



## Some Portuguese Sources for Early Brazilian Music History

Robert Stevenson

*Anuario*, Vol. 4 (1968), 1-43.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0564-4429%281968%294%3C1%3ASPSFEB%3E2.0.CO%3B2-N>

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

---

JSTOR is an independent not-for-profit organization dedicated to creating and preserving a digital archive of scholarly journals. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

# SOME PORTUGUESE SOURCES FOR EARLY BRAZILIAN MUSIC HISTORY

By Robert Stevenson

Even though eighteen member nations of the OAS speak Spanish, musical histories published in Spain rarely mention Hispanic America. When exceptionally one does—José Subirá's *Historia de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana* (Barcelona: Salvat Editores, 1953)—a scant 27 pages among 1003 suffices for the whole area (including Brazil). In periodical literature, the same curious silence prevails. The topics in the first nineteen issues of *Anuario Musical* (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1946-1964) range from "Italian and English Traits in the music of Thomas Morley" to essays on Chinese melody and on "La música en la edad homérica." Nonetheless, only one essay in all nineteen *Anuarios* accepts anything American for its subject matter—"La música de los Araucanos" by Carlos Lavín (XVI [1961] 201-216).

So far as lexicons are concerned, the *Diccionario de la Música Labor* (1954) makes the perfunctory bow of two biographical articles (misinformed, and of but a few lines each) on composers of the Americas antedating 1800, as against at least a dozen in *Grove's Dictionary*, 5th edition, published the same year. Nor was any warmer interest evident, even when Spanish territory still embraced Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines. Take, for instance, Baltasar Saldoni's *Efemérides de Músicos Españoles* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Esperanza, 1860), pages 91 and 101. Scarcely anyone with a record of overseas service evoked Saldoni's interest. True, he did list Blas Ramírez—"maestro compositor" in Puerto Rico (died November 14, 1810)—but Ramírez was born and trained in Seville, on Saldoni's own admission.

## II

Contrasting with the all too painful neglect of historic American music by the Spaniards (including Adolfo Salazar [1890-1958], whose last two decades were spent in Mexico), lexicographers and archivists in Portugal have from Diogo Barbosa Machado (1682-1772) to the present copiously interested themselves in Brazilian musical events and personalities. It was Barbosa Machado who in his *Bibliotheca Lusitana*

(Lisbon: António Isidoro da Fonseca, 1741), I, 766b, categorized Eusébio de Matos (1629-1692), native of Baía and cadet brother of the poet Gregório de Mat[t]os (1623-1696), as a “Musico por arte, e natureza” whose compositions obeyed the “preceitos da Solfa.” Even if actual music does not survive to justify Barbosa Machado’s judgment, Gregório de Matos’ 40-line *décima* headed *A uns clérigos, que, indo ao exame do cantochão para ordens sacras na prezença do Arcebispo Dom João Franco de Oliveira, desafinaram perturbados*<sup>1</sup> gratifyingly documents the Baian musical culture prevalent in the period. Clergy in the 1690’s who were unable to solfa to the archbishop’s satisfaction such a test passage as this<sup>2</sup>



departed disgraced and “each one immediately went home to learn the seven musical notes from instruction manuals.”<sup>3</sup> The archbishop insisted on musical competence because “when such ignoramuses attempted *fa bordão* [falsobordon] they made a beastly roar, one singer’s dissonances dragging down another with him.”

Although Gregório de Matos may not have vaunted in any of his verse such command of musical science as did Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651-1695) in her pyrotechnical poem *Que escribe a la Excelentísima señora Condesa de Paredes, excusándose de enviar un libro de música*,<sup>4</sup> a careful reading of his entire works might further illuminate the seventeenth-century musical scene in Baía. Further evidence of Baian musical culture in the 1690’s comes to light in the career of the virtuoso harpist and chapelmaster Antão de Santo Elias, who took the habit in the Carmelite house at Baía on April 8, 1696, professing there a year later. Composer of various Christmas *responsórios* for two choruses,

1. *Obras de Gregório de Mattos. IV-Satírica. Volume II* (Rio de Janeiro: Off. Industrial Gráfica, 1930), pp. 96-97.

2. “Senhores os padres daqui / Por *b quadro* e por *b mol* [ḅ and ḅ] / Cantam bem *re mi fa sol*, / Cantam mal *la sol fa mi*.” In our musical example, a switch from hard to soft hexachord is presumed on the repeated top note.

3. “Foi-se logo cada qual / Direito ás suas puozadas, / A estudar nas taboadas / Da musica os sete signos.” Among the better seventeenth-century Portuguese manuals to which Gregório de Matos’s Baian colleagues might have had recourse, the Library of Congress owns António Fernandes’s *Arte de musica*, 1626, Raymundo da Convergão’s *Manual de tudo o que se canta*, 1675, Manoel Nunes da Sylva’s *Arte mimima* [first ed., 1685], 1704, and Mathias de Sousa Villa Lobos’ *Arte de cantochão*, 1688.

4. Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Poesías Completas. Recopilación y prologo de Ermilo Abreu Gomez*, 2nd ed. (Mexico: Ediciones Botas, 1948), pp. 178-184.

accompanied by “rebecas, rebecões, e flautas” (violins, bass viols, flutes) and of Masses *a 4* and *a 8* “com diversidade de instrumentos,” Santo Elias left also a *Te Deum* for four instrumentally accompanied choruses, several hymns, psalms, a Magnificat, and numerous *vilhancicos*.

Not only do 47 natives of Baía enter Barbosa Machado’s *Biblioteca Lusitana* but also 18 natives of Rio de Janeiro. The latter include José Pereira de Santa Anna=José Pereira de Sà Bocan (1696-1759), who was “no less expert a musician than a writer.”<sup>5</sup> According to Barbosa Machado—who knew Pereira de Santa Anna personally—the fact that “his harmonious compositions are still sung everywhere in Brazil testifies equally to his skill as a composer and the sweet pleasure that they give the hearers.” Unfortunately, as in the Eusébio de Matos’s instance, none of Pereira de Santa Anna’s actual music seems to have survived. However, his two-volume *Chronica dos Carmelitas da antiga, e regular observancia nestes Reynos de Portugal* (Lisbon: António Pedrozo Galram, 1745-1751) and *Dissertação apologetica* (*ibid.*, same printer, 1751) do abound in documents having to do with the musical history of the order that gave to the world three of Portugal’s paramount composers—Francisco de Santiago (died 1644), Manuel Cardoso (1566-1650), and Manuel Correa (died 1653).

*Portugaliae Musica: A Bibliographical Essay* (Lima: Pacific Press, 1967), pages 16-18, summarizes Pereira de Santa Anna’s contributions to Portuguese musicology. No other order in Portugal did more for polyphonic composition than the Calced Carmelites. Why they? The *Chronica*, II, 11-13, 66-89, and *Dissertação*, pages 66, 68, 93, 177-194, help materially to explain. The Calced Carmelites’ attitude toward art-music helps also to explain why after 33 years in the Society of Jesus, Eusébio de Matos decided to switch over to them—professing in their house at Olinda, “Capital do Estado de Pernambuco,” in 1677.

Another of Barbosa Machado’s Brazilian contemporaries whom he endows with musical interests was João Seyxas da Fonseca, born at Rio de Janeiro May 6, 1681. The only native-born Brazilian in the *Bibliotheca Lusitana* identified as having risen to the episcopacy, Seyxas da Fonseca stirred Barbosa Machado to applause for having taken the Benedictine monk’s cowl and having pursued his superior studies at Baía before voyaging to Italy. “While at Florence, he printed in a

---

5. *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, II (Lisbon: Ignacio Rodrigues, 1747), p. 886: “naõ sendo menos perito na arte da Musica cujas composicoens armonicas ainda se cantaõ em todo o Brazil com igual credito do Mestre, como suave deleitação dos Ouvintes.”

a book of keyboard sonatas the dedication to D. António”<sup>6</sup> [1694-1757; favorite brother of King John V of Portugal, a pupil of Domenico Scarlatti, and an amateur composer]. This notice fails to specify the title, but Barbosa Machado’s Tomo IV (1759) goes further, specifying that João [de] Seixas da Fonseca “in the year 1732 published in *Sonatas de Cravo compostas por Ludovico Justini de Pistoja* the dedication to D. António.”

Fortunately, at least three copies of this epochal keyboard collection survive in England alone. The British Museum perfect copy inspired Rosamund E. M. Harding’s essay “The Earliest Pianoforte Music,” *Music & Letters*, XIII/2 (April, 1932), 194-199—an article which she republished the next year in altered form as the preface to *Twelve Piano-Forte Sonatas of L. Giustini di Pistoja First published in 1732, and now edited in facsimile* (Cambridge: University Press, 1933). The facsimile gives the 1732 title thus: *Sonate Da Cimbalo di piano, e forte detto volgarmente di martelletti Dedicate A Sua Altezza Reale il Serenissimo D. Antonio Infante di Portogallo E Composte Da. D. Lodovico Giustini di Pistoia Opera Prima Firenze MDCCXXXII*. In her preface to the facsimile edition Rosamund Harding calls the collection “probably the earliest music for the pianoforte of which an exact date is known.” But in the first footnote of her *Music & Letters* 1932 article, she disclaimed knowing any more about Giustini than the mere fact that the lexicographer E. L. Gerber (1746-1819) had mentioned Giustini’s “having published a volume of XII Clavier Sonatas at Amsterdam in 1736”<sup>7</sup>—these being the same dozen first published at Florence a quadrennium earlier.

Carlo Schmidl’s *Dizionario Universale dei Musicisti*, A-L (Milan: Sonzogno, 1926), I, 634, made of Giustini a priest whose sonatas appeared at Amsterdam in 1736 “dall’ editore D. Giov. Schixas” [=Seixas =Seyxas]. Adelmo Damerini’s “Giustini” article in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, V (1956), cols. 204-205, dated Giustini’s birth December 12, 1685, and again made “Don Giovanni Schixas” the “publisher” of the Amsterdam edition. But only in the 1933 facsimile edition does Seyxas’s role become clear. While in Italy he had particularly enjoyed Giustini’s sonatas and had been assured by professional experts of their excellence. He dedicated them to D.

---

6. *Ibid.*, p. 750: “Asistindo em Florença estampou hum livro de Sonatas de Cravo, que dedicou ao Serenissimo Senhor Infante D. Antonio . . .”

7. *Neue historisch-biographisches Lexicon* (Leipzig: A. Kühnel, 1812-1814), II, 338.

António because their “artificiosa consonanza” reflected in at least a degree the beauty of D. António’s own disposition.<sup>8</sup>

Does the available data make of Giovanni Schixas = João Seyxas da Fonseca something more than midwife for the Florence first edition and for the Amsterdam reprint? Whatever his further activity,<sup>9</sup> the historical importance of the collection becomes ever more apparent. Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht gives it pride of place in his “Die Klaviermusik der Generation nach Bach,” *Deutsche und italienische Klaviermusik zur Bachzeit* [Jenaer Beiträge zur Musikforschung. Bd. 1.] (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1954), 78-81, and William S. Newman flatly declares it the first publication anytime, anywhere to specify “the new, young pianoforte.” At page 195 of his *The Sonata in the Baroque Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959) Newman follows Harding when he seeks to relate “Giovanni de Seixas” to the eminent Coimbra-born keyboardist Carlos Seixas (1704-1742).<sup>10</sup> The

---

8. *MGG*, V, 205 quotes Schixas = Seixas as having dedicated the collection to D. António “per averle udite con particolare sodisfazione in Italia e per averle, da quell’ intendente di buon gusto ch’ egli è, giudicato molto belle.” Literature concerning Giustini cited in this article includes Damerini’s earlier article “La partitura de *L’Ercole in Tebe* di Jacobo Melani,” *Bullettino storico pistoiese*, XIX (1917), Documento III, and G. C. Rospigliosi’s *Notizie dei maestri ed artisti di musica pistoiesi* (Pistoia: Niccolai, 1878).

9. *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, IV (Lisbon: Francisco Luiz Ameno, 1759), p. 192 states: “Publicou no anno de 1732, com huma Dedicatoria ao Serenissimo Infante o Senhor D. Antonio. *Sonatas de Cravo compostas por Ludovico Justini de Pistoya*, insigne tangedor deste instrumento, 4 grande.” As Luiz Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo justly remarked in *150 Anos de Música no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editora, 1956), p. 23, Barbosa Machado’s ambiguous phraseology might even suggest that Seyxas [Soares], de Fonseca himself composed the sonatas, procuring their publication pseudonymously. The text of the 1732 dedication (British Museum copy) seems sufficiently important for Brazilian music history to be reproduced verbatim in this footnote.

Altezza Reale / Presento col più deuoto rispetto a V.A.R. queste sonate, udite già da me con particolare sodisfazione nel mio soggiorno in Italia, e da quelli Intendenti di tal Professione giudicate di molto buon gusto. Io però non le pongo sotto i Reali suoi occhi, perchè le stimi adeguate al suo sopraffino discernimento, ma perchè nella loro artificiosa consonanza ci rappresentano in qualche modo quella celeste Armonia, che fanno nella bella, e ben ordinata Anima di V.A.R. le più rare Virtudi tra di loro in dolce lega congiunte. Spero che la R.A.V. la quale di questa soave e diletteuole scienza, come di tutte l’altre, sa dare così accertato giudizio non solamente, ma con somma marauiglia di chi ha l’onore di udirla, sa eziandio perfettamente esercitarla, non isdegnarà di compartire a questi Fogli un suo benignissimo sguardo in quelle ore, nelle quali suol dare à suoi sublimi pensieri qualche alleuiamento, e riposo. Supplico umilmente V.A.R. a continuare sopra di me la sua sourana, e benefica Protezione, e a permettermi che io abbia la sospirata gloria di protestarmi con profondissimo obsequio / Di V.A.R. Vmilissimo seruo / D. Giovanni de Seixas.

10. Rosamund Harding, “Ph.D., Cantab.,” takes Ernesto Vieira’s statement that José

more solid facts read thus: João [de] Seyxas da Fonseca professed at Baía September 16, 1713, was nominated to the titular see of Areopolis September 28, 1733, and consecrated soon thereafter in the Portuguese church at Rome by Pope Clement XII's nephew, Gian Antonio Guadagni.<sup>11</sup>

### III

Barbosa Machado's biobibliography not only threw down a welcome mat before Brazilians, but also served as "the most liberally used source"<sup>12</sup> for the first biobibliography attempted by a native-born Brazilian—book 5 ("Pernambuco ilustrado com as letras") in *Desagravos do Brazil e Glorias de Pernambuco*. Finished in 1757 by the then 61-year-old Benedictine (erstwhile Franciscan) Domingos de Loreto Couto,<sup>13</sup> the handsomely copied and luxuriously bound manuscript (red velvet) reached Lisbon soon thereafter. Now catalogued at the Lisbon National Library as F.G. 873 (*olim* B 16, 23), the work for some reason failed to enjoy publication in Loreto Couto's lifetime and had to await our century for a diplomatic edition in the *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, XXIV-1902 and XXV-1903 (both published in 1904).<sup>14</sup>

However, the importance of Loreto Couto's manuscript for musicology had been advertised even before the *Annaes* edition, Ernesto

---

Antônio Carlos de Seixas "foi convidado para exercer o seu talento na Basilica Patriarchal" to mean that Seixas was "organist of the Church of St. Basil (!), Lisbon."

11. Guadagni was a Florentine Carmelite, who when raised to the purple in 1731 ruled the see of Arezzo. See Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, translated by Dom Ernest Graf (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1941), XXXIV, 403. Seyxas da Fonseca's interest in art and music endeared him to both Pope Clement XII and his artistic nephew.

12. José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello, *Estudos Pernambucanos* (Recife: Universidade [Impresa Universitária], 1960), p. 165: "A fonte mais largamente utilizada acerca dos que tiveram livros publicados pela imprensa ou que os deixaram em manuscrito, é a *Bibliotheca Lusitana* do Padre Barbosa Machado . . ."

13. Mello cites "D. Domingos do Loreto Couto" and "A obra de D. Domingos do Loreto Couto"—newspaper articles in the *Diário de Pernambuco* of December 25, 1954, and April 29, 1956 by Frei Bonifácio Mueller—as the pioneer studies of Loreto Couto's background and biography. Still alive in 1762, Couto testified to being 66 years old on November 2 (Mello, *op. cit.*, p. 140).

14. Copied in 1894 by José Antônio Moniz for the Gabinete Português de Lectura do Recife (this copy is now on deposit at the Instituto Arqueológico Pernambucano; the Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro owns a second copy [see Mello, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-168]), Couto's *Desagravos* did not catch Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa's eye in sufficient time to serve as source for any of the musical data in the "Estudo historico-retrospectivo sobre as Artes em Pernambuco" published by him in January and February

Vieira having derived from the still unpublished work all the data on such eighteenth-century Brazilians as António da Silva Alcântara, Manuel de Almeida Botelho, Agostinho Rodrigues Leite, João de Lima, and Ignácio Ribeiro Noya, inserted in his two-volume *Diccionario Biographico de Musicos Portuguezes* (Lisbon: Typographia Mattos Moreira & Pinheiro, 1900), I, 8, 165, and II, 19, 35-36, and 135. From Vieira, Couto's data on Alcântara passed two-thirds of a century later into Francisco Curt Lange's *A Organização Musical durante o período colonial brasileiro* (Coimbra: Gráfica de Coimbra, 1966), page 38. So accurately did Vieira transcribe Couto (*Diccionario*, I, 8) that in only one substantial particular did he (and therefore Lange also) betray the original—namely in the date of Alcântara's birth (should be October 19, 1712, not 1711).<sup>15</sup>

Loreto Couto knew Alcântara personally, and could therefore give a gratifying list of compositions. These included, in addition to numerous religious titles, various *Sonatas para rebecas, para Cravo, e para Cithara*; some *Sonatas com trompas, e oboes*; and *Tres Sonos para as Comedias reaes, e a Solfa toda para as ditas Comedias, representadas no Terreiro do Palacio do Governador sendo Governador, e Capitão General o Excellentissimo Luiz Jozê Correa de Sá, anno de 1752*.<sup>16</sup> Confirmation of Alcântara's skill in both secular and sacred spheres can be found in Filipe Neri Corrêa's *Relação das festas que fizeram em Pernambuco pela feliz aclamação do mui alto e poderoso Rey de Portugal D. Joseph I. Nosso Senhor do anno de 1751. para o de 1752. sendo Governador, e Capitão General destas Capitancias o Illustris. e. Excellentis. Senhor Luiz Joseph Correa de Sa* (Lisbon: Manoel Soares, 1753).<sup>17</sup>

At page (11) of this *Relação*, the author describes the brilliant premiere on Sunday afternoon, June 6, 1751, of Alcântara's *Te Deum* for four choirs *com todos os instrumentos, que compoz em pouco tempo*. The

---

issues, 1897, of the *Jornal do Recife*. See the *Homenagem do Arquivo Público a Pereira da Costa* sponsored by the Secretaria do Interior e Justiça [preface by J. J. de Almeida] (Recife: Imprensa Oficial, 1951), p. 98 (no. 52).

15. See *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, XXV-1903 (1904), p. 22 (no. 34). The 1712 date has been confirmed from the Loreto Couto's manuscript at Lisbon. According to José Mazza's late eighteenth-century dictionary of Portuguese musicians, Alcântara was such a "stupendous natural talent that he learned counterpoint instinctively" (*Ocidente: Revista Portuguesa Mensal*, XXIII/75 [July, 1944] p. 254). Sent to Lisbon in early youth to study *rabecão* (bass viol) with the Calced Carmelite Francisco Leal (*Carmelus* [Rome, 1958], V, 128), he returned to Brazil a master of the best contemporary Portuguese musical science.

16. *Annaes*, XXV-1903 (1904), pp. 22-23.

17. Lisbon Biblioteca Nacional copy: *Reservado 1350P*.

“magnificently adorned” Olinda Cathedral<sup>18</sup> (not until 1833 was the seat of the diocese moved to Recife) provided the right environment.

After the discourse came a sweetly harmonious setting of the *Te Deum* for four concurring choirs, composed and directed by the R.P.M. António da Silva Alcântara, noted composer and chapelmaster of [Olinda] Cathedral. Not only did the best voices gather from everywhere on the continent to bolster the regularly employed singers, but also the best imported instrumentalists lent luster to a performance justly applauded by all present.<sup>19</sup>

The following February gave Alcântara an opportunity to try his hand at dramatic music. All students of the Brazilian theater know that as early as 1583 Fernão Cardim found the Jesuit missionaries presenting *drama pastoril* in certain favored northeastern towns so mixed with music of *viola*, *pandeiro*, *tamboril* e *frauta*, dancing and singing of native airs, that an art-form akin to the *autos e entremeses* of Gil Vicente was born on Brazilian soil.<sup>20</sup> The emphasis on sung and played interludes persisted in eighteenth-century drama long after religious subjects had given way to purely secular entertainments.

---

18. Gilberto Freyre, *Olinda* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1944), pp. 97-100, eloquently bewails the ruin of this prime Baroque monument. Also, in his *Guia Prático, Histórico e Sentimental da Cidade do Recife* (1942 edition) p. 89, he laments “O destino melancólico da Catedral de Olinda, que era uma igreja boa, matriarcal, cheia de prata, de ouro, de azulejo, de jacarandá; e ficou reduzida a um gótico ridículo, alheio à paisagem tanto quanto à experiência e ao passado brasileiro.” For the sad fate of the crucial Arquivo do Cabido da Catedral, see the *Homenagem do Arquivo Público a Pereira da Costa* (cited above in note 14), p. 10. A certain Francisco Manoel Raposo de Almeida (b. Azores 1817, d. after 1856) carried off to São Paulo the bulk of the Olinda Cathedral archive, and his descendants apparently lost it all—thus denying to any present-day historian the documents needed for a meaningful cultural history. Canon José do Carmo Barata’s “Apontamentos para a Historia Ecclesiastica de Pernambuco,” *Revista do Instituto Archeologico, Historico e Geographico Pernambucano*, XXIV-1922, N<sup>o</sup>. 115 a 118, pp. 319-433—although the best résumé now available—does no more than compile already published data for events preceding 1822. In 1757, Olinda’s population of 3272 lived in 1000 dwellings; 45 secular priests and 146 religious resided there then (Barata, *op. cit.*, p. 367). But even these figures derive not from locally preserved documents, but rather from the Loreto Couto *Desagravos*.

19. *Relação*, 1753, p. (11): “Concluhio ultimamente o discurso, entoando o *Te Deum laudamus*, e que com suaves harmonias, e agradavel melodia respondeo (e foi continuando o Hymno) a musica, que estava dividida em quatro bem concertadas córos a quem regia, e fazia compaço o R.P.M. Antonio da Silva Alcantara, insigne compositor, e Mestre da Capella da mesma Sé, aonde ajuntou para esta função, os mais destros instrumentos, e as melhores vozes que havia em todo este continente, alem dos Musicos do partido, sendo elle o mesmo que tinha composto aquella solfa, de que teve (pelo bom gosto della) hum geral, e bem merecido applauso.”

20. Carlos Süsskind de Mendonça, *Historia do Theatro Brasileiro*, I (Rio de Janeiro: Mendonça Machado & Cia., 1926), p. 87, quoting Ferdinand Wolf.

Celebrating the arrival of an appointed official or receipt of some good news from court, these entertainments formed the frequent subject matter of narratives published at Lisbon;<sup>21</sup> it is to this class of literature that Corrêa's *Relação* belongs. Concerning the incidental music for the three plays<sup>22</sup> given February 14, 16, and 18—all in Spanish as was the custom of the time not only in Brazil but also in Portugal—Corrêa writes as follows in his 1753 *Relação*:

The grace of the voices and the harmony of the instruments enhanced the pleasure of the eye, four musical choirs making an especially elegant spectacle. Of the total of thirty performers, a dozen played violin, four played 'cello, two were hornists, two were percussionists, the rest were singers. All heeded the beat bravely set by the leading lady. The music for the plays was written by the same composer who wrote the *Te Deum* [Alcântara], and was equally admirable. The spectators comprised the best turned-out nobility of these Captaincies. . . . At the close of three successive nights of fireworks, Alcântara bade His Excellency [Luiz José Correia de Sá, the Captain General] farewell with a fine serenata.<sup>24</sup>

#### IV

So advanced a musical life in Pernambuco around 1752 necessarily presupposes lengthy antecedents. Already in 1586 recognized as "the

---

21. Sábato Magaldi, *Panorama do Teatro Brasileiro* (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1962), pp. 27-30, briefly analyzes two such accounts published at Lisbon in 1729 and 1762. See also Sússekind de Mendonça, pp. 102-105.

22. *La Siencia de Reynar, Cueba y Castillo de amor, La Piedra Phylosophal.*

23. Magaldi, p. 27, lists the six plays presented at Baía August 5-20, 1729, signaling the marriage of Domenico Scarlatti's pupil and patron, Maria Bárbara, to the future Fernando VI of Spain. Two of the plays were by Agustín Moreto (1618-1669)—*La fuerza del natural* and *El desden con el desden* (*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, XXXIX, 209-228, 1-20), three by Pedro Calderón de la Barca—*Fineza contra fineza*, *El monstruo de los jardines*, and *La fiera, el rayo y la piedra* (*BAE*, XIV, 261-281, 213-234, IX, 483-510). Incidental music for Calderón's *El monstruo de los jardines* composed ca. 1729 by the Sucre=La Plata chapelmaster Blas Tardio de Guzmán still survives in the Sucre Cathedral archive. Calderón's overwhelming popularity in Portugal so late as 1760 comes to light in the Manoel Teixeira de Carvalho's *Relação Verídica das Magníficas, e Sumptuosas Festas, com que a . . . Cidade da Guarda applaudiu as melhoras de Sua Magestade . . . D. Jose I* (Lisbon: Miguel Manescal da Costa, 1760). On July 28 and 30 these *Festas* included Calderón's same *Fineza contra fineza* and *El monstruo de los jardines* presented at Baía 31 years earlier to applaud a royal wedding.

24. *Relação*, 1753, p. (20): "a suavidade das vozes, e harmonia dos instrumentos, lhe divertia as operaçoens visuais.

Compunha-se aquella bem debuchado, e lindo painel, de quatro côros de musica, / p. 21 / com trinta e tantas figuras ricamente adornadas, em que entravaõ quatro rabecoens, doze rabeças, duas trompas, e dous *abuaci*, e tudo o mais vozes, a que fazia compaço com toda agalhardia a primeira dama.

greatest town in all that coast, boasting above three thousand houses in it, seventy Ingenios for sugar, a great store of Brasillwood, and an abundance of cotton," it had grown to a center of "fine churches" when François Pyrard sailed by on November 3, 1610.<sup>25</sup> F. A. Pereira da Costa's *Anais Pernambucanos 1635-1665*, III (Recife-Pernambuco: Arquivo Público Estadual, 1952), 157-158, collects under the year 1640 numerous data concerning music in two of the area's "fine churches"—that of the *mosteiro de S. Bento de Olinda*, and of the *engenho de S. João da Várzea*. At the latter, João Fernandes Vieira (ca. 1610-1681), the richest sugar tycoon thereabouts and an outstanding leader in the struggle against the Dutch, maintained "músicos, os melhores que havia,"<sup>26</sup> (among them "diversos ternos de charamelas"<sup>27</sup>). Further testimony to a flourishing musical life in the Recife area ca. 1640 can be taken from the career of the music teacher whom Salvador Correia de Sá e Benavides (1602-1686), General of the Brazil Fleets, engaged for his children<sup>28</sup> in 1648 when he was about to sail from Rio de Janeiro for Angola (to drive out the Dutch)—Francisco Rodrigues Penteado, a native of Pernambuco. In Pernambuco Penteado had somehow found ways to become "greatly expert in music, and a skilful guitarist."<sup>29</sup>

---

¶A solfa das comedias, era composta pelo mesmo Author da do *Te Deum*, e taõ admiravel como sua. ¶ O auditorio era o mais nobre, e o mais luzido destas Capitancias . . . Concluhio-se o festejo com tres successivas noites de fogo, e na ultima se despedio o R.P.M. Alcantara de Sua Excellencia com huma boa serenata."

25. *The Voyage of François Pyrard*, transl. by Albert Gray and H. C. P. Bell (London: Hakluyt Society, 1890 [Publication 80]), II, ii, 331 and note.

26. José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello, *João Fernandes Vieira: Mestre do Campo do Têrço de Infantaria* (Recife: Universidade do Recife, 1956), II, 235. C. R. Boxer, *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola 1602-1686* (London: University of London [The Athlone Press], 1952), calls João Fernandes Vieira "a mulatto adventurer" (p. 201). According to the "notable old stickler" Salvador Correia de Sá, Vieira's being a *homem de baixissima condição* "aroused the envy and hatred of many of his subordinates" (p. 219). Vieira's largesse to musicians "aped" the liberality of the highest nobility.

27. Pereira da Costa, *Anais Pernambucanos*, III, 157-158, cites a Mass as having been sung *a três coros, com extremaõa música . . . e com boa orquestra*, June 13, 1646, in the Várzea parish church (supported by João Fernandes Vieira).

28. Pedro Taques de Almeida Paes Leme, *Nobiliarchia Paulistana* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editõra, S.A., 1953 [Biblioteca Histõrica Paulista, Volume IV, Tomo III]), III, 239: "deixou na cidade do Rio muito recomendado pelo interesse de lhe instruir nos instrumentos músicos a suas filhas, e ao filho mais velho Martim Correia." Concerning Salvador's children, see Boxer, *Salvador de Sá*, pp. 397-398. Martim Correia, born at Rio September 6, 1639, died at Setúbal October 28, 1678.

29. *Nobiliarchia Paulistana*, III, 239; "muito mimo na tanger viola, e destro na arte de música." Pedro Taques dated Penteado's death November 13, 1673. Further data

During the quadrennium 1649-1653, the Recife “Zur Israel” congregation was already hiring at 300 and 400 florins annually the first professional Jewish cantor known to American history—the *chazzan* Jehosuah Velozinos = Ieosua Velosino.<sup>30</sup> At the close of the same quadrennium Antônio Corrêa reaped a royal appointment (*alvará* dated July 30, 1653<sup>31</sup>) to the *igreja matriz de villa de Olinda*, thus becoming the first *mestre da capella* after the expulsion of the Dutch. Upon the erection of Pernambuco diocese in 1676, funds for music in Olinda Cathedral steadily improved, the chapelmaster’s salary rising to 60\$000 annually by virtue of a royal provision dated April 10, 1697.<sup>32</sup> This kind of healthy salary enabled Olinda Cathedral to lure back from the primatial see the chapelmaster who had been serving at Baía many years, *João de Lima, natural de freguezia de Santo Amaro de Jabotão*,<sup>33</sup> *insigne musico de seu tempo, ou cantando, ou compondo*.<sup>34</sup> Half a century after Lima’s death, his works continued to be performed with such effect that Domingos de Loreto Couto considered them “worthy of being published for the benefit of musical professors.”<sup>35</sup> The second bishop of the Pernambuco = Olinda diocese, Mathias de Figueiredo e Mello (named 1687, arrived July 14, 1688, died 1694) could not believe the stories of Lima’s prowess until he was persuaded by a personal demonstration. Loreto Couto limns Lima’s career thus:

---

in “Fragmentos para a História da Música em São Paulo,” *Folha da Manhã*, São Paulo (*Atualidades e Comentários*, II, page 4, col. 7), January 24-25 (Sunday-Monday issue), 1954.

30. Arnold Wiznitzer, “O livro de Atas das Congregações Judaicas ‘Zur Israel’ em Recife e ‘Magen Abraham’ em Maurícia, Brasil, 1648-1653,” *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, LXXIV (1953), pp. 231 and 235 (years 5409 and 5413). Yearly appointments began in Nisan = March-April. Wiznitzer’s *Jews in Colonial Brazil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), p. 177, identifies Velozino as father of “Jacob de Andrade Velozino, born in Brazil in 1639.”

31. Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo, “A ordem de Christo e a musica religiosa nos nossos dominios ultramarinos,” *O Instituto*, LVII/3 (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1910), p. 147. In colonial Brazil, the royally confirmed *mestre de capela* monopolized music instruction in his geographic area; also, all special music events had to be contracted through him. See Lange, pp. 42-45.

32. *Anais Pernambucanos*, III, 158; also Lange, *A organização*, p. 53.

33. Antônio de Santa Maria Jabotam = Jabotão (1695-1763/5), born in this same parish, movingly describes the neighboring indigenes’ introduction to *canto do Orgão* in his *Orbe Serafico Novo Brasilico* (Lisbon: Antônio Vicente da Silva, 1761), p. 91 ¶137 (in 1858 edition, Vol. II, p. 151).

34. *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional*, XXV-1903 (1904), p. 33; Ernesto Vieira, *Diccionario Biographico*, II, 35-36.

35. *Annaes*, XXV, 34: “As suas obras musicas são merecedoras de se darem ao prelo para instrução dos professores desta arte.”

João de Lima's renown as an extremely knowledgeable musician—whether singing or composing—gained him an invitation to Baía Cathedral, where during his long service as chapelmaster he taught both practical and speculative music so successfully that his pupils were able to occupy the best posts throughout all Brazil. Returning to Pernambuco, he became Olinda Cathedral chapelmaster, with equal profit to the public. Being so exceptional in his art, he was able to play every variety of instrument. Bishop Mathias de Figueiredo, doubting that anyone could be much of a virtuoso on both strings and winds took some [Olinda] canons to Lima's house [ca. 1690], where, to their amazement, he proved himself a master of organ, flute, bassoon, and trumpet, as well as of guitar, lute, theorbo, bandore, harp, violin, and 'cello.<sup>36</sup>

Among musicians of his own generation, Loreto Couto classed Ignácio Ribeiro Noya, born at Recife October 5, 1688, as an “excellente musico, e tangedor lo todo genero de instrumentos, de tal sorte que compoem a letra, e posta por elle em solfa a canta com boa voz, summa graça, e destreza.”<sup>37</sup> According to Ernesto Vieira's *Diccionario Biographico de Musicos Portuguezes*, I, 499-500, the Biblioteca Pública at Évora ought still today to preserve a two-volume *Escola de Canto de Orgão* completed in 1759-1760 by Caetano de Mello Jesus, chapelmaster at Baía. Vieira, who claimed personally having seen the bulky two-volume manuscript (librarians there in 1967 could not find it), said that Part II (1760) contained among other correspondence a letter from *o padre Ignacio Ribeiro Noya, mestre na villa do Recife*, discussing various musical problems.

But even more emphatically than Noya, Loreto Couto lauded two mulatto brothers, the elder of whom, *Felippe Nery da Trindade, presbitero do habito de S. Pedro*<sup>38</sup> (born at Recife May 20, 1714) excelled in both poetry and music.<sup>39</sup> The younger, Manoel de Almeida Botelho (born at Recife June 5, 1721)—although still in his thirties at the time Loreto Couto compiled his *Desagravos*—was already “hum dos mais famosos compositores da presente idade.”<sup>40</sup> A translation of Loreto

---

36. Loreto Couto lists these instruments thus: “orgão, pifaro, baixão, trombeta, etc. . . . viola, rebecão, cithara, theorba, arpa, bandurrilha, e rebeca.”

37. *Annaes*, XXV, 19-20. Noya sang gracefully and pleasantly the music which he had composed to his own original poetry. He also played a variety of instruments.

38. *Ibid.*, 24. The phrase “habito de S. Pedro” means that Nery da Trindade was a secular priest, rather than member of a religious order.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 25: “He musico, compositor, e instrumentista, tange rabeca, arpa e viola.”

40. *Ibid.*, p. 31; the transcript concords with the original manuscript (Lisbon Biblioteca Nacional, F.G. 873, pp. 394-395 [number 51]), except for inconsequential capitalization variants and an occasional “ão” for “aõ.” Caetano “Monsi,” the Italian commender of Botelho's muse, may be a misspelling. The 38-leaf manuscript at the Lisbon National Library catalogued as F.G. 9002 (*Compromisso da Irmandade da Gloriosa Virgem e Martyr*

Couto's entire account should prove worthwhile if for no other reason than because it provides so circumstantial a record:

Thoroughly schooled in counterpoint from early youth, Almeida Botelho has now become one of the most renowned composers of our present epoch, respected alike for the novelty of his musical ideas and for their tasteful and scientifically correct harmonization. In 1749 he migrated to Lisbon, where the court honored him with the highest marks of favor—not allowing his dusky color<sup>41</sup> to diminish by an iota the deference due his gifts, virtues, and ingenuous deportment. His Eminence, Thomas Cardinal Almeida [1670-1754], impressed with Almeida Botelho's rare ability and innate modesty, took him under wing, ordaining him deacon and priest and permitting him to celebrate his first Mass in his own private chapel: with all his chaplains and retinue present. His Excellency the [4th] Marquis of Marialva [1713-1799]<sup>42</sup> and other high ranking nobility at court so reveled in his singular virtuosity, especially his incomparable skill on the guitar, that they showered him with gifts. The best professionals in Portugal eagerly seized on his compositions, among which these are the principal: a *Missa a 4*, with 2 violins; the psalm *Lauda Jerusalem* set a 4 with 2 violins, oboe, and horns [*trompas*]; three *Tantum ergo* set a 4 with violins [*rebecas*] and one for double choir; various sonatas and toccatas for keyboard and for guitar [*viola*]; 5 motets and a *Miserere a 4* for Holy Week which after being tried out in the house of the *mestre da solfa* Joachim Borges were afterwards performed at his functions. Apart from all these compositions, he wrote many solo songs and duets while at Lisbon, also minuets, etc., all stamped with the seal of approval of Caetano Monsi [sic], the distinguished Italian singer and composer for the Patriarchal Church at Lisbon.

## V

The pronounced success of one Recife-born *pardo* at court soon inspired another's visit. Luiz Alves = Alvares Pinto (1719-1789),<sup>43</sup> born at

---

*Santa Cecilia . . . 1749*) contains the signatures of the 115 members in 1749. "Caetano Mõso," an Italian in the Royal Chapel, put his name to this list. Does Mõso = Monsi? See Júlio Dantas, "Um documento importante para a história da música em Portugal: *Anaes das Bibliotecas e Arquivos*, II série-N<sup>o</sup> 1 (January-March, 1920), p. 9. See also the Lisbon Biblioteca Nacional *Col. Pombalina 141* ("Relação da despeza, que em cada anno se faz em a S<sup>ta</sup> Igr.<sup>a</sup> Patriarchal de Lx.<sup>a</sup> com todos os pessoas que servem 1747," fols. 190-201<sup>v</sup>) for further data on the Italians singing in 1747.

41. The long record of lavish royal receptions for Negroes visiting the Portuguese court begins as early as 1488. In that year a 40-year-old Guinea chief dubbed "Bemoym" in Ruy de Pina's *Chronica d'ELRei Dom Joaõ II (Collecção de Livros Ineditos de Historia Portuqueza*, Tomo II [Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1792], cap. xxxii), pp. 89-96, was welcomed by João II, by the future king Manuel I, by the Conde de Marialva [Dom Francisco Coutinho], and by the rest of the royal house, with all the pomp and ceremony that the court could then muster.

42. Biography of Pedro de Alcântara de Menezes, etc. in *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, XXXIII, 71a; with portrait in *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, XVI, 339a.

43. Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa, *Diccionario Biographico de Pernambucanos Celebres* (Recife: Typographia Universal, 1882), pp. 617-620, summarizes the definitive

Recife of mulatto parents, began at thirteen to evince such musical ability that friends made a purse for him to pursue his education at Lisbon. There he studied with Henrique da Silva Negrão, the Lisbon Cathedral organist and composer who apart from being a virtuoso “knew counterpoint so thoroughly” that he deserved *huma cadeira desta faculdade*.<sup>44</sup> After a course with this composer of *muitas tucatas de Cravo* and of liturgical music, Pinto at 42 himself wrote a treatise called *Arte de solfejar* (1761), the 43-page manuscript of which is now catalogued F.G. 2265 at the Lisbon National Library.<sup>45</sup> Until a better candidate can be found, this music treatise by a Recife-born *pardo* must take rank as the earliest by a writer of New World birth now anywhere available for public inspection.

As such it deserves a separate essay, and an article is therefore now in preparation that will compare it with the earliest surviving “treatises” by a Peruvian—the *Cartilla Musica y primera parte que contiene un methodo facil de apreherderla à cantar* by Joseph Onofre Antonio de la Cadena [y Herrera] (Lima: Casa de los Niños Espósitos, 1763)<sup>46</sup> and the heretofore unknown *Dialogo Cathe-musico que pertêce à cantar* by the

---

data published posthumously in António Joaquim de Mello’s *Biographias de Joaquim Ignacio de Lima* [1783-1850], *Luiz Alves Pinto e José Correia Picanço* [1745-1825] (Recife: Typ. de M. Figueroa de Faria & filhos, 1895). See also Innocência Francisco da Silva, *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez*, V (1860), p. 209 and XIII (*Tomo Sexto do Supplemto* [by Brito Aranha], 1885), pp. 333-334.

44. José Mazza, “Dicionário Biográfico de Músicos Portugueses,” *Ocidente: Revista Portuguesa Mensal*, XXIII-1944, p. 367; XXIV-1944, p. 29 (“Pinto came to Lisbon to to study counterpoint with the celebrated Henrique da Silva”).

45. After the 43-page *Arte de solfejar*, this manuscript continues with Gregorio Santisso Bermudes’s *Destierro De la Propriedad de Bmol del genero Diatonico*; Alberto José Gomes da Silva’s *Regras de Acompanhar*, p.<sup>a</sup> *Cravo, ou Orgaõ*; and Alexandre Frère’s *Transportações de Musica*. Both Santisso Bermudes, “Maestro de canto, y seizes de esta santa Iglesia de la Ciudad de Sevilla,” and Silva (ca. 1730-1795) published their works at Lisbon (*Destierro*, Manuel Rodrigues, 1730; *Regras*, Francisco Luiz Ameno, 1758); but their treatises are here copied by hand, as is also the 52-page Portuguese version of Frère’s 98-page *Transpositions de musique, réduites au naturel* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1706; Amsterdam: E. Roger, 1710). Presumably the Francophile Pinto himself translated the Frère.

46. What is apparently the unique copy of the *Cartilla Musica* now survives at the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, where it bears the call-number M/178. Guillermo Lohmann Villena, “Un impreso timeño desconocido,” *Fénix: Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional* [Lima], XII (1956-1957), pp. 142-144, announced discovery of the work hitherto known only by title, briefly analyzed it, and published facsimiles of three pages. For an account of one stirring event in Cadena’s life, see Rodolfo Barbacci, “Apuntes para un Diccionario Biográfico Musical Peruano,” *Fénix*, VI (1949), p. 435.

same author that survives in manuscript at the Archivo de Indias, Seville (in *Indiferente General 1316*).<sup>47</sup>

Pinto at once proves himself the professional, in contrast with Cadena, the mere dilettante. Both admire French models—Pinto dismissing the usual Portuguese theorist as too curt, the Spaniard of Nassarre's or Lorente's stripe as too long-winded, but dotting on the French as "the Greeks of our century,"<sup>48</sup> while Cadena limits his roll-call of model theorists to only three, Guido of Arezzo, Jean de Muris, and Jean-Philippe Rameau.<sup>49</sup> But Cadena refuses to keep pace with "monsieur Rameau" when he advocates the treadmill of a mere six hexachord syllables for all solmization exercises.<sup>50</sup> In contrast, Pinto opts for nine syllables—adding *bi*, *ni*, and *si* to the traditional six. At pages 21-22 of his manuscript he inserts two short original melodies, one in major, the other in minor showing how these three new syllables are to be interwoven with the traditional six (Example 1).<sup>51</sup>

Not only because he writes at greater length than Cadena but also because he knows more, Pinto—in such a paragraph as his *Observação*

---

47. The *Dialogo Cathe-musico* begins at folio 6 of *Indiferente General 1316*, the earlier leaves comprising a printed *Relación de los meritos y servicios del Doctor Don Luis Joseph Freyre y Orbegoso, Cura en el Obispado de Truxillo*, dated August 23, 1770. A native of Usquil in Guamachuco = Huamachuco province of Trujillo, the 36-year-old Freyre y Orbegoso graduated Maestro and Doctor at Quito. Two years later (January 1, 1772) when Cadena dedicated his short question-and-answer treatise to this cura of Otusco, Cadena praised Freyre y Orbegoso's "passion for the science of music" (*conociendole tan apasionado a la ciencia Musica*). The musical examples gathered in the 1770's at both Guamachuco and Otusco and sent to Madrid (Biblioteca del Palacio) can be conveniently studied in facsimile. See Rubén Vargas Ugarte, César Arróspide de la Flor, and Rodolfo Holzmann, *Folklore Musical del Siglo XVIII* (Lima: Empresa Gráfica Scheuch S.A., 1946), pp. 19 and 23 [Guamachuco], 20 [Otusco]; commentary at pp. 7-8 [items 3 and 7, 4].

Cadena's *Dialogo* broaches such problems as *contrapunto suelto, y a concierto* [fol. 9<sup>v</sup> of *Indiferente General 1316*], when to use inversions and when root positions above an unfigured bass [fol. 8], classification of intervals ("the fourth is consonant or dissonant, depending on what goes beneath it" [fol. 9: *ni es consonante, ni disonante, aunque segun se aplica, goza de entreambos qualidades*]).

48. *Arte de solfejar*, p. 3: "Nelle se vem os Portuguezes confuzos pella brevidade, os Castelhanos ininteligiveis pella loquacidade. . . . Os Francezes saõ os Gregos dos nossos seculos." Pinto commends the Italians for clarity, but decrees them less learned and less careful than the Spanish: "os Italianos, ainda q̄ mais claros, q̄ aquellas [os Castelhanos], todavia saõ menos observantes q̄ elles; naõ mais sabios."

49. *Fémix*, XII, 143, citing Cadena's *Cartilla* (1763, dedication to Ignacio de la Portilla).

50. *Cartilla*, p. 25 (see first facsimile after p. 144 of Lohmann Villena's article).

51. *Ni* serves for the seventh degree of either C Major or F Major, *si* for any sharp, *bi* for any flat except B $\flat$  of F Major. Cf. *Arte de solfejar*, paragraphs 7-16.

ut mi ut sol ut ni bi sol la ni ut fa mi re ut ni la ni la sol

mi ut la ni la si la mi si re ut ni la sol ut ni la ni la

Example 1.

16 (“Do Ponto de Augmento”)—can invoke the authority of the Spanish theorist Francisco de Montanos, and can elsewhere refer familiarly to the Portuguese theorists António Fernandes (*Arte de Musica de canto dorgam, e canto cham, e proporções de musica* [Lisbon: Pedro Craesbeeck, 1626]) and João Alvares Frouvo (*Discursos sobre a perfeiçam do Diathesaron*, [Lisbon: A. Craesbeeck de Mello, 1662]). It was Fernandes, Duarte Lobo’s pupil, who first among Portuguese pundits tried cracking one hard nut of notational theory: how to sing three black breves in one voice part against four white breves in the other voice parts.<sup>52</sup> This problem—posed by the *Christe* of Cristóbal de Morales’s *Mille regretz* Mass (1544, parodied on the Josquin chanson)—had returned to plague Alvares Frouvo 36 years later.<sup>53</sup> Pinto deplores the “confuzaõ de abuzos, q̄ Joaõ Alvares Frouvo, Ant.<sup>o</sup> Frz.” and numerous others had fostered by penning so many “papeis, repostas, e duvidas sobre tres breves negros, q̄ Christovaõ de Morales trazia em o *Christe* de huã Missa, q̄ fez.”<sup>54</sup> Nonetheless, he himself cannot resist tackling the same issue. His native diffidence prevents his boasting of a solution to Morales’s notational conundrum upon which he expects all to agree. But his thus alluding to the Morales puzzle does serve one extremely useful bibliographic purpose.

Two centuries earlier the Mexico City chronicler Francisco Cervantes de Salazar in his *Tombo imperial* (Mexico City: Antonio de Espinosa, 1560) had cited Cristóbal de Morales as a musical paragon.<sup>55</sup>

52. *Arte de Musica* (1626), p. 19 (ch. 30).

53. *Discursos sobre a perfeiçam . . . & reposta sobre os tres breves negros de Christovaõ de Morales*, 1662 (British Museum, k. 8. c. 17; Lisbon Biblioteca Nacional, Res. 314V], p. 97, equates the three black breves with 3 + 2 + 3 minims.

54. *Arte de solfejar*, p. 26 (paragraph 11).

55. Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVI*, ed. by Agustín Millares Carlo (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1954), pp. 181-182.

Through the intervening years Morales's Masses and Magnificats had been staples of cathedral music from Mexico City to the capital of the Audiencia de Charcas. What is more, the oldest European polyphonic imprint in any Latin American library or archive discovers itself still today to be none other than Morales's 1544 Masses<sup>56</sup>—to one of which, the *Mille regretz a 6*, Pinto alludes familiarly. What more cogent evidence of a continuing polyphonic tradition common to both Spanish and Portuguese America, 1560-1761, than the recurrence in the bibliography of this one name, Morales?

Pinto's retrospective glance at Morales, his allusions to Cerone, Lorente, Duarte Lobo,<sup>57</sup> and his acquaintance with the classic Portuguese theorists, Pedro Thalesio (*Arte de Canto Chão*, 1618 and 1628<sup>58</sup>), António Fernandes, João Alvares Frouvo, and Frouvo's pupil Manoel Nunes da Sylva (*Arte mínima*, 1685, 1704, 1725) refute Vieira, who accused him of being a "theorico pouco profundo."<sup>59</sup> Nor is Pinto the ignoramus that Vieira would have him, so far as contemporary developments are concerned. Like Manuel de Moraes Pedroso, whose *Compendio musico* (Oporto: M. Pedroso Coimbra, 1751) was the first Portuguese treatise to canvass the da capo aria, to tell what makes a sinfonia, and to explain how to perform graces,<sup>60</sup> Pinto takes a healthy interest in his own contemporary musical situation. For instance he wishes the *apogio* = appoggiatura to occupy only a quarter of the succeeding note's value and gives this illustration:<sup>61</sup>

---

56. R. Stevenson, "Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Resources in Mexico," *Fontes artis musicae*, 1954/2, p. 74; *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), p. 67; "The Earliest Polyphonic Imprint in South America," *Notes of the Music Library Association*, sec. ser., XXIII/3 (March, 1967), pp. 453-454.

57. *Arte de solfejar*, paragraph 16 of *Proemio*.

58. The Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, owns both editions, the first having belonged to Abrahão Carvalho, the second to the Bibliotheca Regia.

59. *Diccionario Biographico*, II, 184.

60. Moraes Pedroso, whose *Te Deum and Aria Dichoso Serás* enter the Lima [Peru] Archiepiscopal archive (*Cuaderno de Estudio*, III/7 [Pontificia Universidad del Perú, 1949], p. 45, items 138 and 139), describes the *Pratica para fazer Area* at page 43, *Pratica para fazer Symphonia* at 44, *achacaturas* at 41, *apojos* at 9 (1751 and 1769 editions). Discussing secco recitative at pp. 43-44, he propounds these rules: (1) write in 4/4 (2) should the voice enter after the first chord, allow no more than a quarter- nor less than an eighth-rest (3) first note in voice should not be accidentalized (4) forgo suspended cadences at the close (5) intrude unprepared dissonances at will (6) keep the voice moving in quarters, halves, eighths, and occasional sixteenths (7) move the bass slowly in comparison with the voice. As can be immediately seen, these concise rules concord with ca. 1751 practice.

61. *Arte de solfejar*, pp. 33-34.

(a) As written:



(b) As played:



Only eight years earlier Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach had in his *Versuch . . . das Clavier zu spielen* [Berlin, 1753] I, ii, 2, advocated another rule, namely, that the appoggiatura should generally consume half the length of the succeeding note in duple meter, two-thirds in triple.

When beating time “formerly it was the custom to rotate the arm in a circle” but Pinto advocates vigorous down motion on the first beat of a bar, so that all can see.<sup>62</sup> His numerous other practical hints show how much further beyond mere sight-singing he wishes to carry his students.

No doubt Pinto did try coaxing pupils into adopting his method with promises of faster improvement than any but the most talented could hope to achieve. His promising to make a complete musician in less than a year particularly annoyed Ernesto Vieira. But since he surely intended to publish his *Arte de solfejar*, just as he was later to publish his 74-page *Diccionario pueril para o uso dos meninos, ou dos que principiam o A B C, e a soletrar dicções* (Lisbon: Francisco Luis Ameno, 1784), his over-optimistic promises were probably intended more as a “jacket puff” than as a “money-back” guarantee. His daughters helped him teach both music and letters when upon returning home to Recife he opened a school in *a casa de sobrado, ultima da rua Estreita do Rosario, lado do norte, caminhando de nascente à poente*.<sup>63</sup> However exaggerated the claims in his *Arte de solfejar*, his ability to train up a whole generation of musicians in his home town testifies to his practical ability as a pedagogue.

The Recife church served by him *ca.* 1764-1789 as mestre de capella—São Pedro dos Clérigos<sup>64</sup>—still today rates as *uma das igrejas mais românticas do Brasil*, according to Gilberto Freyre.<sup>65</sup> During his quarter-century at São Pedro “everything played and sung in Per-

62. *Ibid.*, p. 25. On page 28 he discusses the tempi implied by the various meters (e.g., an eighth in 3/8 should move faster than an eighth in 6/8). At page 31 he studies syncopes.

63. Pereira da Costa, *Diccionario Biographico de Pernambucanos Celebres*, p. 617. Concerning an *Escolla Publica de Musica* taught by Ascenso Corrêa in neighboring Olinda *ca.* 1726 see Lange, *A Organização musical*, pp. 73-74 and Fot. 5 between pp. 96-97.

64. Pereira da Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 618.

65. *Guia Prático, Histórico e Sentimental da Cidade do Recife*, p. 83. Freyre praises the

nambuco was his composition,"<sup>66</sup> declared his first biographer Antônio Joaquim de Mello (1794-1873). His compositions still surviving when Mello undertook Pinto's biography included: three hymns to Nossa Senhora da Penha and Mãe do povo with texts by an Olinda-born poet, Manuel de Souza Magalhães (1744-1800)<sup>67</sup>; *Matinas* for São Pedro; same for Santo Antônio; numerous *ladainhas*; a *Paixão*; and various sonatas. According to Mazza, Pinto composed also "some funeral music in memory of King Joseph I (1714-1777) for four choirs."<sup>68</sup> However, this and his other occasional music had evidently been lost before Mello's time.

A poet playwright as well as musician, he composed a three-act *Amor mal correspondido* produced publicly at Recife in 1780 that many historians of Brazilian literature class as the first drama publicly mounted in Brazil by a native-born author.<sup>69</sup> Although not designed for singing (there is but one *coro figurado pela musica*), the play matches the best opera seria of the day, insofar as intrigue is concerned. The complicated argument can be thus capsuled:

After having saved Clorinda from a Greek tyrant's designs on her kingdom, the two princes Florisbello and Celauro vie for her hand. She flits from one suitor to the other, eventually choosing Celauro. Florisbello seeing that Celauro, disgusted with her fickleness, intends to jilt her, gallantly fights his former rival, wins, and therupon forces Celauro to marry the very woman whom they had both ardently courted.

As if all these proofs of versatility were insufficient, Francisco Curt Lange in 1966 published documentation culled from the Rio de Janeiro Arquivo Nacional (Caixa 932, Pac. 94, Doc. 109; Caixa 926, Pac. 65, Doc. 90) making Pinto's church, São Pedro dos Clérigos, the seat of the

---

door as *uma delicia*, the towers as *das mais bonitas que tem a cidade*, the interior as a baroque museum.

66. Pereira da Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 618: "todo que era concernente à musica que então se tocava ou cantava em Pernambuco, era produção sua."

67. One of these hymns, the words of which Souza Magalhães wrote at eighteen, continued to be sung at Pernambuco a century later. See Augusto Sacramento Blake, *Diccionario Bibliographico Brasileiro*, VI (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1900), pp. 202; also V (1899), pp. 345-346.

68. *Ocidente*, XXIV/77 (September, 1944), p. 29.

69. Samuel Campello, "O Theatro em Pernambuco," *Revista do Instituto Archeologico Historico e Geographico Pernambucano*, XXIV/115-118 (1922), p. 572: "*Amor mal comprehendido*, composta em verso, . . . a primeira comedia escripta por brasileiro e representada em theatro publico;" also, Carlos Süsskind de Mendonça, *Historia do Theatro Brasileiro (1565-1840)* (Rio de Janeiro: Mendonça Machado & Cia., 1926), p. 112. Augusto Sacramento Blake, *Diccionario Bibliographico Brasileiro*, V, 346, denies Luiz Alves Pinto this priority, giving it instead to Bento Teixeira Pinto.

Recife St. Cecilia's Confraternity formally approved by royal *alvará* in the last year of Pinto's life.<sup>70</sup> In 1900 Ernesto Vieira had already traced the history of the Lisbon prototype St. Cecilia's Confraternity 1603-1755, 1755-1787, and 1787-1894 (*Diccionario*, II, 352-359, I, 66-75, and I, 329-346), and had shown that in the eighteenth century it far outgrew any mere charitable organization bent on relieving the wants of its members. Instead, the Lisbon Irmandade de Santa Cecilia had become a potent musician's union aspiring to the control of all sacred and secular musical life in the capital. Of the 115 who belonged to the Lisbon Irmandade in 1749, 44 were foreigners or foreignborn, 25 were clergy.<sup>71</sup> The Recife *Compromisso* royally approved in 1789 copied a Lisbon model when it instituted a confraternity enrolling primarily laity and welcomed into membership all paying practitioners, no matter where born or of what complexion.<sup>72</sup>

## VI

In the Baía area, formalized music instruction began to be offered Negroes no later than 1610. During his two months in the area (August 10 to October 7, 1610), François Pyrard—a native of Laval but with several years of soldiering for the Portuguese in Goa and elsewhere to his credit—found a fellow Frenchman from Provence teaching “twenty or thirty” Negroes how to play and sing. Hired for this by a sugar tycoon identified as João Furtado de Mendonça (governor of Angola 1594-1602),<sup>73</sup> the Provençal music maestro lived on the estate.

70. *A Organização Musical*, p. 56: “os Professores de Musica desta Cidade do Recife e seus Termos instituirão sua Irmandade no anno de mil setecentos e oitenta e nove na Igreja de São Pedro dos Clerigos, e organizarão na mesma data seu Compromisso, que fora approvado por Carta Regia ou Alvará de Sua Magestade . . .” Pereira da Costa dated the founding of the Recife St. Cecilia Confraternity a year earlier (Lange, *op. cit.*, p. 49).

71. Signatures in Lisbon Biblioteca Nacional manuscript F.G. 9002. See above, footnote 40. In *A organização* (p. 47) Lange lamented that the names of pre-1755 Lisbon St. Cecilia *irmãos* cannot now be localized in the archive at the *Igreja dos Martires, no Chiado*. Júlio Dantas, *Inspector das Bibliotecas Eruditas e Arquivos* in 1920, obtained the 1749 *Crompromisso* (F.G. 9002) for the National Library. Prominent among the 1749 signatories: Frei António do Espírito Santo, Bemposta organist and chapelmaster, João Rodrigues Esteves, Lisbon cathedral mestre da capela, and Francisco Ignácio Solano, paramount Portuguese theorist of his generation; but not Pinto's own counterpoint teacher Henrique da Silva Negrão (joined the *irmandade* February 19, 1761, died 1781 [Vieira, *Diccionario*, II, 116]).

72. According to Lange, *op. cit.*, p. 58, “no compromisso antigo de 1789 também não podia ter sido estabelecida uma discriminação racial entre músicos”—a supposition strengthened by Pinto's own racial background.

73. *Viagem de Francisco Pyrard de Laval*, transl. by Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara [*Biblioteca Histórica de Portugal e Brasil*, III] (Oporto: Livraria Civilização, 1944),

The magnate could well afford the luxury of his own private orchestra and chorus "making music day and night" because his fortune of 300,000 crowns climbed yearly with sugar profits.

Even earlier than 1610, Brazilian blacks had reached Portugal, one of whom—a Negro woman—resided at Évora in the house of Pedro do Porto = Pedro de Escobar when Fernão Cardoso paid the aged chapel-master a visit. Or at least so reported Cardoso in his *Paragrafo rotavel sobre P<sup>o</sup> do Porto Mestre da Capella do Cardeal Dom Affonso* (Biblioteca da Ajuda, Códice 51/II/14 [*Miscellanea historica e litteraria*], fol. 89<sup>v</sup>) when he wrote: "vejo vir pela casa hua sua negra do Brasil<sup>74</sup> m<sup>ta</sup> doce." Much more easily collected than notices of Brazilian blacks taken to Portugal would of course be accounts of Negro dancers and musicians brought directly from Africa.<sup>75</sup> Sub-Saharan music heard *in situ* so fascinated Portuguese visitors during three centuries that exploration literature abounds in cordial accounts—from Ruy de Pina who remarked on the musical retinue of the Congo king in 1491<sup>76</sup> and Duarte Lopes who a century later lengthily described Congo court instruments including "certain Lutes . . . made after a strange fashion" (when played cunningly, "every thing almost which may be explained with the tongue, they can declare with their hande in touching and striking this instrument")<sup>77</sup> to André Gonçalves d'Almada who in 1733 publish-

---

II, 236-237. See also Affonso d'E. Taunay, "Na Bahia Colonial 1610-1764," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, Tomo 90-Vol. 144 (1921), [1925], pp. 248 (Pyrard's dates at Baía), 256-257.

74. During Act III of António de Souza's five-act *Tragicomédia de la conquista del Oriente* mounted August 21-22, 1619, at the Jesuit College of Santo Antão in Lisbon, Philip III of Spain and his retinue beheld a troupe representing Brazilian Indians. They danced and sang in Negro-dialect Portuguese (*Façamo feça a nozo Rey*). Their king was played by an actor *de su natural pardo* and the whole troupe sang a chorus ending with the line, "We are black, very black" (*negros mu negros*). See Claude-Henri Fréches, "Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal," *Portugiesische Forschungen, Erste Reihe-Bd. 5* (Münster/Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), p. 118. Perhaps Pedro do Porto's *negra do Brasil m<sup>ta</sup> doce* was a Brazilian Indian, not a Brazilian of African descent. As early as 1515, 85 Brazilian indigenes were sold as slaves at Valencia. The traffic did therefore exist. See Vicenta Cortés, *La esclavitud en Valencia durante el reinado de los Reyes Católicos (1479-1516)* (Valencia: Excmo. Ayuntamiento, 1964), p. 60 and notes 17, 18.

75. Typical of the literature that should be searched for Negro notices: *Relatione Succinta Della Solenne Processione . . . Fatta in Lisbona da Monsignor Vescovo Accoromboni Collettore* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1616), fol. B 4v. (*gran schiera di Negri*).

76. *Chronica d'ElRei Dom João II* (Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1792 [Collecção de Livros Ineditos de Historia Portugueza, Tomo II]), pp. 152-153: "E pera isso se ajuntou muita gente . . . com atabaques, e trombetas de marfim, e com violas; tudo segundo seu costume . . ."

77. *Relatione del Reame di Congo* (Rome: Bartolomeo Grassi, 1591 [bk. 2, ch. 7]),

ed a *Relação e descrição de Guiné na qual se trata das varias naçcens de negros* (Lisbon: Miguel Rodrigues) containing an admiring report of “talking drums” (*Bambalo, que tocado soa a duas, e tres leguas, com o qual se entendem, e neste espaço com elle se dão os avisos necessarios, e em poucas horas se ajuntão*).

The centuries-old Portuguese contacts with African music, the intimate administrative links throughout the colonial period (governors and bishops<sup>78</sup> moved freely between Angola and Brazil), and the cultural dependence that even now permits a popular writer calling her book *Brasil, fronteira da África* (São Paulo, 1963) furnished fertile soil for the growth of various colonial “schools” of mulatto composers. Among these, one of the better-known has now become the *Escola de Compositores de Minas Gerais*, lengthily investigated by Lange in a series of articles that ranges from a preliminary report in the *Boletín Latino-Americano de Música*, VI (1946), 409-494, to “Os compositores na Capitania Geral das Minas Gerais,” *Estudos Históricos*, N.ºs 3 & 4 (Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, Marília, December, 1965), 33-111. The central figure among Lange’s group, José Joaquim Emerico Lôbo de Mesquita—“a dark mulatto”—worked successively at Arraial do Tijuco=Diamantina (1780-1798), Vila Rica (approximately two years), and Rio de Janeiro (in which capital he died toward the close of April, 1805).<sup>79</sup>

African seed, having still earlier been so lavishly planted in the coastal capitals, made possible the flowering of other “schools” of black and near-black composers. Not always remembered is the fact that some of these coastal mulattos won applause loud enough during their own epochs to be heard at faraway Évora in mainland Portugal. When Manoel d’Araújo Pôrto-Alegre (1806-1879) published his “Apostamentos sobre a vida e obras do padre José Mauricio Nunes Garcia”

---

transl. by Abraham Hartwell as *A reporte of the Kingdome of Congo* (London: John Wolfe, 1597), pp. 182-183; trans. by Rosa Capeans as *Relação do Reino de Congo* (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1951), pp. 126-127.

78. Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 473, lists four bishops of Luanda who between 1697 and 1801 were translated to Baía, Maranhão, and Rio de Janeiro. From 1676 until 1845 Luanda remained a suffragan of Baía. See *Arquivos de Angola*, 2.ª Série, II/7 (1944), pp. 54, 70; also “Lista Cronológica dos Bispos,” p. 95. To mark the arrival of the most famous Angola bishop translated to Brazil, António do Desterro Malheyro, O.S.B., there was mounted at Rio on December 11, 1746, “huma noite Attica, na representação da Opera intitulada *Felinto Exaltado*, com excellente Musica, e os representantes especiosamente vestidos” (Luiz Antonio Rosado da Cunha, *Relação da entrada* [Rio de Janeiro: Na Segunda Officina de Antonio Isidoro da Fonseca, 1747], p. 7).

79. Lange, “Os compositores,” *Estudos Históricos*, 3/4 (December, 1965), pp. 51, 74-75, 83-84.

(1767-1830) in the *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1856), XIX, 354-369, he may have been breaking fresh ground so far as Brazil is concerned. But the pioneer musical dictionary in Portuguese—compiled by José Mazza (died December 14, 1797), a chamber player at D. José's court who in later life followed an episcopal patron from Lisbon to Beja to Évora—had already tilled the field with lists of composers in the Brazilian coastal capitals of Pernambuco, Baía, and Rio that includes a “Lembransa dos do Rio de Janr.<sup>o</sup>”<sup>80</sup> beginning with “Padre José Mauricio [Nunes Garcia] *pardo*, f.<sup>o</sup> do Anna M.<sup>a</sup><sup>81</sup> o Pai se não sabe, natural da mesma Cid.<sup>e</sup>” The list next names Nunes Garcia's teacher—“Salvador José com ocupação da mesma Arte, *pardo*, f.<sup>o</sup> de Quiteria e de João Baptista, bautizado na Freguesia de S. José natural da mesma Cid.<sup>e</sup>” and after four other musicians concludes with the then cathedral chapelmaster.<sup>82</sup> The precocity enabling Nunes Garcia at only sixteen to compose a notable *Tota pulcra es Maria Consertad<sup>a</sup>* (Escola Nacional de Música, item 1 in the 3.<sup>a</sup> *Exposição de Obras Raras e Valiosas. Manuscritos e autografos do Padre José Mauricio Nunes Garcia de 13 a 30 de Agôsto de 1954* [obra 4192, volume 3149] and that in 1791 gained him the commission to write a Te Deum celebrating Viceroy Luis de Vasconcelos's completion of a tour of duty,<sup>83</sup> thus won him a Portuguese dictionary mention only shortly after his being priested in 1792.<sup>84</sup>

Another mulatto priest mentioned by Mazza, Jerónimo de Sousa Pereira, “trained up many fine students of counterpoint in both Pernambuco and its environs.”<sup>84</sup> While serving as chapelmaster of the Church of São Pedro Gonçalves in Recife, Sousa Pereira composed

---

80. *Ocidente*, XXIII/74 (June, 1944), pp. 196-197; also, *separata* (Lisbon: Typografia da Editorial Império, Lda. [1945]), pp. 8-9.

81. Victória Maria da Cruz, according to Manoel d'Araújo Pôrto-Alegre, “Apontamentos,” *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico do Brazil*, terceira série, XIX/23, p. 355. Cf. Luiz Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo, “José Mauricio Nunes Garcia,” *Boletim Latino-Americano de Música*, I (Montevideo: April, 1935), p. 136, and *150 Anos de Música no Brasil*, p. 31.

82. “Por morte do reverendo João Lopes Ferreira, mestre de capella da antiga Cathedral e Sé, foi elle [Nunes Garcia] nomeado . . . 2 de Junho de 1798,” *RIHGB*, XIX/23, p. 358. Mazza (*Ocidente*, XXIII/74, p. 197) cites Lopes Ferreira's first name as *Joaquim*, not *João* (presuming that Alegria transcribed Évora manuscript CXIV/1-26/d correctly).

83. *150 Anos de Música no Brasil*, p. 33.

84. Araújo Pôrto-Alegre, “Apontamentos,” p. 357: “The rich merchant Thomaz Gonçalves made over property to him that eased his road toward being ordained a deacon and being priested in 1792, and his being licensed a preacher in 1798 (upon completing a course in rhetoric with Dr. Manoel Ignacio da Silva Alvarenga).”

*varias obras em Musica.*<sup>85</sup> Two more *pernambucanos* who enter Mazza's list were: Antonio Alves, "a secular priest who is not only a learned composer but also erudite in philosophy and theology," and Nuno da Cunha, "a native of Pernambuco where he is esteemed the best composer thus far born there."<sup>86</sup> Because the latter was such a musical cynosure that he could improvise at sight a voice-part lost from a Mass *a 4* and *a 8*, not to mention other abilities, Lange suggested<sup>87</sup> that it was perhaps Nuno da Cunha to whom Luiz Joaquim dos Santos Marrocos referred when he wrote his father in Lisbon a sarcastic letter dated at Rio de Janeiro September 28, 1813:<sup>88</sup>

A great performer and composer who has arrived here from Pernambuco, and who has now become Marcos Portugal's avowed enemy, shows all who are interested the many passages in Portugal's works stolen from other composers and palmed off as his own inventions.

Five years earlier (1808) D. João VI had moved the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro (where it remained until 1821). Marcos Portugal, "composer laureate," heeded D. João's summons in 1811. According to Vieira, when Portugal in 1812, a year after arrival, mounted at Rio de Janeiro the musical farce *A Saloia namorda*, all performers were "Negroes studying in the conservatory founded by D. João VI."<sup>89</sup> But lyric theater entrusted to *carioca* Negroes can have been nothing really new in 1812 Rio. Already in June of 1767, Louis Antoine de Bougainville (1729-1811) during a stopover in Rio (which had become the viceregal capital in 1763) heard a *troupe de mulâtres* perform *les chefs d'oeuvre de Métastasio*<sup>90</sup> in a "very pretty Opera house." The conductor, a hunchbacked mulatto priest named Ventura, had himself

---

85. *Ocidente*, XXIII/76 (August, 1944), p. 367.

86. *Ocidente*, XXIV/78 (October, 1944), pp. 153.

87. *A Organização*, p. 55.

88. Carta N.º 56 (original in Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon), *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação, 1939), LVI-1934, p. 160: "hum grande Musico e Compositor, vindo de Pernambuco e q. aqui vive, he hum seu Antagonista, e mostra a todos, os q. quizerem ver, os lugares, q. Marcos [Portugal] furta de outros A.A., publicando-os como originaes." Vieira, *Diccionario*, II, 210, punctuates differently, but the sense is the same.

89. *Diccionario*, II, 209. In "A Música Erudita na Regência e no Imperio," *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira*, directed by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1967), II, 373, Lange wishes "definitively to eradicate from the chapters of Brazilian music history" the *Conservatório de Música dos Negros* on the Santa Cruz estate fifty miles from Rio de Janeiro.

90. João Carneiro da Silva's Portuguese translation, *Composições Dramaticas do Abbade Pedro Metastasio* [1698-1782] (Lisbon: Simão Thaddeo Ferrera, 1783), climaxed a half-century of rising Portuguese interest. Metastasio's *Demetrio* had served in 1736, 1739,

launched this opera house earlier that very year.<sup>91</sup> Where was he and where were the pardos who sang “Metastasio’s masterpieces” under his baton trained?

Adrien Balbi’s *Essai statistique sur le royaume de Portugal et d’Algarve* (Paris: Chez Rey et Gravier, 1822) II, ccxiii-ccxiv, note 1, would have one believe that D. João VI’s conservatory for Negroes harked back to a Jesuit-financed institution. When turning into a royal residence the Santa Cruz estate formerly owned by the Jesuits, “D. João and his whole court were vastly surprised by the perfection of the vocal and instrumental music performed by Negroes of both sexes at Masses celebrated in St. Loyola Church on the estate.”

Great lover of music that he is, His Majesty upon finding the Negroes so well sustained by the instruction that they had formerly received decided to profit from the circumstance by reintroducing the teaching of letters, composition, singing, and performance on a variety of instruments. The brothers Marcos and Simão Portugal have written works expressly for these new adepts of Terpsichore that have been perfectly performed. . . . Both brothers dilate at length on their experiences with Negro musicians at Rio de Janeiro. Frequently His Majesty attends religious functions where all the music is confided to them. . . . Not long ago the Portugal brothers were commissioned to write operas performed entirely by Africans, to the great delight of all connoisseurs who attended.

The activities of African-descended opera troupes in hinterland Brazil cannot be so easily documented as in coastal capitals. Nonetheless, a month-long round of festivities to celebrate the arrival of Diogo Ordonhes, newly appointed governor of gold-rush Cuyabá, culminated

---

and 1765 as libretto for operas presented in Lisbon (Academia da Trindade, Teatro Novo da Rua dos Condes, and Real Teatro de Salvaterra) by Caldara, Gaetano Maria Schiassi, and Davide Perez. The Biblioteca da Ajuda owns settings of this same libretto by Francesco Bianchi, Galuppi, Insanguine, Carlo Antonio Monza, Mysliwceck, and Pampani—all of them sung at Lisbon at various times, 1759-1780. Metastasio’s *Adriano in Siria* and *Artasense* provided Perez with librettos for operas mounted at Lisbon in 1752 and 1753. Repeated in 1754 at the Teatro dos Paços da Ribeira, Perez’s *Artasense* was followed by a setting of the same libretto by Giuseppe Scolari in 1768 (Teatro da Rua dos Condes). Ten settings of Metastasio’s *Demoofonte*, seven of his *Alessandro nell’Indie*, nine of *Clemenza di Tito*, six of *Didone abbandonata*, eight of *Ezio*, and thirteen of the *Olimpiade* survive in the Biblioteca da Ajuda collection to confirm still further Metastasio’s surpassing vogue at Lisbon. Bougainville may be the first to record having seen a Metastasio opera in the Americas.

91. *Voyage autour du monde, par la frégate du roi La Boudeuse et La Flûte l’Étoile; En 1766, 1767, 1768 & 1769* (Paris: Saillant & Nyon, 1771), p. 77. See also José Maria da Silva Paranhos, Barão do Rio Branco, *Efemérides Brasileiros*, 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1938), pp. 563, 574; Francisco Adolpho de Varnhagen, Visconde de Porto Seguro, *Historia Geral do Brasil, 3.ª edição integral* (São Paulo: Comp. Melhoramentos, n.d.), IV, 236, note 24; Cláudio Bardy, “O Século XVIII,” in *Rio de Janeiro em*

Monday night August 30, 1790, with Voltaire's *Zaïre*, followed the next night with an opera seria, *Ezio in Roma*, sung by an all-male mulatto company consisting of five principals and four aides. *Ezio*, dealing with the savior of Rome and conqueror of the Huns, acknowledged Porpora (1728) for its composer, according to Corrêa de Azevedo.<sup>92</sup> The names of all nine singers, their roles, the name of the Maecenas who paid for the performance, and a contemporary critique of the mulattos' artistry survived in an eighteenth-century manuscript printed for the first time in the *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico de São Paulo*, IV (1898-99).<sup>93</sup> The anonymous contemporary critique reads (in part) as follows:

*Ezio in Roma* was mounted Tuesday night August 31 by a mulatto troupe rehearsed by Manoel Leite Penteado. The trim action and the rich costuming came up to the standards already set in previous performances. The clothes and crowns of the principal actors were especially sumptuous. The many arias were all very well delivered indeed, because everyone in the troupe is a rare singer and the actor who did the part of the Emperor Valentian III's sister, Honoria, is a professional, with voice and style to match. The large accompanying ensemble played several sonatas. . . . Drums and trumpets marked the passing of the hours. . . .

Opera history at São Paulo itself begins with a mulatto—Antônio Manso da Mota (born 1732), who at thirty-six arrived from Baía to replace the septuagenarian priest who had been cathedral chapelmaster since 1735, Mathias Álvares Torres. At once Manso da Mota began freshening the cathedral repertory with the *melhores solfas de bom gosto do tempo presente*.<sup>94</sup> But these sounded too secular to the bishop inaugurated in 1771. Frei Manuel da Ressurreição (ruled São Paulo see, 1771-1789)—after inveighing against Manso da Mota's local

---

*seus quatrocentos anos* (Rio de Janeiro: Distribuidora Record, 1965), p. 94 ("O primeiro theatro da cidade"=Casa da Opera). This first Rio opera house burned down in 1769, but was immediately followed by a Nova Opera (Süssekind de Mendonça, *op. cit.*, p. 178). Corrêa de Azevedo, *150 Anos*, p. 21, lists works by Antônio José da Silva performed in the old and new opera houses.

92. *150 Anos de Música no Brasil*, p. 20. According to *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, X (1962), col. 1455, Venice saw the Porpora premiere. Nicolò Jommelli (1714-1774) composed a three-act *Ezio* for King Joseph I's birthday in 1771. The autograph score, catalogued at the Biblioteca da Ajuda as 44/X/11-13, vouches for its Portuguese premiere. On the face of it, Jommelli seems likelier than Porpora to have composed the *Ezio* offered at Cuyabá in 1790.

93. Joaquim Costa Siqueira's *Chronicas de Cuyabá*, found among the papers of General José Arouche served as manuscript source, but Costa Siqueira is not credited with the critique. See pp. 236-237, footnote. Critique is at p. 241, performers are listed at p. 227.

94. Régis Duprat, "A Música na Matriz e na Sé de São Paulo Colonial 1611-1822," unpublished University of São Paulo doctoral dissertation (finished at Paris January 26, 1963), p. 42: quoting Botelho Mourão, governor and captain-general. Documents

operatic ventures, the levity of his church music, and his addiction to brilliant violins and other profane instruments—replaced him in 1774 with the decorous André da Silva Gomes (1752-1844) imported from Lisbon to steer São Paulo cathedral music back to its proper course.<sup>95</sup>

## VII

André da Silva Gomes's 76 *obras musicais manuscritas existentes no Arquivo da Cúria Metropolitana de São Paulo* (catalogued by Régis Duprat, "A Música na Matriz e Sé de São Paulo Colonial," 97-121) range from a *Missa a 5* (SSAT, Basso=Organo) dated 1784 that stops with the *Cum Sancto Spiritu*, a *Messa per violini, trombe, a octo voce concertada* estimated 1787-90 by Duprat, and a Christmas *Missa concertada com violinos, quatro vozes, e acompanhamento* dated 1823, to numerous psalms, hymns, and antiphons—of which *Adjuva nos Deus*, dated 1781, is apparently the earliest. José Maurício Nunes Garcia's earliest dated composition, the *Tota pulchra es Maria Consertada*<sup>a</sup> mentioned above, belongs to 1783. The earliest of the *obras até agora achadas de José Joaquim Emerico Lôbo de Mesquita* is a *Salve Regina* with the date 1787 on the cover (*Antiphona de Nossa Senhora Com Violines e Basso*).<sup>96</sup>

In Portugal, the earliest *Missa* ascribed to "Brasil" turns up at folios 45<sup>v</sup>—56 of an early seventeenth-century codex found in 1947 by the Benedictine Dom Mauro Fábregas at Arouca, 25 miles southeast of Oporto.<sup>97</sup> Subtitled *Sobre O gram senhora*,<sup>98</sup> this is a parody *Mass a 4*

---

summarized in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, Tomo Especial* [Catálogo de Documentos Sôbre a História de S. Paulo existentes no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, de Lisboa], VI (1957), pp. 400-401.

95. Duprat, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-67, discusses Silva Gomes's lengthy and fruitful career. Silva Gomes's anointing with oils certificate dated Lisbon January 1, 1773 (Duprat, pp. 69-70), documents his baptism December 15, 1752. He died at São Paulo June 17, 1844.

96. "Os compositores na Capitania Geral das Minas Gerais," *Estudos Históricos*, p. 98. *Frontespício do manuscrito* shown in facsimile between pp. 112-113. At pp. 91-92 Lange prints a contract with the Third Carmelite Order at Arraial do Tejuco = Diamantina dated June 17, 1789, obligating Lôbo de Mesquita to play at certain specified Masses and Litanies. This is Lange's earliest document mentioning Lôbo de Mesquita.

97. Described by Mário de Sampaio Ribeiro in *Sete "Alleluias" inéditos (dum códice do Mosteiro de Arouca)* (Oporto: Tipografia Porto Médico, L.da, 1949 [Edições Ora & Labora, Mosteiro de Singeverga, Negrelas]). Size: 35.5 x 24.5 cm; 2.0 cm thick. Among the various watermarks is a fleur-de-lis inside a circle. Sampaio Ribeiro detected three hands in the manuscript.

98. The unique parody of a vernacular work in the entire corpus of printed Portuguese polyphony (Manuel Cardoso, Filipe de Magalhães, Duarte Lobo)—the *Missa O Soberana Luz a 5* which comes next to last in the eight Masses of Magalhães's *Missarum liber* (Lisbon:

in dorian mode: parody rather than paraphrase or cantus firmus, because each principal movement from Kyrie through Agnus commences with the same polyphonic complex. The openings of Kyrie I, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei will illustrate (Example 2).

Ky - ri - e e - - - - - le - i - - son,  
Kyri - e e - le - i - son, Ky - - - - ri - -

Ky - ri - e e - - - - - le - - - - i - - son  
e e - le - i - son

A. *Kyrie I* (fols. 45<sup>v</sup>-46). Example 2A.

San - - - ctus, San - - - - - ctus,  
San - - - - - ctus, San - - - - - ctus, San - - - - -

San - - - - - ctus  
San - - - - - ctus

B. *Sanctus* (fols. 54<sup>v</sup>-55). Example 2B.

A - - gnus De - - - - - i qui tol - lis pec - - - - -  
A - - gnus De - i, A - - gnus De - - - - - i A - gnus De - - - - - i  
ca - - - - - ta mun - - - - - di  
qui tol - lis pec - ca - - - - - tu

C. *Agnus Dei* (fols. 55<sup>v</sup>-56). Example 2C.

Other inviting treasurers in this Arouca choirbook include: fols. 16<sup>v</sup>-17, Simão dos Anjos [de Gouveia], *Hymnus O lingua mens sensus vigor*; 29<sup>v</sup>-30, Ayres Fernandes, *Benedicamus Domino*; 34<sup>v</sup>-44, António de Oliveira, *Missa a 4* [F Major]; 56<sup>v</sup>-57, Francisco Veles, *Alleluia do 2.<sup>o</sup> tom*; 58<sup>v</sup>-59, Manuel Mendes, *Alleluia*. This last work recurs frequently elsewhere—at Coimbra in M.M. 36, fols. 70<sup>v</sup>-71, at Oporto Municipal Library in MSS 1443/1445 at p. 15, and at Puebla, Mexico, in cathedral choirbook 13 at fols. 122<sup>v</sup>-123. At fols. 75<sup>v</sup>-76, the Arouca codex includes an Alleluia ascribed to “Frei João leite”—identifiable as the João Leite Pereira who was organist at the Mantua court when Monteverdi composed *Orfeo*.<sup>99</sup>

On the other hand, secular song of Brazilian provenience cannot be recovered from Portuguese sources earlier than the late eighteenth century—or at least this is true so far as presently known Lisbon library holdings are concerned. The music manuscript catalogued as 54/X/37<sup>26-55</sup> at the Biblioteca da Ajuda contains 23 *Modinhas do Brazil* in 2/4, 3 in 3/4, 2 in 6/8, one in common meter. At fols. 9<sup>v</sup>-10 of this Ajuda source—containing a total of 29 *Modinhas do Brazil*—comes an A Major duet with the figured bass headed thus: “Este acompanhnam.<sup>t</sup> devese tocar pela Bahia.”\* As a sample of the contents of the Ajuda manuscript, this Baía-style modinha is transcribed below (Example 3).

The lyrics of these 29 attractive *Modinhas do Brazil* veer from lover’s complaints to lover’s paeans. “Whoever delights in tormenting, loves little or not at all, whoever truly loves doesn’t torment, whoever torments doesn’t love truly,” may seem somewhat sad thoughts to have inspired this graceful A Major modinha at fols. 9<sup>v</sup>-10. In contrast, the guitar-accompanied number 19 in the Ajuda collection (fols. 21<sup>v</sup>-22)—exclaiming “However delightful to be in love with some one who knows how to love truly”—goes not in the expected major for such bright reflections but in E minor.

If the *Union List of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada*, 3rd ed., 1965, may be believed, no institution in the United

---

Lourenço Craesbeeck, 1636)—chooses a Spanish model. But on the other hand, the *Missa O gram Senhora* of Brazil clearly claims a Portuguese parody source. Nothing like it survives in any other seventeenth-century manuscript.

\*Concerning this modinha, see the article by Gerard Béhague in this issue of the YEARBOOK, pp. 59-62 (Ed.)

99. Antonino Bertolotti, *Musicisti alla Corte dei Gonzaga in Mantova dal secolo XV al XVIII* (Milan: G. Ricordi, 1890), p. 85 (Leite’s signature).

Esta acompanhãt devesse tocar pela Bahia Quem a- ma par-a a- gra-

va não quer bem. Quem a- gra- va não quer bem Quem a-

gra- va não quer bem. Quem a- gra- va não quer bem Quem a-

gra- va não quer bem.

Example 3

States owns any issues of the *Jornal de Modinhas* (Lisbon: P. A. Marchal & F. Milcent<sup>100</sup> [Na Real Fabrica e Armazem de Muzica], 1792-1795). *RISM: Recueils imprimés xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle* (p. 203) lists 22 numbers dated ca.

100. Milcent, a French engraver, accepted Pombal's invitation to settle at Lisbon in 1765. Marchal, a pianist, arrived with his harpist wife ca. 1789. See Vieira, *Diccionario*, II, 61-62, 89-90. A pioneer in exploiting local color, Marchal composed a set of variations on a Lisbon street cry, *As Azeitonas novas*. He also wrote the accompaniment for a *Moda Brasileira*, *Nasce o Sol*. Published in the *Jornal de Modinhas*, no. 15 (Lisbon National Library, B.A. 455V), this Brazilian item is followed by an anonymous *Duetto novo, aó Som do Zabumba* recalling Caldas Barbosa's *Zabumba* (*Viola de Lereno* [Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1944], pp. 31-37). In 1792 António Leal Moreira (ca. 1758-1819) contributed a trio accompanied by *cravo* to the *Jornal de Modinhas* (B.A. 456<sup>12</sup>V), subtitling it *Moda do Zabumba*.

1793 in the British Museum and two single issues (1, 14) at the Bodleian Library; but none elsewhere. Evidently the complete run can now be found only at the Lisbon National Library, where two bound volumes are catalogued B. A. 455<sup>1-23</sup>V and B. A. 456<sup>1-19</sup>V. For lack of access to the complete run, RISM's list of composers who published modinhas during the 1790's fails to include such leading lights as João de Sousa Carvalho (1745-1798), António da Silva Leite (1759-1833),<sup>101</sup> and three others. Also, Marcos Portugal (1762-1830) wears a mask when listed merely as Marcos António.<sup>102</sup>

In at least three of his small masterpieces, *Você trata amor em brinco*, *Se dos males*, and *Raivas gostozas*, Marcos Portugal set poems by the Brazilian mulatto poet Domingos Caldas Barbosa (ca. 1740-1800) that had not yet been printed in the latter's two-volume *Viola de Lereno* (Lisbon: Officina Nunesiana, 1798; Tip. Lacerdina, 1826) at the time when these modinhas appeared in the *Jornal* (nos. 7 [Duetto, F Major], 13 [Duo, G Major], and 18 [Solo, B<sup>b</sup> Major]). Attention to even Marcos Portugal's printed modinhas using texts by Rio de Janeiro's most talented poet of the epoch having proved so superficial to date, no one will be surprised to find the fifth edition (1954) of *Grove's Dictionary* still dismissing *modinhas brasileiras* as "somewhat vulgar," and "devoid of workmanship" (V, 804).<sup>103</sup> The repertory needs to become much better known before any more such comments elbow their way into dictionaries and encyclopedias. The prejudice that caused the first Chief Librarian of the Lisbon Biblioteca Nacional, António Ribeiro dos Santos (1745-1818 [spent 1745-1764 in Rio de Janeiro]), to damn them as degrading and to call the mulatto Caldas Barbosa's modinhas pernicious ought no longer to be ventilated in the current edition of the *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira* (XVII, 482).

---

101. On Sousa Carvalho, see "De Música: Nova Silva de Antigualhas," in *Ocidente*, XVIII/55 (November, 1942), pp. 328-330; also, *Musical Quarterly*, LIV/1 (January, 1968), pp. 111-115. *Se a fe jurada*, a G minor duetto, comes sixth in the *Jornal de Modinhas* (Biblioteca Nacional, B.A. 455V). Silva Leite earns Vieira's enthusiastic endorsement in the *Diccionario*, II, 19-26. An excerpt from Leite's sultry F minor modinha *Tempo que breve* (*Jornal*, no. 18) serves as musical illustration in *Grove's*, 5th ed. (1954), V, 804. Leite's *Chula carioca* has been recorded on Angel 3-CBX 411 (*Música na Côte Brasileira: Na Côte de D. João VI*), side B, band 4.

102. For recordings of two Portugal modinhas, the first of which is credited in the imprint to no more than "Marcos Antonio," hear Angel 3-CBX 410, side A, and 3-CBX 412, side B (*Você trata amor em brinco* and *Cuidados, tristes cuidados*).

103. Similarly superficial is the *Enciclopedia de la Musica Ricordi* (1964) Modinha article, III, 190. MGG omits the topic.

## VIII

The *ca.* 1790 *Modinha do Brazil* with “Baía-style” accompaniment shown above inspires the query: who were the chief musicians at Baía in the 1780’s and ’90’s? Fortunately for Brazilian music history, the chapelmaster there in that period, Theodoro Cyro de Sousa, left compositions to the Lisbon Cathedral archive that were seen by Ernesto Vieira before he wrote his dictionary article (II, 342) and that will hopefully be specified in the catalogue of Sé music now being constructed by Cremilde Rosado Fernandes<sup>104</sup> and one other assistant to Santiago Kastner.

As for Baía chapelmasters who preceded Cyro de Sousa (born Caldas da Rainha, 1766, appointed to Baía 1781), the paramount Portuguese archivist of our century, Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo (1845-1910), extracted from the following Torre do Tombo documents—Chancellaria da Ordem de Christo, livros 1, 2, 4, 8, 12, 26, 45, 47, 50, 56, 90, 96, 227—the names of four seventeenth-century mestres de capella at Baía Cathedral (only the third of whom was a native of Baía). Bartholomeu Pires served from about 1560 to at least 1586, Francisco Borges da Cunha from no later than 1608 to *ca.* 1660, Joaquim Corrêa from 1661 to *ca.* 1665, and António de Lima Carseres from 1666 to at least 1669.<sup>105</sup> According to Loreto Couto’s above-cited *Desagravos do Brazil*, João de Lima—a native of the same Santo Amaro de Jaboatão parish which also gave birth to the leading Franciscan historian of colonial Brazil—enjoyed “long years” as Baía chapelmaster before returning to Recife. Since he can have returned to Recife no later

---

104. Concerning her 1963 edition, see R. Stevenson, *Portugaliae Musica: A Bibliographical Essay* (Lima: Pacific Press, 1967), pp. 21-22.

105. “A ordem de Christo e a musica religiosa nos nossos dominios ultramarinos,” *O Instituto. Revista Científica e Litteraria*, LVII (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1910), pp. 13-14, with accompanying Documents I-V (pp. 15-19), VI-XII (pp. 75-79). Document VI dated Lisbon July 13, 1590, has to do with the endowing of the Baía cathedral organist’s post at “20\$000 reaes de ordenado cada anno.” But in 1590 the chapel-mastership already paid twice that amount.

Instead of identifying the immigrant mestres as priests, Sousa Viterbo cited Cunha and Carseres=Caseres as “caualeiros.” Carseres, “profeso da ordem de São Bento de Auis,” found the Baía chapter reluctant to seat him. Even at court, however, the locating of combination musician-priests had long proved difficult. See “Ecclesiaticos pareceres e allegações sobre diversos objectos,” *Collecção pombalina No. 641* (Lisbon National Library), fol. 598, tracing the difficulties at D. João III and D. Sebastião’s courts. D. João “obrigou a Bertholomeu Trozilho q̄ entãõ era M<sup>te</sup> della [royal chapel choir], (sendo homẽ d’idade) a se fazer clerigo.” Sebastian drifted back to the old policy when he allowed António Carreira, not a priest, to be named maestro.

than 1690, Lima's term at the Baía Sé must conjecturally include the 1670-1680 decade.

Alternation between a mestre born in Brazil and a native of the Peninsula having established itself as a principle in the appointments of Cunha, Corrêa, Carseres, and Lima, it would be but the expected thing that Lima's successor should be a Peninsular, as indeed Frei Agostinho de Santa Monica was. Born at Lisbon in 1633, he professed at sixteen in the peculiarly Portuguese religious order that traced its foundation back to only about 1480, the *Ordem de São Paulo, primeiro eremita*.<sup>106</sup> He studied with an exceptional musician of the order, João Fogaça (1589-1658), who had been a favorite pupil of Duarte Lobo.<sup>107</sup> Compensating for a speech defect that earned him the nickname of *o gigo* ("the stammerer"), Frei Agostinho evinced such extraordinary musical ability that his order broke rules and allowed him to accept an invitation to serve as chapelmaster of the cathedral at Baía, where he remained two decades. Only around 1703 did he return home, dying at Lisbon in a nephew's house on June 2, 1713.

During his twenty years in Baía he annually sent back angiliwood and other fine timber for the doors of his order's church in Lisbon, for the large choirbook stand in the Lisbon *coro*, for the woodwork in the sacristy and for the windows of the monastery hard by. His generosity extended even to the salaries of the workmen who installed all this. A biography, compiled in 1737 by a member of his order, enters Lisbon National Library manuscript F.G. 8942, at folio 201. This 301-leaf manuscript, called *Miscellanea. Bibliografia e biografia de auctores de varias ordems religiosas* on the cover, abounds also in biographies of other notable musicians who were members of the same order—among them Frei Jacinto do Sacramento (born Lisbon, 1712), already in 1737 the nation's next best composer of keyboard sonatas after Carlos [de] Seixas, if the two in D minor published in 1935 and 1950 (*Cravistas Portuguezes*, I and II) make a fair test.<sup>108</sup> Another *frade paulista*

---

106. For a two-volume history of this order, see Manoel de S. Caetano Damaso, *Thebaida Portuguesa: Compendio Historico da Congregação dos Monges Pobres de Jesu Christo da Serra de Ossa chamado depois de S. Paulo I. Eremita, em Portugal* (Lisbon: Simão Thaddeo Ferriera, 1743). The Lisbon monastery was founded in 1647 (I, 324). In 1743 the Congregatio Lusitana owned seventeen houses, fourteen of which were monasteries, the rest colleges. Jerónimo Román complained that these monks "vivião muito a seu prazer"; but see I, 406, for Frei Manoel's confutation.

107. Vieira's *Diccionario*, I, 418-419, copies Barbosa Machado, who ignored many of the precisions in F.G. 8942, fols. 199<sup>v</sup>-200.

108. Cf. *Portugaliae Musica: A Bibliographical Essay* (1967), pp. 23-24.

whose music survives, Manuel dos Santos (1686-1737)—two vilhancicos *a 4* enter the Biblioteca Pública at Évora—rose to the post of “court composer” at 60,000 réis annually.<sup>109</sup>

With the best composers of the day members of the order, it may be well believed that Frei Agostinho de Santa Monica’s music attained the high quality ascribed to it by his 1737 biographer. According to F.G. 8942, fol. 201<sup>v</sup>, Frei Agostinho’s oeuvre included forty Masses, many of them polychoral, several *Officia Defunctorum*, various *Lamentationes Hebdomadae Sanctae*, and numerous *Psalmi*. Frei Agostinho’s only monody mentioned is an *Officium Sancti Antonii*, composed in honor of the most renowned Lisbon-born medieval saint, Anthony of Padua. According to the 1737 list, Frei Agostinho’s secular works included “three quarto-size books of *tonilhos*; these were extant for many years in the Lisbon monastery until the high value placed on them caused some malefactor to abscond with them recently.” However, the writer of the 1737 biography does vouch for the survival as late as that year of “the majority of Frei Agostinho’s forty [polyphonic] Masses in the cathedral music archive at Baía.” Presumably the parts at Baía had been copied on loose sheets. On the other hand, the Masses still extant in the Lisbon house 24 years after Frei Agostinho’s death had been copied in large choirbooks (“*missas de estante*”) according to his biographer.

Baía, erected a see in 1550 and raised to an archbishopric in 1676, saw the convocation of its first archdiocesan synod in 1707.<sup>110</sup> The *Relaçam da Procissam, e Sesoens do Synodo Diecesano* published with the *Primeiras Constituições Synodais* (Lisbon: Pascoal da Sylva, 1719), p. 597, classed the cathedral building as “o mais sumptuoso, & magnifico Templo de todos os da America, verdadeyramente Real”—as well it might be with the sees of Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, São Tomé (Guinea), and Angola all subject to Baía. The same *Relaçam*

---

109. See Vieira, *Diccionario*, II, 278-279. According to F.G. 8942, Santos equalled his teacher António Marques Lésbio, who preferred him above all other pupils. Lésbio wept when Santos played, so well did Santos perform Lésbio’s pieces. João V commissioned Santos constantly and his repertory at the time F.G. 8942 was compiled was already huge. His two still extant villancicos *a 4* and *a 8* at Évora, *Mas no aj q admirar* and *Oy a la plaza del mundo*, are now catalogued as CLI/1-3 d. Nos. 6 and 18.

110. The first and second Mexican diocesan councils met in 1555 and 1565, the third in 1585 with eight bishops present. Toribio Mogrovejo, archbishop of Lima 1578-1606 (canonized 1726), convoked the first, second, and third Peruvian diocesan councils in 1582, 1591, and 1601. Provincial synods met at Bogotá in 1582 and 1625. See Gams, *op. cit.*, pp. 156, 153, 140.

(p. 600) cites the “musica a canto de Orgão” heard there as appropriately lavish. When a few years later José Ferreyra de Matos, treasurer of the Baía Sé, published a *Diario Historico das Celebridades, que na Cidade da Bahia se fizeraõ* (Lisbon: Manoel Fernandes da Costa, 1729), he attested (p. 30) the participation of “quatro coros da musica, que se compunhaõ dos melhores Musicos, e instrumentos” at a Te Deum sung July 31, 1728, in the presence of the Viceroy. Recalling a Te Deum sung Sunday October 26, 1760, José António de Sarre’s *Relaçã do culto com que o . . . Cabido Metropolitano Da Cidade do Salvador Bahia . . . applaudio os felicissimos Desposorios da Serenissima Princeza do Brazil* alludes (p. 14) to “dous coros,<sup>111</sup> que com doce harmonia, a que concorriaõ muitos instrumentos alegravaõ, e enterneciaõ as almas.” Elsewhere he mentions the practice still in vogue of processing in the afternoon to the sound of antiphonal psalms, two polyphonic choirs alternating in two verses, the plainchanting clergy responding in the third verse (“dous coros de muzicos alternando psalmos com o Clero,” p. 17).

On Sarre’s title page, he announces himself a member of the Academia dos Renascidos, which was presided over by José Mascarenhas Pacheco Pereira de Mello<sup>112</sup> at its first meeting in Baía on May 19, 1759. The chapelmaster of Baía Cathedral in that year was the learned theorist Caetano de Mello Jesus, a native Brazilian who had probably been occupying the post for a quarter-century. So lasting was his reputation that in the 1790’s José Mazza (who died at Évora in 1797) still knew of him, crediting him in his dictionary with “various works for four and more voices extant at Baía and Pernambuco, also an *Arte de Canto de Orgão* in question-and-answer form, and a treatise on the modes.”<sup>113</sup> Ernesto Vieira’s 1900 lexicon ekes out this short notice with further

---

111. Multiple choirs were the rage not only in mid-eighteenth-century Baía but also at Rio de Janeiro. When any important festivity was attempted, only music “a tres córos” was deemed sufficient. A Te Deum thus performed in the Igreja dos Benedictinos at Rio de Janeiro on May 9, 1762, is described in *Epanafora Festiva, ou Relaçã Summaria das Festas, com que na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro . . . se celebrou o feliz nascimento do . . . Príncipe da Beira* (Lisbon: Miguel Rodrigues, 1763 [Biblioteca Nacional, L. 22899<sup>39</sup> P.]), pp. 7 (“orquestra de Musica”), 11 (“tres córos”).

112. The tendentious biographical article in the *Grande Enciclopedia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, XVI, 814-815, proves how long have lingered the fires long ago lit by this insubordinate royal emissary—sentenced to twenty years’ imprisonment (1760-1780) for lèse-majesté. Slow in proceeding against the Jesuits, he seceded to their side after a supposed religious conversion at sea. Cf. Arthur Viegas (= António Antunes Vieira), *O poeta Santa Rita Durão: Revelações historicas da sua vida e do seu seculo* (Paris-Brussels: L’Édition d’Art Gaudio, 1914), pp. 250-252 (“Quis Josephus Mascaregnas Pacheco de Mello”).

113. *Ocidente*, XXIII/75 (July, 1944), p. 255.

details (*Diccionario Biographico*, I, 499-500). Among other data, Vieira supplies these:

Two stout tomes of a manuscript entitled "Treatise on Polyphonic Music in four parts, in the form of a dialogue between master and pupil, By Caetano de Mello Jesus, secular priest, chapelmaster of Bafa Cathedral and a native of Bafa Archdiocese," survive in the Public Library at Évora. The first volume, dated 1759, bears this title: "Music Theory, according to modern writers, with the principal doctrines explained in language that beginners can understand." Of the numerous works cited near the outset, Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia* [Rome, 1650] crops up perhaps most frequently. The second volume, dated 1760, argues what the proper size of Pythagorean intervals should be, passes on to hexachords and how to shift from one to another, then relates the history of a learned controversy that arose among Bafa musicians in 1734, and next offers Mello Jesus's solutions in a monstrously erudite "Apologetic Discourse." According to our author, various savants in Brazil as well as in Portugal were consulted for their opinions, those of Brazil including the chapelmasters of Recife, Olinda, and Rio de Janeiro—Ignácio Ribeiro Noya,<sup>114</sup> Ignácio Ribeiro Pimenta, and António Nunes de Siqueira; also, Manuel da Costa Rego, archdeacon of Olinda Cathedral. The Portuguese chapelmasters who replied to the query sent them by the Bafa theorist included João Vaz Barradas Morato [1689-ca. 1762], Ignácio Antonio Celestino [Évora Cathedral chapelmaster, he replied in 1738], and João da Silva Moraes [1689-ca. 1760].<sup>115</sup> Not only do these letters illuminate the period but also Mello Jesus's contributions show to what extravagant lengths learning was pushed in the epoch.

Unfortunately Mello Jesus's two-volume treatise could not be found by the librarian at Évora, nor by any of his staff, in the summer of 1967. However, Cônego José Augusto Alegria, Évora's leading musicologist, then vouched for its existence—or at any rate testified to having himself seen it about a decade ago.

António Nunes de Siqueira, the Rio de Janeiro chapelmaster from whom Mello Jesus obtained an opinion, deserves an essay in his own right. Rio de Janeiro, not named the capital of Brazil until 1763, lacked a chapelmaster in March of 1641 when news of John IV's accession to the throne reached the *Cidade de São Sebastião Capitania do Rio de Janeiro do Estado do Brasil*. A fifteen-page pamphlet at the Lisbon

---

114. *Annaes*, XXV-1903 (1904), pp. 19-20; he published a *glosa ao mote geral em louvor a S. Gonçalo Garcia*, and two sonetos in Manuel da Madre de Deus=Sorterio da Sylva Ribeiro's *Summa triunfal* (Lisbon: Pedro Ferreira, 1753). Cf. Innocêncio, VI, 43. Since *homens pardos de Pernambuco* arranged the triumphs, Ribeiro Noya was himself probably a pardo.

115. Lisbon Cathedral chapelmaster after 1727, Silva Moraes continued in the post until at least 1763, in which year he published a recommendation of Francisco Solano's *Nova Instrução Musical*. Of his vast repertory, much of it for double and triple choirs, only a book of psalms a 4 survived at the Lisbon Cathedral in 1900 (Vieira, *Diccionario*, II, 101-102).

National Library catalogued as Res. 96<sup>o</sup>V, *Relaçam da Aclamação que se fez* (Lisbon: Iorge Rodrigues, 1641) at folios B2<sup>r</sup>-B3 credits *Licenciado* Jorge Fernandes da Fonseca with being the citizen who in the absence of a duly appointed chapelmaster arranged for his own sons to mount two silk lined floats, strewn with branches and flowers, where their singing “seemed to bring down Heaven to earth.”<sup>116</sup> Even though “unique in the art” and “worthy of all praise,” these youths cannot have received any recent instruction from a resident mestre of the matriz. When on June 7, 1645, John IV appointed Cosmo Ramos de Moraes chapelmaster of the principal church in Rio de Janeiro, the royal *alvará* expressly stated that the post had been “vacant many years.”<sup>117</sup> Upon Moraes’s resignation, another secular priest followed him in the office, Manuel da Fonseca, the new appointment being dated February 10, 1653. Previously Manuel da Fonseca had served Nossa Senhora da Candelaria in Rio de Janeiro, a church to which he had been named chapelmaster by a royal *alvará* of November 14, 1645.

After these two seventeenth-century pioneers, Rio de Janeiro chapelmasters’ names peter out for lack of a qualified archivist willing to continue exploring the sources at the Torre do Tombo used by Sousa Viterbo—Chancellaria da Ordem de Christo books (24, 25, and 41 gave him the data in the previous paragraphs). Not until Antonio Nunes de Siqueira (1692-1759) does another Rio de Janeiro mestre emerge from the mists. Unique on several counts, Nunes de Siqueira was the first São Paulo native-born musician to make a national name, the only mestre south of Baía asked to contribute anything to Mello Jesus’s theory compend, the first Rio de Janeiro chapelmaster elevated to a canonry, and the first to publish anything at Lisbon. Son of Captain José de Siqueira and Maria de Morais, residents of São Paulo, he was baptized there June 19, 1692.<sup>118</sup> After studying music with Manoel Lopes de Siqueira (1661-1716), another native of São Paulo who revealed his precociousness by winning appointment at only nineteen to

---

116. See *Boletim Internacional de Bibliografia Luso-Brasileira*, VI/1 (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, January-March, 1965), pp. 444-445, for facsimile of the relevant passages.

117. *O Instituto*, LVII/3 (1910), p. 150 (Documento XXIV): “por aver muitos annos que não tem proprietario” (Chancellaria da Ordem de Christo, livro 24, fol. 385<sup>v</sup>).

118. Duprat, “A Música na Matriz,” pp. 17-18. According to Augusto Victorino Alves Sacramento Blake, *Diccionario Bibliographico Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1883), I, 272, Antonio Nunes de Siqueira “nasceu a 2 de abril de 1701” in Rio de Janeiro. “Reitor do seminario de S. José” and “examinador synodal,” he was “notavel por sua illustração como philosopho e theologo,” and simultaneously “cultor da poesia e da musica, de que foi contrapontista e compositor inspirado, sendo por isso

the chapelmastership of the São Paulo matriz,<sup>119</sup> António Nunes de Siqueira showed himself already proficient enough a soloist to earn a cruzado for singing an “office of nine lessons” on July 18, 1705.

Upon the death in 1716 of Manuel Lopes de Siqueira senior—who had been São Paulo chapelmaster more than thirty years—his like-named son (now a priest) succeeded to the São Paulo post, holding it nine years (1716-1725).<sup>120</sup> Angelo de Siqueira, still another son, occupied it the next nine years (1725-1734). Meanwhile, Antonio Nunes de Siqueira had himself been priested and in 1726 was holding office in a local brotherhood, the Irmandade de São Miguel.<sup>121</sup> A canon of São Paulo (erected a see in 1746)<sup>122</sup> from its foundation to at least 1750, he again in 1747 sat on the controlling board of the São Paulo Irmandade de São Miguel. Even after transferring residence to Rio, his continuing intimate links with his home town are attested by his

---

nomeado mestre de capella.” Ernesto Vieira spells the Rio de Janeiro mestre’s name Antonio Nunes de *Sequeira* (*Diccionario*, I, 499). Sousa Viterbo follows suit, spelling it Sequeira in “A Ordem de Christo e a musica religiosa,” *O Instituto*, LVII/3 (1910), p. 149. J. C. Rodrigues, *Catalogo anotado dos Livros sobre o Brasil: Parte I. Descobrimto da America: Brasil Colonial* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. do “Jornal do Commercio,” 1907), p. 575, spells the Rio mestre’s name Antonio Nunes de *Siqueira*. Duprat consistently spells the São Paulo musician’s name Antonio Nunes de *Siqueira*. On the other hand, this same São Paulo ecclesiastic, whose baptism Duprat fixes in 1692, turns up in all the documents published in the thirteen volumes comprising the *Catálogo de Documentos sobre a História de S. Paulo existentes no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, de Lisboa* as António Nunes de *Sequeira*. See Vols. IV (1957), pp. 358 and 375 (July 26 and December 8, 1748); XIII (1958), p. 416 (April 4, 1750). Since at both Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, the name crops up indifferently as Sequeira or Siqueira, one individual cannot be distinguished from the other (provided there really were two) on the basis of the “i” or the “e” in the last name.

119. Duprat, p. 11. In 1680 Manoel Lopes de Siqueira already maintained a “public school” for likely musical boys (p. 13). Two of his sons followed him in the chapelmastership, the second of whom—Angelo de Siqueira—so monopolized music at São Paulo that in 1726 he was described as “the only mestre da capella in the city, music director not only in the cathedral but in all the convents as well, teacher of solfeggio, harp and organ playing, and composer for the town festivities” (p. 15).

120. *Ibid.*, p. 16. See also Duprat’s table at p. 95 listing the eleven chapelmasters of São Paulo between 1649 and 1822 in this order:

Manoel Paes de Linhares (1649); Manoel Vieira de Barros (1657); José da Costa (1680); Manoel Lopes de Siqueira (1680-1716); <sup>Pe</sup> Manoel Lopes de Siqueira (1716-1725); <sup>Pe</sup> Angelo de Siqueira (1725-1734); <sup>Pe</sup> Mathias Alvares Torres (1735-1768); Antonio Manso da Mota (1768; 1774); <sup>Pe</sup> Antonio da Costa de Oliveira (ca. 1771); André da Silva Gomes (1774-1822).

121. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

122. Gams, *Series*, p. 136. The matriz dated from 1611.

naming as executor of his estate Mathias Alvares Torres, São Paulo Cathedral chapelmaster from 1735 to 1768.<sup>123</sup>

No later than 1754 he belonged to the Academia dos Selectos<sup>124</sup> at Rio de Janeiro while concurrently serving as Rector of the diocesan Seminário de São José and chapelmaster of the Rio de Janeiro Cathedral. In that year he contributed three Portuguese sonetos and an epistle, two Spanish romances, and a Latin epigram (pp. 23-25, 207-212, and 339-342) to a 439-page book honoring Gomes Freire de Andrada, Governor of Rio, Minas Gerais, and São Paulo. Published at Lisbon by Manoel Alvares Solano, this miscellany of poems in the three languages bore the titles suggested by Nunes de Siqueira, *Jubilos da America*.<sup>125</sup> The compiler of the miscellany, Manoel Tavares de Sequeira e Sá, was a prominent civil official born in Minas Gerais. Since all the poems had been solicited two years earlier and only community leaders were invited to contribute, Nunes de Siqueira must have been no novice in Rio. As precedent for his double appointment (Rector of the diocesan seminary founded in 1740 and cathedral chapelmaster), he could have looked elsewhere in the Americas—for instance to the example of Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo, who had been at one and the same time seminary Rector and cathedral chapelmaster in Bogotá (1585-1586).<sup>126</sup>

According to Baltazar da Silva Lisboa (1761-1840), “muitas peças de musica” from the pen of António Nunes de Siqueira still survived in 1834-1835;<sup>127</sup> and in his *Annaes do Rio de Janeiro* Silva Lisboa promised somehow to get them before the public. Already a septuagenarian when he made the promise, he died too soon thereafter to fulfill it. The one Brazilian work dated 1759, the year of Nunes de Siqueira’s death, that is now easily accessible had therefore to await facsimile publication in Alberto Lamego’s *A Academia Brazílica dos Renascidos: sua fundação e trabalhos inéditos* (Paris-Brussels: L’Édition d’Art Gaudio, 1923).<sup>128</sup>

---

123. Duprat, “A Música na Matriz,” pp. 18 (a canon when he died, Nunes de Siqueira named Alvares Torres, São Paulo chapelmaster, his executor); 20, 95 (Alvares Torres’s dates). Further data on Alvares Torres in the *Catálogo de Documentos* listed in footnote 118, Vol. VII (1957), p. 400 (bottom paragraph).

124. *O Instituto*, LVII/3 (1910), p. 149. Also, Sacramento Blake, *Diccionario*, I (1883), p. 272.

125. Copies in The Hispanic Society of America (F2506 .B66 T23), New York Public Library (\*KF 1754), and Library of Congress.

126. “Colonial Music in Colombia,” *The Americas: Quarterly Review of Inter-American Cultural History*, XIX/2 (October, 1962), pp. 122-124.

127. Sacramento Blake, I, 272; on Silva Lisboa, see the same dictionary, I, 376-378.

128. Lamego includes the entire vocal part, but not the two violins nor the basso continuo for the aria. Smudged photos of the two violin parts are reproduced in the

Alberto Frederico de Moraes Lamego (1870-1951)<sup>129</sup>—a Rio-born magnate frequently confounded with his mining engineer son Alberto Ribeiro Lamego (born 1896) who was also a writer<sup>130</sup>—spent several years in Europe immediately prior to World War I trailing manuscripts. Among those that he picked up in Portugal (probably at Évora) were the numerous documents in his 1923 book designed to rehabilitate the character of one of the most controversial political agents in colonial Brazil, José Mascarenhas Pacheco Pereira de Mello. Already famous for having quelled a riot in Oporto, Mascarenhas reached Baía in August of 1758, ostensibly with a crown commission to establish two new tribunals. However his more important secret orders required him to prepare for the ouster of the Jesuits.<sup>131</sup> Instead of gathering the data desired in Lisbon, he dillydallied. Profiting from the prestige conferred by his commission, he sponsored the founding of a new academy of Baía cognoscenti and literati—the organizing session of which was held at his house on May 10, 1759, with 39 local intellectuals present.<sup>132</sup> For a name, the group at that meeting adopted *Academia dos Renascidos* (“of the Reborn”), on the theory that they were then merely “reviving” the *Academia dos Esquecidos* active at Baía 1724-1725. The formal opening of the “reborn” Academy on June 6 was followed by sessions on July 2, 21, August 4, 18, September 1, 15, 23, October 18, 27, November 10, 14, December 8, 17, of 1759, and March 31, April 12 and 26, of 1760, at which such topics were canvassed as the various Brazilian governors’ and viceroys’ dates, the names of Baía’s first founders and settlers, lists of Brazilian Indian chiefs especially valiant in war, and other local history problems.<sup>133</sup>

Having fallen seriously ill just after the formal opening of June 6, Mascarenhas was recovering on July 6 but was still unable to leave his

---

*Revista de História* (São Paulo), XXX/61 (January-March, 1965), p. 106. The upper left and lower right panels on the latter page duplicate Lamego’s second facsimile. The *Revista* photos are too blurred to serve science.

129. Necrology in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, Vol. 213 (October-December, 1951), p. 401. See also the same *Revista*, Tomo LXXVIII, Parte II (1915), p. 672.

130. *Who’s Who in Latin America*, Part VI, ed. by Ronald Hilton (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1948), p. 120.

131. Lamego, *A Academia Brasileira*, p. 9. Lamego’s interest in rehabilitating Jesuits and their friends comes to light in another of his archival studies, “Mentiras Históricas: A invasão holandesa no Brasil e o papel dos Jesuítas,” *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, Vol. 175 (1940), pp. 117-131.

132. Lamego, *A Academia*, pp. 10-14, identifies each.

133. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-77, 90-93.

house. To celebrate the mending of his health, the academy on that date therefore honored him with “an intimate party,” at which was sung to the accompaniment of a “fine instrumental ensemble”<sup>134</sup> a recitative and aria, the words (in Portuguese) and music of which were written specifically for the event. Although neither poet or composer’s name appears anywhere on the manuscript found in Portugal by Lamego among the minutes of the July 2 session and published by him in fascimile (1923), the composer of the music can be none other than Caetano de Mello Jesus. As has already been shown, Mello Jesus served in 1759-1760 not only as Baía cathedral chapelmaster but was also in those years acknowledged the premier composer and conductor of the area, and therefore entitled to treat as equals all the foremost musicians of both Portugal and Brazil (while compiling his two-volume *Arte de Canto de Orgão*).

The four manuscript parts of Caetano de Mello Jesus’s 1759 Recitative and Aria (soprano, violin 1 & 2, basso continuo)—deposited in 1941 at the Biblioteca Central of the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, University of São Paulo (Alberto Lamego Collection, no. 3117)<sup>135</sup>—had the good fortune to catch the eye of Régis Duprat in July 1959, while he was at work on his doctoral dissertation. Duprat, then violist in the Orquestra Municipal,<sup>136</sup> succeeded in persuading Olga Maria Schroeter, soprano, to premiere the work in the São Paulo Teatro Municipal on December 6, 1960, Olivier Toni conducting. Subsequently the Orquestra de Câmara de São Paulo led by Toni cooperated with the same soprano in an LP recording issued by Chanticleer (CMG 1030). Entitled “Música Sul-Americana do Séc. XVIII,” this devotes all of Side 1 to Caetano de Mello’s Recitative and Aria, Side 2 to the solo cantata *Mariposa* by José de Orejón y Aparicio (published at pp. 286-298 in *The Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* [Washington: Pan American Union, 1960]) and Lôbo de Mesquita’s 1787 *Salve Regina*.

Régis Duprat’s exhaustive musical analysis of the Caetano de Mello opus occupies pages 103-116 of his “A música na Bahia colonial” (*Revista de História*, XXX/61 [January-March 1965], quarterly at São Paulo). As Duprat frequently mentions, an excellent catalog of the Baía documents deposited in the Archivo de Marinha e Ultramar, Lisbon, was published as long ago as 1913 in *Annaes da Bibliotheca*

---

134. *Ibid.*, p. 49; music figured at other sessions (see p. 23).

135. *Revista de História*, XXX/61 (see note 128 above), p. 106, note 50.

136. Lange, *A Organização*, p. 33.

*Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, XXI-1909 (1913). Caetano de Mello's name crops up in the documents numbered 928 and 1119 (Offícios do Arcebispo da Bahia, February 24, 1754, and April 20, 1754).

From September 23 to November 23, 1760, Baía paid homage to the newly married (June 6, 1760) Portuguese royal couple: D. Pedro (1717-1786) and D. Maria (after 1777 Queen Maria I). Fireworks, bullfights, mock battles, masquerades, scenic dances, serenatas, and operas were the order of the day. Davide Perez (1711-1778), resident court composer at Lisbon since 1752, had composed the music for the three Metastasio operas premiered at Lisbon with huge success in 1753, 1754, and 1755—*Didone abbandonata*, *Artaserse*, and *Alessandro nelle Indie*—and it was precisely these three that were chosen for presentation at Baía on October 22, 23, and 25, 1760, as a crowning compliment to the newlyweds. To reach the widest audience, the Baía *Senado da Camara* chose to *fazer representar á sua custa [as] tres operas que se representarão na praça*. “Each of these operas was so well performed that everyone was delighted,” declares Manuel de Cerqueira Torres, in his *Narração panegyrico-historica das festividades com que a Cidade da Bahia solemnizou os felicissimos despozorios*.<sup>137</sup>

If Caetano de Mello Jesus's inexperience as a dramatic composer forbade his competing with Davide Perez's brilliant Metastasio successes, he suffered from no such handicaps when confronted with religious texts. According to the *Narração*, some sort of *ne plus ultra da ostentação* was reached October 26 at the *festa na cathedral*. This was on the morning following *Didone abbandonata*. “After Mass the choir and orchestra, made up of the best instrumentalists, began a lengthy *Te Deum laudamus*, stretched out by the multiple divisions, each affectively treated. However, the melodies were so pleasing that the large congregation present gladly remained to the close.”<sup>138</sup>

Mello Jesus's recently recorded Recitative and Aria also lasts a long time—a whole LP side is needed for his setting of only 38 plus 10 lines of poetry. But when in 1759-1760 a single session of the Academia dos Renascidos at Baía could last from 3 P.M. to 4 A.M. (thirteen hours),<sup>139</sup> and when fashion stretched out all other ceremonies

---

137. *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, XXXI-1909 (1913), p. 414: “cada hũa destas operas foi tão bem executada que agradou a todos.”

138. *Ibid.*, p. 417: “ainda que durou muito tempo pelos compassados accentos e clauzulas de hũa terna composição, comtudo o suave canto de tal sorte atrahio o numerozo congresso que se achava presente que gostosamente assistio até o fim.”

139. Lamego, *A Academia*, p. 26.

in the colonial capital to six and eight hours, an hour-long *Te Deum* but answered expectation. Anyway, colonial Baía had a right to take herself seriously during these celebrations because she was reaching her grand climacteric. Only three years later, Lisbon was to order the colony's capital transferred from Baía to Rio de Janeiro.

Does the data thus far assembled justify our ascribing to colonial Brazil a respectable music culture? If one takes into account the evidence surviving in Portugal, or brought out of Portugal in comparatively recent years, the answer ought to be yes—even without taking into account the Minas Gerais musical documents of 1787 and later revealed by Lange. The first Mass ascribed to Brazil, a parody of *O gram senhora*, survives at Arouca; the pioneer treatise by a native-born American is extant in Portugal; the first piano sonatas, dedicated to the brother of King João V, D. António—who was a Domenico Scarlatti pupil—can be linked with Brazil because of evidence printed in Portugal; Caetano de Mello Jesus can be identified as the composer of the “anonymous” recitative and aria of 1759 because of evidence in Portugal; the roll of other colonial Pernambucan and Baían composers can be called because of such documents in the Portuguese national library and archive as those transcribed by Sousa Viterbo for his swansong publication; the early Brazilian modinha can be traced in Ajuda and Lisbon national library collections; the first Olinda and Rio de Janeiro chapelmasters to reach print emerged in Lisbon publications; the first musical dictionary to mention Brazilian maestros was Mazza's compiled in Évora in the 1790's; the Lisbon Irmandade de Santa Cecília served as prototype for Brazilian musical unions; the final important Baían colonial maestro can still be known through his music surviving at Lisbon but not in Baía.

Even though it may still be impossible to write an easy-reading “history” of colonial Brazilian music, and even though the documents do not lend themselves to any neat chronological arrangement, at least the time is now ripe for a full-scale assault on both Portuguese and Brazilian archives.

University of California at  
Los Angeles