

## I

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*Opera during the reign of  
 João V (1708–50)*

*The general background: Spanish theatrical music at court*

On 27 October 1708 Marie Anne of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Leopold I, arrived in Lisbon to marry King João V.<sup>1</sup> She was twenty-five and the King only nineteen, having been on the throne for less than two years. The influence of the new Queen seems to have immediately brought new customs into court life. A contemporary diarist, in an entry for 30 November, tells us that

there are parties [*saraos*] at court on Sunday evenings, with music by the ladies. The King and Queen attend them, together with all the nobility, who after the Queen's arrival continue to attend at court willingly and with enjoyment, as is the custom in the foreign courts, and in the same way the Queen observes the custom of always having her meals with the King, and accordingly at a state table, the which had not been done since the death of King João IV [in 1656].<sup>2</sup>

In a manuscript collection of notices on Portuguese composers written c. 1737<sup>3</sup> we are informed that in that same year a certain Frei Pedro da Conceição composed music consisting of solos, duets and four-part choruses for the comedy *Eligir al inimigo*, which was performed at court before the Queen by the singers of the Royal Chapel. According to Mazza<sup>4</sup> this was done to celebrate the Queen's arrival. The fact should be noted that the composer was a friar, and not a layman, and also that he was Portuguese. It is not known in fact whether the new Queen had brought any musicians with her from Vienna, but if she did it is very unlikely that there were any composers among them. In any case this new interest in court music apparently prompted the King to take into his service the sons of a certain Caim for their ability to sing and play, which seems to have aroused the envy of other young nobles.<sup>5</sup>

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In his ironical description of a tragicomedy staged by the Jesuits at their College of Santo Antão in 1709, our diarist reports that on the first day only the King, the Queen and their children attended, on the second the three estates, clergy, nobility and the people, and on the third ladies and non-ladies ('Senhoras e não-Senhoras'). He adds that the production, 'for all that is known, and can be done among us', was like any ordinary opera of France or Italy.<sup>6</sup>

The term opera is defined thus in the first large Portuguese dictionary, published at the beginning of the eighteenth century:<sup>7</sup>

From the Italians and the French this word was communicated to the other nations of Europe, and nowadays it is used at this Court, when one talks about the celebrated Comedies, invented by the Venetians, which are recited in music, and performed with delicious symphonies, remarkable machines, and admirable sets [*apparencias*]. In the month of March of the year 1672 the first opera, entitled *Pomona*, was performed in Paris.

Still in 1709<sup>8</sup> the terms *aria* and *recitativo* appear for the first time in the libretto of the *villancicos* for the feast of St Vincent at Lisbon cathedral. Bluteau only registers *aria*, which he derives from the French *air*, and *ariêta*, which he takes to be an Italian word, meaning the same as *tonilho*, *cantiginha* (*sic*; short song), in the two-volume supplement to his dictionary, published in 1727–8. In the seventh volume he defines *recitativo*, *canto recitativo*, as a kind of singing invented by the Italians, midway between the natural voice, or ordinary pronunciation, and counterpoint, used in the theatrical works called operas.

Italian operatic influence is roughly contemporary in the Portuguese and the Spanish *villancicos*, and in the Portuguese case it was very probably mediated through Spain. The fortunes of the religious villancico in Lisbon would in any case soon come to an end: Christmas *villancicos* were sung for the last time in the Royal Chapel in 1715, in which year the rites of the Papal Chapel were introduced, and in Lisbon parish churches in 1723.<sup>9</sup>

Spanish musical influence is still present, however, in the various comedies with music or in the *zarzuelas* which were performed in Lisbon until at least 1739. The publication in November of that year of a *Discurso apologetico em defesa do Theatro Hespanhol*, written by the Marquis of Valença, seems to sound the death knell for Spanish theatre in Portugal.<sup>10</sup>

Nevertheless, there is no reason to assume that the slow penetration of Italian opera into the country at the beginning of the eighteenth century was due to the existence of a very strong local theatrical tradition, either of Spanish or of national origin. In 1710 there was apparently only one theatre in Lisbon, the Pátio das Arcas or das Comédias, which had burnt down in 1697 or 1698 and had been rebuilt with capacity for some 500 spectators.<sup>11</sup> A Portuguese company performed there, directed by a certain Ferrer. Another Portuguese company directed by José Ferreira worked there in

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1715–16. Various Spanish companies also appeared in the same theatre on and off until 1727.<sup>12</sup> Their repertoire seems to have consisted mainly of Spanish comedies. Cotarelo y Mori<sup>13</sup> mentions the names of a few Spanish actress-singers active in Lisbon, such as the famous Petronilla Gibaja, *La Portuguesa*, who left in 1721, Juana and Rita de Orozco, who stayed a full twelve years until 1736, Juana de Inestrosa, who went there in that same year, and Rosa Rodríguez, *La Gallega*. Of the two Orozco sisters he says that Juana was a better actress than singer. Rita had a better voice, such a fine, high soprano that she might have been mistaken for the playing of a violin, something she sometimes imitated to perfection.

In view of the almost total darkness still surrounding the history of the Spanish (and the Portuguese) theatre in Lisbon in this period, two facts that Cotarelo y Mori establishes with reference to Madrid should be noted here. One concerns the existence of companies with all-women casts. The other is the influence exerted by Italian opera on those companies.<sup>14</sup>

The introduction of Italian opera in Madrid is connected with the arrival in 1703 of a company known as *de los Trufaldines*, which was protected by the new King Philip V, a grandson of Louis XIV, and which was active until 1714.<sup>15</sup> As their name indicates, their repertory was essentially in the *comedia dell'arte* tradition, but they also produced several operas. At the same time the seventeenth-century tradition of the courtly *zarzuela* and of the popular comedy with music was still very much alive. The Spanish companies tried to compete with the Italians, and in doing so their comedies and *zarzuelas* became more operatic, both in the amount and in the style of their music, to which a number of Italian composers, such as Antonio Duni or Francesco Coradini, began also to contribute.

Both the *zarzuela* and the comedy usually alternate spoken dialogue with music in varying proportions, and it is very difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish what is a comedy, or what a *zarzuela*, from contemporary references alone, when, as is often the case in Portugal, neither the text nor the music is extant. For Spain, Cotarelo y Mori notes the following names: *comedia*, *comedia de música*, *comedia de teatro y música*, *zarzuela*, *fiesta*, *melodrama harmónico al estilo de Italia*, *melodrama harmónico*, *drama para representarse en música*, *drama para música*, *melodrama escénico*, *drama harmónico*. *Drama para música* and *melodrama* are obviously of Italian origin.

In Portugal the first such work recorded during the reign of João V is a *Fabula de Acis y Galatea fiesta armonica com Violines, Flautas, e Ubues, a la celebridad de los felizes anos del Augustissimo Señor D. Juan V [. . .], que en su aplauso le dedica la Reyna nuestra Señora D. Marianna da Austria*, which was performed at court on 22 October 1711.<sup>16</sup> The printed libretto does not mention the names of either the composer or the librettist.<sup>17</sup> There are only three roles, Galatea, Acis and Polifemo, and it is sung throughout, including 'a quatro', 'arias', 'recitados', 'coplas', 'a duo', etc. The singers

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were probably members of the Royal Chapel, as would have been the instrumental band of violins, basses, oboes and flutes.

The first known list of court players in the eighteenth century, published by Walther,<sup>18</sup> refers to 1728, and there is almost no evidence of orchestral music, or even of music with obbligato instrumental parts connected with the Royal Chapel at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth. An exception to this are two Christmas *villancicos* with parts for *rabeca* and for *violines* by António Marques Lésbio, master of the Royal Chapel from 1698 until his death in 1709.<sup>19</sup> Oboes in any case would have been a novelty.<sup>20</sup> It is not known whether the players were the French Latur and the Bohemian Veith mentioned by Walther, but they were almost certainly foreigners.

In 1712 and 1713 two other *zarzuelas* were performed at court, the first on 24 June, nameday of João V, and the second on his birthday on 22 October. They were the *Fabula de Alfeo y Aretusa fiesta armonica con toda la variedad de instrumentos musicos con que la Reyna Nuestra Señora D. Marianna de Austria celebrou el Real Nombre Del Rey Nuestro Señor . . .* and *La Comedia – El poder de la Armonia fiesta de zarzuela. . .* The librettos of both were written by Luis Calisto da Costa e Faria.<sup>21</sup> The composer of the second was Don Jayme de la Te y Sagau.<sup>22</sup> According to a manuscript note on Costa e Faria written before 1745, the second *zarzuela* was performed by one of the Princesses and seven court ladies.<sup>23</sup>

Thus during her first years in Portugal the daughter of the Emperor-composer Leopold I of Austria put on Spanish *zarzuelas* to pay homage to her husband and King. She was certainly familiar with the repertoire, which was also performed at the court of Vienna.<sup>24</sup> However, as the historian Oliveira Marques puts it,<sup>25</sup>

the profound cultural revolution which was under way in Portugal [in the eighteenth century] meant also the replacement of Spanish influence by French, English, Italian and German influences . . . Until the end of the seventeenth century Spain was considered among the leading nations in Europe . . . ; after that her role was in constant decline, and Spain itself needed to search for stimulus and standards of development outside her own borders. It is not surprising that Portugal . . . should have looked elsewhere and should tend to despise whatever came from her neighbour . . . From the eighteenth century onwards Portugal realised that her place among the civilised nations and her individuality as a European nation depended on her reacting against Spain. Portugal started to hate and despise Spain as an obstacle between her and the rest of Europe, something which stood in the way and prevented her from communicating easily with France and the remaining [European] countries.

The war of the Spanish Succession, in which Portugal had sided against Spain, ended in 1713. For the remainder of João V's reign the country was at peace, except for a brief naval intervention on the side of the Pope and Venice against the Turks in 1716 and 1717. Meanwhile the gold from the

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recently discovered mines in Brazil began to flow in in ever greater quantities: 514 kg in 1699, 2,000 kg in 1701, over 4,460 in 1703, 14,500 kg in 1712. This flow began to decline only after the middle of the century, until it practically came to a halt at the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>26</sup> João V could look forward to a future of political stability and financial prosperity that neither his father nor his grandfather had ever known.

The way he made use of this wealth is still a matter of dispute among historians. A very small part of it was actually used in productive investments, but responsibility for this should not be exclusively laid with the King, absolute monarch though he may have been:

The lack of an elite was patent in every area: in culture, in art, in politics, in the economy. The lack of active managers prevented any productive investments during the golden decades. The river Tagus was only a port of call for this money which flowed towards areas where the economy was more developed and where the goods that the Portuguese consumed, but did not know how to produce themselves came from. Of these areas England was the most richly rewarded.<sup>27</sup>

In the fields of art and culture João V's main undertakings were the creation in 1720 of the Royal Academy of History, whose members were to publish a number of important historiographical works, and the gigantic Monastery of Mafra, which took the best part of his reign to erect (1717–50) and occupied 45,000 forced labourers, as well as 7,000 soldiers who kept them at work. Most of its statues were made in Italy; 'the religious vestments, the church furnishings, the candlesticks, the sets of bells were ordered from Rome, Venice, Milan, France, Holland, Genoa and Liège'. Even the pinewood for the scaffolding and for the workers' shacks came from Northern Europe.<sup>28</sup> The King also sent a number of Portuguese sculptors and painters to study in Italy, and hired several Italian and other foreign artists.

The reform of musical institutions itself was largely connected with the reform of the religious cult. In the words of his contemporary, Frederick the Great of Prussia, João V had a 'strange passion for church ceremonies. He had obtained the Pope's permission to establish a Patriarchy, and to say Mass himself, excluding consecration. Priestly functions were his amusements, convents his buildings, monks his armies, and nuns his mistresses.'<sup>29</sup>

The irony of the Protestant King does not show the whole picture: the 'strange passion' of João V was shared by the greater number of his subjects. Lisbon at the beginning of the eighteenth century was the capital of a country where the Church still dominated public life.<sup>30</sup> No wonder then that the King, out of a personal and in a way sincere devotion that may appear bizarre to modern eyes, and for reasons of prestige, tried to invest as much as he could in the religious establishment in general and in his own Royal Chapel in particular, which he tried to convert into a cathedral immediately after he ascended the throne.<sup>31</sup> On 1 March 1710 it was elevated

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to the status of Collegiate Church in a Bull issued by Pope Clement XI, and in another Bull dated 7 November 1716 it was elevated to Metropolitan and Patriarchal See, under the title of Our Lady of the Assumption.<sup>32</sup> Lisbon became divided into two dioceses: that of Lisboa Oriental, corresponding to the old Metropolitan See, and that of Lisboa Ocidental, corresponding to the new Patriarchy.<sup>33</sup>

A large number of crown rents was attributed to the new Patriarchy. The richness and pomp of its furnishings and its religious services are generally underlined in contemporary descriptions:

The seat of the Lisbon Patriarchy is in the chapel of the King's palace. As regards its architecture and paintings they are very ordinary: but the temple is vast. Besides the main altar, there are twelve other altars, with magnificent decorations. There is a large two-storey tribune, with lattices, where the King and Queen usually attend Mass. On Sundays and feast days the Patriarch always officiates, accompanied by eighteen mitred canons. The choir, composed of some thirty or forty beneficiaries, is accompanied by music in the Roman style, without any instruments; and there are a number of excellent voices among the many heard there.<sup>34</sup>

In his desire to follow the liturgy of the Papal Chapel, João V ordered copies to be made of all the choirbooks used in the Vatican. He also had copies made of the Ambrosian ceremonial in Milan, with its music, as well as those of the Greek and Armenian Churches, the Syriac Mass, and the liturgical books of the Maronites, the Nestorians and the Syrian Orthodox Church, translated by the librarian of the Vatican, G. S. Assemani. All these books were lost in the 1755 earthquake.<sup>35</sup>

In 1713 a music school was created adjoining the Patriarchal See, the Seminário da Patriarcal. It was to remain the main music school during the eighteenth century, being replaced by the Lisbon Conservatory only in 1835. In 1729 the King created another music school at the Monastery of Santa Catarina de Ribamar for the teaching of the *canto capucho* (a *falsobordone* harmonisation of plainsong), and hired the Venetian composer Giovanni Giorgi (João Jorge) to direct it, helped by two Italian singers from the Patriarcal. Vieira<sup>36</sup> is certainly right in saying that the only object of study in these schools was church music, with the result that the study of secular music would have had to remain a marginal activity.

With funds from the Patriarcal the King sent a number of scholars to Rome to study music. The first to go was António Teixeira (1707–after 1770) in 1716 or 1717. Having taken holy orders, he returned on 11 June 1728 and was appointed chaplain singer of the Patriarcal and examiner in plainsong of all the ordinands in the Patriarchy.<sup>37</sup> We also know of three others: Joaquim do Vale Mexelim, João Rodrigues Esteves, and Francisco António de Almeida. Another, Romão Mazza (1719–47), was sent by Queen Marie Anne to study at one of the Naples conservatories.<sup>38</sup> Francisco António de Almeida had two oratorios performed while he was in Rome: the first was *Il pentimento di Davide*, with libretto by Andrea

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Trabucco, in 1722, and the second was *Giuditta*, in 1726. A caricature of him drawn by Pier Leone Ghezzi in 1724 bears the following legend:<sup>39</sup>

Signor Francesco, a Portuguese, who has come to Rome to study, and who is already a very fine composer of concertos and church music, amazingly so given his youth and he sings superbly. Having come to my musical academy, I, Cavalier Ghezzi, have recorded his memory, this 9th day of July, 1724.

By April 1728 he was already back in Lisbon, where a serenata with music by him, *Il trionfo della Virtù*, was performed at the Palace of the Cardinal da Mota, and where he was employed as organist of the Patriarcal.

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From 1716 onwards the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, created the previous year, begins to mention the performance of serenatas at court on the King's, the Queen's, and the Prince's birthdays and namedays, or more occasionally on those of their foreign relatives, the Austrian Emperor and Empress, the King and Queen of Spain, etc. Meanwhile in Rome Domenico Scarlatti had been employed as *maestro di cappella* by the Portuguese ambassador extraordinary, the Marquis of Fontes. In 1714 he composed an *Applauso Genetliaco alla Reale Altezza del Signor Infante di Portogallo* which was performed in the palace of the ambassador.<sup>40</sup> The following year he became chapelmaster of Saint Peter's Cappella Giulia. In 1717 three singers left the Papal Chapel to enter the service of the King of Portugal and in 1719 another did the same.<sup>41</sup> On 24 September 1719 a serenata was performed in the King's apartment 'sung by the new and excellent musicians which His Majesty . . . had brought from Rome, in the Presence of Their Majesties and Royal Highnesses'.<sup>42</sup>

Scarlatti himself left Rome in August or September of that year, and even if he did not immediately take over his new post as master of the Portuguese Royal Chapel and went instead to Palermo in Sicily, as the recent findings of Roberto Pagano seem to indicate,<sup>43</sup> from 1720 onwards serenatas by him were performed at the Lisbon court. Extant Lisbon librettos of this period only rarely mention the names of the librettist or the composer of the music, and it is likely that, until his departure for Spain in the retinue of his pupil Princess Maria Bárbara in January 1729, he may have written more of these works than are actually attributed to him.<sup>44</sup> The same is probably the case with Francisco António de Almeida, António Teixeira, or the Barón d'Astorga, who resided in Lisbon in this period.

On the other hand, the libretto or the title of many serenatas which the *Gazeta de Lisboa* registers is not known, and in several cases they may have been repeats of works already performed. Thus in 1735 the Princess Mariana Vitória wrote to her mother in Madrid saying that the Queen had asked which serenata she wished for her birthday.<sup>45</sup> Also the term serenata may

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not always have meant any particular work, but simply an evening of vocal and instrumental music. This must have been especially true of serenatas performed at the houses of the aristocracy.

Serenatas were usually performed either in the King's or the Queen's chambers, according to which of the royal spouses was offering this entertainment to the other. In some cases they were part of a court gala, and sung in the presence of the court and the foreign dignitaries, but more often they seem to have been performed in private (*em particular*). The singers, whose names never appear, belonged to the Royal Chapel. Walther<sup>46</sup> mentions the names of 'Floriani, Discantist, ein Castrat und Römer' and 'Mossi, Tenorist, ein Römer' as belonging to the Chapel in 1728, and says that most of the remaining thirty or forty singers were also Italian.<sup>47</sup> He gives the following list of the most notable players in the Chapel:

Scarlatti, chapelmaster, a Roman  
 Joseph Antoni, vice-chapelmaster, a Portuguese<sup>48</sup>  
 Pietro Giorgio Avondano, first violinist, a Genoese  
 Antonio Paghetti, first violinist, a Roman  
 Alessandro Paghetti, second violinist, a Roman  
 Johann Peter, second violinist, a Portuguese, but of German parents  
 Thomas, third violinist, a Florentine  
 Latur, fourth violinist, and second oboist, a Frenchman  
 Veith, fourth violinist, and first oboist, a Bohemian  
 Ventur, viola player, a Catalan  
 Antoni, viola player, a Catalan  
 Ludewig, bassoonist, a Bohemian  
 Juan, cellist, a Catalan  
 Laurenti, cellist, a Florentine  
 Paolo, contra-violinist [i.e. double-bass], a Roman  
 Antonio Joseph, organist, a Portuguese<sup>48</sup>

Even if there had been no other players, this orchestra would have been sufficient to accompany a small work with few singers, such as a serenata. Horns and trumpets, when needed, would probably have been supplied by the King's military band, or *Charamela Real*.

In accordance with the genre, the librettos of these serenatas do not contain any indications of stage sets, and only in the case of Scarlatti's *Festeggio armonico*, sung for the wedding of Prince Ferdinand of Spain and Princess Maria Bárbara on 11 January 1728 does the *Gazeta de Lisboa* refer to 'hũa especie de theatro, que para este fim se fabricou' ('a kind of theatre which was built for this purpose'). This must have been the same which was used the following month for the *intermezzi* of *Il D. Chisciotte della Mancina*, the first Italian operatic work known to have been performed at court, and may have consisted simply of a stage erected in one of the rooms of the palace.

It is interesting to note that the term opera first appears in connection



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with works performed outside the court, such as the ‘Opera ou Comedia em musica’ *Atis & Cybelle* performed at the house of the Secretary of State, Diogo de Mendonça Corte Real, on 3 August 1717, or the *Acis & Galatea* performed on 25 August that same year in the gardens of the French ambassador, the Abbé de Mornay. The titles of these works suggest that they were serenatas, and in the first instance it may well have been a case of a word being misapplied on account of its prestige. (The same probably happened with the word serenata and its broader use to mean any kind of musical entertainment during the first half of the century, especially outside Lisbon.) But in the second case the *Gazeta* specifies that it was performed ‘com todas as decorações e perspectivas pertencentes a sua representação’, leaving us in no doubt that it was actually staged with sets. Again for the ‘Comedia’ *Acis & Galatea* performed at the palace of the Count of S. Vicente on 23 January 1718 the *Gazeta* states that it was performed in a ‘theatro com perspectivas’.

From the beginning one has the feeling that the interest in opera was much more quickly aroused among the aristocracy than at the royal court itself, and later developments confirm this. It is not known, however, whether the singers and players in these early performances outside the court were members of the Royal Chapel, or whether they belonged to any of the Spanish companies mentioned above.

The continuing tradition of the Spanish musical theatre was certainly helped by the *zarzuelas* and *comedias de música* produced at the palaces of the Spanish ambassadors Marquis of Capicilatro and Marquis de los Balbases, the second of whom had a theatre (i.e. a stage) built for the purpose but which was demolished before his departure in 1728.<sup>49</sup> But even here Italian influence was beginning to show itself, as may be seen by the *Gazeta* calling one of these works, *Las Amazonas de España*, performed in January, ‘Melodrama, ou Comedia harmonica, pelo estylo Italiano’.<sup>50</sup>

A sure sign of the lack of interest in opera on the part of the court is the small number of Italian operas – as opposed to serenatas – performed there during the whole reign, as well as the fact that none of them was an *opera seria* (the true *instrumentum regni* of eighteenth-century music). They were *La pazienza di Socrate* in 1733 and 1734, *La finta pazza* in 1735, *La risa di Democrito* in 1736, *La Spinalba* in 1739, and *Madama Ciana* in 1740.<sup>51</sup> To these we may add the intermezzi of *D. Chisciotte* of 1728 (possibly with music by Domenico Scarlatti), which were repeated in 1730, 1731, and 1734, and the three-act *Pastorale a tre voci* of 1734, whose libretto indicates that it was *da rappresentarsi*.

Information on these court performances is very scarce. In contrast to the numerous announcements of serenatas, the semi-official *Gazeta de Lisboa* makes only two short references to operatic performances during the whole reign.<sup>52</sup> The reason for this is probably that, while serenatas were usually connected with royal birthdays or an important event such as a royal

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wedding,<sup>53</sup> operatic productions were simply seen as a private courtly entertainment during Carnival. This impression is confirmed by two partially related manuscript diaries or newsletters, the Évora diaries and the *Diário do Conde de Ericeira*,<sup>54</sup> as well as the letters written by Princess Mariana Vitória, the betrothed of the heir to the throne Prince José, to her mother the Queen of Spain.<sup>55</sup>

In two entries for 21 February 1730 and 5 February 1731<sup>56</sup> the Évora diaries mention the Italian comedy of D. Quixote and the burlesque operas that were performed at the court by the Italian singers, reporting that they were only attended by ladies. On 20 January 1733 the diary of the Count of Ericeira<sup>57</sup> says that a large theatre was being set up in the royal palace for three operas (probably meaning three performances of the same opera) written by Alexandre de Gusmão,<sup>58</sup> with music by Francisco António (de Almeida). It was thought that the three excellent singers, the Paghetti sisters<sup>59</sup> would sing in the palace on the same days (of Carnival). The entry in the Évora diaries for 3 February<sup>60</sup> adds that a rehearsal held on the birthday of the Infanta D. Francisca had been attended by many ladies, several of whom wore new dresses (!). The theatre, which had wings, had already been completed. On 10 February the diary of the Count of Ericeira states that those ladies who had been attending rehearsals in the palace had arranged to hear the Paghetti singers in some of their homes, as it was not certain they would sing in the palace, or whether the King would attend those performances.

On 17 February the same diarist reports that the King was going to spend Carnival in Mafra, and that he had not seen the opera, even though he had a box prepared. The costumes were very rich and the singers had kept them, as they wanted to perform the opera for the nobles. Those of the nobles who had asked the Queen's permission to do so had been allowed to hide in the wings to watch it. Only the Queen's own servants had seen it in public, but even the Captain of the Guard, D. Manuel de Sousa, was not allowed to stay among them, and he had gone away, refusing to hide in order to watch. The last performance was on Shrove Tuesday, but the King, who had returned from Mafra on Monday, had not attended it, and neither had his brother, the Infante D. António.<sup>61</sup>

The King's absence is probably the reason why only ladies were allowed to attend those private performances. The changes in court life mentioned at the beginning of this chapter do not seem to have lasted very long, and court etiquette continued to impose the strict separation between the sexes described by a foreign visitor *c.* 1723–6:<sup>62</sup>

The way visits are made in Portugal is rather odd: the gentlemen are in one room, and the ladies in another, and as both enjoy dancing very much, the ladies dance with each other in their room, and the men do the same in theirs. If one is lucky enough to be admitted to the ladies' room, one will find them sitting on a straw mat on the floor, and the men standing talking to them on the border of the mat, some fifteen feet away.