a forward facing bell in the shape of a serpent or dragon’s head (see Ill. 6.4). This trombone is catalogued (by the museum) as dating from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. However, it seems likely that it dates back to the early nineteenth century rather than the late eighteenth century. It has been attributed to the Lisbon based J. O Jones, according to a mark on the bell of the trombone which reads “J. O JONES. LX” (see Ill. 6.4). With this said however, it seems unlikely that this trombone was in fact produced by a Portuguese maker. There is no information about the author of this instrument at the Music Museum in Lisbon and moreover, Jones is not listed in Langwill (1962) as a wind instrument maker. It is feasible that the mark on the bell refers to the player of the instrument rather than the maker. Supposing that this is indeed the case, it seems possible that this instrument may have belonged to a musician of one of the two bands

156 Herbert (2006, p.16) suggests trombones with forward facing bells in the shape of dragonheads were introduced during the early the nineteenth century in Europe.
of English musicians accompanying the British troops during the first British campaign in Portugal in 1808. There are two references to these bands recorded in the 1812 *History of the British campaign in Spain and Portugal*. The references relate to the events of 22 September 1808 in Lisbon.

Thus formed, the Spaniards hoisted their colours on the right of the encampment, the English on the left, and the Portuguese in front; while two English bands of music, placed in the vacant space between the British troops and the camp, played the national air of “God save the King.”

[…]
The magnificent bands of English musicians contributed during the continuance of the repast to enliven the feast; (British Army 1812, pp.249, 254)

As mentioned above, iconographic sources suggest that trombones with forward facing bells in the shape of snake and/or dragonheads were in use in Portugal at the beginning of the nineteenth century (see Ill. 6.1 above). Other depictions held at the Portuguese Historic Military Archive (*Arquivo Histórico Militar*) show that this instrument was also used in other military bands, as suggested by the drawing of a musician from the army’s infantry line holding a trombone with a forward facing bell in the shape of a dragon’s head. The instrument is folded over the player’s left arm and appears to be un-mounted (see Ill. 6.5). Another depiction shows a trombone player from the naval battalion holding a standard slide trombone.

157 See 6 November 1817.
Illustration 6.4: J. O. JONES (attributed), Trombone with forward facing dragon/ snakehead (late eighteenth century – early nineteenth century), Museu da Música, MM 171, Lisbon.¹⁵⁸

*Instrument trading*

A considerable number of instrument retailers and warehouses in Lisbon emerge from newspapers of the first half of the nineteenth century. An advert from *Gazeta de Lisboa* on Monday 7 December 1818, presents a list of musical instruments for sale by S. B. Luiz Weltin, who had a musical instrument warehouse-store in Lisbon. Weltin sold all types of musical instruments including pianos, flutes, horns, trumpets, bassoons, serpents, trombones, as well as a selection of music books and treatises. The origins of the instruments traded by Weltin remain uncertain. Some of these newspapers contained adverts showing that instruments were also sold privately. One such advert shows two trombones by an unknown maker for sale in Lisbon, although the origin of these two trombones is also unknown.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ The images of the above trombones are hosted at the online national database of Portuguese Museums at [http://matriznet.imc-ip.pt](http://matriznet.imc-ip.pt). There is no visible mechanical device suggesting that this trombone was intended to be played by a left handed player. Therefore the fact that the bell is positioned on the right hand side of the slide should not be taken into consideration.

¹⁵⁹ See 19 August 1833.
Early nineteenth century music for trombone

The trombone appears to be re-established by the third decade of the nineteenth century and references to players and instruments are regular. A significant amount of nineteenth century repertoire for trombone also emerges from the National Library of Portugal, including music for solo trombone with wind band as well as chamber music with trombones. There is also a collection of compositions by Thiago Calvet.
(1823), formerly known as a bassoon player at the Royal Chamber Orchestra of Lisbon (*Real Camara de Lisboa*). The manuscript shows possibly the largest collection of brass instrumentation found during this period in Portugal: nine pieces for six natural trumpets (*clarins*) and three trombones (*trombãos*) accompanied by timpani, as well as four pieces with key bugle (*corneta de chaves*), natural trumpets (*clarins*) and trombone (*trombão*). The first nine pieces are scored for alto, tenor and bass trombone. The other four include only one trombone: nº. 1, 2 and 3 are scored for tenor trombone and nº 4 for bass trombone.

The collection of music for brass by Calvet (1823) and the music of the royal wind ensemble held at the Portuguese National Library and National Museum of Coaches represent an area in need of further research.
Chapter 7. The nineteenth century: the era of the conservatoire

This chapter studies the period between 1835 and 1850, with a particular focus on the establishment and development of the Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon (Real Conservatório de Lisboa) in 1835. It examines the trombone class at the Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon and concentrates on its two first trombone teachers: Francisco Kuchenbuck and Francisco Santos Pinto, their methodologies and students. Finally, it examines the two earliest surviving trombone manuscript methods in Portugal, held at the National Library of Portugal (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal), discovered during the course of this research, which were used in the class of brass of the conservatoire. The examination firstly addresses a manuscript dated 1849 containing a transcription of Victor Cornette’s Six Grandes Études with an additional four original studies on various ornamentations by Santos Pinto. It then focuses on a second trombone method manuscript dated 1850, by Santos Pinto. These method books cast light on aspects of the trombone playing technique and the way in which the trombone was taught and learned in Portugal. They establish trombone performance practice standards in Portugal as well as identifying the main international influences on the way in which the trombone was played.

Whilst the seminal work of Rosa (1999) provides an overview of the Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon between 1842 and 1862, its class of brass instruments (classe de instrumentos de latão) and more specifically brass didacticism at the Portuguese institution, has not yet been studied in detail. In the later years of the first half of the nineteenth century the class of trombone of the Lisbon Conservatoire shows a strong influence of the Paris Conservatoire. The method books by French pedagogues Victor Cornette and Antoine Dieppo, the latter of whom was a trombone teacher at the Paris Conservatoire between 1836 and 1871, appear to have had more influence on the tutors of the Conservatoire of Lisbon and especially on Santos Pinto, than those of other European centres.

160 The National Library of Portugal also holds a draft copy of this method by Pinto (1850). See 1850.
According to Sluchin & Lapie (1997) the Institut National de Musique (INM) was a pioneer in the creation of a wind instrument class with a trombone class between 1794 and 1795 which included four trombone students (Sluchin & Lapie 1997, p.4). The Paris Conservatoire followed the INM and was founded by decree of 3 August 1795. It became a model which was followed by most European countries. The trombone was taught at the conservatoire between 1795 and 1802, although for unknown reasons it was closed in 1802 (Herbert 2006, p.130). It was not until 1833 with Luigi Cherubini as musical director, that a provisional trombone class was re-established with the appointment of Félix Vobaron as professor of trombone, who in 1834 also wrote *Grande Méthode de trombone*. The official re-establishment of the trombone class happened in 1836 with the appointment of Antoine Dieppo as professor of trombone.

The earliest evidence of a method with a diagram system for a trombone in Bb with seven positions, is generally considered to be the *Vollständige theoritisch-praktische Musikschule* by Frölich (Bonn c.1810-11). However, the publication of a study by Weiner (1993) shows that Braun’s *Gamme et méthoode pour les trombones alto, tenor et basse* (Paris c.1793-7), produces the first diagram representation of a Bb trombone with seven positions (tenor trombone) and six positions (alto trombone) (Weiner 1993, pp.288–308). More significant to this study however, are the two method books by Cornette and Dieppo, as they present a direct influence on the way in which the trombone was taught in Portugal during the first half of the nineteenth century. Victor Cornette was choir director at the Opéra-Comique and played various wind instruments including the trombone. His trombone method was first published in 1831 in two parts and demanded a high technical standard. Considered one of the most prominent trombone players of the nineteenth century, Antoine Dieppo appeared as the co-writer of a trombone method with Berr (c.1835), although he publicly denied his involvement in this publication. Dieppo published his own trombone method in 1837, following his appointment as professor of trombone at the Paris Conservatoire in 1836 (Herbert 2006, p.138). As pioneers of the trombone method, Braun, and subsequently Fröhlich, Cornette and Dieppo laid the basis of trombone
development in France, as well as elsewhere in Europe from the late eighteenth century onwards.

The Music school at the Seminary Patriarchal of Lisbon

Portuguese musical education began to develop during the reign of King João V (1706-1750) with the creation in 1713 of the Seminary Patriarchal (Seminário Patriarcal). Aside from the organ, it is not clear as to which other instruments were taught at the seminary, although the main focus was on liturgical service and sacred music. The most significant change occurred with the decree of 3 November 1824, which sanctioned the addition of a class of orchestral instruments at the Seminary and the appointment of Francisco Kuchenbuck as professor of brass instruments (professor de instrumentos de latão) (Rosa 1999, p.135). According to Vieira (1900) Kuchenbuck was an excellent player of trombone, keyed bugle and other wind instruments. He was previously registered with Lisbon’s fraternity of St Cecilia (a benevolent organisation for musicians) in 15 May 1805 as a clarinet player (Vieira 1900a, p.8). The only known trombone student at the Seminary was José Nicolau de Oliveira, who became one of the most prominent trombone players of the first half of the nineteenth century (see discussion below). Unfortunately, after a subsequent decline, the Seminary Patriarchal was officially ordered to close by decree of 8 April 1834. All musical instruments were given to the Pious House of Lisbon (Casa Pia de Lisboa), whilst all scores and books were sent to the National Library of Portugal (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal).

Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon (Conservatório Real de Lisboa)

The original Music Conservatoire was created by royal decree of 5 May 1835 to substitute the Seminary Patriarchal and was funded by the Royal House with the monthly sum of 400,000 réis.

It is my wish to promote the art of music and to take advantage of the talent that emerges principally from the large number of orphans educated at the Pious House of Lisbon (Casa Pia de Lisboa): I therefore determine that the Seminary of the extinct Patriarchal church (Seminário da Patriarcal) shall be
replaced by a Music Conservatoire which will be established at the named
Pious House. The Queen [Maria II] (Portugal 1837, pp.146–7).

The Music Conservatoire consisted of six classes: class one - music rudiments; class
two - brass instruments (instrumentos de latão); class three - reed instruments; class
four - string instruments; class five - orchestral class; class six - singing class. One of
the foremost Portuguese concert pianists and composers of his time, João Domingos
Bomtempo, was nominated director of the conservatoire.¹⁶¹ All instrumental teachers
from the now extinct Seminary were integrated into the new conservatoire. Article 10
of the statutes provides a list of all the professors of the conservatoire including the
name of the first professor of the class of brass, Francisco Kuchenbuck. His name also
appears in the nomination letter for this position found at the National Archives.¹⁶²

The student body of the Music Conservatoire included boarding non-paying students,
orphans from the Pious House and paying students. Moreover, Article 3 of the statutes
determined that within the conservatoire there would be a college of twelve to twenty
“impoverished students”. They were selected according to their abilities and musical
level and were funded by the institution. Paying students would be admitted to the
conservatoire with a monthly payment of 12.000 réis. However, there is no indication
regarding the musical level or the admission process of the paying students (Ribeiro
1876, pp.386–7). On 15 November 1836, a new decree emerged, establishing that all
properties transferred from the Seminary Patriarchal to the Pious House, alongside the
Music Conservatoire would move into the Convent of the Caetanos, in Lisbon.
Consequently, the Music Conservatoire became part of a broader institution, the new
General Conservatoire of Dramatic Arts (Conservatorio Geral de Arte Dramática).
The new General Conservatoire was divided into three different departments: theatre,
music and dance, adopting the model from the Paris Conservatoire. The music
department was not established until 1838 and the following year, the General
Regulation’s Book for the music department (Regulamento Especial da Escola de

¹⁶¹ Bomtempo was a prominent member of the Lisbon bourgeoisie society of the nineteenth century
and was responsible for the creation of the first Bourgeoisie musical society created in Lisbon
modelled on the Royal Philharmonic Society in London.
¹⁶² See 18 May 1835.
Música) stated that “the study of the Art and Science of Music aimed […] to form composers, professors and artist to serve at the cathedrals, orchestras and military bands of the army” (Rosa 1999, pp.112, 115–6).

The statutes of the new conservatoire retain valuable information which enables a broad understanding of the organisation of the institution and the way in which it functioned. Particular articles provide details regarding the way in which the classes were divided, including that of brass instruments, which consisted of three instruments: horn, trumpet and trombone. The conservatoire’s library held a repository for books, music scores and instruments. This suggests that the conservatoire owned a collection of instruments, although it is not certain whether or not this was the case with trombones. Further information arising from the articles of the statutes concerns composers or writers. They were expected to send a copy of their work both to the National Library and to the library of the conservatoire. Moreover, professors of the different classes were expected to write method books, as well as elementary pieces for each class. This material would then be considered and examined by the commission of professors of the conservatoire, subject to evaluation and would subsequently adopted to be used in the classes or rejected (Ribeiro 1876, pp.403–4). Until this material was evaluated, all classes would use the respective method books used at the Paris Conservatoire (Rosa 1999, p.112).

By decree of 4 July 1840, the General Conservatoire of Dramatic Arts changed its name to Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon (Conservatório Real de Lisboa) under the patronage of King Fernando II (Ribeiro 1876, p.406). The following year revised statutes of the Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon emerge including alterations regarding student status and funding, as well as the admission processes of new students. These establish that the conservatoire would admit twelve fully funded students of each sex and six half funded students of each sex. The half funded students therefore had to pay half of whatever the conservatoire would find fair, according to the expenses incurred on their education. As well as full and half funded students the conservatoire admitted an indeterminate number of paying students according to their ability and the capacity of the institution. These students would pay the total fee the conservatoire would find fair according to the expenses incurred on their education. Details regarding the admission process of these students are also preserved in the
statutes of the conservatoire. The process of admission would be initiated by the Ministry of Business of the Kingdom, which would be the one to give notice of any vacant position. This position would then be advertised in the various districts and an audition invitation would be sent to the chosen candidates. The general administrator of each district would nominate an examination body consisting of artists and literary men, who following the audition process would produce a document containing the general information for each candidate (age, place of origin and residency), as well as artistic level, and details regarding the occupation and economic situation of the candidate’s parents. This information would then be passed on to the administrators of the kingdom, who would make the decision and invite the chosen candidates for a final audition at the conservatoire. In the event of outstanding talent displayed by any candidate during the preliminary audition, the conservatoire would pay any expenses incurred by the journey to the final audition at the conservatoire. The statutes of the conservatoire also considered the career of the student during and after the completion of their degrees. The students were required to obtain permission to undertake any professional engagement during their studies. During the year immediately following the completion of the degree, students would be offered guidance and support from the conservatoire and establish connections between the artist, music agents and companies. The students would therefore be guaranteed a good start to their career (Ribeiro 1876, pp.390–1).

The professors of brass instruments of the Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon

The German instrumentalist Francisco Kuchenbuck was the first trombone professor at the conservatoire (the letter dated 1835 held at the National Archives is under the name of Francisco Hukenbuk). Rosa (1999) shows that the earlier matriculation records at the music department of the conservatoire refer to the 1838/39 academic year. During this year, Kuchenbuck had in his class two trombone students, two students of horn, as well as seven flutists (Rosa 1999, p.117). Further evidence regarding Kuchenbuck’s two trombone students (João Rofino and Joaquim Caetano)

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163 If a singer – the strength of his/her voice, vocal range, physical details such as height and weight.

164 See 18 May 1835.
arises from a list of players taking part in a concert organised by the conservatoire in 1840. However, there are no further references to trombone students of his class from the academic year of 1841/42 onwards. Unfortunately, there is also no evidence of a trombone method used in Kuchenbuck’s class, neither at the library of the conservatoire nor at the National Library of Portugal. These libraries do not hold any other methods books for trombone by other contemporary pedagogues of the Paris Conservatoire either. Kuchenbuck died in 1845 and was succeeded by Francisco António Norberto dos Santos Pinto. However, it appears that there was no class of brass instruments between 1845 and 1849.

Santos Pinto was one of the most prolific Portuguese composers of his time. Born in Lisbon, he studied horn with the master of the band of the Royal Cavalry (Banda das Reais Cavalaríças) and by the age of 15 was a member of the band. In 1831 he was appointed keyed bugle (corneta de chaves) player with the Royal Police Guard Band (Guarda Real da Policia). By 1833 he was bandmaster of several military bands in Lisbon and was simultaneously appointed third horn at the São Carlos Theatre, where for several years he also held the position of principal trumpet (Clarim).

Subsequently, Santos Pinto was appointed first trumpet (Clarim) of the Royal Chamber Orchestra, and took up the principal keyed bugle position at the São Carlos Opera (Vieira 1900a, p.174). According to the conservatoire’s statutes, the professors were to be chosen by public audition. The panel for the auditions consisted of six members of the public and six full time members of the academic board of the conservatoire. A contemporary review in Revista Universal Lisbonense of Santos Pinto’s audition for the position of professor of brass instruments class, reads:

On the 23rd of the current month [July] the conservatoire convened in public session for the occasion of the audition (competition) for the place of professor of brass instruments (instrumentos de latão). There were two competitors: Mr Gazul, first horn at São Carlos [Opera Theatre] and Mr Pinto, first keyed bugle at the same orchestra and widely known for his compositions. Mr Gazul, being indisposed, only played three of the five instruments stipulated for the competition and was automatically eliminated.

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165 See 29 May 1840.
166 See 10 July 1839.
Mr Pinto played excellently on all five instruments – horn, trombone, natural trumpet, keyed bugle and ophicleide. All pieces were performed with orchestra and it would have been very difficult to establish or distinguish which instrument the artist interpreted the best. The applause from the knowledgeable audience anticipated the result from the panel, which unanimously decided Mr Pinto had the abilities to fulfil the role of professor of the class. We (the general public) now wait for the decision of Her Majesty (Revista Universal Lisbonense 23 July 1845, 72).

According to Rosa (1999) authorisation to reopen the class of brass instruments was made public in 7 December 1848 following Santo Pinto’s suggestion to serve without any payment until the position of professor was legally awarded. The official decision however, was only made public by decree of Her Majesty in 1849. Ernesto Vitor Wagner succeeded Santos Pinto after his death in 1861.

Similar to many contemporary wind players, Santos Pinto was a multi-instrumentalist. He held positions in the major musical establishments of the capital, although never as a trombone player. Nonetheless, he was the author of the only two surviving trombone method manuscripts in Portugal, which were written in the first half of the nineteenth century.

*Trombone method books of the Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon*

Santos Pinto’s Elementary Method for Trombone (Principios Elementares Para Trombone [Música manuscrita]: Para uzo dos Alunos da Aula de instrumentos de latão do Conservatório Real de Lisboa, (P-Ln, C.N. 437) was written in 1850 and approved for use in the class of brass instruments in 1851. The method book contains a brief introduction to the history of the trombone, as well as its main technical

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167 See 14 December 1849.

168 The National Library of Portugal also holds a manuscript method for ophicleide written by Pinto. The method book with reference C.N. 438 contains seventy-five exercises for ophicleide over eighteen folios. It was written in 1849, much the same as the trombone methods, and may represent an area for further research.
characteristics such as articulation, breathing and sound production. It also provides a diagrammatic representation of positions for alto, tenor and bass trombones. This method book by Pinto (1850) is fundamental to the understanding of the development of trombone playing technique in Portugal. Another manuscript method for the trombone found in the National Library consisted of six advanced studies for tenor trombone by Victor Cornette and four additional studies on various ornaments by Francisco Pinto (1849) (6 Grandes Estudos: p.a Trombone Tenor / Por V. Cornette 4 Exercicios sobre dvereos Ornamentos / Por F.A.N.S. Pinto). The adoption of Cornett exercises by Santos Pinto (1849) for use in his class of brass, is an indication of a strong French influence and high standard in trombone playing in Portugal.

In order to provide a better understanding of the methodology used in Santos Pinto’s 1850 trombone method, I have translated the Portuguese text and transcribed the musical examples (see Appendix 6 for a complete transcription and translation of the method book). Extracts from Santos Pinto’s (1849) four exercises on ornamentation are provided as musical examples below. Unlike the 1850 method, here Santos Pinto does not provide any explanatory notes to accompany these exercises. The full transcription in modern notation of these exercises is provided in Appendix 7. I have then surveyed and compared these two manuscripts with the following nineteenth century trombone methods: A. Braun (c. 1795 – 7), V. Cornette (1831). A. Dieppo & F. Berr (c. 1835); Dieppo (1837) and Hartman (1845) (see comparison table in Appendix 5).

The four additional exercises on ornamentation by Pinto (1849) may suggest that there was a lack of etudes addressing this technical element in other contemporary methods. Evidence regarding exercises on ornamentation was not found in any of the other six nineteenth century trombone methods analysed. In his 1837 Méthod complete pour le trombone, Dieppo is the only tutor other than Pinto (1849) to present

\[ \text{Appendix 6} \]

169 The six studies are almost identical to those by Cornette, showing only occasional changes of notes on the first study, which might possibly be misprints.

170 I must thank Professor Trevor Herbert for his help tracing a copy of the trombone method by Victor Cornette (Ed. Schott) and Howard Weiner for facilitating access of this copy.
a section of brief musical examples (but not exercises) on decorative embellishments such as: the trill, mordent, grupetto and turn.

The first exercise presented by Santos Pinto (1849) addresses two types of appoggiatura (see musical example 7.1 below), simple and double (Exercício sobre a pequena nota breve, Apoggiatura simples e dobrada). Since there are no explanatory notes accompanying these exercises, it is difficult to establish the value of these notes or whether they should be played on or before the beat. Santos Pinto’s exercise focuses on the use of the short and the double appoggiatura. The short appoggiatura takes only a fraction of the value of the principal note and the accent should be placed on the principal note rather than on the appoggiatura. It also considers the use of the long appoggiatura (bars 21, 22 and 27). Here the appoggiatura note acquires half of the value of the principal note.

Musical example 7.1: Extract from Santos Pinto’s Four Exercises on Various Ornaments (1849) - Exercises on appoggiaturas simple and double (4 Exercícios sobre diversos Ornamentos por F.A.N.S. Pinto/1. Andante, Exercícios sobre a pequena nota breve, Apoggiatura simples e dobrada)

The second exercise focuses on two types of portamento technique (Exercício sobre as duas espécies de Portamento). During the nineteenth century portamento was widely used as a vocal legato technique, also used by string players and trombonists. It is not clear as to what Santos Pinto (1849) means by “two types of portamento”. He may be referring to either ascending (bar 4) or descending portamento (bar 12), or to portamento between immediate notes (bar 2) or larger intervals (bars 5 and 6) (see Ill. 7.2 below). There is no specific indication of where the portamento should be used. The combined use of legato markings with those of crescendo and diminuendo seems to be the indicator of when the portamento would be performed.
Dieppo (1837) states that the trombone player should be able to “carry” notes and advises a tasteful use of portamento. However, he does not provide specific exercises for this ornamentation embellishment, or indeed any explanatory notes. It appears that, similar to other contemporary trombone methods, the portamento technique in Dieppo (1837) would have been perfected using vocal repertoire (arias and duets that in Dieppo’s method were by Rossini). In his 1845 Méthode élémentaire de trombone, Hartmann also seems to base his portamento practice on an operatic contemporary repertoire by using a selection of twenty-four duos and ten arias.

Exercise 3 concentrates on the grupetto with three and four notes (Exercicio sobre o grupetto de tres e quarnotas), which are particularly challenging. There is no specific reference provided in the exercise notes as to whether the grace notes should be played on or before the beat (see III. 7.3). According to Hummel (1829) the grupetto, or turn as he identifies it, is formed of a principal note, followed by three or four other subsidiary notes moving upwards and downwards. These notes should not be played too fast or too slow, “but with vivacity, neatness and energy” (Hummel 1829, p.9). Santos Pinto’s exercise (see III. 7.3) uses the three different ways of playing the grupetto: beginning with the subsidiary note below, then proceeding upwards (bar 1); beginning with the subsidiary note above and then proceeding downwards (bar 3); and the grupetto of four notes which starts with the principal note itself and proceeds with three additional notes (bar 4).
The fourth and final exercise presented by Pinto addresses the challenging technique of playing the mordent (Exercicio sobre o mordente) (see Ill. 7.4). The mordent can be used on both long and short notes. Santos Pinto’s exercise focuses on the use of this ornamentation on long notes (see Ill. 7.4). He provides an explanatory example demonstrating the way in which the first beat of bar 1 should be played, and to be followed for the remainder of the exercise (see Ill. 7.4a).
Musical example 7.4a: Performance note from Santos Pinto’s *Four Exercises on Various Ornaments* (1849) – Exercise on mordent (*4 Exercicios sobre diversos Ornamentos por F.A.N.S. Pinto/ 4. Moderato, Exercicio sobre o mordente*)

Since Santos Pinto was the first to write exercises specifically addressing these technical elements, these exercises present particular importance when it comes to understanding the development of the trombone playing technique during the first half of the nineteenth century in Portugal.

Most of the nineteenth century trombone methods studied are divided into two volumes (or parts), a more elementary first part which includes basic exercises, followed by a second part with more advanced exercises. Cornette (1831) follows this pattern with introductory exercises in part 1 and more advanced exercises, *Six Grandes Études*, in part 2. Similar to the division of trombone methods into two distinct parts, Dieppo (1837) also divides his method in two parts, although he focuses on two groups of players: orchestral musicians and solo players. Santos Pinto’s methods demonstrate a similar approach, with his (1850) *Princípios elementares* considered as part 1, and Santos Pinto (1849) *6 Grandes Estudos/ 4 Exercicios sobre diverços Ornamentos* considered as part 2, with the latter consisting of exercises which address more advanced technical issues.

The introductory notes on Santos Pinto’s (1850), present similarities with Dieppo (1837) and address comprehensive technical elements ranging from breathing and sound production to a detailed positions diagram (see Ill. 7.7). Santos Pinto (1850) provides slide positions for tenor, alto and bass trombones. He also shows that the bass trombone was pitched in G (*sol*) and occasionally in F (*fá*). The position diagram presented by Santos Pinto (1850) shows significant differences with the diagrams presented by other contemporary method books. In Santos Pinto the alto trombone is presented with seve positions, unlike Cornette (1831) where it appears with six positions (see Ill. 7.8). Dieppo’s (1837) diagram only presents slide positions for the
tenor trombone and proposes specific distance between slide positions in millimetres, although he states that intonation would ultimately be dependent on the hearing ability and experience of the performer.\textsuperscript{171}

The Alto trombone is in Eb (Mib) in the first position, the tenor in Bb (Sib) and the bass in G (Sol) and in F (Fá), however the latter is not used as often as it becomes violent (violenteto) and heavy to play (Pinto 1850, fo. 5).

Unlike Cornette (1831), Santos Pinto (1850) includes a more detailed explanation on articulation, showing similar examples to those used in part 2 of Dieppo (1837). He focuses on details of articulation such as the slur (le counté), tenuto (le ponté coulé), the staccato (le ponté) and the staccatissimo (détaché). Santos Pinto (1850) provides musical examples, as well as performing notes. He proposes that “the use of different articulations varies according to a number of factors: nature of the instrument; [their] means of execution; the character of the melody or phrase and its movement’. Pinto (1850) suggests the following examples of articulation:

Legato is the most difficult articulation for the trombone and the one the pupils have to pay most attention to. It can be divided into three different categories.

1\textsuperscript{St} - When legato (ligado) notes are played in the same position. There is no inconvenience to be noted (i.e. no need for particular explanation). [The same in the other positions.]

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{example.png}
\caption{Musical example 7.5: First type of legato from Santos Pinto’s Elementary method for trombone (1850)}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{171} “It is impossible to establish the exact distance between slide positions but one can say that the approximate distance between the 1\textsuperscript{st} and the 2\textsuperscript{nd} position is approximately 70 millimeters; the distance between the 1\textsuperscript{st} and the 3\textsuperscript{rd} position is approximately 170 millimeters; the 4\textsuperscript{th} is 230 millimeters; the 5\textsuperscript{th} is 360 millimeters; the 6\textsuperscript{th} is 465 mill and 7th is 545 millimeters” (Dieppo 1837).
2nd – When there is an interval bigger than a semitone one note can be tied to
the other in the immediate slide position above or below. Bar 1 of musical
example 7.2 shows that note A (which is played on the second position) can be
tied to note E on the fist position whilst note F (which is played on first
position) can be tied to note C# on the second bar (which is played on second
position).

Musical example 7.6: Second type of legato from Santos Pinto’s Elementary method for
trombone (1850)

3rd – When none of the previous examples apply, one should ensure that the
movement of the slide is of the opposite direction to the movement of the
melody in order to avoid glissando (*arrastado*).

Dieppo (1837) also devotes attention to the slide movement (*De mouvement de
coulisses*) and provides a table of alternative slide positions, suggesting that players
should use them to avoid glissando. However, Santos Pinto’s explanation of the use of
alternative slide positions is more detailed than Dieppo’s, providing a particular
example for each alternative position he suggests (see Ill. 7.7).

Musical example 7.7: Third type of legato from Santos Pinto’s Elementary method for
trombone (1850)

Santos Pinto states that, “the last bar [of the above example] is one exception to this
rule, as for this note there is only one position”. This is also the case when playing
C#-D (*Dó#-Re*) in the low register. It becomes uncomfortable and difficult to use
alternative positions when positions are too far apart, as is the case with the first two
notes in bar 5 (see Ill. 7.7). The solution presented by Santos Pinto to solve this issue
is to add a “little inflection of the tongue using the monosyllabic *da* in the second
note” and to “move the slide from one position to another as fast as possible”. This process is referred to as “soft-tonguing” and it is primarily used to avoid portamento and/ or glissando, as well as to achieve smooth phrasing (Herbert 2006, pp.33–4). Dieppo (1837) also offers an explanatory note on legato playing. Although his explanation is similar to that of Santos Pinto, there seems to be no reference to soft tonguing or indeed the use of monosyllabic da. Other contemporary authors seem to use the monosyllabic du, although this is used as a device to achieve piano playing rather than to play soft legato.

The following are three examples of different types of articulation:

**Staccato** - One should articulate *(ferir)*\textsuperscript{172} the note, sustaining only three quarters (\(\frac{3}{4}\)) of its value.

![Musical example 7.8: Staccato written notation from Santos Pinto’s Elementary method for trombone (1850)]

![Musical example 7.9: Staccato performing explanation with suggested note values from Santos Pinto’s Elementary method for trombone (1850)]

**Staccatissimo** - One should only play half (\(\frac{1}{2}\)) of the value of the note.

![Musical example 7.10: Staccatissimo written notation from Santo Pinto’s Elementary method for trombone (1850)]

\textsuperscript{172}*Ferir*; the same as to inflict an action, here use a certain articulation.
Musical example 7.11: Staccatissimo performing explanation with suggested note values from Santos Pinto’s Elementary method for trombone (1850)

Tenuto - One should articulate (*ferir*) all notes softer (*doçura*), keeping the entire value of the note linking (*unindo*) the notes to one another.

Musical example 7.12: Tenuto example from Santos Pinto’s Elementary method for trombone (1850)

Santos Pinto (1850) devotes special attention to the mouthpiece positioning, embouchure, as well as breathing and sound formation, presenting a detailed explanation of their fundamentals. The evaluation of the shape of the mouthpiece and its placement on the lips proposed by Santos Pinto, takes into consideration the physical aspects of the student. Matching the mouthpiece to the physical characteristics of the student’s lips is an element which is not previously considered by his French contemporaries. He also proposes the use of different types of mouthpieces according to the nature of the performance and repertoire. This is an element also suggested by Cornette (1831).

The mouthpiece differs in diameter according to the category of the trombone; the alto being narrower than the tenor, and the latter narrower than the bass. However, the mouthpiece should be shaped according to the needs of the students and the thickness of their lips i.e. thinner for smaller lips and thicker for bigger lips. It is convenient that the rim of the mouthpiece is wide and has a round shape so the lips can have a firm base. The throat contour should not be either too wide or too narrow, as if it is too wide it deteriorates the high notes and if it is too narrow it deteriorates the low notes. The cup of the mouthpiece should be slightly conical and made of ivory (*marfim*) as this makes the sound much softer. For military bands however, the mouthpiece should be made of brass as it is much more resonant (*vibrante*) (Pinto 1850, 1V).
Unlike Cornette (1831), Santos Pinto provides a precise explanation of the embouchure positioning, instructing; “position the lips against the teeth, then place the mouthpiece in the centre of the mouth, two thirds on the upper lip and one third on the lower lip using the upper lip for more support than the lower one”. Dieppo (1837) on the other hand, suggests that the mouthpiece should be placed half on the upper lip and half on the lower lip.

Santos Pinto’s (1850) explanation of sound production incorporates aspects of breathing, embouchure and articulation. His explanation, although more detailed, is very similar to that of Dieppo (1837). Explanations of sound production provided in the other French contemporary trombone methods studied are very brief.

Breathing is the action taken by the lungs in order to absorb and repel the air [the movement of the lungs in order to inhale and exhale]. This action is divided into two altered movements: inhale (aspiração) and exhale (expiração). In order to produce a sound, the first movement of the lungs must be quick and the second one slow. One should especially practice this and give it the right amount of attention, as it is extremely important, with the success of the phrase depending on it. In the first action – Aspiração, the lips open, the tongue moves backwards and the air enters the lungs in smaller or bigger volumes [in different capacities]. The lips then close again and the tongue moves forwards to close the gap between the lips, in order to retain the air inside. The second action – Expiração, happens with a quick movement of the tongue backwards allowing the body to let the air out. The air expelled by exhaling when in contact (fere)\(^{173}\) with the air inside the instrument is responsible for the production of the sound (som). The articulation of the note will differ according to the proximity between lips and tongue, with shorter notes produced when the tongue is closer to the lips (Pinto 1850, 1V).

\(^{173}\)Fere, from the verb ferir, the same as articulate. In this context the author perhaps suggests the contact between the air expelled and the air inside the instrument.
One of the most prominent trombonists of the first half of the nineteenth century, José Nicolau de Oliveira was principal trombonist with both the Royal Chamber Orchestra of Lisbon, as well as the Orchestra of the São Carlos Opera in Lisbon. Nicolau de Oliveira’s appeared as a soloist on various occasions to great acclaim. On one such occasion his soloist abilities were commended following his first solo appearance at São Carlos Theatre (Vieira 1900b, pp.139–40):

Nicolau de Oliveira played an aria from the Opera Fausta by Gaetano Donizetti, with extraordinary perfection and was applauded with the same enthusiasm the public applauded Maggiorotti [bass]. (Entre-Acto Journal nº3, 1837)

The aria played by Nicolau de Oliveira was likely Constantino’s aria from Act 2, which was sung by the renowned Italian bass Luigi Magiorotti São Carlos Theatre in
Lisbon, only the previous year on 27 December.\textsuperscript{174} According to Benevides (1883), Nicolau de Oliveira reappears in another solo concert at the São Carlos Theatre on 19 May 1837, although no details of the repertoire are specified (Benevides 1883, p.173).

As mentioned above, during the nineteenth century, professional and amateur trombone players frequently played operatic repertoire (arias and duets) in the absence of specific compositions for trombone. This repertoire was also used to practice specific musical embellishments. The trombone, as well as other instruments, was played by amateur players, mostly comprised of members of the Portuguese bourgeoisie. In 1842, during a concert at the House of Count of Farrobo, an arrangement for trumpet and alto trombone (cornetim e trombone contralto) of the duet from the opera Belisario, was played by Fortunato Lodi (cornetim) and Francisco Damásio (trombone contralto) (Vieira 1900b, p.403).

A list of manuscripts for trombone solo and chamber music by Santos Pinto from the first half of the nineteenth century has been included in the Calendar. Amongst these is Santos Pinto’s Fantezia para trombone tenor em lá b Maior (c. 1846), the earliest surviving Portuguese original trombone solo, as well as a solo for trombone and wind ensemble, based on a theme by Bellini (c.1840-50). Santos Pinto’s Fantezia for trombone was performed as part of a charity concert in aid of C. Sargedas at Theatre of Condes Street in Lisbon on 30 March 1846.\textsuperscript{175}

\textsuperscript{174} See 1837.

\textsuperscript{175} From Journal Revolução de Setembro with the same date.
Chapter 8. Conclusion

In Portugal, there is no evidence of repertoire that specifically calls for the use of the trombone until the late eighteenth century, or any surviving instruments from before the first half of the nineteenth century. Moreover, references to the trombone and its players in official records are scarce for most of the period covered by this thesis. This is mainly due to the fact that players of the shawm band were generally referred to as shawm players (charameleiros or charamela) irrespective of the instrument played. In order to provide an accurate understanding of the trombone, it was thus necessary to trace the history and development of the shawm band, its players, organization, and the context in which it was used. References to shawm bands in royal, aristocratic, municipal and ecclesiastical records, in contemporary chronicles and in iconographic depictions bear witness to the existence of the trombone and the way it was played and understood in Portugal.

The earliest shawm players

The earliest references to a shawm player in Portuguese royal service, Martim Gonçalves (xoromela), emerge from the accounts of the entourage accompanying King Afonso III and his officials on their journey to Faro on November 1289 (Freire & Pessânha 1906, pp.380–1).\(^{176}\) No further shawm players have been identified prior to the fifteenth century. The list of musicians at the service of the sons of King João I suggest that the Portuguese royal shawm band was established by 1437 and the names of players emerge from royal records from 1440 onwards. Specific references to a brass instrument of the royal shawm band begin to appear from the second half of the fifteenth century.

\(^{176}\) The name of this player also appears in its Latin form as Martinus Gonsalui.
The single slide trumpet

The scholarly consensus is that a brass instrument with a single slide entered the wind band early in the fifteenth century. In Portugal, references from archival records show this instrument was an integral part of the Royal shawm band between 1453/4 and 1465 and was called trombeta das charamelas. Royal records suggest that members of the Flemish De Reste family, in royal service during the second half of the fifteenth century, may have been responsible for the introduction of this instrument in Portugal. Flemish wind instrumentalists were highly prized in Europe, holding positions in countries such as England, Burgundy, Italy, France and Spain, as well as Portugal.

Other terminologies may have been used in Portugal to refer to slide brass instruments (with a single or double slide) during the first half of the sixteenth century, the most prominent being the trumpet bastarda. It is difficult to establish conclusively whether the term bastarda was used during this period to refer to a slide brass instrument and there are no surviving descriptions of this instrument. During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, however, the term referred to a trumpet-like instrument of simple manufacture and therefore without a slide system. There is reason to believe, therefore, that the meaning and understanding of the term bastarda may have changed between the earliest references in the early sixteenth century and the later references during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This also occurs in neighbouring Spain where the trumpet bastarda was also known as the Spanish trumpet.

Earliest references to the trombone

The trombone was in use in Europe by around the mid fifteenth century and possibly even earlier, with references to the term trombone – which may have referred to the double slide instrument – emerging from the Italian cities of Ferrara, Sienna and Florence from 1438 (Carter 2012, pp.2, 10–1). It is not possible to ascertain whether this was also the case in Portugal based solely on official royal court records. However, the Chronicles by Garcia Resende, royal chronicler and acclaimed musician
himself, allude to the use of a trombone (sacabuxa) as part of the royal shawm band from 1455. More conclusive evidence of the presence of the trombone appears from 1515 in an order for two trombones from a German merchant in Flanders and the contract of two Flemish trombone players at the royal court. It is possible that the earliest trombones in use in Portugal were of German origin, perhaps from Nuremberg, which was the main centre of European brass instrument making, and that the players, like the De Reste family, were of Flemish origin.\footnote{See Barclay (1996) for a detailed discussion of brass instrument making in Nuremberg.} A Portuguese depiction of the ascending Virgin surrounded by angel musicians, which includes a representation of a shawm band with a trombone, helps to date the introduction of the instrument in Portugal to c.1515.

\textit{Constitution of the shawm band}

The majority of the official records, accounts from the chronicles and iconographical sources suggest that the shawm band was primarily formed by two, three or four double reed instruments of different sizes and a brass instrument with a single or double slide. However, players were multi-instrumentalists and therefore the formation of the band would have been flexible according to the performance context. Sporadic references to cornett players appear in the Calendar between the early sixteenth and the second half of the seventeenth century.\footnote{See 1595; 12 August 1616; 3 January 1654.} An account from the chronicles of King Manuel I, by royal chronicler Damião Góis, suggests the cornett may have also been an instrument played in the royal shawm band.\footnote{See 1521.} References to wind players doubling on cornett also emerge from records of the shawm band of Duke Teodósio II in Vila Viçosa.\footnote{See 12 August 1616.} The cornett, however, appears to have been used more frequently in the Royal Chapel, to double or accompany vocal lines.\footnote{See 2 January 1592; 1 July 1613; 1 July 1643; 20 January 1659.} Other example of ensembles with cornetts emerges from Montemayor’s novel \textit{Diana} (1602), which refers to a performance of an ensemble of three cornetts and a
trombone, suggesting a different formation from that of the standard shawm band. There are also various literary accounts and iconographical sources with details of celebrations where shawm bands may have played alongside other instruments such as organs, flutes and viols, as well as with singers.

**Repertoire**

Although there is no surviving Portuguese repertoire that specifically calls for the trombone until the late eighteenth century, several accounts from sixteenth-century chronicles and other literature shed light on the repertoire played by the shawm band and the performance practices of its players. It is difficult, however, to establish whether some of these accounts can unquestionably describe a certain performance or ensemble due to the challenges of terminology, grammar and punctuation, and issues which allow for alternative interpretations of both content and context of the original text. Taking these issues into account, three of the references included in the Calendar deserve special consideration, the most significant of which are Resende’s accounts of a shawm band consisting of (an unspecified number of) shawms and a trombone playing during the ceremonies of reburial and exhumation of King João II in 1499. The only unequivocal conclusion to emerge from the original text is that the shawm band performed both during the outside procession and during the religious ceremony inside the monastery. One interpretation of the text is that the shawms played alongside the organ. The text may even suggest that the shawms and trombones accompanied the singers in the chant of Zacharias, Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel. Another important indication of the repertoire of the shawm band can be found in Velazquez’s account of the entry of King Filipe I to Lisbon on 12 June 1581. Velazquez describes a band of slaved Turks playing from small scores that included, amongst other musical items, villancicos and motets. This suggests that these musicians were literate and also implies that native Portuguese or indeed Spanish wind players in royal service, as well as their African and Indian counterparts, would

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182 See Herbert (2006, pp.97-8) for a discussion of repertoire for similar ensemble of cornets and trombones.

183 See 27 October 1499; 25 December 1541; 10 February 1560/61.
have had a portfolio of compositions which they learned and performed by rote. Accounts of the musical training of African and Indian slave players in the Calendar provide more comprehensive information of repertoire and performance practice of the shawm band in Portugal and the colonies. A letter from Novais, the Portuguese Governor in Luanda, dated 23 August 1578, states that the African natives can sing well Morales’ short Mass and the motet of St André and [Francisco] Guerreiro’s *Pange lingua*. This suggests that the members of the shawm band of African natives were literate and played contemporary religious music.

*Learning and hierarchy*

The shawm band was a hierarchic institution organised and led by the master of the shawm band (*mestre da charamela* or *charamela-mor*). During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, holders of this office were also known as *rey dos menestreis* and *rey das charamelas* and fulfilled identical roles. The office of master was normally held by the brass player in the band, firstly the *trombeta das charamelas* and later the player of the trombone. The master reportedly played all the instruments of the shawm band as well as string instruments such as the *viol*.\(^\text{184}\) He was responsible for teaching new apprentices and supervising all players of the band in their routine duties, for which he received higher payment and other exclusive privileges. The musical training of new members of the shawm band is not well documented, but it is feasible that the masters would have had access to contemporary didactical material for wind instruments that began to circulate throughout Europe during the sixteenth century. Evidence of the existence of late sixteenth-century Portuguese didactical literature for wind instruments, now lost, is contained in the eighteenth-century catalogue of Portuguese literary sources compiled by Barbosa de Machado between 1741-1758. A manual for treble shawm (*Arte muzica para tanger o instrumento da charamelinha*) by André de Escobar, master of the shawm band of Coimbra University, listed in the catalogue, may have been used by players of the shawm bands of the University and at Évora Cathedral, where Escobar held an equivalent post.

\(^{184}\) See 18 December 1578; 1582; 25 November 1592; 23 December 1615; 3 November 1646.
The zenith of the trombone

With the marriage of King João II to Catherine of Spain, which led to a strengthening of the political and cultural relations with Spain, the number of Spanish players in the Portuguese royal shawm band increased and there was a decline in the number of Flemish musicians in Royal service. The total number of players and apprentices increased substantially and the first reference to Portuguese-made trombones emerges from royal court records in 1539 in an order for four trombones from the Portuguese coppersmith or latoeiro Manuel Velho, which were subsequently given to Diogo Valera, master of the Royal shawm band. Although there is no specific record of four trombone players engaged in Royal service simultaneously on or around this date, the number of instruments acquired may be indicative of the number of players active in royal service.

Iconography as evidence

In spite of issues of interpretation (discussed in Chapter 3) and given the absence of surviving instruments and written repertoire, iconography provides some important clues as to the contexts and manner in which the trombone was played. It furnishes evidence of band formation, aspects of trombone technique and even repertoire.\(^{185}\) The sources studied in Chapter 3 depict a variety of scenes, of which the most prominent is the Assumption of the Virgin. There is also a depiction of a royal wedding ceremony and a military parade. These sources provide evidence of band formation, physical features of the trombone, and aspects of slide technique deriving from the manner of holding the instrument that have not previously been explored and may have implications elsewhere in Europe. The most significant aspect of trombone set-up, with implication for slide technique, which emerges from the Portuguese sources –the positioning of the trombone to the right of the player’s head -, can also be found in a significant percentage of contemporary European depictions. This fashion of holding the trombone is depicted in at least half of the depictions presented in the most recently published survey of iconographic representations of trombones.

\(^{185}\) Authors such as Gaio (1989) suggest potential repertoire being performed based on different scenes depicted.
during the Renaissance (Carter 2012). It is feasible that aspects of technique depicted may be representative of its contemporary design and performance and therefore the manner in which the instrument was held and indeed played, may perhaps suggest a transition technical period when the way of holding the single slide trumpet was used to play the trombone.

The trombone outwith royal service

One of the most important Portuguese musical centres outside the royal court was established at the Palace and Chapel of Vila Viçosa, house of the Dukes of Bragança, between 1532 and 1640. Records from the Palace refer to wind instrumentalists in service during the tenure of Duke Dom Jaime, founder of the Palace, and later, of his son Duke Dom Teodósio I. These players formed the earliest identified shawm band exclusively comprising African slaves and are likely the players represented in the oil painting depicting the *Encounter of Santa Auta* c.1535 (See Chapter 3). References to Jacomo Feio, one of the members of this band, appear in the sixteenth-century collection of Portuguese sayings worthy of memory compiled by a contemporary anonymous writer, and provide an insight into the life of slave musicians in Portugal. Other bands of native Africans, Indians and Turks emerge during the sixteenth century in the service of the aristocracy, both in Portugal and in Spain. 

More detailed information on the musical activities at Vila Viçosa is contained in the records of the Palace during the tenure of Duke Dom Teodósio II, grandson of Duke Dom Jaime. The records provide a more comprehensive list of players, including names and instrument played, and refer to at least three trombone players in service between 1583 and 1640. Some of these players reportedly held identical positions in other cathedrals in Portugal and Spain.

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186 The list of seven slave players increased to ten during the tenure of Duke Dom Teodósio I, son of Dom Jaime.

187 See 23 October 1543; 1571; 1576; 27 June 1581.
The ecclesiastical institutions provided one of the most important sources of employment for wind players. Records from the major Portuguese Cathedrals reveal that musicians were in full-time employment. These records – as with other literary and iconographical sources – include details of wind players and singers participating in the same events. In spite of the lack of references to repertoire that specifically call for wind instruments, the archival and literary evidence raises the possibility that these bands may have played during religious ceremonies and alongside singers and organs. Repertoire may have included pieces written by the different Chapel masters of the cathedrals or by composers whose music was in circulation.

Shawm bands were an important feature of civic life and references to players emerge from the records of many of the larger Portuguese urban centres. These documents generally identify players of the shawm band (*charameleiros*), but provide few details of its instrumentation and do not specify trombone players. Payment records and references to the range of engagements provide evidence of the duties and social status of these musicians, who in most cases were also engaged in other professional activities. Municipal shawm bands typically played in all festivities organised by the senate, from *Corpus Christi* processions and festivities to openings of public buildings. The learning and recruitment traditions of these bands were similar to those for the royal shawm band. The positions were mostly inherited and players were often family members. Only occasionally were players recruited from outside those families in service.

*Demise of the trombone*

The trombone was a prominent instrument in and outwith royal service during the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries. Its demise in Portugal during the second half of the seventeenth century and absence for most of the eighteenth century concurs with its pattern of use elsewhere in Europe, with the exception of certain German-speaking regions. As was the case in other European countries, the increasing popularity of the bassoon may be considered partly responsible for the demise of the trombone. Another contributory factor was the increasing popularity of string instruments. In Portugal, the early signs of change can be dated to 1640, with
the last trombone players of the seventeenth century recorded around 1668. As was the case in England and France, there is no evidence of trombone parts in the Portuguese repertoire until the late eighteenth century. Austria was an exception to this rule and the repertoire for the trombone, firstly orchestral and subsequently solo, became increasingly more sophisticated and demanding.\footnote{See Herbert (2006, pp. 109-16) for a more detailed discussion of the decline of the trombone in Europe. See also Guion (1998, pp. 136-7).} It is difficult to establish whether the use of the trombone was completely abandoned in Portugal during the first half of the eighteenth century or if the instrument survived in some municipal bands.\footnote{See 1746, 1748, 1758. The reference alludes to a wind band formed of shawms and an uncertain wind instrument called \textit{vaca}. Lessa (1994) suggests this instrument was indeed a trombone; however there is no evidence to ascertain whether this instrument was in fact a trombone.} Evidence of the re-emergence of the trombone in Portugal only emerges during the later years of the eighteenth century. The earliest repertoire containing a part for one trombone are the two masses by António Galassi (1781), chapel master of the Braga cathedral, and José Totti (1783), from the Lisbon Seminary Patriarchal. However, there is no evidence of active trombone players at those institutions, and the registry books of the confraternity of St Cecilia, a benevolent fraternity of musicians, do not preserve any record of trombone players active in Lisbon during the eighteenth century.\footnote{The majority of the books were destroyed during the Lisbon earthquake of 1755. Records for the remaining of the eighteenth century do not include any reference to trombone players.} Nevertheless, because wind musicians, who were generally registered as players of clarinet or bassoon, were multi-instrumentalists, it is feasible that some of these players active in Portugal in the late eighteenth century would have doubled on trombone.
The re-emergence of the trombone

Originally, this thesis intended to cover the period between the second half of the fifteenth, to the first half of the eighteenth centuries, when references to the trombone all but disappear. However, the discovery of nineteenth-century manuscripts with repertoire for the trombone in the National Library of Portugal prompted an extension of the period covered. During the first half of the nineteenth century the trombone experienced a resurgence and by the middle of the century had attained a prominent position as a military band and orchestral instrument. The manuscript music scores for the Charamele – wind band – (c.1814 - 1817) and the collection of music for brass ensemble by Tiago Calvet (1823) bear witness to the role of the trombone in these contexts. Eventually, the trombone attained its position as a solo instrument and there is notice of the first two pieces for trombone solo with wind band accompaniment by Francisco Pinto.

The earliest trombone players named in records of nineteenth-century military bands in Portugal were of Germanic origin. Leopold Schmitz, the first player named in the sources, played in the wind band that accompanied Archduchess Leopoldina of Hapsburg to Brazil in 1817, and on its return to Portugal became a member of the Royal Chamber Orchestra of Lisbon.

Learning tradition during the nineteenth century

The earliest reference to a trombone student outside the military band tradition appears in the records of the Seminary Patriarchal of Lisbon. Nicolau De Oliveira was the first recorded trombone student in the class of orchestral instruments installed in this institution in 1824. A student of Francisco Huckenbuck, Nicolau later became trombone player at the Royal Chamber Orchestra of Lisbon and then at the Orchestra of the São Carlos opera. De Oliveira was also the first trombone soloist there is

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191 See 1815; 1816; 6 November 1817.
192 See 24 November 1817; 1831.
193 See 26 July 1839.
notice of and his abilities were highly praised by the contemporary press.\textsuperscript{194} During the first half of the nineteenth century Portuguese orchestras and military wind bands employed at least one full time trombone player and there are also various references to amateur players, mainly members of the Portuguese bourgeoisie.\textsuperscript{195}

\textit{The Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon}

With the creation of the Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon in 1835, Francisco Kuchenbuck was appointed professor of brass instruments – a position identical to the one he held at the Seminary. However, the earliest records of trombone students at the Conservatoire refer to the academic year of 1838/39.\textsuperscript{196} Although the statutes of the conservatoire state that professors were responsible for the submission of their own method books, there is no evidence of the didactical material used in Kuchenbuck’s classes. The most significant advance in trombone playing in Portugal followed the appointment of Francisco António Norberto dos Santos Pinto, who superseded Kuchenbuck as professor of the class of brass instruments of the Conservatoire. Santos Pinto was one of the most celebrated Portuguese brass players of the nineteenth century, occupying distinguished positions as trumpeter of the Royal Chamber Orchestra of Lisbon and at the Orchestra of the São Carlos Opera in Lisbon; he was also one of the most distinguished composers and conductors of his time. Although his audition for the position took place in 1845, Pinto was not officially appointed until 1849, by royal decree of Queen Maria II.\textsuperscript{197} The same year, Santos Pinto submitted his manuscript method to be used by the students of the Conservatoire. This method book was followed by another manuscript in 1850, which was approved for use the following January. As discussed in Chapter 7, these two manuscripts, now held at in the National Library of Portugal, incorporate elements that were not considered in other contemporary trombone methods, of which the most significant are the four exercises on different ornamentations included in the 1849

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{194} See 23 March 1837.
\item \textsuperscript{195} See 1840; 11 March 1842.
\item \textsuperscript{196} See 18 May 1835; 29 May 1840.
\item \textsuperscript{197} See 23 July 1845; 14 December 1849.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
manuscript, and are therefore significant to the development of trombone playing beyond Portugal.

**Surviving instruments**

As mentioned above, there are various references to instruments acquired by the royal court during the sixteenth century. Unfortunately, none of these instruments survive and the earliest evidence of trombones made in Portugal relates to the nineteenth-century trombones by Lisbon maker Raphael Rebello, now part of the collection of musical instruments of the Portuguese Museum of Music in Lisbon.

**Solo repertoire for trombone**

Included in the Calendar is a collection of pieces for brass ensemble by Tiago Calvet and Francisco Pinto, as well as the earliest surviving Portuguese solo pieces for trombone by Santos Pinto. Transcriptions of Pinto’s *Fantazia* for solo trombone and his solo piece for trombone on a theme by Bellini have recently been published, although his chamber works for brass have not yet been transcribed. The study, transcription, publication and recording of these and other repertoire for trombone and chamber ensemble by Santos Pinto, as well as other nineteenth century composers, represents an area of further research.

**Other areas of further research: Jewish players**

Also included in the calendar are references to various Inquisition court cases, of which the majority refer to accusations of religious related misconduct by New Christians or Jewish wind players. Some Jews were able to flee the country to avoid prosecution by the Portuguese Inquisition and it is likely that some of these musicians sought refugee and found employment in other countries. The most convincing references arise from Prior’s (1983) article entitled *Jewish Musicians at the Tudor Court* and Ashbee & Lasocky (1998) under the entry for John de Antónia [John Antonio de Castello or Antonio Moyses]. These authors suggest that Antónia was a
Portuguese Jew who entered England via Northern Italy. Prior’s article also proposes a number of other Portuguese Jewish musicians in the service of the English royal court. A more detailed study of the origin and activity of Jewish wind players in Portugal, as well as their whereabouts after fleeing Portugal, was beyond the scope of this thesis and represents an area in need of further research, which has implications for the development of wind playing elsewhere in Europe.