

Reviews

Historia de la música española. 2. Desde el "ars nova" hasta 1600. By SAMUEL RUBIO. Presentación by PABLO LÓPEZ DE OSABA. Apéndice: *Los instrumentos musicales durante el período 1450-1600* by RAFAEL PÉREZ ARROYO (Madrid, Alianza Editorial, S.A., 1983. 301 pp., incl. 2 facs. and 8 pp. containing music exx., index of names)

This welcome volume stands second in a series that began with Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta's *Desde los orígenes hasta el "ars nova"* and continues with one volume each dedicated to the seventeenth through twentieth centuries. Like Rubio, the writers of these successor volumes in the series—José López-Caló, Antonio Martín Moreno, Carlos Gómez Amat, and Tomás Marco—all rate as prime authorities. The final seventh volume in the series, *El folklore musical*, is by Josep Crivillé i Bargalló.

So far as the wider musical public goes, Rubio has the good fortune of covering the golden age of Spanish polyphony. He begins with a chapter (pp. 13-70) explaining how cathedral and court musical life was organized, how the *maestro de capilla*, the organist, the choirboys, and the instrumentalists were chosen and what they were expected to do, and what were the occasions when sacred and secular music were performed. In his second chapter (pp. 71-101) he explains what such terms as *motete*, *misa*, *oficio divino*, *villancico*, *canción*, *romance*, and *madrigal* meant in sixteenth-century Spanish vocal polyphony. He next adumbrates what *versos*, *tiento*, *fantasía*, *glosas* and *diferencias* signified in instrumental music of the century.

Part II, "La música y sus autores" (pp. 105-241)—comprising chapter 3 (polyphonists from 1325 to Charles I [= V], 1516), chapter 4 (polyphonists in the reigns of Charles I = V and Philip II), and chapter 5 (instrumental music: vihuelists and keyboardists)—covers the ground that Spanish music histories have up to now traditionally made their own. Nonetheless, Rubio never rests

content with merely repeating whatever biographical facts have already been advertised in generally accessible histories such as Rafael Mitjana's *La musique en Espagne* and José Subirá's *Historia de la música española e hispanoamericana*. In conformity with María del Carmen Gómez Muntané, author of *La música en la Casa Real catalano-aragonesa durante los años 1336-1432* (2 vols., Barcelona: Antoni Bosch, 1979), Rubio identifies the composer of the *Credo a 3* in the so-called *Misa de Barcelona* (Biblioteca de Catalunya, M. 971, fols. 3^v-6) as Frare Steve de Sort (Sortes = Sortis). This Augustinian friar, originally from Sort (a locality 60 mi = 100 km north of Lérida), was organist in the royal chapels of the Aragonese monarchs Juan I and then his brother Martín I from 1395 to 1406. The *Credo* in question circulated beyond Spain, as its presence in Apt, 16 bis, no. 46; Ivrea, no. 60, and (partially) in Toulouse 94, item 1, attest. The Ivrea copy, in which it is titled "De rege" at fol. 47^v, may imply its having been at one time a royally favored *Credo*. "Frare Steve de Sort therefore heads the list of those composers of religious polyphony originating in the Kingdom of Aragon whose name is known" (Gómez Muntané, I, 97).

Rubio accepts Robert Stevenson's identification of Triana as a Sevillian prebendary in 1478 and a Toledan *maestro de coro* in 1483 but rejects Isabel Pope's labeling of Triana's *Deus in adiutorium* as a sacred composition. So far as Triana's style goes, Rubio sees him as addicted to melismatic melodies, changing notes, and Landini cadences—archaisms rejected by Juan del Encina. So far as Pedro de Escobar is concerned, Rubio leans toward Stevenson's identification of him as the Portuguese composer Pedro do Porto who was born at Oporto and died at Évora. Rubio was the first to show that Escobar's *Quedaos, adiós, a 4*, reappears in the Mystery of Elche music with a new text beginning *Cantem señors*. He rejects the conflation of Alonso de Alba = Alba (who in 1503 was Seville Cathedral *maestro de capilla*) with Alonso Pérez de Alba, who was a *capellán*

sacrisán in Isabella's chapel from February 6, 1501, to her death at Medina del Campo November 26, 1504; and who from 1512 to 1519 served Queen Joanna (Juana la loca) at Tordesillas. According to Rubio, the eleven pieces in the *Cancionero musical de Palacio* attributed to "Alonso" are so similar in musical style to *No me le digáis mal, madre, a 3*, the one piece ascribed explicitly to "Alonso Pérez de Alba," that all twelve may be by the same composer.

Although saying nothing new of Francisco de Peñalosa's career, Rubio does add an insight into the Agnus Dei of his *Missa Nunca fue pena mayor, a 4*. Peñalosa's second voice here quotes note for note an augmentation of the third voice in Juan de Urrede's *Nunca fue pena mayor* (first item in the Palace Songbook). Obviously, Peñalosa knew Urrede's harmonization. Without more ado, Rubio rightly calls Urrede a Fleming—in despite of Higinio Anglés's patriotic attempt to make him a native Spaniard named not "Urrede" but "Urreda."

Rubio also rejects Daniel Devoto's gratuitously exaggerated judgment that Juan del Encina was "the most important musician" in the epoch of the Catholic kings. On the contrary, he sees Encina as inferior to many other composers of the epoch. Rubio makes numerous valuable comments on the individual style of Encina's contemporaries—Juan Ponce, Alfonso de Mondéjar, and Francisco de Torre, for example. Francisco Millán, the next best represented composer after Encina in *Palacio*, frequently called for solo voice accompanied by instruments assigned virtuosic passages. He did not disdain imitations, especially at the beginnings of his pieces. Never once did he write a Landini cadence.

Pedro de Pastrana's villancico *a 3, Llenos de lágrimas tristes*, the music of which is lost from *Palacio* (fol. 114; no. 463 in *Monumentos de la Música Española*, xiv/2, p. 499), survives with attribution in Barcelona, M. 454, fol. 176, and anonymously in the *Cancioneiro de Elvas* at fols. 97^v-98 (*Portugaliae Musica*, xxxi, no. 59, pp. 60-61). Although giving no new biographical data concerning any of the following—Pastrana, Mateo Flecha the elder, Bartolomé Escobedo, Cristóbal de Morales, Diego Ortiz, or Andrés Torrentes—Rubio does strongly contest Baini's identification of the motet for the first Sunday in Lent, *Emendemus in melius, a 5*, by "Gabrielis Calvez" in Cappella Sistina 293, fols. 3^v-9, as the source motet for Palestrina's parody Mass of the same name. Concerning Juan Navarro, Rubio adds the news (obtained by Pedro Aizpúrua) that Ávila Cathedral recruited Navarro after his having spent two years as *maestro de capilla* of the Valladolid *colegiata*.

Thanks to José López-Calo's researches at Burgos Cathedral, Rubio presents data on Rodrigo de Ceballos's career not heretofore signalled in any general history. The Burgos capitular acts cite five individuals whose last names are spelled indifferently in the acts Ceballos,

Çaballos, or Çauillos: Rodrigo (I), Francisco, Juan, Bernabé, and Rodrigo (II). Francisco and Juan were sons of Rodrigo (I). Bernabé was Francisco's son. Rodrigo (II) was Juan's son. As early as 1507 the Burgos acts register Rodrigo (I) as a cathedral singer. In 1510 the acts denominate him singer and *maestro de capilla*. Francisco, Rodrigo (I)'s successor, was received as singer and his father's aide in 1526. In 1533 Juan gained readmission after having been expelled from the cathedral choir (along with other singers) for disobediently having assisted at a fiesta outside the cathedral. In 1552, Francisco—by now a veteran *maestro de capilla* and a *medio racionero* (holder of a half-prebend)—sought permission to accept a better paying post at the Huelgas convent in Burgos. The cathedral chapter responded by hiring Francisco's son, Bernabé, to teach the choirboys singing and sing in the cathedral choir at 20 ducats' yearly salary.

By 1552, therefore, four members of the Ceballos family had enjoyed Burgos cathedral posts: Rodrigo (I), his two sons Francisco and Juan, and his grandson Bernabé. Rodrigo (II), son of Juan, first enters Burgos capitular acts in 1554. In that year, Málaga Cathedral twice held competitions for the post of *maestro de capilla* left vacant by Cristóbal de Morales's death shortly before October 7, 1553. In the second examination that ended June 14, 1554, Rodrigo (II) competed with five others: Juan Cepa, Francisco Ravaneda, Gonzalo Cano, Melchor Gálvez, and someone named Ordóñez. In order to influence the jury favorably, three Burgos cathedral canons wrote the bishop and chapter of Málaga, soliciting their kind consideration of Rodrigo (II), youthful son of Juan de Ceballos and nephew of the then Burgos chapelmaster, Francisco de Ceballos. Their letter did not win the day for Rodrigo (II) but did at least help him achieve second place in the delayed voting that took place November 7. The first-place winner, Juan Cepa, garnered 14 votes, Rodrigo (II) 3 votes.

Because on October 7, 1553, Rodrigo (II) had been hired by the Seville Cathedral chapter to choose and copy some new masses into the cathedral choirbooks, he came to the Málaga competition from only a short distance and was therefore rewarded with only five ducats for traveling expenses; Cepa and Ravaneda, from further away, were paid ten. Rodrigo (II), upon returning to Seville, remained there until appointed an assistant June 10, 1556, to Alonso de Vieras, aging *maestro de capilla* of Córdoba Cathedral—whom he next year succeeded in the chapelmastership May 27, 1557. On June 28, 1561, Rodrigo (II) was royally confirmed as *maestro* of the Capilla Real at Granada (a post that he occupied until death two decades later).

Only to Rodrigo (II), among the five members of the Ceballos clan mentioned in Burgos Cathedral acts, can be ascribed any of the 72 liturgical and seven secular Ce-

ballos works in extant manuscript or printed sources. These include 39 motets, three Masses, eight Magnificats (one in each tone), eight vespers psalms, six hymns, and one compline service (second and third vespers psalms, brief responsory, antiphon, *Nunc dimittis*, *Benedicamus* with its reply). The extremely wide diffusion of Ceballos's sacred works throughout Spain (Ávila, El Escorial, Granada Cathedral and Real Capilla, Guadalupe, Huesca, Jaén, Montserrat, Pamplona, Santiago de Compostela, Saragossa, Segovia, Seville, Toledo, Valladolid Cathedral and Santiago parish), Portugal (Vila Viçosa), and Latin America (Bogotá, Guatemala City and Jacaltenango) attests Ceballos's worldwide acceptance.

Again, thanks to López-Calo's researches at Burgos, married Andrés de Villalar's biography can be enhanced with the news that he was called from Córdoba Cathedral to become *maestro de capilla* of Burgos Cathedral from August 26, 1566, to July 29, 1572. On the latter date he was let go, after multiple absences and notorious neglect of duty. In 1566 his mother lived at Zamora, of which place he was probably a native. He was maestro at Zamora on December 3, 1593, when León Cathedral authorities consulted him (among others) on the choice of a new maestro (*Anuario Musical*, xiv [1959], 57).

Ambrosio Cotes—another composer better profiled by Rubio than in previous general histories—was the subject of José María Soler García's biography, *El polifonista villenense Ambrosio Cotes*. Son of Francisco Cotes and Isabel Sánchez, he was born in about 1550 at Villena (65 mi = 100 km southwest of Valencia) and already by 1573 was an ordained *maestro de capilla* in his hometown church of Santiago. On May 18, 1581, he succeeded Rodrigo de Ceballos as maestro of the Capilla Real at Granada. Juan Ginés Pérez's quitting Valencia Cathedral May 25, 1595, left vacant the maestro's post—to which Cotes was unanimously elected March 16, 1596, with a salary of 500 *libras* (raised soon thereafter to 550). Despite being dispensed from teaching the choirboys (a duty assigned Gaspar Vallacloig during Ginés Pérez's last year), being given an aide to substitute for him during absences (Narciso Leysa), and being allowed November 4, 1598, to bring his friend Isasi—a virtuoso keyboardist—from the Granada Capilla Real, Cotes quit Valencia in 1600 to take the post of *maestro de capilla* at the cathedral of Seville, where he was confirmed September 22, 1600, but died September 9, 1603 (after protracted illness). The favors done him at both Valencia and Seville can be understood only in the context of his enormous ability. At the Capilla Real in Granada he left the reputation of being *eminentísimo y abilísimo en la música*.

Juan Esquivel de Barahona, born at Ciudad Rodrigo in about 1560, started his professional career at Oviedo, where the cathedral authorities—after a legal process lasting from May to November 1581—seated him as *maestro de capilla* November 15. The legal proceedings

resulted from a contract between the Oviedo emissary Gonzalo de Solís (sent to recruit a chapelmaster) and the youthful Esquivel. After the contract was signed, the Oviedo cathedral hired Alonso Puro, chapelmaster at Zamora. The chancery at Valladolid, having listened to some twenty lawyers' interventions, decided in Esquivel's favor. He remained at Oviedo until at least July 1583 when, newly ordained, he returned to Ciudad Rodrigo to sing his first Mass. Thereafter his trail (according to the Ciudad Rodrigo chronicler, Mateo Hernández Vegas) took him to Calahorra, Ávila, and thence back home to Ciudad Rodrigo where he died after publication of his Gargantuan third tome, *Psalmorum, hymnorum, Magnificarum, et B. Mariae quatuor antiphonarum de tempore, necnon et missarum Tomus secundus* (Salamanca: Francisco de Cea Tesa, 1613; 593 pp.), dedicated to Pedro Ponce de León, O.S.D., bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo 1605–1610 and bishop of Zamora 1610 to his death in 1615. Surviving in an apparently unique copy at Ronda, this omnigatherum bears the approbation of Vicente Espinel, native of Ronda, and establishes Esquivel as one of the most published Spanish composers of his epoch. The first of the six Masses in this final collection, *Tu es Petrus, a 5*, honors the dedicatee, Pedro Ponce de León, with a polytextual Sanctus in which the tenor sings the opening phrase of the antiphon four times in breves. The four-part Masses *Quasi cedrus* and *Hortus conclusus* are based on motets of Francisco Guerrero and Rodrigo de Ceballos.

All the new details concerning Esquivel's career at Oviedo were published by Raúl Árias del Valle. Notice of the Ronda copy of Esquivel's *Tomus secundus* was given in Robert J. Snow's *The 1613 Print of Juan Esquivel Barahona* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, Inc., 1978, 98 pp.) which—according to Rubio (p. 195)—was a “pobrisima monografía, tanto que no añade casi nada nuevo a la que R. Stevenson había escrito en *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* diecisiete años antes.”

Concerning Tomás Luis de Victoria, Rubio has much to say that, if not new to specialists, certainly contradicts statements in such popular textbooks as Howard Mayer Brown's *Music in the Renaissance* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976). According to Brown, Victoria was born “near Avila” and “received his early education at Segovia under Bartolomé Escobedo.” Not so. Victoria was born at Ávila, where at age nine he became a cathedral choirboy. Escobedo had nothing to do with his education. Instead he was trained successively by chapelmasters Gerónimo de Espinar, Bernardino de Ribera, and Juan Navarro. According to Brown, Victoria composed “about forty-five motets,” but Rubio catalogues 65—*25 a 4*, *18 a 5*, *16 a 6*, *6 a 8*. According to Brown, *O magnum mysterium* is a Christmas motet, whereas Victoria himself designated it a Circumcision motet (*In*

Circumcisione Domini); Brown claims that the text of it includes the salutation "I beata Virgine" whereas Victoria's text reads "O beata Virgo." Brown asserts that *O vos omnes* contains text translatable as "for he was founded upon a sure rock," whereas the Latin contains nothing remotely approaching those words. In Brown's transcription of *O vos omnes*, the tenor leaps a fourth downward to a dissonant Middle C (measure 22²); instead Victoria wrote a passing note E.

Without further enumerating Brown's errors, Rubio's grief in encountering *inexplicable e increíblemente despistados biógrafos de última hora* of Brown's category can be well understood. Brown makes nothing of the fact that "Victoria is the composer who most carefully and frequently specified the needed accidentals (sharps and flats) in his printed editions" (Rubio, p. 214); that Victoria in 1600 added an organ part to the eight-voice *Ave Maria* that he had published for voices alone twenty-eight years earlier in 1572, and in an autograph letter to the Jaén cathedral chapter gloried in having been the first in Spain or Italy to publish organ reductions of Chorus I parts (p. 215). Substituting for voices, these organ reductions permitted performance of his works *a 8* where only enough singers for Chorus II were available. Far from being a backward-looking composer intent on aping Palestrina, Victoria in 1600 prophesied the future. Even though in 1581 he published Magnificats in each of the eight tones and in 1592 a *Missa Quarti toni*, Rubio rightly has it that for Victoria the modes were from the outset of his career a dead letter (*para Victoria escalas modales no tienen más que valor teórico, no práctico*, p. 214). The nineteenth century could embrace him (among other reasons) because his specified accidentals turned his emotion-fraught works from 1572 onwards into major/minor compositions obeying nineteenth-century "functional harmony" rules.

In contrast with Victoria, to whom he devotes twenty pages, Rubio overlooks entirely Victoria's most famous musical contemporary born at Ávila—Sebastián de Vivanco. He also snubs Alonso Lobo, who succeeded Francisco Guerrero at Seville. Both were published stars of the first magnitude. Too frequently in the nineteen-page sixth chapter on theorists Rubio uncritically quotes León Tello. Arguably, the seventh chapter explaining sixteenth-century music notation should not have been the only chapter illustrated with music examples. Nor does it fit the general scheme of the book.

Even the sections of this invaluable vademecum that treat subjects and personalities dearest to Rubio's heart cannot be called wholly exempt from error. Not Bartolomé de Escobedo but rather Bartolomé de Quevedo succeeded Mateo Flecha the Elder in direction of the infanta Doña Juana's capilla; nor did Escobedo die in 1564

but rather between March 21 and August 11, 1563. Juan Vázquez's steps can be carried beyond 1560 to 1572, in which year he was maestro in the household of the richest grandee in Spain, Alonso Pérez de Guzmán (1549–1615), seventh Duke of Medina Sidonia (Lola de la Torre Trujillo, "Juan Vázquez en 1572," *Revista de Musicología*, 11/1 [1979], 131). Inheritor of the vast Medina Sidonia estates from his grandfather, Juan Alonso de Guzmán (sixth duke, who died November 26, 1558), the seventh Duke of Medina Sidonia (who in 1588 was to command the Spanish Armada) married the Prince of Eboli's daughter in 1572. In order to exculpate Nicasio Zorita from Cerone's charge that he plagiarized two of his motets (*El Melopeo y maestro*, Lib. I., cap. xxxix [pp. 109–110]), Rubio quotes Cerone only partially. Nor does he mention that the Anglés-Pena *Diccionario de la música Labor*, 11, 2318, and Felipe Pedrell's *Catàlech de la Biblioteca Musical de la Diputació de Barcelona*, 1, 243, both agree that Cerone did attack Zorita for plagiarism.

According to Rubio, page 230: "it is reported, but on what grounds is unknown, that Fuenllana was chamber musician to Sebastian, king of Portugal." The supporting documentation exists at Lisbon in Torre do Tombo, Chancellaria de D. Sebastião e D. Henrique, Doações, XLIV, 115. On May 23 and June 17, 1574, Sebastian raised the salary of his chamber musician Miguel de Fuenllana to an eventual total of 100,000 *reales*. The pay documents have been twice published in full—first in Francisco Márquez de Sousa Viterbo's serialized "Subsídios para a história da música em Portugal," *O Instituto*, LXXVIII (1929), 116–117, and again in his *Subsídios* collected in book form (1932). Rubio does state his source for Fuenllana's having in 1555 been a musician in the service of the "marquesa de Tarifa"—but without identifying her. She was Leonor Ponce de León, daughter of the Marquises of Zahara, Luis and Francisca Ponce de León. She was the aunt of Luis Cristóbal Ponce de León, second Duke of Arcos—who was Morales's protector and also the dedicatee of Guerrero's first published motet collection (Seville, 1555). Confirmation of these family connections is given in Alberto y Arturo García Carraffa's *Diccionario heráldico y genealógico de apellidos españoles* (Madrid, 1954, xviii, 133 [ix] and 138 [iii.8]). The overwhelmingly Sevillian bias of the *Orphénica lyra* repertory resulted from Fuenllana's service to the childless marchioness, who consoled herself with music at Seville while her philandering husband consoled himself with at least two mistresses, by whom he fathered various illegitimate children (one of whom rose to be Archbishop of Valencia).

At his page 232 Rubio rates Francisco Páez as an "unknown." However the capitular acts of Málaga Cathedral extracted by Andrés Llordén (*Anuario Musi-*

cal, xix-1964 [1966], 84) cite him as *maestro de capilla de las Descalzas de Madrid* on November 8, 1612. Various earlier—as well as later—phases of Páez's career are traceable. In 1596 he resided at Jaén. During the first week of February Páez competed for the position of *maestro de capilla* in the collegiate church at Antequera (Andrés Llordén, "Notas históricas de los maestros de capilla en la Colegiata de Antequera," *Anuario Musical*, xxxi-xxxii [1976-1977], 123). When the winner Juan de Vargas abandoned the post, Francisco Páez de Ávila was elected July 12, 1596.

Two years later he himself abandoned Antequera. On July 11, 1598, the Antequera *actas* announced his departure for Guadix. On November 11, 1600, he was reelected to occupy the post a second time, but five years later was again dismissed July 14, 1605, for failure to teach polyphony, attend to his other duties at regular hours, and other negligences. However, his natural talents must have been considerable. In 1607 he competed for the post of *maestro de capilla* in the Descalzas Reales convent at Madrid, and won appointment dated November 16, 1607. As chapelmaster he directed from the choirbook stand while Tomás Luis de Victoria officiated at the organ (until 1611).

In March of 1615 the Empress María's body was transferred from the cloister to the altar of Descalzas Reales. Páez's Requiem Mass *a 8*, published in Sebastián López de Velasco's *Libro de Missas Motetes Salmos Magnificas y otras cosas* (Madrid: Ex Typographia Regia, 1628) may have been composed for the solemn Mass celebrated March 12, 1615 (Rafael Mota Murillo, *Sebastián López de Valasco* [1584-1659], "Libro de missas . . ." [Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1980, p. 53]). All this data, and other details that could be adduced, go to show that Francisco Páez—far from being a *desconocido* as Rubio has him—figured during the final quadrennium of Victoria's life as his most important musical coadjutor.

In any future revision, the bibliography should be expanded to include more of the authorities cited in the text. Vague references scattered throughout the text lack page numbers. In more instances than befit a reference book titles are so incompletely or even inaccurately cited that any reader not already familiar with the literature wastes hours seeking confirmation of controversial statements.

However, all the mere details mentioned on this page in no way whatsoever detract from the overall grandeur of Rubio's achievement. No task is more difficult and more fraught with peril than the writing of a textbook. In this, he here succeeded with the same authority that marked the innumerable other enterprises that made him

the glory of his order, the master teacher of his generation, and the crown of the Spanish Musicological Society.

Obras musicales recopiladas. Volumen I. By CARLOS PATIÑO (1600-1675). Ed. and transcribed by Lothar Siemens Hernández (Cuenca, Instituto de Música Religiosa de la Diputación Provincial de Cuenca [Imprime: Gráficas Cuenca S.A. Hnos. Valdés 28. 16002 Cuenca]. 467 pp. incl. 427 pp. of music, 1 full-page portrait)

This impressive first volume in a projected *opera omnia* series does highest credit to its editor. He opens with the discovery that a well-known portrait in the Music Section of the Madrid National Library formerly thought to be of Mateo Flecha the Younger (*d* February 20, 1604) is in reality of Carlos Patiño. The sheet of music in the portrait subject's hand clinches the proof, because it contains the initial phrase of Patiño's favorite work, his motet *Maria, Mater Dei* for triple solo, double choir, and continuo. Moreover, the portrait subject wears seventeenth-, not sixteenth-century clothing.

Next, Siemens Hernández sketches Carlos Patiño's biography. The son of Pedro Gallego Patiño and Inés Ramírez, he was born at Santa María del Campo Rus (Cuenca) and baptized there October 9, 1600. Being not the oldest son, he was destined for the church. Possibly he began his primary education in the Trinitarian *convento* of his hometown. His musical aptitude won him a choirboy's place at Seville Cathedral June 22, 1612, before his twelfth birthday. His teachers there were successively Francisco Company, Juan de Vaca, and until 1617 the great Alonso Lobo, Seville Cathedral chapelmaster. After Lobo's death, April 5, 1617, the Portuguese Calced Carmelite Francisco de Santiago succeeded him as *maestro de capilla* of Seville Cathedral. From the latter, the Duke of Bragança (who in 1640 ascended the Portuguese throne as João IV) learned of Patiño's creative gift and began assembling a collection that by 1648 amounted to a total of 78 works, nearly all of them polychoral items (69 villancicos, 9 Latin works).

On January 25, 1622, Patiño married Laura María de Vargas Texeda Lozano. On January 19, 1623, he was declared victor in the competition for the post of "master of polyphony" (*maestro de canto de órgano*) of the Sagrario of Seville Cathedral. His first child, Pedro Félix, was born at Seville in January 1625. His wife died giving birth to his second child, Juan (who in turn died two months later). Patiño then resigned care of Pedro Félix to his in-laws and embarked upon studies for the priesthood at Seville. Meantime, however, he continued to hold his Sagrario post. In February, 1628, he competed

for the chapelmastership at Salamanca. Being denied it because of favor shown Francisco Martínez Diez, a local aspirant, Patiño on May 8, 1628, was compensated with appointment to be *maestro de capilla* of the Royal Convent of the Incarnation (Encarnación) at Madrid.

After six years in that post, he was called January 1, 1634, to succeed Mateo Romero (Maestro Capitán) as maestro of Philip IV's royal chapel. Simultaneously, he became vice-maestro and rector of the royal choirboy school (Colegio de los Niños Cantorcicos)—a post which he filled until February 7, 1657. In 1660 he petitioned for retirement from being maestro of the Real Capilla, whereupon Philip IV named a *teniente* to discharge all duties except composing. After 1668, Patiño quit even this occupation. He lived an ever more solitary life after the death in 1664 of his widower son Pedro Félix, who was a painter. On August 15, 1675, he executed his last testament before the notary Juan García Blanco and died a month later, September 15, at Madrid.

Previous biographers, knowing nothing of his early life, tried making him a protégé of Mateo Romero. Not so. His relationships with Romero were always strained. Although he knew the works of the Flemings Georges de la Hèle, Philippe Rogier, Géry de Ghersem, and others from the Low Countries who dominated Philip II's *capilla flamenca*, Patiño studied with none of them. Instead, he is the musical descendant of Francisco Guerrero and of Alonso Lobo. True, he marched with the times, made polychoralism his métier, nearly always called for basso continuo, and infused his works with numerous baroque splendors. But in speaking the new polychoral vocabulary, he never forgot the finesses of the old that he had learned at Seville.

Having thus disposed of Patiño's biography—never before correctly given in any published lexicon (including *The New Grove* of 1980)—Siemens Hernández turns next to the problem of Patiño's extant oeuvre. In keeping with such contemporaries as Diego Pontac and Juan del Vado, Patiño may have wished to publish at least some of his works. But he did not. Instead, they were zealously collected and treasured at Lisbon and Madrid in royal custody. What could have been safer? Unfortunately, the bulk was lost. The burning of the Royal Alcázar at Madrid in 1734 and the earthquake at Lisbon in 1755 catastrophically reduced the manuscript sources of Patiño's works. Nonetheless, patient ferreting out of sources in no less than 24 mostly ecclesiastical archives has to 1985 netted Siemens Hernández a bag of approximately 120 different works existing in a total of 221 copies.

Patiño's 19 works in Latin (not 20) indexed in the present first volume of the projected *opera omnia* fall within these categories: four polychoral motets (*In devotione*; *Maria, Mater Dei*; *O altitudo divitiarum*; *Sapientia aedificavit*), Marian antiphons (*Ave Regina caelorum*,

a 8; and five *Salve Regina*: two *a 4*, one *a 5*, two *a 8*), three hymns (*Ave maris stella, a 8*; *Tantum ergo, a 4*; and *Te Deum, a 8* [the *Te Deum* utilizes much the same musical material as *In devotione* motet]), five Office of the Dead items (*Credo quod redemptor, a 8*; *Domine, quando veneris, a 4*; *Libera me, Domine, a 8*; *Peccantem me quotidie, a 6*; *Taedet animam meam, a 12* [including parts for 3 bajoncillos and bass soloist]), and the Pentecost sequence *Veni Sancte Spiritus, a 9* [including part for triple soloist]). However, despite these five different liturgical categories, Siemens Hernández rightly sees similar compositional traits in all the polychoral items except *Veni Sancte Spiritus*—which is mostly a homophonic burst of joy in prevailingly fast triple meter. So consistent indeed is Patiño in such matters as sectionalizing (the time interval between statement by one chorus and answer by another grows ever shorter until at the close of a section they sing together), in the unleashing of sequential patterns that build, in his varying of duple and triple sections for effective contrasts, and in his reaching for thrilling climaxes at the close of his motets (with such devices as spurting scales) that Siemens Hernández rightly doubted the attribution of the sole motet *a 4* in the present volume, *Inter vestibulum*—credited to Patiño in old Santiago de Compostela cathedral inventories, but actually a work by Rodrigo de Ceballos (*d* 1581). So far as other stylistic traits go, Patiño (like the true Spaniard that he was) never feared diminished 4th skips (pages 41, 146, 207, 308, 369, 377, 386, 389, 419), nor concomitant cross relations. He made good use of sudden silences and changes of gait.

Siemens Hernández supplies a continuo realization for *Maria, Mater Dei*, at pages 77–114. However, he elsewhere leaves vacant a staff for any less-than-spontaneous player to write in his/her own continuo realization. Ciphers appear in Patiño's continuos only rarely (pages 77–114, 171–191, 299–305, and a few other places). But the vocal parts themselves always clue the chords to be used in realizing the continuo part.

Siemens Hernández's proofreading of the music throughout evinces great care. Such a lapse as B flat in the initium of the *Acompañamiento* (instead of D) on page 307 is an almost single instance. Only in Φ sections does he halve Patiño's original note-values. The items in the volume transcribed with a one-sharp key signature (items 6 and 19) are transposed down a fourth from Patiño's original vocal pitches. As authority for so doing, Siemens Hernández cites José de Torres [Martínez Bravo's] *Reglas generales de acompañar* (Madrid: Imprenta de Música, 1702), pages 10–11. According to Torres, Spanish works with accompaniments in C-clef are to be played a fourth lower than written.

Siemens Hernández rightly goes on to remark that Spanish works so lowered from their written pitches often confound modern mixed choirs when the conductor fails

to assign the so-called "tenor" parts to baritones, the "alto" parts to tenors. Even so, modern choirs are often forced to put Spanish seventeenth-century repertory up a whole step because in the epoch itself boys, not women, sang the tiple parts.

All such advices as these mark Siemens Hernández as an editor concerned with getting the Spanish baroque repertory not simply into print but also into viable performances that catch the brilliance and the élan that informed Patiño's music in its own century. (Patiño's settings of the joyous texts that predominate throughout the present volume are particularly entrancing; in these settings he was somehow able to rise above the tragedy that often clouded his own personal life.)

Siemens Hernández's successes in the present volume therefore presage a continuing series of value not only for musicologists but also for choirs. As an example of a Patiño recording that already has won a Gold Disk award at Paris: *Maria, Mater Dei* (which he transcribed two decades ago from ten manuscript parts [continuo part in two copies] at Las Palmas, Gran Canaria Cathedral) was released by Archiv Produktion of Deutsche Grammophon Gesellschaft (Escolanía of Montserrat, P. Ireneu Segarra conducting).

One work missing from the present volume survives uniquely at Puebla (Mexico) Cathedral—a *Salve Regina*, a 5. (Madrid Biblioteca Nacional, M-4106, No. 12, contains the alto part of this particular *Salve*.) As complete a list as it was possible for the present reviewer to compile of Patiño's works that survive in New World colonial archives will properly conclude the present review, since it tells how widely Patiño's music was known and performed throughout Latin America before 1800.

BOGOTÁ CATHEDRAL (*Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* [Washington, D.C.: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1970], p. 22)

Domine ad adjuvandum me, a 8. Vesperas de Confessores. Tiple primero part only.

Domine ad adjuvandum me, a 6. Contralto primero.

Magnificat, a 8. Tone II. Only ACompañamiento 1^o Ch^o of this setting survives.

Magnificat, a 8. Tiple 1^o and Baxo 1^o of another setting (Tone VI).

Salve Regina, a 8. Organo 2 only. The fact that all of Patiño's works survive in only one or two parts suggests that many more of his Latin works may have been sung, with every part now gone.

CUZCO, SAN ANTONIO ABAD SEMINARY LIBRARY (RBMSA, p. 44)

Ya q̄ dejaste a Menguilla los campos de Manzanares y sus riberas. Romance a 4. 3 tiples, tenor, AComp.¹⁰ C Major. C3 mensuration. High C in Tiple I at outset. Six strophes. In a later

hand on the cover has been written: "es menester trovar toda la letra."

GUATEMALA CATHEDRAL (RBMSA, p. 92)

Amor mirad lo que. Villancico a 3 voces de Nau^d. 2 tiples and textless baxo. G minor (one-flat signature), ternary meter. After each copla comes a partial repeat of the estribillo. Tiple 1 ranges from d-f¹.

En las Esferas reluce. Villancico a 3 Vozes. Por el M^o Carlos Patiño M^o de la Capilla R.¹ de S. M.^d en Madrid. Tiene Letra para Navidad. "Tiple 1^o que lo podrá cantar, vn Alto, o vn Tenor," Tiple 2, "Alto que sirve de Tenor," AComp.¹⁰ Ending-chord: G.

Magnificat Batalla, a Ocho. Odd verses. F Major. Note on AComp.¹⁰ Continuo reads: "Se cantò este año de [17]60. Visp.^{as} de Corpus. Y se le quitò de *Suscepit Israel*, y siguiò el Gloria Patri como se puede reconecer por la letra en los Baxetes."

The usual "battle piece" repeated notes pepper the hearer in the fast triple meter section Φ !

Sana sanarias. Tres al Santissimo. "Se Cantò con musica nueva año de [17]87. = 88." on cover. However, not new music but rather new text honoring St. Anne (Son de Anna) seems to be involved. C Major, typical ca. 1650 ternary music. Ink extremely faded; copies show every sign of long and hard usage.

MEXICO CITY, CENTRO NACIONAL DE DOCUMENTACIÓN, INVESTIGACIÓN E INFORMACIÓN MUSICAL (CENIDIM, Liverpool 16), Colección Jesús Sánchez Garza (RBMSA, p. 176).

Todo se abraza todo en incendio tan lindo sin que se escapen. Text of opening estribillo changed by paste-over to read: "Todo por alto es misterio. A 4." Tiple 1 (sung by "Esquibela," seventeenth-century nun in Holy Trinity Convent at Puebla, Mexico) and AComp.¹⁰ are the extant parts of this ternary-meter Blessed Sacrament villancico. The rubric on the continuo: "sentra aqui por otabo tono alto" ("begin here in high Tone VIII") implies modern C Major.

MORELIA, MEXICO, ARCHIVO MUSICAL DEL COLEGIO DE SANTA ROSA DE SANTA MARÍA DE VALLADOLID (SIGLO XVIII) (RBMSA, p. 191).

Missa Sobre In Simbalis A 8. Incomplete set of parts.

PUEBLA CATHEDRAL (RBMSA, p. 217).

Credidi propter quod locutus sum. A 8. Ti Ti A Tenor bajete, Ti A Te B; AComp.¹⁰ general (figured), bajo 2^o coro, organo. Tone VIII.

Magnificat Toni octavi. A 8. Continuous polyphonic setting, beginning with verse 2. Starts in Φ (Et exultavit) but continues in C, after verse 2.

Salve Regina A 6 [actually a 5]. Ti Ti A Te B, AComp.¹⁰ (figured)

The three Puebla items are on the microfilms containing Puebla Cathedral legajos XVII (*Credidi*), XXVII (*Magnificat*), and XVII (*Salve*) formerly at the Mexico City Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Chapultepec Park, but in 1986 at the Archivo General de la Nación.

Discurso apologético polémica musical Do Padre Caetano de Melo de Jesus, natural do Arcebispado da Baía, Baía, 1734, edição do texto e introdução de JOSÉ AUGUSTO ALEGRIA (Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Serviço de Música, 1985. xvi + 167 pp., 41 music exx.)

By far the lengthiest music treatise written in the Portuguese language originated not in Portugal but in Brazil. The immensely learned author, Caetano de Mello [de] Jesus, wrote his 642,000-word, two-volume *Escola de Canto de Orgão Musica Praticada em forma de Dialogo entre Discipulo, e Mestre*¹ at Bahia. The copying of Part I (28 + 566 + 34 pages) terminated in 1759, and of Part II (595 + 42 pages) in 1760.² Shortly after copying, the author sent both parts to Portugal for publication. Failing of publication, both manuscript parts eventually found their way to the Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital at Evora, where their present call-numbers are CXXVI/1-1 and CXXVI/1-2. The title pages of each part certify that the author was a secular priest in charge of the music in Bahia Cathedral, and that he was himself a native of Bahia archdiocese.³

So far as the time that it cost Caetano de Mello [de] Jesus to confection his treatise is concerned, Part II includes at pages 495-530 a *Discurso Apologético* composed not later than 1734. For long years he had awaited a publication subsidy. In his dedication of Part I he illustrates his problem with an example from scripture. Like the paralytic in John 5:7 who waited for some generous soul to place him in the pool,⁴ Mello's *Escola de Canto de Orgão* had waited for a maecenas to bear

¹José Augusto Alegria, "Um teórico brasileiro do século XVIII (Comunicação apresentada ao Congresso de Estudos sobre 'A Arte em Portugal no Século XVIII,' em Braga," *Revista de História* (São Paulo), LIV/107 (July-September 1976), p. 55, called Mello's two-volume treatise "o mais denso de entre todos os teóricos musicais que escreveram em língua portuguesa."

²Francisco Curt Lange, who included Alegria's "Um teórico brasileiro" in his "Um fabuloso redescobrimto (Para justificação da existência de música erudita no período colonial brasileiro," *Revista de História*, LIV/107, was the first to give precise bibliographical details concerning pagination in his Anexo I. Part I of Mello's *Escola* begins with 14 leaves, the last blank. These contain the author's dedication followed by eleven pages of poems lauding him. Both Parts I and II end with subject-matter indexes. For further bibliographic details, see José Augusto Alegria, *Biblioteca Pública de Évora: Catálogo dos Fundos Musicais* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1977), pp. 64-65.

³"Auctor o M. R. P. Caetano de Mello de Jesus, Sacerdote do habito de S. Pedro, Mestre da capella da Cathedral da Bahia, e natural do mesmo Arcebispado Anno de 1759."

⁴*Escola de Canto de Orgão*, fol. 3. In Part II, p. 495, Mello dates his first impulse to write such a work as the

printing costs. The Bahia magnate who at last came to his rescue with a promise (never fulfilled) to defray the cost of printing both parts—professionally copied and ready for the press—was Bernardino Marques de Almeida e Armizau, secretary (or vice-secretary) of the short-lived Academia Brasília dos Renascidos.⁵

This academy, which in 1759 comprised some forty élite of the viceregal capital, held its first solemn session⁶ beginning at 3 P.M. on June 6, 1759. Music enlivened not only this session but others that followed. On July 2 the academicians who assembled at the house of the director heard sung in his honor a specially composed recitative and aria with accompaniment of a "fine instrumental ensemble."⁷ Caetano de Mello Jesus, now accepted as composer of the recitative and aria,⁸ thus earns the added

Escola as far back as 1734, during which year "esta obra . . . ainda então parava não mais que atada nas primeiras linhas de hũa tosca idea."

⁵Alberto Lamego, *A Academia Brasília dos Renascidos Sua fundação e trabalhos inéditos* (Paris-Brussels: L'Édition d'Art Gaudio, 1923), p. 14, identified Bernardino Marques de Almeida e Armizau as elected *vice-secretário* at the first preparatory meeting of the academy May 19, 1759. The duties of the vice-secretário were defined in § VII of the "Estatutos da Academia Brasileira dos Académicos Renascidos estabelecida na cidade do Salvador Bahia de Todos os Santos Capital de toda a América Portuguesa da qual ha de escrever a história universal." See *Revista Trimestral do Instituto Histórico Geográfico e Ethnográfico do Brasil*, XVI, part 1 (1882), pp. 57-58. According to § I of the statutes, the academy was founded to write a universal history of Brazil.

Bernardino Marques de Almeida e Armizau was a tax collector while viceroys resided at Bahia (to 1763). See "Inventário dos Documentos relativos ao Brasil existentes no Archivo de Marinha e Ultramar," II (Bahia, 1763-1786), *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, XXXII-1910 (1914), pp. 94-95 (item 6889). On December 8, 1765, José Fortunato de Azevedo Brito informed Pombal's brother, Francisco Xavier de Mendonça, that at Bahia he had married the eldest daughter of Bernardino Marques de Almeida e Armizau and his wife Caetana Maria Josefa de Mendonça (*ibid.*, p. 105, item 698).

If Caetano de Mello Jesus confided in the fact that the dedicatee's wife was Pombal's sister, his hopes for publication of his behemoth treatise at Lisbon rested on something firmer than quicksand.

⁶Lamego, p. 23: "Concluidos os discursos e a musica, foi apresentada a seguinte proposição."

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 49. For further details see "Some Portuguese Sources for Early Brazilian Music History," *Yearbook Inter-American Institute for Musical Research*, IV (1968), 40-41.

⁸Premiered (in Régis Duprat's transcription) by Olga Maria Schroeter, soprano, at the São Paulo Teatro Municipal on December 6, 1960, this work was first recorded on Side I of the Chanticleer album MG 1030, *Musica Sal-Americana do Séc. XVIII* by the same soprano accompanied by the Orquestra de Camara de São Paulo led by Olivier Toni. Mary Rawcliffe, accompanied by an ensemble led by Roger Wagner, recorded the aria (Eldorado 2) in 1977.

historical distinction of being the first Brazilian-born composer from whom any music survives with Portuguese text.

The thoroughly up-to-date style of the 1759 music matches what Davide Perez was concurrently providing for the court at Lisbon. Caetano de Mello's theoretical interests in 1734 when he began writing his earliest datable theoretical musings contained in the *Discurso Apologético* also concern a thoroughly up-to-date problem—equal temperament. At page 495 of his second tome he introduces the subject thus:

In the year 1734 there was argued here in Bahia a question that will be explained below. I was forced to respond with what the present *Apologetic Discourse* contains. I did not write it at that time with any thought of appending it to this present work [*Escola de Canto de Orgão*], which up to then had not advanced beyond first lines of a rough draft.⁹

As his reason for now appending his *Discurso Apologético* Caetano de Mello [de] Jesus adduces the impotency of his friends, who think the *Discurso* and the correspondence that it engendered worthy of publication.

The question first surfaced casually at the Clarist Nuns' Desterro Church of this city, where I then supposed it to be merely matter for conversation. When the topic again came up during a meeting at my own house I therefore did not drop other subjects of conversation to discuss it. At that time I was still unaware that a calm conversation would develop into a most violent controversy and from that into a furious exercise in shouting.¹⁰

In the midst of a group of the chief musicians of this city I was next accosted by the person who had initially raised the question. I could not extricate myself when on a fourth attempt to embroil me he invaded the cathedral. Not only his repeated attempts to get at me but also the attendant publicity made me now realize that the true design and desire of the questioner was to discredit my knowledge. But needlessly—because I was already well aware of how little I knew and (together with Seneca) agree that mastering the unknown

⁹*Escola de Canto de Orgão Musica Practicada em forma de Dialogo entre Discipulo, e Mestre, dividida em quatro partes. Parte II. . . . Anno de 1760, p. 495: "No anno de 1734 se moveo nesta cidade da Bahia a duvida que diante se declara, a qual me foi forçoso responder o que neste Discurso Apologético se contem. Não o escrevi naquelle tempo com intenção alguma de o ajunctar agora a esta obra que ainda então parava não mais que atada nas primeiras linhas de hũa tosca idea."*

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 496: "Teve principio esta duvida na Igreja do Desterro das Religiosas de S. Clara desta Cidade, onde então entendi ser só conversa: por cuja causa em hum encontro, que houve em minha propria casa, não desviei o tomar-se a fallar nella, parecendo-me que de huma mansa conversa não se procederia a hum tenacissimo argumento, e desta a hũa furiosa desesperação de gritos."

should be one's lifelong occupation. I have not been boastful myself, nor have I labeled anyone else presumptuous who shows himself knowledgeable.¹¹

At length appeared my present *Discourse*, the purpose of which from the outset was to respond not only to the now written question but also to certain words that were either uttered in the heat of argument or were prompted by biting animosity. But when my present poor *Discourse* finally appeared, my confirmed antagonist gave it such a different twist from its original meaning that among the unlearned I was made (so I was told) an object of shameful ridicule.¹²

Not yet telling the reader of his *Discurso Apologético* the name of his "confirmed Antagonist," Caetano de Mello does say that he had never wished to prevail merely on the strength of his own professional standing in Bahia. He acknowledges that:

Bahia boasts of many skilled musicians who exceed me in every way except being willing to undertake the laborious exercise of counterpoint. Unworthy practitioner though I may be of that science, I became a contrapuntist because inclination drove me that way.¹³

Rather than run the danger of being now called a hoarder of the secrets of counterpoint, or someone who shares them only with friends, he has written his present *Discurso Apologético* for the many or the few who happen upon it.

After further introductory remarks, Caetano de Mello at last names his antagonist—Verissimo Gomes de Abreu, whom he identifies as a pupil before him of the same distinguished teacher who taught them both, Nuno da Costa de Oliveyra.¹⁴ Verissimo Gomes de

¹¹*Ibid.*: "fui acometido diante de hum congresso dos principais Musicos desta cidade, pelo auctor da duvida. Não pude porem livrar-me da 4.^a vez, quando na Cathedral fui invadido; tanto pela publicidade, como porque de tão repetida diligencia, vim a entender que havia empenho, ou animo deliberado a deslustrar-me. Mas sem razão; porque eu, conhecendo o pouco que sei, e que se deve aprender em quanto se não sabe, ou em quanto se vive como disse o mesmo Seneca; nunca fui jactancioso, nem me acordo de presumpção alguma que de sciente mostrasse."

¹²*Ibid.*: "Sahio emfim este meo tenue Discurso, onde *ex composito* foi meo intento responder não somente à uma duvida, ja tambem posta em papel, senão tambem a algumas palavras que a força do argumento, ou a hostilidade mordica fez saltar ou com menos prudencia em se dizerem. . . . Sahio em fim, como digo, este meo pobre Discurso: e foi pelo meo devoto Antagonista representado no theatro de ignorancia com tão diferente cara, que tudo (como me consta) se me verteo em vergonhoso lubridio."

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 497: "aindaque haja na Bahia Musicos tão peritos, que em tudo me excedem, excepto em não quererem tomar o laborioso exercicio do Contraponto, que indignamente professo, e por força de inclinação tomei. . . ."

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 499; Cónego Alegria's edition, p. 12, note 1.

Abreu's question that had lighted the fires of controversy between him and Caetano de Mello had to do with temperament: in the key of C sharp major are the same distances preserved between the first six notes of the scale that exist in the key of C major or, to phrase the question more in Veríssimo Gomes de Abreu's terms: with a signature of sharps on every line and space, can correct mathematical proportions be preserved between the four whole tones and one semitone of the [Guidonian] hexachord?¹⁵

After Caetano de Mello had obtained written support of equal temperament from four Brazilian colleagues, he and Veríssimo Gomes de Abreu made a money wager to be decided by solicited written opinions from seven European authorities. His Brazilian colleagues had responded promptly, beginning with Ignácio Ribeiro Noya, *mestre* at Recife—who replied October 28, 1734, after only three days' examination of Mello's *Discurso*. But Europeans lagged, João da Sylva Moraes, *mestre* of Lisbon Cathedral delaying his wishy-washy reply until April 24, 1738.

Because the answers of both Caetano de Mello's Brazilian and European colleagues illustrate the intellectual climate within which he flourished, each of the eleven replies deserves at least brief summary. Ignácio Ribeiro Noya, whose reply is dated October 28, 1734, was born at Recife in October, 1688. According to the Pernambuco bibliographer Domingos de Loreto Couto¹⁶ (1696–ca. 1762) Noya was not only a learned theologian and Latinist but also an "excellent musician who played all manner of instruments, who set his own poetry to music, who had a good voice and who sang gracefully and skilfully." Noya begins his *censura* of Mello's *Discurso apologético* with a scriptural quotation—Psalms 2:10. Next he excuses himself from a lengthy reply with an adage from Aristotle: why say more when less is enough? He then avers that Mello had said it all in his *Discurso*, sections 67 through 77. Therefore, what more need be said?

Ignácio Ribeiro Pimenta, Olinda Cathedral *mestre*, who signed his *censura* November 6, 1734, first quotes 2 Timothy 4:8. In his second paragraph he appeals to the authority of Manuel Nunes da Silva (whose *Arte*

¹⁵*Ibid.*: "Se pondo-se sustentido em todos os Lugares de linhas e espaços, de antes da Clave, poderemos formar hũa Dedução, ou Hexacordo, guardando as distancias proporcionaes dos quatro Tonos, e hum Semitono, que no decurso Deducional se comprehendem."

¹⁶*Desaggravos do Brasil e Glorias de Pernambuco* (= *Desaggravos do Brazil*, Lisbon National Library, F.G. 873 [olim B16, 23]), published in *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, XXV–1903 (1904); see pp. 19–20: "excellente músico, e tangedor de tudo género de instrumentos, de tal sorte que compoem a letra, e posta por elle em solfa a canta com boa voz, summa graça, e destreza."

minima went through three editions, 1685, 1704, 1725). Next, he claims that after thirty-two years' experience playing the harp and singing, he himself finds no difficulty with seven sharps or seven flats. He finishes with Aristotle's dictum that those who stubbornly refuse to acknowledge proved truth deserve punishment *non verbis sed verberibus* ("not with words but with lashes").

Manuel da Costa Rego, Archdeacon of Olinda Cathedral who signed his opinion November 9, 1734, abstained from scriptural quotation—instead citing Vergil and the historian Valerius Maximus (*fl AD 26*). According to Rego envy accounted for the stubbornness of Mello's attackers. Like a butterfly trying to extinguish the candle's light, Mello's attackers deserve to burn up in his candle's flame.

Antônio Nunes de Siqueira (1692–1759), fourth and last of Mello's Brazilian defenders, spent a much longer time drafting his reply—which he dated at Rio de Janeiro July 2, 1735. Signing himself *mestre da capela* of Rio de Janeiro Cathedral, he alone of the four independently argued the problems agitating Mello, and he alone had recourse to music examples (seven—four with five-sharp signature, one each with six sharps and seven sharps). Better to appreciate his *censura*, his biography deserves review. The only *mestre* south of Bahia invited to contribute anything to Mello's compend, Nunes de Siqueira was the first São Paulo native-born musician to make a national name. He was also 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 Moraes (who were residents of São Paulo), he was baptized June 19, 1692.¹⁷ After studying music with Manuel Lopes de Siqueira

¹⁷Régis Duprat, "A Música na Matriz e na Sé de São Paulo Colonial 1611–1822," University of São Paulo doctoral dissertation (finished at Paris January 26, 1963), 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 not only became in early life a "cultor da poesia e da musica, de que foi contrapontista e compositor inspirado, sendo por isso nomeado mestre de capella," but also was so "notavel por sua illustração como philosopho e theologo" that he was chosen "examinador synodal" and "Reitor do seminario de S. José."

In Ernesto Vieira's *Diccionario Biographico de musicos portuguezes* (Lisbon: Mattos Moreira & Pinheiro, 1900), I, 499, his name is spelled Antonio Nunes de *Sequeira*; Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo follows suit in "O ordem de Christo e a música religiosa," *O Instituto*, LVII/3 (1910), p. 149. The same *Sequeira* spelling turns up in the thirteen volumes comprising the *Catálogo de Documentos sôbre a História de S. Paulo existentes no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, de Lisboa*. See Vols. IV (1957), pp. 358 and 375 (July 26 and December 8, 1748); XIII (1958), p. 416 (April 4, 1750). On the

(1661–1716), a native of São Paulo who had revealed his precociousness by winning appointment at only nineteen to the chapelmastership at the São Paulo matriz.¹⁸ Antônio 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).¹⁹ Angelo de Siqueira, still another son, occupied it the next nine years (1725–1734). Meanwhile, Antônio Nunes de Siqueira had himself been priested and in 1726 was holding office in a local brotherhood, the Irmandade de São Miguel.²⁰ A canon of São Paulo (erected a see July 6, 1746)²¹ 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 naming as executor of his estate Mathias Álvares Torres, São Paulo Cathedral chapelmaster from 1735 to 1768.²²

No later than 1754, he belonged to the Academia dos Selectos²³ at Rio de Janeiro while concurrently serving as Rector of the diocesan Seminário de São José and chapel-

other hand, J. C. Rodrigues, *Catalogo anotado dos Livros sobre o Brasil: Parte I. Descobrimento 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.

The spelling *Siqueira* is uniformly adopted by Régis Duprat and by Alegria in the present edition of Mello’s *Discurso*.

¹⁸Duprat, p. 11. In 1660 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).

¹⁹*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); P^o Manoel Lopes de Siqueira (1716–1725); P^o Angelo de Siqueira (1725–1734); P^o Mathias Álvares Torres (1735–1768); Antonio Manso da Mota (1768; 1774); P^o Antonio da Costa de Oliveira (ca. 1771); André da Silva Gomes (1774–1822).

²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 17–18.

²¹Pius Bonifacius Gams, *Series episcoporum* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1957), p. 136. The matriz dated from 1611.

²²Duprat, “A Música na Matriz,” pp. 18 (when he died, Nunes de Siqueira named Álvares Torres, São Paulo chapelmaster, his executor); 20, 95 (Álvares Torres’s dates).

²³*O Instituto*, LVII/3 (1910), p. 149. Also, Sacramento Blake, *Diccionario*, I (1883), 272.

master 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 Álvares Solano, this miscellany of poems in the three languages bore the title suggested by Nunes de Siqueira, *Jubilos da America*.²⁴ 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).²⁵

According to Baltazar da Silva Lisboa (1761–1840), “muitas peças de música” from the pen of Antônio Nunes de Siqueira still survived in 1834–1835;²⁶ 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 accessible had therefore to await facsimile publication in Alberto Lamego’s *A Academia Brasileira dos Renascidos: sua fundação e trabalhos inéditos* (Paris–Brussels: L’Édition d’Art Gaudio, 1923). Régis Duprat analyzed the *Recitativo e ária* in “A música na Bahia colonial,” *Estudos Históricos* (Universidade de São Paulo, Departamento de História, Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, Marília, Brazil), xxx:61 (January–March 1965), pp. 93–116. He published facsimiles and a transcription in “Recitativo e ária para soprano, violinos e baixo,” *Universitas* (Salvador), 8/9, January/August 1971, pp. 289–299.

With this much said concerning Antônio Nunes de Siqueira, what does he say concerning Mello’s *Discurso*? He begins by acknowledging the chief subject of the dispute: what accidentals can be used to make a major scale beginning on C# or Cb when traditional tunings permitted only five accidentals on keyboard

²⁴Copies in The Hispanic Society of America (F2506 .B66 T23), New York Public Library (*KF 1754), and Library of Congress.

²⁵“Colonial Music in Colombia,” *The Americas: Quarterly Review of Inter-American Cultural History*, xix/2 (October, 1962), 122–124.

²⁶Sacramento Blake, I, 272; on Silva Lisboa, see the same dictionary, I, 376–378. Silva Lisboa, a native of Bahia, translated into Portuguese Joaquim Le Breton’s *Notice historique sur la vie et ouvrages de Joseph Haydn* (Paris: Institut de France, 1810). Concerning his translation, *Notícia histórica da vida e das obras de José Haydn* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Regia, 1820), see *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, xxii/23 (June 7, 1820), 401–402.

instruments: C#, Eb, F#, G#, and Bb. In discussing the issues, he claims impartiality, since he knows none of the disputants. Although Mello's argument may appear prolix, Nunes de Siqueira applauds Mello's thoroughness and agrees with all Mello's conclusions, from section 63 of the *Discurso* onward. Can the progressions B#-C#, E#-F#, or Bb-Cb, Eb-Fb be played on organ keys C#-C#, F#-F#, Bb-Bb, Eb-Eb? Yes, replies Nunes de Siqueira. The ear does not detect the comma's difference between the larger and smaller semitones presupposed in the difference between tuning ratios for Bb-Bb and Bb-C. Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680)—quoted twice by Nunes de Siqueira—allowed D# to be the equivalent of Eb in forming a tritone with A (*Musurgia universalis* [Rome: Heirs of Francesco Corbellotti, 1650], 1, Liber 5, p. 282),²⁷ because *a quantitate de uma coma era tão imperceptível ao nosso ouvido* ("the quantity of a comma is so imperceptible to our hearing"). Kircher, Lib. 7, pp. 660-664, illustrated diatonic-chromatic-enharmonic genera with *Planctus Matris Euryali*, which is item 9 in the *Dialoghi e sonetti* (Rome: Zanetti, 1638) of Domenico Mazzocchi (1592-1665).²⁸ This *planctus*, referred to by Nunes de Siqueira, contains 15 E#'s, and 5 B#'s.

True it is that intervals embracing these notes can only be obtained in mathematically exact tuning by means of Boethius's monochord—as Kircher himself acknowledged in his book 4. But since the difference between an exact tuning and the approximation [E# / F and of B# / C] is so slight, there is no reason for us not to use the notes F and C for E# and B# on keyboard instruments. Harp, violin, cello, and other unfretted instruments are another matter (but not guitar and viola da gamba with their frets).²⁹

Nunes de Siqueira next joins the Archdeacon of Olinda in invoking the authority of Manoel Nunes da

²⁷In Alegria's edition, p. 84, Nunes de Siqueira is credited with referring to page 285 of Kircher's treatise. A question of clefs arises; what Nunes de Siqueira says applies to Kircher's examples on page 282 of *Musurgia Universalis* if they are read in viola clef rather than baritone clef.

The misprints in Alegria's edition are few indeed: on p. 53, line 7, replace T with the Greek letter gamma or with G; on p. 83, line 10 from the bottom, C-sol-ré-ut needs correction.

²⁸For a discussion of Mazzocchi's *Nisus et Euryalus* lament see Wolfgang Witzemann, *Domenico Mazzocchi 1592-1665 Dokumente und Interpretationen* (Cologne/Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1970), pp. 147-151. The text comes from Vergil's *Aeneid*, IX, lines 176-313 and 473-497 with omissions. Arnold Schering published this *Planctus* in *Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1931), item 197 (pp. 241-243).

²⁹The Portuguese original text, transcribed with some liberties, begins at line 28 on page 85 of Alegria's edition. *Violon de quatro* = cello; *tastos* = frets, *viola* = guitar, *rebecão de seis* = viola da gamba.

Silva. Despite Nunes da Silva's having said that only five accidentals are "in use," namely the black keys for C#, Eb, F#, G#, and Bb, Nunes da Silva did not thereby rule out all other accidentals. Indeed, at Nunes da Silva's page 45, he wrote "I neither approve nor dare I disapprove of other accidentals" (*Nec approbo, nec reprobare audeo*).

Nunes de Siqueira climaxes his lengthy *censura* with these prophetic thoughts: "Finally, I find it beyond reason to agree with anyone who calls it an inartistic mistake to use those accidentals [all 7 sharps and 7 flats], and wishes to restrict and limit so vast an art—the innumerable possibilities and profound subtleties of which few among us Moderns fully comprehend."³⁰ He asks Mello's antagonist to accept the whole range of accidentals, not quibbling because this or that instrument cannot perfectly sound all of them. Refusing to accept solid evidence compounds one's culpable ignorance twice again.

So much for Mello's Brazilian censors—none of whom Alegria in his *explicação prévia* attempts to identify. He does briefly limn each of Mello's six Portuguese censors. By far the most diffuse of these was João Vaz Barradas Muito Pão e Morato, who served as Mello's procurator at Lisbon—that is to say, as the agent who solicited the opinions of the other five Portuguese authorities. Ernesto Vieira's biographical dictionary contains sketches of the first three censors. Manuel Joaquim published data concerning the fifth censor in the *Jornal de Elvas*, vi/53 (this data was incorporated in José Mazza's *Dicionário biográfico de músicos portugueses*, edited by Alegria in 1944/1945, pages 63-64).

According to Vieira (II, 103-105), Morato was born at Portalegre April 30, 1689, studied at Vila Viçosa seminary, and began his professional career at Lisbon as director of music in São Nicolau parish church. In 1735 he published a 113 + 12-page treatise, *Flores Musicas colhidas no jardim da melhor Lição de varios Autores. Arte pratica de Canto de Orgão, Indice de cantoria para principiantes, com hum breve resumo das regras mais principaes de acompanhar com Instrumentos de vozes, e o conhecimento dos Tons assim naturaes como accidentaes* (Lisbon: Officina da Musica).³¹

³⁰In the modernized spelling of Alegria's edition, p. 88: "Ultimamente digo que o afirmar alguém que é erro o uso daquelas Divisões, e contra a Arte, é querer restringir e limitar a grande extensão de uma ciência tão vasta, cujas inumeráveis continuações e profundas subtilezas poucos cabalmente compreenderão, e nós, os Modernos (falando com a devida atenção) mal ao longe chegamos a conhecer."

³¹"Musical flowers picked in various authors' gardens during their best reading. Practice of polyphony, beginners' introduction to singing, with a brief summary of the chief rules for instrumentally accompanying voices, and the rules

The controversy between Caetano de Mello Jesus and his adversary at Bahia, Verissimo Gomes de Abreu, had flared up in 1734. However, Morato had already two years earlier finished his *Flores Musicaes*, treating many of the same problems concerning keys with six and seven sharps and flats that were to be ventilated at Bahia in 1734. As documentary proof of his having already completed *Flores Musicaes* before September 27, 1732, Morato cited the date of its first approval for publication.³² Because both Morato and Mello shared much the same theoretical concerns, Morato the more readily undertook a full-scale examination of Mello's *Discurso*.³³ He also welcomed the opportunity to write a lengthy *censura*, because his own *Flores Musicaes* had been conceived as an elementary text. According to him, he had reserved extensive documentary garlanding for another work, now ready for the press—*Ramilhete canoro, Diálogo compendioso entre Decurión e Condiscípulo* ("Musical nosegay, compendious dialogue between decurion and classmate").

Morato vaunts his learning with frequent quotations from authorities. These include the saints Augustine, Bernard, and Jerome. But the bulk of his citations come from such a varied list as:

Alexandre de Andrade (*fl* 1730), Giovanni Battista Doni (1595–1647), Gregor Faber (*ca.* 1520–after 1554), António Fernandes (*ca.* 1595–*ca.* 1680), Franchinus Gaffurius (1451–1522), Athanasius Kircher (1601–1680), Andrés Lorente (1624–1703), Pablo Nassarre (*ca.* 1652–*ca.* 1730), Guillermus de Podio (*fl* 1495), Gregorio Santisso Bermúdez (*fl* 1730), Pedro Thalesio (*ca.* 1563–*ca.* 1629), Mathias de Sousa Villa Lobos (*fl* 1688), Nicolaus Wollick (*ca.* 1480–*ca.* 1541).

Those in this list whose works were published in Latin extend from Guillermus de Podio (Valencia, 1495), Nicolaus Wollick (Cologne, 1504), Gregor Faber (Basel, 1553), to Athanasius Kircher (Rome, 1650). How he drew on authorities who wrote in Spanish can be judged from the following examples.

Although whole steps on keyboard instruments are commonly divided into semitones of unequal size (4 + 5, or 5 + 4 commas), Pablo Nassarre in his *Escuela Musica*, bk. 3, ch. 17, mentioned the necessity of equal size semitones for transposition purposes. Although black keys on organs are commonly tuned C#, Eb, F#, G#, Bb, these keys need to be re-tuned with 4 1/2 commas

between whole steps C–D, D–E, F–G, G–A, and A–B, —just as Spanish guitars are so tuned³⁴—if the organist is to transpose up or down at will into any of the twelve chromatic levels.³⁵ Or at least so decreed Nassarre. Showing how conversant Morato was with standard works by other Spaniards, he next quotes Andrés Lorente (1624–1703) who in his *El porque de la musica* (Alcalá de Henares, 1672) permitted five flats.

The still later Spaniard whom Morato next quotes permitted seven flats and seven sharps. Naturally, therefore, Morato saves his best laurel wreath for Gregorio Santisso Bermúdez (active at Seville from 1716³⁶ as a defender of Francisco Valls's dissonant entry at "miserere nobis" in the Gloria of his *Missa Scala Aretina*, and the writer of a prefatory letter to Valls's *Mapa armónico* dated at Lugo October 22, 1742). Santisso Bermúdez's *Modo nuevo de enseñar la Música* ("New way of teaching music"), the manuscript original of which was in Morato's hands, contained in Part I a circle of keys, each with its appropriate signature (G, D, A, E, B, F#; F, Bb, Eb, Ab, Db, Gb, Cb). Morato also quoted three paragraphs from Santisso Bermúdez's "New way of teaching music," Part II (*Del Arte de la Música Métrica, o Mensural*). In the third paragraph Santisso Bermúdez had freely admitted that each of the intervals B#–C#, E#–F#, Bb–Cb, and Eb–Fb lacks a comma—therefore belonging to what some might call dissonant music.³⁷ But not Morato. For him, dissonance resulting from imperfectly tuned instruments or imperfect performance should not count as dissonance,

³⁴Pablo Nassarre, *Escuela musica segvn la practica moderna*, edición facsimil (Saragossa: Excm. Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Católico, 1980), p. 326: "Hallase una diferencia en el Instrumento de la Guitarra, que aunque divide los tonos en dos semitonos, los divide geométricamente, haziendolos iguales, dando la distancia del sonido a sonido la cantidad de quatro comas, y media."

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 327: "Si los Organos no estuvieran dispuestos solo para el genero Diatonico, se podria transportar cada diapason por doze partes, como dixe en el Capitulo antecedente, y esto con que estuvieran para los generos Chromatico, y Diatonico bastava."

³⁶Santisso Bermúdez's four publications dated at Seville November 22, 1719 through January 1, 1730, are listed in Felipe Pedrell, *Catàlech de la Biblioteca Musical de la Diputació de Barcelona* (1908), 174–78, 82–83. In addition, Pedrell listed two letters dated September 12 and October 31, 1730. Santisso Bermúdez's title at Seville from *ca.* 1709 was "Maestro de Canto y Seizes." See Simón de la Rosa y López, *Los seises de la Catedral de Sevilla* (Seville: Francisco de P. Díaz, 1904), p. 335.

According to Morato (Alegria ed., p. 119), he moved to Lugo Cathedral with the title of canon and maestro de capilla.

³⁷Alegria ed., p. 121: "con la circunstancia que siempre les falta una coma para cumplir el Semitono mayor de cinco comas, siendo esta la razon porque la llamo Musica dissonante."

for keys with naturals and with accidentals, dedicated to Gabriel Antonio Gomes." Copy in Library of Congress. See Julia Gregory, *Catalogue of Early Books on Music (Before 1800)* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), p. 279.

³²*Discursos*, Alegria ed., p. 126.

³³Flor 2.^a, nota 8.^a and Flor 17, nota 30 "concerning keys with natural and accidental signatures" (Alegria ed., p. 126) treated of their shared theoretical interests.

created by the composer. True, the scale passage F#, G#, A#, B played on an organ may involve ten instead of nine commas between G# and the Bb that substitutes for A# on the keyboard and four instead of five in the semitone from A# = Bb to B. But these intervals are not "dissonances" if the defect lies in the tuning of the instrument.

The Italian work on which Morato draws most freely is Giovanni Battista Doni's *Compendio del trattato de' generi e de' modi della musica* (Rome: A. Fei, 1635). The 45-measure music example quoted by Morato from the *Aggiunta* of Doni's work, page 144, contains "six sharps, F#, G#, C#, A#, D#, and E#, involving four commas each, three involving two commas each (Ax, Ex, Bx), and a sharped E#—and this example was printed at Rome as long ago as 1635."³⁸

After Morato's 7300-word *censura*, the written opinions of the six other Portuguese *mestres* summoned to pass judgment on the Bahia brouhaha seem short by comparison. Ignácio António Celestino's 2200-word *censura*, dated March 6, 1738, at Évora, ranks second in length.

Celestino made his entire 44-year professional career in Alentejo. Appointed *reitor do colégio dos cantores* (director of the cathedral choir school) November 6, 1721, he became *mestre da claustro* of Évora Cathedral September 9, 1729, and succeeded Pedro Vaz Rego as *mestre da capela* April 13, 1736. On the eve of his expected retirement, he died suddenly May 26, 1765,³⁹ leaving a considerable store of Masses, Psalms, and shorter works to the cathedral.⁴⁰

He begins his *censura* with an apology for its delay. Only in mid-January 1738 had he at last found time to read the terms of the Bahia controversy. But when he did so, he immediately concluded that Caetano de Mello Jesus had the better of the argument. The longtime Spanish organist of Évora Cathedral, Manuel Trexo (Portuguese spelling, Trecho), a Franciscan friar who came to Évora in about 1725 from Nuestra Señora de Gracia *convento* of Badajoz,⁴¹ had years before shown

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 118: "Nesta *Aggiunta* se acham seis sustentidos, que são em F. G. C. A. D. e E. de quatro comas cada um, e três de duas comas cada um, em A. E. B. e se acha também o sustentido de E-lá, Mi, sobre Mi, sendo tão antiga esta demonstração, que foi impressa em Roma no ano de 1635."

³⁹José Augusto Alegria, *História de Escola de música da Sé de Évora* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1973), pp. 92, 93, 97, 102.

⁴⁰Alegria, *Arquivo das Músicas da Sé de Évora Catálogo* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1973), pp. 12, 14, 20, 30, 55, 68, 69, 83.

⁴¹Concerning Trexo see Alegria's *História da Escola de música*, p. 101. Trexo died at Évora January 27, 1758. At death he still belonged to Nuestra Señora de Gracia *convento* at Badajoz; his superior came to collect salary still due him.

his ability to transpose up or down a half-step with no difficulty whatsoever. From a practical standpoint, he had proved C# and Cb to be scales interchangeable with C. String instruments such as harps and harpsichords need not bother with the problem of transposition to keys with six- or seven-accidental signatures. Why? Because the player can at will re-tune his instrument a step or half-step higher or lower than others.⁴² For organists, keys with seven sharps or flats are not so much a theoretical need as a very practical necessity.⁴³

Celestino does, however, vouchsafe old fogeys a soupçon, when he quotes Doni, Kircher, and Nassarre—already cited by Morato. In addition, Celestino also mentions Nicola Vicentino's "various keyboards" (*varios teclados*). Playing Vicentino's *archieciembalo*, the keyboardist already two centuries earlier than Celestino could cover up the defects of a choir's dropping pitch by transposing down a whole step.⁴⁴

Strangely, the sole *doutor* among the Portuguese authorities whose opinion Morato sought responded with a *censura* citing no theoretical authority whatsoever. Instead, Doutor José Ferreira Cordovil responded by listing the circle of keys G, D, A, E, B, F#, C#; F, Bb, Eb, Ab, Db, Gb, Cb, followed by the C# Major and Cb Major scales in staff notation. "No one has any greater difficulty singing either of these scales than that of C Major; only on certain instruments need one fuss about these matters," he concludes⁴⁵—the fault lying with the instruments. Cordovil next draws up a table of staff-notated "tones" in the traditional meaning that "tones" obtained (compositions in "Tone I," "Tone

⁴²*Discurso*, pp. 98–99: "nos instrumentos de cordas, como Harpa, Cravo e outros que, se não são ajustados ao órgão, andam sempre *ad libitum* dos tangedores, se estes os não de temperar pelo natural ou mais alto ou mais baixo um ponto, também o podem fazer meio."

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 99: "sendo os órgãos uns mais graves e outros mais agudos um ou meio ponto, quem afinar por eles forçosamente tocará o Tom e Semitom, e desta sorte servem os sete sustentidos e outros tantos bemóis."

⁴⁴Nicola Vicentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome: Antonio Barré, 1555), fol. 47: "il modo di poter sonare le compositioni un tono piu basso, si scriueranno con quattro b. molli." Vicentino's examples with four flats on the same page equal examples with only three flats (he repeats E flat at the lower and higher octave).

⁴⁵*Discurso*, p. 128: "Nenhuma dificuldade há para se poder cantar esta solfa; porque se supõem a Clave, como se não tivera acidente. Só para instrumentos é necessário algum estudo na execução de tocar cada signo, ou ponto de sustentido um Semitom mais alto, e de bemol um Semitom mais baixo do natural."

Among verbal changes in his transcription of the original text, Alegria consistently substitutes "Semitom" for "meio tom" (p. XV: "Por isso mesmo se manteve sempre o vocábulo *Semitom* tal como era usado, em vez de meio tom").

II," and so on). According to his table C Major = Tone 5, A minor = Tone 2, G Major = Tone 8, E minor = Tone 3, F Major = Tone 6, D minor = Tone 1, D Major = Tone 7, B minor = Tone 4, B \flat Major = Tone 5 lowered ("5 $^{\circ}$ baixo"), G minor = Tone 2 lowered ("2 $^{\circ}$ baixo"), E \flat Major = Tone 6 lowered, C minor = Tone 1 lowered, E Major = Tone 7 raised ("7 $^{\circ}$ alto"), C \sharp minor = Tone 4 raised ("4 $^{\circ}$ alto"), A Major = Tone 6 raised, F \sharp minor = Tone 3 raised, A \flat Major = Tone 5 lowered 2 steps ("5 $^{\circ}$ dois pont. baixo"), F minor = Tone 2 lowered 2 steps, B Major = Tone 8 raised 2 steps ("8 $^{\circ}$ dois pont. alto"), D \flat Major = Tone 6 lowered 2 steps, B \flat minor = Tone 1 lowered 2 steps, C \sharp Major = Tone 8 raised 3 steps ("8 $^{\circ}$ três pontos alto"), A \flat minor = Tone 1 lowered 3 steps ("1 $^{\circ}$ três pontos baixo").⁴⁶ Cordovil makes it clear that raising or lowering by two steps implies transposition by a third up or down; raising or lowering by three steps implies transposition by a fourth up or down.

The laggard among the Portuguese censors was João da Silva Morais (= Sylva Moraes), whose opinion bears so late a date as April 24, 1738, and at that runs only 240 words. All the more disheartening was his *censura*, because he refused to come down solidly on the side of Caetano de Mello Jesus. Instead, he suggested that the two opponents at Bahia drop their wager. So far as the post that he held went, João da Silva Morais was "one of the most highly esteemed masters at Lisbon during the first half of the eighteenth century."⁴⁷

Born December 27, 1689, he studied at the Royal College of Orphans (*Real Collegio dos meninos orphãos*) where his teacher was Bras Soares da Silva. On July 1, 1713, he gained the post of *mestre* at the Misericórdia and fourteen years later rose to become director of music in the cathedral (Basilica de Santa Maria). Morais occupied this latter post until at least 1763—in which year he wrote a recommendatory letter published in Francisco Solano's *Nova Instrução Musical* ("New Musical Instructor"). Since his name disappears from the list of members of the Lisbon Brotherhood of Saint Cecilia (*Irmandade de Santa Cecilia*) in 1765, he perhaps died that year, aged 75.

Obviously, Morais's refusal to endorse Caetano de Mello's *Discurso* with the fervor that he was later to display in his approbation of Solano's "New Musical Instructor" sat poorly with Mello. Braving the most powerful musician at Lisbon, Mello followed up Morais's *censura* with a complaint (*queixa do autor*) motivated not only by Morais's lukewarmness and ill-disguised sense of superiority; but also by his intolerable delay in writing anything at all. The other three *censuras* that followed Morais's went even more against Caetano

de Mello's grain. But at least the other three censors were provincials and therefore less prestigious detractors. Mateus da Costa Pereira e Abreu was *mestre da capela* at Coimbra Cathedral, Domingos Gomes do Couto *mestre* at Elvas Cathedral, and Manuel Martins Serrano *mestre* at Portalegre Cathedral. Of these three, Couto is the *mestre* whose biography—thanks to Manuel Joaquim—happens to be best known.

Already by January 7, 1712, Couto had enlarged his titles from that of padre and of *mestre da capela* at Elvas Cathedral to secretary of the local *Confraria das Almas*—a lucrative post that he held until at least November 28, 1754. On November 20, 1755, he was still titular *mestre da capela* at Elvas, but Frei Francisco da Purificação (who was to succeed him) performed his duties. Couto died October 17, 1756.

Couto based his *censura* (as did Pereira e Abreu of Coimbra and Serrano of Portalegre theirs) on the fact obvious to all—that neither 9:8 nor 10:9 vibration ratios can be maintained for whole tones in all scales when the organ is tuned with white keys in these preferred vibration ratios. Serrano illustrated his extremely verbose complaint with the scale of B Major spelled B-C \sharp -E \flat -E \natural -F \sharp -G \sharp -B \flat -B, that of F \sharp Major spelled F \sharp -G \sharp -B \flat -B \natural -C \sharp -E \flat -F \natural -F \sharp , and that of A \flat Major spelled G \sharp -B \flat -C-C \sharp -E \flat -F \natural -G \natural -G \sharp .⁴⁸

La música de Guatemala en el siglo XVIII. Music from Eighteenth-Century Guatemala. Ed. by ALFRED E. LEMMON (Antigua Guatemala, Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica. South Woodstock, Vermont, Plumsock Mesoamerican Studies, 1986. iv + 174 pp., 2 facs.)

Guatemala boasted in Manuel José de Quiroz and his nephew Rafael Antonio Castellanos, chapelmasters of Guatemala Cathedral 1738–1765 and 1765–1791, two of the most gifted native-born composers of vernacular music in eighteenth-century America. To judge from their surviving works in Guatemala Cathedral (28 from Quiroz, 149 from Castellanos, according to Lemmon's catalogue), neither wrote Masses, Magnificats, Lamentations, nor any other liturgical works of types already well represented in the cathedral music archive when they took the reins. Instead, they excelled in festive villancicos for one to eight voices accompanied by paired violins and continuo—or, as the century wore on, a chamber orchestra.

Lemmon, now occupant of an important post at The Historic New Orleans Collection, is a native of Lafayette,

⁴⁶*Discurso*, pp. 136–137.

⁴⁷Vieira, *Diccionario*, II, 101: "um dos mais conceituados mestres em Lisboa na primeira metade do século XVIII."

⁴⁸*Discurso*, p. 154.

Louisiana, who specialized in Mexican colonial history while obtaining his Ph.D. at Tulane University. All the more does he deserve gratitude for undertaking the arduous task of transcribing four works by Quiroz, nine by Castellanos, and one by the thus far unidentified Joseph Coll, because the task was a labor of love. While spending many months in Guatemala as a recipient of a Mathilda Geddings Gray fellowship (there copying the music that had not yet been microfilmed), and receiving a stipend from the Plumsock Fund, he bore much expense in research and travel himself. Only the generosity of Plumsock Mesoamerican Studies chaired by Christopher Lutz, now brings this edition to light.

Nor had the importance of Guatemalan colonial music been advertised by a prestigious writer such as Alejo Carpentier—thus validating the tedious task of transcription. Carpentier's "discovery" of Esteban Salas y Castro (1725–1803) had made the later transcribing of Salas's works by Pablo Hernández Balaguer (and his successors) a patriotic duty. The irony of colonial music research and publication remains ever more apparent. Countries such as Argentina with no eighteenth-century native-born composers, Chile with none to speak of, and Venezuela with none before Juan Manuel Olivares (born in 1760) whose works survive, would long ago have blazoned to the world their geniuses, had Quiroz or Castellanos been born in their confines.

In his very valuable bilingual introduction, Lemmon brings forward some completely new biographical data concerning Castellanos. Relying on a manuscript dated around 1833 now in the Archivo Histórico Provincia Mexicana de los Padres Jesuitas, "Tradiciones ciertas del origen y progresos que han tenido la música de Guatemala," Lemmon writes as follows:

Castellanos dedicated himself to the study of music from his youngest days. In early life he showed a special affinity for villancicos in the vernacular, especially those for Corpus Christi and San Pedro. He was a dedicated teacher. When seeking seclusion at his retreat in the village of Amatitlán, he would always take three or four of his students. He was a perpetual student himself and never ceased to probe the intricacies of the masters of polyphony.

The choirs of the Monjas de la Concepción and the Monjas de Santa Catalina benefited from his generosity and musical experience. His sister Micaela Castellanos assisted him with instruction of string and keyboard instruments. Candidates could be admitted to the choirboy school ("Colegio de Seises") only upon Castellanos's verification of the quality of the boy's voice.

He also strove to maintain the level of music of the Guatemala Cathedral on a par with that of Seville. In order to do so, he corresponded with Ignacio Jerusalem, *maestro de capilla* of Mexico City Cathedral (1750–1769), to see what advice the chapelmaster to the north might offer. He also sought compositions by Antonio Mazzoni [1717–1785], Bolognese *maestro di cappella* at San Petronio from 1759, and by leading Spanish *maestros* of his epoch.

A música e o tempo no Grão-Pará. By VICENTE SALLES* (Belém, Conselho Estadual de Cultura, 1980. 424 pp., 6 pp. of music, facs., ill., 480 footnotes)

From about 1850 to 1910, Pará enjoyed its era of supreme musical splendor concurrently with unparalleled prosperity, due to rubber exports from the Amazon basin. Several glories marked the apogee of Pará wealth—founding of the Conservatório Paraense at Belém March 29, 1873, establishment of an orchestra that gave its first symphony concert July 26, 1873, under the baton of Theodoro Orestes (Recife, 1832; Belém, November 30, 1886), construction of an opera house (Teatro de Nossa Senhora da Paz) inaugurated February 15, 1878—followed by a crescendo of lavish opera seasons. Belém, capital of Pará state, reached a zenith of sorts with the hiring in 1895 of Brazil's greatest opera composer, Carlos Gomes (1836–1896), to direct the reorganized Pará conservatory.

However, musical activity in Belém and São Luis (capital of Maranhão) began imitating European models much earlier than the nineteenth century. As early as 1662 the governor and captain-general of colonial Pará, Rui Vaz de Siqueira, took a group of shawmers, (*charameleiros*) and a drummer along to entertain him three times daily during his journey to the villages of his jurisdiction (*Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* [= *RIHGB*], LXXII/1 [1909], 220: "entre outros ia um tambor, um terço de charameleiros para tocarem pela madrugada, jantar e ceia"). The Maranhão magnate Pascoal Pereira in 1682 employed his own band of shawmers (*ibid.*, 347). Concurrently, the Pará merchant of Jewish descent, Jacob Egres = Eggers, active at Belém 1688 to 1697, played the *rabeca* (= violin) admirably well (*ibid.*, 441: "concorrendo Jacob Egres com seus instrumentos que tocava admiravelmente bem") and directed musical entertainments at the governor's palace in Belém.

On August 29, 1677, an auto sacramental was played in front of the Mercedarian *convento* at Belém (Bernardo Pereira de Berredo, *Anais históricos*, 3^a ed., 1905, II, 220). Among Jesuit missionaries to the Amazonian tribes, Giovanni Maria Gorzoni (1627–1711), born at Sermede, Mantua, and a member of the Society of Jesus from 1646, retained the loyalty of otherwise fickle Indian converts by teaching the Guajajaras to play fifes (*gaitin-*

*Vicente Salles, author of *Música e Músicos do Pará* (Belém: Conselho Estadual de Cultura, 1970) and *A Música e o tempo no Grão-Pará* (Belém: Conselho Estadual de Cultura, 1980), was born at João Pessoa (now Igarapé-Açu) November 27, 1931. In 1952 he directed the literary supplement to *O Estado do Pará*. Two years later he located at Rio de Janeiro, where he was employed by the Ministério de Educação e Cultura. He holds a diploma in anthropology from the Faculdade Nacional de Folclore Brasileira and edited the *Revista Brasileira de Folclore* to number 34.

has) and other such instruments—of which they became “inordinately fond.” They played these during festival-day processions to accompany their alternatim singing of *Tupá cy angaturana Santa Maria Christo Yara* (RIHGB, LXXII/1, 271–272: “o Padre os ensinou a tocarem a gaitinha, e assim affeioadissimos a este genero de instrumento os fez, e estão tocando noites e dias, estando desoccupados; não ha duvida que um dos meios para entretel-os e affeioal-os a ficar e estar com os Padres é ensinal-os a tocar algum instrumento para suas folias em dias de suas festas em que fazem suas procissões e dansas”).

Diogo da Costa (1652–1725), born at Alcântara in Maranhão, but educated at Évora university, returned home in 1680, thereafter teaching *viola* and singing in both Maranhão and Pará provinces (*ibid.*, 478). At Cameté in Pará—site of a sugar mill owned by rich Diogo Pereira de Lacerda, the Jesuit Johann Philipp Bettendorf (Luxembourg, August 25, 1625; Belém, August 5, 1698) celebrated sung Masses in 1695, accompanied by *rabecas* and *violins* (violins and guitars) very well played by household members including Manuel Pereira, eldest son of Diogo Pereira de Lacerda (*ibid.*, 593). Manuel Pereira, born at Cameté, continued being esteemed an able fiddler (*rabequista*), even after ordination to the priesthood (Salles, p. 61). At São Luis in about this same year, Gregório Andrade was reputed to be a consummate *cravista* = keyboard player (Salles, p. 63).

In the same year, 1695, padre Bento de Oliveira instituted in the Colégio do Pará the Forty Hours' Lenten devotions that included every Friday the singing “by many Mercedarian fathers of Misereres to harpsichord accompaniment at the beginning of each devotion and of very devout motets at the end of each exercise” (*ibid.*, 632: “tambem por toda a quaresma houve assistencia dos muitos reverendos padres das Mercês, para cantarem, ão som do cravo, os misereres, no principio, e, no cabo das praticas, os seus motetes devotissimos, accommodados á Sagrada Paixão de Nosso Senhor Jesus Christo”). (Singing Misereres with *cravo* rather than organ accompaniment was a prevalent custom in Baroque Mexico and Peru, as well as in Brazil.)

The earliest organ builder in Grão-Pará known by name was Johannes Xaver Traer (born at Brixen = Bressanone in Tyrol October 2, 1668, sent as a Jesuit lay missionary to Pará in 1703, died in a shipwreck off the Pará coast near the village of Maracanã May 4, 1737). Using Indian assistants, he built an organ *de taboca* (bamboo) for the chapel of Nossa Senhora da Conceição at Jaguarari in lower Moju (Salles, p. 58). Carlos Borromeu, author of the article “Contribuição para a História da Música da Amazônia,” *Musica Sacra* (Petrópolis), XI/6 (1951), 106–107, documented the present-day remains of organs built by Traer and others at not only Jaguarari but also Iburajuba on the right bank of the Guajará, and at

the village of Murtigura (now called Conde). An organ at the village of Ega (now called Tefé) in territory disputed by Spaniards and Portuguese caused the Spanish invaders amazement when they came upon it in 1750. To the sound of its tubes made of *taboca*, “the Indians sang Mass in fair harmony on Sundays and feast days, psalms, hymns, and compline antiphons on Saturdays” (Antônio Ladislau Monteiro Baena, *Compêndio das Eras da Provincia do Pará* [1969], p. 197; Salles, p. 84). An Indian who was granddaughter of the chieftain Camandri taught organ at a House of Refuge for Indian maidens at Barcelos (= present-day Amazonas) after 1759. Her pupils could accompany any Mass at sight; also any psalm, hymn, or motet in church use. They played the organs with *taboca* tubes current in smaller churches, and continued doing so up to Gabriel de Sousa Filgueiras's entry as governor of the captaincy of S. José-do-Rio-Negro (Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, *Diário da Viagem Filosófica*, 2^a. Parte, in RIHGB, XLIX/1 [1886], 147; Salles, p. 85).

The diocese of Pará was established by Pope Clement's bull dated March 4, 1719. Five years later, the first bishop, Bartolomeu do Pilar (who arrived at Belém August 29, 1724) installed, among others, nine musical chaplains, eight choirboys, an organist, and a *mestre-de-capela*. The best performer of the group born in Pará was the violinist, Eduardo Lopes de Faria (*d* August 22, 1762). However, because he insisted on playing at outside functions to the neglect of his cathedral duties, he had to be dismissed April 15, 1732 (Gaspar de Sequeira e Queiróz, *Bispos da diocese paraense* [Pará, 1850], 21). Another native of Pará whose musical services to the Belém Cathedral fortunately lasted longer was Lourenço Álvares Roxo de Potflich (1699/1700; *d* Belém, April 19, 1756). The son of a French physician practicing at Belém named Francis de Potflich (who in 1698 married a native of Belém), Lourenço became a priest, but during his seminary studies sufficiently mastered the organ to be considered at age twenty the best organist in Belém. On July 30, 1734, he became *chantre* of Belém Cathedral and the next year founded a school for choirboys. This *schola cantorum*—the first music training establishment in Pará—provided free instruction to four choirboys and charged the remaining ten nominal fees. So impressed was the French traveller Charles La Condamine with Lourenço Álvares Roxo de Potflich that in his *Journal du Voyage fait par ordre du Roi à l'Equateur* (Paris, 1751), page 197, he wrote a paragraph in praise of the *grand chantre de l'Église Cathédrale* at Belém.

Arriving at Pará September 19, 1743, La Condamine remained there (and in its vicinity) until leaving for Cayenne December 19, 1743. He summed up his general impressions thus: (*Relation abrégée d'un voyage* [Maestricht: Jean-Edme Dufour & Philippe Roux, 1778], 173–174):

Upon arriving at Pará and emerging out of the Amazon forest, we thought ourselves transported to Europe. We found a great city with well lined up streets, charming houses, most of them rebuilt during the last thirty years of stone and grout, and magnificent churches.

Nous crûmes en arrivant au *Para*, à la sortie des bois de l'*Amazone*, nous voir transportés en *Europe*. Nous trouvâmes une grande ville, des rues bien alignées, des maisons riantes, la plupart rebâties depuis trente ans en pierre & en moilon, des Eglises magnifiques.

The Benedictine Frei João de São José e Queiróz, fourth bishop of Grão-Pará from March 24, 1760, to his death August 15, 1764, paid his vast diocese two inspection visits. Everywhere that he travelled throughout the diocese he found the berimbau so much the Amazonian Indians' favorite instrument that they were willing to exchange a possession so valuable as chickens for one (*Visitas pastorais Memórias 1761 e 1762-1763* [Rio de Janeiro: Editora Melso, 1961], p. 284: [o] "berimbau, que seria da maior estimação, pois ãos nossos criados ofereciam galinhas por este instrumento"). One Indian in Santarém village even exchanged his bow and arrow for a berimbau (*Visitas pastorais*, p. 290). To accommodate the Amazonians' taste for berimbaus, Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado—Pombal's brother who governed Grão-Pará 1751 to 1759—had already in 1752 asked an agent in Lisbon for a shipment of no less than 500 berimbaus (Salles, p. 82, quoting Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça, *A Amazônia ne Era Pombalina*, 1963, I, 325).

So far as Christian Indians and their consorts went, Bishop Queiróz during his travels heard masses being sung by them in good four-part harmony (*a quatro vozes bem ajustadas*, quoted at Salles's p. 77). According to *Visitas pastorais*, page 152, Bishop Queiróz at Christmas 1761 paid a visit to the country estate of the Portuguese-descended Agostinho Domingos and his wife (they had their town house at Belém). He there heard *Verbum caro factum est* sung "with very good voices" ("o cântico do terço em muito boas vozes"). During his pastoral visits he encountered other devout estate owners whose practice of gathering their households for daily harmonious singing of Marian devotions he highly praised ("se reconhecia modéstia e devoção na harmonia com que todos os dias cantavam o terço de Nossa Senhora e outras canções," *Visitas pastorais*, p. 196). Bishop Queiróz also recorded theatrical beginnings at Belém that no later than 1763 seem to have included performances of plays by Alexandre António de Lima (b 1699) and António José da Silva (1713-1739) (*Visitas pastorais*, p. 419). However, he preferred Goldoni to António José da Silva, o judeu, because the latter (born at Rio de Janeiro) never mixed moral instruction with laughter (*Visitas*, p. 110).

The exact locality in Belém where dramatic performances occurred during Bishop Queiróz's epoch is uncer-

tain. In 1775 Governor João Pereira Caldas entrusted to the imported Italian architect Antonio Giuseppe Landi the construction of an opera house (*Casa da Ópera*) at the east end of the governor's palace garden. The immigrant to Belém, José Eugénio de Aragão e Lima (b Tavira, Algarve, 1763/1764; graduate of Coimbra University, professor of philosophy at Belém from 1787) saw at least one of his works mounted in the Pará Casa da Ópera—his *Drama recitado no Teatro do Pará a principio das óperas* (Lisbon: Officina de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira, 1794).

This pastoral drama in one act of nine scenes begins with an "alegre Sinfonia," after which a chorus behind the curtain sings an invocation to the Tutelary Genius of Pará who enters with his attending troupe of Indians. They sing six lines. Next, the Genius of Pará calls forth the Nymph guarding Belém. She announces the occasion for their rejoicing—birth of the princess of Beira, Maria Thereza. Accompanied by more nymphs, the Goajira = Guajira river spirit enters decked with conch trumpets. He sings his ditty and salutes the newborn princess. A messenger from Portugal joins the group. The nymphs of the city and of the river sing a double chorus *alternatim*. All participants unite in a final chorus.

Given four times at Belém as an introduction to the operas *Ezio in Roma* (a revision of Nicolò Jommelli's *Ezio* was mounted at Lisbon, Ajuda, April 20, 1772), and *Zenobia* (Davide Pérez's *Zenobia*, Lisbon, Teatro do Bairro, Summer 1752), Aragão y Lima's sung introduction served the same purpose as the loa in such a Peruvian opera as Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco's *La púrpura de la rosa*. Another local playwright whose pastoral drama with musical interludes, *Os pastores do Amazonas*, reached production in the Teatro da Cidade do Pará (in 1794 on D. João VI's name day) was Bento de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha (Barcelos = present-day Amazonas, September 4, 1769; d Belém, November 25, 1811). Like Aragão e Lima, Tenreiro Aranha sent his pastoral drama to Lisbon for publication by Simão Thaddeo Ferreira.

In Belém the most notable sacred musician in the last quarter of the eighteenth century was the Franciscan João de Almeida Lourenço (1733-1784)—who was organist of the Convento de Santo António in 1774 and prior from 1776 to 1779. The longtime organist of the Belém Cathedral 1775 to 1814 was João Baptista de Goes, who died there in 1814. From December 23, 1755, until well into the next century, Belém Cathedral hired ten adult singers and educated ten boy choristers. In 1786 Canon Joaquim da Silva, who was named Belém Cathedral chantre in 1784, endowed the local seminary with two chairs—one of vocal music, the other of Gregorian chant. Himself a native of Lisbon, this canon enriched the Belém Cathedral choral library with a music collection ordered from Portugal (Frei Caetano Brandão, *Memórias* [Braga, 1867], I, 203).

Canon Joaquim da Silva owed his appointment to Belém to the music-loving sixth bishop of Grão-Pará, Frei Caetano Brandão (entered the diocese October 29, 1783). During his four episcopal visitations, Brandão often remarked on excellent music performances in the hinterland—a children's choir at Odivelas (*ibid.*, p. 213); Indian children with extremely beautiful voices singing a *Tantum ergo* in good Latin during the elevation of the Host in Monforte village on Marajó island (p. 227); two Black children at a Mercedarian church near the mouth of the Arari river harmonizing an admirable duet (p. 231); adult Blacks at another Mercedarian church singing the *Bendito sejais* and other things "with such grace and sweetness that I could not hold back tears" (p. 233: "com tanta graça e doçura que não pude suster as lagrimas"); aged Indians at Ega village in the Captaincy of Rio-Negro who, having learned to sing polyphonic masses before 1759, still sang the *Tantum ergo* and other chants with admirable loveliness (p. 312); and above all the activities of the household musical establishment of rich *mestre de campo* João de Moraes Bittencourt of Cameté (p. 251). Bittencourt's entire family members were cultivated vocalists and instrumentalists.

A large number of extremely beautiful voices joined in nobly singing the divine praises with utmost perfection. His eldest son, an extremely gifted amateur who played various instruments, directed the singers who were taught to read music. I infinitely enjoyed hearing them sing with mandolin (*bandolim*) accompaniment five different settings of the *Bendito Sejais*, each extremely attractive. A fifty-year-old woman of mixed European and African ancestry was incomparably surpassing.

Cantam-se aqui os obséquios Divinos com a maior perfeição vozes lindíssimas, e muitos, estilo nobre; tinham luzes de solfa inspiradas por um sujeito da mesma casa (o filho mais velho, e que a governa, moço prendado, muito hábil na dita faculdade, e no toque de diversos instrumentos); gostei infinito de ouvir cantar ao som do bandolim o Bendito Sejais por cinco diferentes modos, todos engraçadíssimos: uma mulata de cinquenta anos sobressaia incomparavelmente.

So far as African-descended musicians in the capital go, on September 21, 1777, during the celebration of Maria I's accession to the throne, presided over by João Pereira Caldas, governor of Pará, an all-Black thirteen-member orchestra played—"everyone attired in blue and scarlet uniforms trimmed with silk" (Salles, p. 78). Six were trumpeters, two were fiddlers, two were flautists, two were buglers, one was a drummer. How African-influenced was the processional music that they played on this and other festive occasions can be only conjectured.

But how Europeanized had become the Amazonian indigenes' music by 1820 can be well judged from ten musical examples published as an annex to Spix and Martius, *Reise in Brasilien . . . Zweiter Theil* (Munich: L.J. Lentner, 1828). Johann Baptist von Spix (1781-

1826), who ascended Rio Negro as far as Barcelos (= Amazonas) February 21-23, 1820, obtained a Song of the Indian Rowers on the Rio Negro and a Fish Dance of the Indians along the Rio Negro, in addition to dances of the Juris-Tabocas, Miranhas, and Muras. Reduced to staff notation, the melodies recorded by Spix and Martius tell how effective had been acculturation during decades of missionary labor. Beginning overleaf, the ten melodies are shown in facsimile (Portuguese footnotes translate the German).

Shortly after 1800 the opera house built in 1775 fell into disrepair. The Conde de Vila-Flor in 1817 therefore ordered "construction of a new theater in the same place as the old, now for some time in ruins" (Baena, *Compendio das eras*, p. 303). After some delay, construction started in 1821 (*ibid.*, p. 326). The chief theater during the Empire was the Teatro Providência managed by the actor-umpresario Vicente Pontes de Oliveira of Pernambuco; it was in turn replaced by the Teatro da Paz inaugurated February 15, 1878. As an outlet for local talent, the Teatro Chalet inaugurated August 17, 1873, offered seasons of so-called *teatro nazareno* during which smaller theatrical works by local talents became a staple. (Other theaters constructed later in the nineteenth century—Politheama, Cosmopolita, Palace, Moderno, Eden—failed to survive the rubber boom.)

The leading local music figure during the first quarter of the nineteenth century was the flautist Antônio da Silva Conde. A native of Rio de Janeiro, he reached Pará in 1805 as member of the Regimento dos Extremós, and three years later organized the local festivities welcoming D. João VI and the royal entourage to Brazil. Political unrest and musical decline went hand in hand during the first quarter-century of independence. To halt the decline, cathedral chanter Raimundo Severino de Matos obtained a provincial government authorization to import the Portuguese organist and mestre-de-capela, João Nepomuceno de Mendonça, who began functioning in 1839 with nine paid singing chaplains, a succentor, and ten choirboys. Next year the provincial government authorities provided him an added stipend for teaching. In 1842 he published at Pará the first music instruction manual written at Pará: *Compendio de principios elementares de muzica* (Pará: Typographia de Santos & Menor, Rua d'Alfama n.º 15, November 8, 1842). Upon Mendonça's return to Portugal, a Spaniard—Manuel Martí (Vigo, January 11, 1819; reached Pará in 1846; returned to Oporto, Portugal, in 1848; *d* Vigo February 23, 1873)—was in 1847 hired to replace him.

The paramount foreign-born musician resident in Belém from no later than 1858 (in which year he published *A Cidade do Pará, Polka brilhante para piano*) to his death there March 31, 1874, was Adolph Joseph (= Adolfo José) Kaulfuss, native of Poznań. Through his efforts was organized the Sociedade Phil'Eutherpe that

No. 5

Tänze der Murras⁽¹⁾

Larghetto Männer⁽²⁾

Wider⁽³⁾

No. 6

Andante

No. 7

Tänze der Juri Tabocas⁽⁴⁾

Andantino

No. 8

Andantino
o me Allegretto

-
- (1) Danças dos Murras.
 (2) Homens.
 (3) Mulheres.
 (4) Dança dos Juri-Tabocas.

No 9

Tänze der Miranhas⁽¹⁾*Allegretto*

No 10

*Allegretto
quasi Marcia*

No 11

Allegro

- (1) Danças dos Miranhas.
 (2) Todos juntos.
 (3) Um só.

No. 12

Andante

No. 13 *Gesang der rudenden Indianer in Rio Negro.* ⁽¹⁾

Allegretto

No. 14 *Der Fischtanz der Indianer in Rio Negro.* ⁽²⁾

Allegretto

Chor ⁽³⁾ *Einzel* ⁽⁴⁾

maa pu raku in. le? Pe rau. au. a.
 Juca. nari opu se. ra?
 Ca. ari pira se. ra?
 Cata. piba pira se. ra?
 Ca. ari juca se. ra?
 Xio ma puca se. ra?

Chor *Einzel*

maa pu rata in. le? Pe rau. au. a.
 Juca na ri opu se. ra?
 Ca. ca. ri pira se. ra?
 Cata. ca. ka pira se. ra?
 Ju. ca. re pira se. ra?
 Xio ma puca pira se. ra?

Chor *Einzel* ⁽⁴⁾ *Chor* ⁽³⁾

Pe ru lang se. ra ne pira? Pe rau au. a. Pe ru. po. ma
 re. nun. te! *Chor* rau. au. a. *Einzel* Ja. ja. cu. ja. ju. cu. *Chor* Bimo. mo. ro. ua.
 ne. nu. te! *Chor* Be. mo. mo. re. ua. cu. lumbe! *Einzel* Jolama nu! Jaha. puca. si!

(1) Canto dos índios remadores, no Rio Negro.
 (2) Dança de Peixe dos índios, no Rio Negro.
 (3) Còro.
 (4) Um só.

on March 19, 1864, presented Rossini's *Stabat Mater* with an orchestra accompanying 100 singers in the Casino Paraense and two days later in the Belém Cathedral. A mathematician as well as keyboardist and composer, he served in numerous capacities—managing editor of *A Estrela do Norte* from its first issue January 6, 1863, mestre-de-capela of the cathedral from April 5, 1866, professor of Greek in the Seminário Episcopal, and much else besides. At his instigation was bought a Cavallé-Coll organ. Inaugurated September 9, 1881, it was still the largest of the eight in Brazil when eight years later Maison A. Cavallé-Coll issued its catalogue (Paris: Société de Typographie, 1889, p. 23). Kaulfuss composed a cantata *Exalta Humanidade* sung by a chorus of one hundred March 21, 1867, at a civic festival; a *Vexilla Regis*; and much liturgical music now apparently lost. His wife was Adelaide Calandrini Pacheco—member of an important Marajó island land-owning family.

Henrique Eulálio Gurjão, Belém's most renowned native nineteenth-century composer was born November 15, 1834, and (not yet 51 years old) died there July 27, 1885. His first teacher was João Nepomuceno de Mendonça, Belém cathedral mestre-de-capela 1839 to 1845 (Salles, p. 131). At age 18, he obtained a provincial government grant of a yearly 800\$000 réis to study in Europe. He left May 14, 1852, for several months with Giovanni Pacini (1796–1867) at Rome. Thence he transferred to the Istituto Musicale at Genoa (from which he graduated in 1860 after eight years in Italy). Carrying with him the score of his three-act opera *Idalia* (libretto by Francesco Curzio, based on an episode in the Crusades), he showed it to Carlos Gomes at Rio de Janeiro en route back to Belém. Although José Amat's Empresa de Ópera Lyrica Nacional (created June 17, 1860) could find no place for *Idalia* in its 1860–1861 repertory, Gurjão did, while at Rio de Janeiro, set a romance by Bruno Seabra, *As doces crenças do primeiro amor* ("The sweet beliefs of a first love," song known also as *A Laranjeira*) that gained the 26-year-old composer marked favor at Pedro II's court.

After the Rio de Janeiro stopover, Gurjão finally reached Belém November 14, 1861. Lacking any way of getting *Idalia* immediately produced there, he turned to the writing of four vaudevilles for the public frequenting the Teatro Providência. He also wrote incidental music for the play *Uma Expêriencia* by Luiz Buena and Marcelo Lobato de Castro.

Finally, however, more than two decades after its composition, *Idalia* was premiered in Belém at the Teatro da Paz November 3, 1881, by Tomaso Passini's visiting Companhia Lyrica Italiana (with Gaetano Cimini, musical director, conducting). The plot has to do with a father, Gonsalvo, Count of Castrona (baritone), bent on marrying off his daughter *Idalia* (soprano) to Rodrigo, Duke of Gerace (bass); however, she loves Rodolfo

(tenor). The most lastingly popular excerpts from this opera proved to be a Cavatina for *Idalia* and Gonsalvo's aria *Sogno di rose*. The Belém publishing firm M.J. da Costa e Silva issued an undated 131-page piano-vocal score of the entire opera, reduced from full score by Enrico Bernardi (Milan, March 22, 1838; *d* there July 17, 1900; conducted Verdi's *Ernani* in the Belém Teatro da Paz August 7, 1880, and returned for 1881, 1882, 1883 opera seasons, settling in Belém thereafter; fecund composer, Bernardi was the first to celebrate the Amazon in a symphonic poem, *A inundação*, 1886 [Salles, p. 378]).

Although Gurjão's *Idalia* did not survive beyond one season, the hugely successful premiere of his single opera still saddles him with a reputation of having been a dramatic composer, whereas his essential genius lay in the sacred sphere. Still awaiting further study and evaluation, the bulk of Gurjão's sacred manuscripts remain with his descendants, one of whom—João Henrique Gurjão Sampaio—revealed something of their extent in his newspaper article, "Maestro Henrique Eulálio Gurjão," *O Liberal* (Belém), November 15, 1976, III, 20–21. His sacred works include: Requiem and *Officium defunctorum* for mixed chorus, soloists, and large orchestra premiered in Belém Cathedral February 9, 1862, at the exequies of Pedro V of Portugal [Salles, p. 143]; Requiem with *Libera me* composed for the funeral of his brother, General Hilário Maximiano Gurjão who was killed in action January 17, 1869, during the war with Paraguay [Salles, p. 213]; 4 solemn Masses for mixed chorus and large orchestra; Magnificat for chorus, organ, and orchestra; *Invocação a Virgem de Nazaré*, *Salve Maria*, and *Te Deum Laudamus*, for chorus and organ; music for novenas, solemn vespers, hymns.

Among his many pupils, José Domingos Brandão (May 16, 1865; Belém, November 27, 1941), João Cândido da Gama Malcher (Belém, November 2, 1853; Belém, January 17, 1921), and Aureliano Pinto de Lima Guedes (Salvador, Bahia, November 16, 1848; Belém, September 19, 1922) made the most rapid progress. The Portuguese-born Brandão began publishing his compositions in 1885 (*Coroa de Macelas*, quadrilha; and *A orfã*, valse). In 1886 Brandão founded the local Sociedade Musical Bela Harmonia, for which he composed two symphonic overtures, *Bela Harmonia* and *Indigência*. After teaching music fourteen years in the Colégio Perseverança, he joined the faculty of the Instituto Carlos Gomes founded in 1895. In 1914, he was a founder of the Centro Musical Paraense and in 1929 helped reopen the Instituto Carlos Gomes closed since 1908. Brandão, who became a folklore collector after 1900, finished orchestrating his *Primeira Rapsódia de Cantos Populares Brasileiros* in 1907 and heard his *Segunda Rapsódia* played by the orchestra of the Centro Musical Paraense in 1915. His other symphonic works with local flavor include the poems *Boi-Bumba* and *O Dia Paraense*; and the

A. CIDADE DO PARÁ.

POLKA.

Por A. J. KAULFUSS.

Composta e Dedicada a seus discipulos.

Musical score for 'A. Cidade do Pará' polka. The score is written for piano and includes two systems of music. The first system begins with a 'piano' dynamic and includes markings for 'pp' (pianissimo) and 'al basso ben marcato'. The second system includes 'Brillante' and 'mf' (mezzo-forte) dynamics. Pedal markings 'Ped.' are used throughout the piece. The score concludes with 'D.C. al fine'.

Continuation of the musical score for 'A. Cidade do Pará' polka. The first system includes 'pp' (pianissimo) and 'f' (forte) dynamics, along with an 'allegro' tempo marking. The second system features 'ff' (fortissimo) and concludes with 'D.C. al fine'. Pedal markings 'Ped.' are present throughout.

Typ. Thierry F. & Co. Belgio

“Composed and dedicated to his pupils” at Belém, *A Cidade do Pará* (1858) is immigrant A. J. Kaulfuss’s earliest published piano piece.

Valsa
CLARA

Offerecida
á Ex.ª Sr.ª
Viscondessa de S. Domingos

pelo Auctor
José Joaquim d'Oliveira Vianna

S. GASTROACH
PARÁ
PARÁ NA AMÉRICA

GRATIDÃO

VALSA PARA PIANO

FOR

João Carlos Augusto Damasceno

PARÁ-1887

Typ. musical de—FRANCISCO DA COSTA JUNIOR
Travessa 7 de Setembro, canto da rua Nova de São João.

Typografia João Ribeiro de Costa

According to Vicente Salles, over 800 pieces of sheet music were published at Belém (= Pará) during the rubber boom. He includes facsimiles of the two covers reproduced on this page—one flowery and ornate, the other plain and sober.

fantasy *Rumorejos do Chapéu-Virado* ("Babble of the Giddy Hat").

Roberto de Barros (*b* Arcos do Val-de-Vez, Minho province, Portugal, January 31, 1861, *d* Belém November 17, 1941), was another Portuguese immigrant who reached Pará in early youth. Arriving at age 13 in 1874, he rose from flute playing to direct a symphonic orchestra organized in 1885 by Enrico Bernardi—the Italian composer and conductor mentioned above who resided in Belém 1883–1888 and 1896–1898. Barros began his own composing career with incidental music for plays (*A Tempestade* for a shipwreck scene became a standard) and with added numbers for Xisto Bahia's three-act operetta *A Filha do Capitão-Mor* ("Daughter of the Provincial Ruler"). He later made a specialty of incidental music for religious plays such as Arnold Wandeck's *O Divino Galileu* and Elmano Queiróz's *O Primeiro Milagro* ("The first miracle"). Eventually he provided music for eight of these *dramas pastoris*. For small orchestra he composed the popular bolero *Pomponinho*, the valse *A Aurora no Bosque* ("Dawn in the Forest") with solo flute, and a *Serenata a Julieta* for pizzicato strings. In still more friendly vein, he wrote a *Tango Paraense*, and for piano the fantasy *Fantoches*, numerous valsas, mazurcas, schottisches, polcas, and quadrilhas. The 1902 catalogue of his locally published works ran to 71 salon pieces (many of them lithographed by Karl Weigandt, who also lithographed the piano reduction of his orchestral *Marcha das Exposições Paraenses de 1895 e 1900*, opus 27). His most ambitious orchestral score was a Symphony in D, various times performed; he also wrote a symphonic poem *A Revolução* (1883, given as an entr'acte in the Teatro da Paz), a symphonic suite *Mosaico*, and an orchestral *Elegia a Carlos Gomes* (Salles, 396).

By the time of Gurjão's death at Belém July 17, 1885, Carlos Gomes had already been honored there in several ways. *A Provincia do Pará*, ano V, n° 1330, of September 19, 1880, had carried his countenance lithographed on its cover. The first performance of four-act *Il Guarany* (La Scala, March 19, 1870; Rio de Janeiro, December 2, 1870) was given in the Teatro da Paz September 9, 1880 (by a Companhia Lyrica Italiana organized by Tomaso Passini but with a different personnel from the singers who were next year to premiere Gurjão's opera). The enthusiasm for *Il Guarany* knew no bounds. Two years later Gomes paid Belém his first personal visit—arriving from Pernambuco July 24, 1882, on the packet *Ceará* with a third opera company organized by impresario Tomaso Passini. The personnel included soloists, 24-member chorus, 26 in orchestra, 5 dancers; Enrico Bernardi was maestro director. Poetry, processions, parties united to honor Gomes during a month-long stay that concluded with his departure August 25 amid every further public demonstration of admiration. During the

month, his own *Salvator Rosa* (Genoa, March 21, 1874; Rio de Janeiro August 27, 1880) was mounted four times to a full theater (1,100 capacity). Seventeen other operas gave the 1882 season a brilliance never later surpassed.

But meantime, José Cândido da Gama Malcher (1853–1921), native of Belém who like Gurjão had studied in Italy (but at his rich father's, rather than government expense), fumed with resentment that his own plans for a four-act opera, *Bug-Jargal*, having to do with the rebellion of a Negro slave (in Saint-Domingue), were being snubbed. According to Gomes's letter to Visconde de Taunay, dated at Milan June 9, 1883, Malcher's physician father, who had sent the youth to study engineering at Lehigh University in Pennsylvania in 1877, did not realize that the young man upon transferring that same year to Milan had wasted his time in Italy writing "polcas and valsas" (*RIHGB*, LXXIII/2 [1910], 62). Upon his return to Brazil, Malcher accused Gomes of stealing from him the subject for Gomes's forthcoming *Lo Schiavo*.

Many other unpleasantnesses had arisen and were continuing to arise between the two. Gomes's attempt to stabilize his own finances by sending an Italian opera company contracted by himself to Pará and Pernambuco in 1883 ended in disaster—at Belém largely due to the enmity of the Gama Malcher faction. After an artists' strike and an outbreak of yellow fever, Gomes himself fled from Pará in late May 1883 (Salles, p. 349), leaving Enrico Bernardi behind to salvage the rest of the season. Bernardi and his son Simone, the violinist Luigi Sarti, and the bass João Pedro Panário thereafter took up several years' residence in Pará.

When Carlos Gomes returned to Belém for a last time (arriving Tuesday, May 21, 1895), he chose Pará because gates were closed to him elsewhere throughout Brazil (Renato Almeida, *História da música brasileira*, segunda edição [Rio de Janeiro: F. Briquelet & Comp., 1942], p. 387, errs in his date of arrival and in other particulars). The Conservatório de Música that he was invited to head boasted a faculty of fifteen. The investiture ceremony took place June 5, 1895 (Juvenal Fernandes, *Do Sonho a Conquista* [São Paulo: Fermata do Brasil, 1978], p. 179, cites July 5). In addition to the entire faculty and numerous students, a large crowd attended. Aureliano Pinto de Lima Guedes (1848–1922), brass instructor in the conservatory, conducted the welcoming band from the 1.º Corpo de Infantaria. Next, trombone virtuoso Arturo Nabuco de Araújo (Belém, November 20, 1850; same, April 29, 1938) conducted the overture to *Il Guarany*. The high point of the ceremony was reached when Gomes, "elegant, dignified, noble, with head erect like that of a conqueror" (Salles, *Música e músicos do Pará*, p. 49, quoting a daily newspaper) took possession of the chair of composition and counterpoint and simultaneously was installed as head of the establishment. However, the cancer for which he had been operated on

at Lisbon April 8, 1895, continued spreading. His last months were spent in utmost physical agony at Belém, where he died at 10 p.m. September 16, 1896.

The conservatory, renamed Instituto Carlos Gomes, functioned until 1908. The collapse of the rubber boom coincided in 1906 with a last feeble season of grand opera in the Teatro da Paz. In 1911 a Spanish zarzuela company directed by the actor Pablo López mixed poorly performed *Cavalleria Rusticana*, *Un Ballo in Maschera*, and *La Traviata* with lighter entertainment. In 1953 the Italian impresario Nino Gaioni attempted a season, but admitted defeat after *La Bohème*, *La Traviata*, and *Rigoletto* lost large sums. So far as local composers went, Gama Malcher succeeded in getting his four-act *Bug-Jargal* (libretto by Vincenzo Valle, based on Victor Hugo's novel) performed September 17, 1890, at the Teatro da Paz (Companhia lírica of Gonçalves Leal), whence it was taken December 30, 1890, to the Teatro São José at São Paulo and February 25, 1891, to the Teatro Fênix at Rio de Janeiro. Gama Malcher's two- or three-act opera, *Iara*, with his own libretto (having to do with an Amazonian rain goddess pursued by a young Indian warrior Begiuquirá) produced at the Teatro da Paz March 20, 1895, attempted a nationalist vein. Alipio César (Cameté, Pará, 1871; Belém, 1925) saw his three-act comic opera *Noite Bizarra* (veristic libretto by Giuseppe Tadini, set in Venice at carnival, having to do with the adventures of a young millionaire Rodolfo, his friend Feliciano, and Feliciano's female cousin Franca), mounted September 7, 1917, at the Teatro da Paz.

Another locally composed opera on a local subject that reached the boards was Manuel Belarmino Costa's (*b* Soure, Marajó island, August 24, 1907) *A Cabanagem* in three acts and two scenes with libretto based on the novel of the same name by Roberto Camelier and Lourival Penalber. This opera—recalling events of the revolution of 1832 in Pará that was attended by acts of great brutality—was mounted at the Teatro da Paz March 10, 1949 (and repeated March 13 and 19, 1949, in the same theater) by local singers supported by the Orquestra Sinfônica Paraense founded by Costa August 6, 1942 (and of which he continued titular director to 1970).

Costa studied first in Soure with the Spaniard Manuel Puga. He began his professional career as a bandsman during three years in the Banda da Força Pública of Amazonas State. After tours of duty with other bands in Maranhão and Belém he spent several months in 1932 at São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro before returning to direct the Banda da Força Militar of Pará.

He composed numerous band pieces with local coloring—among them a nine-part *Rapsódia dos cantos populares paraenses* exploiting locally popular airs, *Animando* (batuque paraense), *Lenda Amazônica* ("Amazonian legend," with xylophone solos), *Requêbro* ("lascivious dance"); also a symphonic poem in D minor, an orchestral overture *Tertúlia de Passarinhos* ("birdies'

get-together"), two symphonic chœurs—*O Sabiá cantou* ("The thrush sings") and *A Cigarra e o chorão* ("The cicada and the whiner"), a symphonic fantasy *Cena Praiana* ("Seashore scene"); and for the stage a musical farce *Uirapuru* with text by Carlos Victor Pereira based on regional folklore. This farce was premiered at the Teatro Variedades in Belém June 22, 1947.

Greater national renown accrued to the following composers, directors, and interpreters born in Belém (unless otherwise stated), all of whom had some European training and all of whom are profiled in the *Enciclopédia da música brasileira erudita folclórica popular* (São Paulo: Art Editora, 1977, 2 vols): Otávio Meneleu Campos (July 22, 1872; d Niterói, March 20, 1927), Paulino Lins de Vasconcelos Chaves (Natal, Rio Grande do Norte, June 26, 1883; Rio de Janeiro, July 31, 1948), Clemente Ferreira Júnior (October 9, 1864; October 9, 1917), Valdemar Henrique da Costa Pereira (February 15, 1905).

How much more propitious for the local mestre-de-capela, for the local composer desirous of publishing his music, and for the local interpreter was Belém in the era of the rubber boom can be measured (among other ways) by the number of local music publishers and local manufacturers of instruments. José Mendes Leite, located at Rua 15 de Novembro, published approximately 300 compositions between 1860 and 1900; M.J. da Costa e Silva at Rua dos Mercadores (present name of street, Conselheiro João Alfredo) n.º 45-BB about 100 compositions in the same time span; R.L. Bittencourt at Rua 15 de Novembro n.º 15 using the siglum "RLB" some 120; Livraria Universal de Tavares Cardoso & Cia. using "LU" as siglum about 60; Belém Musical (a branch of M.M. Bastos & Cia.) at 7 de Setembro n.º 17, about 100; Alberto, Frenck & Cia in Largo das Mercês more than 200; Pará Chic about 50 pieces; Bazar Ideal of L. Santos & Cia. at Rua Conselheiro João Alfredo n.º 79 using "B.I." as siglum some 90 pieces; and Empório Musical of Abílio da Fonseca in Travessa 7 de Setembro n.º 7 an uncounted number.

These eleven firms also sold instruments. Of them, only Empório Musical survived in 1970. Generally speaking, the just listed Belém music publishers used out-of-town music engravers (such as C.C. Röder, Breitkopf und Härtel at Leipzig, Crevel Frères at Paris, Compassi & Camin at São Paulo, Vieira Machado & Cia at Rio de Janeiro). Nonetheless, two important lithographers settled at Belém: Karl Wiegandt in 1871 and M.P. Aguiar approximately a decade later.

The first music periodical attempted in Belém seems to have been a *Revista Lyrica* printed by the typographer of Livro do Comércio in newspaper format; the inaugural issue appeared July 31, 1882. The most significant attempt at a local music periodical was a *Gazeta Musical* that appeared fortnightly between July 27, 1890, and October 12, 1892. The preeminent flautist Ernesto Antônio Dias (Belém, January 2, 1857; Belém, June 13, 1908),

who owned it, used the journalist, historian, and poet Paulino José do Almeida Brito (Manaus, April 9, 1858; Belém 1919) as editor with "Viver pela Arte, viver pela Música, viver pelo Bello" as the motto; each issue of four pages (printed by Pinto Barbosa & Ca.) carried news concerning theater and literature, but chiefly music. A short-lived *Salão Musical* circulated every two weeks during 1891.

In the early 1880's a German immigrant Gustav Engelke settled at Belém (corner of Rua das Flores in travessa São Mateus) and during the next decade constructed pianos, harmoniums, orchestrions, and in the late 1890's player pianos. Albino Müller who was born at Dresden in 1853 and settled at Belém in youth (*d* there March 12, 1900), was Carlos Gomes's favorite piano tuner. Dörner pianos were imported by music house Gatzemeyer, Pleyel pianos by George Wacker (who also sold harmoniums and organs); brass and woodwind instruments were after 1888 sold by Lemos & Leite, most of the imports coming from French manufacturers Jérôme Thibouville-Lamy, Pelisson Frères, and Couesmon & Cia (Salles, pp. 361-362).

Subsídios para a história da música no Rio Grande do Sul, segunda edição revista e aumentada. By ANTÔNIO TAVARES CORTE REAL (Porto Alegre, Movimento, 1984. 351 pp., 47 illustrations incl. music of Hino Rio-Grandense, bibl.).

Dedicated to his eleven grandchildren, the second edition of this valuable contribution to the history of secular music life in Brazil's southernmost state contains a section on local ballet productions in Porto Alegre (pp. 183-229) that was missing from the first edition (*Subsídios para a história da música no Rio Grande do Sul* [Porto Alegre: Ed. da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul/IEL, 1980], 256 pp.)—an edition that was dedicated to his then nine grandchildren.

In 1923 the author won a gold medal from the Instituto de Belas-Artes do Rio Grande do Sul for violin playing. He played first violin in an ephemeral Porto Alegre symphony orchestra that gave three concerts under Francisco Braga's baton as long ago as March 1928 in the Teatro São Pedro. During the intervening years he has constantly been a leading figure in all Porto Alegre chamber and orchestral organizations (president of the Sociedade Rio-Grandense de Música de Câmara 1941-1943, concertmaster of the new Orquestra Sinfônica de Porto Alegre founded in 1950 and conducted by Pablo Komlós to 1978, artistic director of the Pontifícia Universidade

Católica in Porto Alegre 1949-1951, violin professor in the Porto Alegre Conservatório de Música from 1934 to retirement).

Corte Real includes numerous Porto Alegre concert programs—many shown in facsimile. These begin with that of the *programma do concerto* given December 27, 1889, by the Sociedade Philarmônica [Filarmônica] Porto-Alegrense under direction of Anna Schell. This program included (in addition to Thalberg's *Semiramis* fantasy for piano and the overture to Auber's *La muette de Portici* played by a "small orchestra") a concert-mazurka for piano, violin, and flute by the local composer-pianist "E. Baltz" and a mazurka called *Moreninha* by another local composer-pianist, "P. Vianna." Corte Real gives also (in facsimile) the program dated April 2, 1897, of the *primeiro concerto, no salão do Casino* of the newly organized Club Haydn. In addition to Haydn's Quartet No. 17 in F Major and Weber's piano trio, op. 83, this *primeiro concerto* included a Domenico Scarlatti Sonata in F minor played by the leading composer of his epoch born in Porto Alegre, José Araújo Vianna (February 10, 1871; *d* Rio de Janeiro January 2, 1916), an aria from Carlos Gomes's opera *Lo Schiavo* sung by Glória Taborda accompanied by Araújo Vianna, and an original romanza of Araújo Vianna, *L'organetto*, performed by the same pair.

By tabulating the selections performed at Club Haydn concerts, Corte Real attempts to disprove Énio de Freitas e Castro's thesis (advanced in "A Musica; Associações Musicais," *Rio Grande do Sul: Terra e Povo*, 2d ed., 1969, p. 212, and in "Desenvolvimento cultural no Setor Musical, Leitura 1" published in Danilo Lazzarotto, *História do Rio Grande do Sul*, 1971, p. 154), that the Club Haydn originated as a local protest against Italian opera and a German backlash against the Sociedade Philarmônica Porto-Alegrense (founded July 28, 1878). In many other matters of detail and of interpretation Corte Real disagrees with Freitas e Castro (Montenegro, Rio Grande do Sul, June 27, 1911; Porto Alegre, June 21, 1975), none of whose many writings on the musical history of Rio Grande do Sul are listed in Corte Real's scattershot bibliography. Omission of Freitas e Castro from the bibliography appears all the stranger because Corte Real keeps quoting him in order to disagree with him as late as the last chapter.

The final chapter devoted to the Farroupilha hymn that became the official anthem of the State of Rio Grande do Sul January 7, 1966, contains Corte Real's sole reference to sacred music. Outlining the life of the composer in May of 1838 of the music of the Farroupilha hymn, Joaquim José de Mendanha (Ouro Preto, 1798/1799; Porto Alegre, September 1, 1885), Corte Real designates him *mestre-de-capela* of Porto Alegre Cathedral (p. 310), but without giving any date for his appointment or itemizing any of his sacred compositions.

Hymno official da ex-republica Rio-Grandense.

Composto por J. MENBANHA

Allegro Marcial.

PIANO.

The musical score is arranged in five systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs).
- **System 1:** Piano introduction. Treble clef has a melody starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic. Bass clef provides harmonic accompaniment.
- **System 2:** Continuation of the piano introduction, featuring fortissimo (*ff*) dynamics in both staves.
- **System 3:** Introduction of the vocal part, labeled "Voz" with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The piano accompaniment continues.
- **System 4:** Introduction of the choir part, labeled "Coro" with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The piano accompaniment continues.
- **System 5:** Final section. The piano accompaniment concludes with a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic. The vocal parts end with a "Coda" section. The first vocal part is labeled "1^{ra} voces" and includes the instruction "D.C." (Da Capo). The score concludes with the word "FIM" (The End).

Corte Real does furnish welcome exact dates for the many local societies, institutions, and clubs that have flourished during his own lifetime. As for persons, he offers the following data concerning Pablo (= Pal) Komlós (pp. 128–132): born at Budapest September 15, 1907, he died at Porto Alegre March 27, 1978. Son of Armin Komlós and Margarida Sártory, he trained as a violinist and as a composer at the Ferenc Liszt Academy of Music in Budapest from which he received a diploma in 1938. He emigrated with his wife Lili to Uruguay in 1939 and during the next eleven years he taught singing, directed choruses, and conducted opera presentations at Montevideo. During the 1940's he visited Porto Alegre three times—once to conduct operas sponsored by the Orfeão Rio-Grandense, another time to conduct an orchestral concert organized by the Sindicato dos Músicos Profissionais de Porto Alegre (musicians' union), and once to conduct an orchestral concert given under other auspices. Accompanied by his wife and son, he transferred permanently from Montevideo to Porto Alegre in 1950.

In that year the Orfeão Rio-Grandense contracted him to organize an opera school (*Escola Lírica*) that opened March 1, 1950, with him as professor of singing and stage conduct, and Robert Eggers as teacher of solfège. On November 23, 1950, was founded a new Orquestra Sinfónica of Porto Alegre and on December 5, 1950, Komlós conducted Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in its inaugural concert at the Teatro São Pedro. Komlós's success with the orchestra resulted in an agreement with the Prefeitura Municipal in 1953 to use municipal band members and in 1954 with the Governo do Estado establishing a moderate level of state support. In 1965 and again 1971 the statutes of the OSPA were altered to guarantee its non-profit, state-aided character. In 1961 Komlós created the Coral Universitário do Rio Grande do Sul. On November 13, 1967, he was contracted to teach in the Escola de Artes of the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul—continuing to teach until retirement September 4, 1977. That same month the Fundação Orquestra Sinfónica de Porto Alegre retired him from artistic direction of the orchestra. He died the next year and by his request was buried at Gramado, Rio Grande do Sul, where he and his family had frequently spent their summer vacations.

Loja cuna de Artistas Monografía sobre la música de la provincia de Loja. By ROGELIO JARAMILLO RUIZ. Introduction (pp. 19–24) by Carlos Manuel Espinosa (Quito, Ediciones del Banco Central del Ecuador [Impreso: Artes Gráficas Señal], 1983. 470 pp., 23 complete musical compositions, approximately 800 photos, bibl.)

This monumental local music history mentions (and in addition frequently profiles) 506 musicians—performers and composers, professionals and amateurs—whose names are alphabetically listed at pp. 465–470. Loja, a province bordering on Peru, numbered 343,153 habitants when census was taken in 1974 (with 267,877 living in rural areas). Founded by Alonso de Mercadillo who was born at Loja (Granada) in Spain and whose encomiendas after his death were on July 11, 1560, transferred to Pedro de Lascano, the colonial urban center of Loja gained three religious communities before 1600: Franciscans in 1548, Dominicans in 1557 and Conceptionist nuns in 1596. The cathedral dates from 1838 although its consecration awaited October 31, 1895.

The author recovers the names of eleven nineteenth- and early twentieth-century organists. The two-manual Wilhelm Sauer from Frankfurt a/O, one of the best in Ecuador when brought, has a metal plaque on it saying that it was installed during the episcopacy of Fray José Ma. Masiá y Vidiella. Pedro Guarro, organist 1876–1899, was Spanish, but his successor, Antonio Vega, 1904–1914, was born ca. 1840 in Celica southwest of Loja. Guarro, himself an able composer, raised up a generation of local disciples among whom excelled Antonio de J. Hidalgo, composer of the pasodoble *Quito y Loja* published in the present book at pages 180–182.

The other 22 local compositions published in this book bear such generic subtitles as *danzante*, *habanera*, *jota*, *pasacalle*, *pasillo*, *pasodoble*, *sanjuanito*, and *vals*—with *pasillos* greatly outnumbering every other type. Only Manuel Mesías Sánchez's *sanjuanito Delirio* begins with a pentatonic vocal line recalling music of the mountain indigenes.

The author documents the heavy Spanish musical influence (implanted not only by teachers from Spain but also by a Spanish repertory) with programs given at Loja during the early part of the century—beginning with one on December 8, 1904, that included the Ruperto Chapí one-act zarzuela *Las doce y media y sereno*, Federico Chueca's *Guapa chica*, and Manuel Fernández de Caballero's *La Pecadora*.

The Loja national conservatory bears the name of Salvador Bustamante Celi (*b* at Loja March 1, 1876; *d* there March 8, 1935). After studying at Quito and Lima, he was appointed organist of Lima Cathedral in the first decade of this century, but had to flee from the Peruvian capital when war between Ecuador and Peru broke out in 1910. Located six years at Guayaquil, he served first as organist of San Francisco Church and then of Guayaquil Cathedral before returning home to Loja. In 1917 he won a papal prize for a *Salve Regina* which when entered the next year in a national contest won first prize at Quito March 31, 1918. His larger works composed after 1918 include a Coronation Mass composed for the crowning of the Virgen del Cisne, patroness of Loja, two Requiems

(one for three voices sung at his funeral), and a symphonic poem, *Auroral*, depicting three stages of the battle that gave Ecuador its independence (at Pichincha).

As if the abundance of data on local composers were not sufficient, the author also gives among other facts a valuable "Resumen histórico del Himno Nacional del Ecuador" (pp. 42-47) replete with texts, names and precise dates. All that stands between this invaluable book and a wide public is an analytic index of names, subjects, and places.

Oscar Sonneck and American Music. Ed. by WILLIAM LICHTENWANGER, foreword by IRVING LOWENS (Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1983. 279 + xxii pp., bibl., index, illus.)

Opposite the title page appears the summary of contents: "A Gathering of Those Writings on American Music by Oscar Sonneck First Published in Scattered and Sometimes Obscure Sources, Followed by Comments on His Life and Work by Herbert Putnam, Carl Engel, Otto Kinkeldey, Gilbert Chase, and H. Wiley Hitchcock. With a Bibliography of His Writings and Musical Compositions, and of Writings about Him, by Irving Lowens."

Magisterially edited by William Lichtenwanger—head of the Reference Section, Music Division, Library of Congress 1960 to 1974—this attractively produced volume (22nd in the University of Illinois Press series, *Music in American Life*) includes "two short pieces [by Sonneck] here published for the first time."

"Suggestions on Research into Music in Early America" (pp. 100-107) is a transcript of "excerpts from the informal address made by Mr. Sonneck" on November 12 or 13, 1919, "to the members of the Historical Research Committee [of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America] regarding the contemplated work of the Committee on the music and musical life of Pennsylvania during the 18th century."

"Reader's Report on a Music Book Manuscript" (pp. 108-110) is an unfavorable evaluation dated "October 1921." A publisher had solicited Sonneck's opinion on the suitability for a projected book of articles by an "opinionated" vocalist culled from *Musical Courier* and given the collective title of "Some Hints on the Future of Music."

With his usual felicity as an English stylist, Lichtenwanger himself translated for this volume two of Sonneck's essays that originally appeared in German—both in publications dated 1900.

"Deutscher Einfluss auf das Musikleben Amerikas" ("German Influence on the Musical Life of America," pp. 60-75) and "Das Musikleben Amerikas vom Standpunkte der musikalischen Landeskunde" ("The Musical Life of America from the Standpoint of Musical Topography," pp. 76-93) both profit im-

mensely from Sonneck's quarter-century in Germany before returning to America around the turn of the century. Only scholars such as he, and to a lesser extent Theodore Baker, Carl Engel, and Otto Kinkeldey, had the necessary European background—together with the indispensable keen insight into the United States situation—to make lastingly valid comparisons and observations.

In the present volume, Sonneck's blasts against American contemporaries are shown to have been published either pseudonymously—as in *Musical Courier* of February 24, 1927, under the alter ego of Bill Jones; or without directly naming the person attacked—as in his "The Future of Musicology in America" published posthumously in *Essays Offered to Herbert Putnam by His Colleagues and Friends on His Thirtieth Anniversary as Librarian of Congress, 5 April 1929*.

H. Wiley Hitchcock unmasked the Bill Jones squib, dated at New York January 30, 1927, as Sonneck's next-day reaction against first and second movements of Charles Ives's Fourth Symphony, played under Eugene Goossens's direction the night of January 29 at Aeolian Hall. Lichtenwanger himself fingered Marion Bauer as the lady not named by Sonneck whose *How Music Grew* (co-authored with Ethel Peyser) was being played. According to Sonneck, *How Music Grew* was based not on "about a dozen authorities whom she had read in the course of her 'musicological research'" but instead contained a mishmash of incorrect statements and outmoded opinions inherited from other "commercial compilations." Despite Sonneck's own uncontested reputation as a bibliographer, he gives no sign of ever having met or read James Monroe Trotter. Instead, he writes: "On the interesting subject of the music of the Negro in America, what is found in books and pamphlets is totally unsuitable" (p. 92).

However deeply he may have immersed himself in the muddy lakes of America's past, he consistently reveals himself in the essays selected for this volume as an apostle of high art. Not for him the "level of 'popular' music of the grade of, let us say, [Carrie Jacobs Bond's] 'A Perfect Day'" (p. 147). Lichtenwanger's footnote on this page must be savored, if only as one among many annotations instancing how much his insights add to the value of this edition:

Perhaps it ["A Perfect Day"] attracted a bit of envy from the composer in Sonneck, who had tried often and failed often to compose successful songs of quiet beauty and sensitivity. But then Sonneck, the East Coast city boy and intellectual, never watched—as did Mrs. Bond when she was inspired to write "A Perfect Day"—a glorious sunset flood the southern California plain and tint the majestic mountains in the distance.

As low as Sonneck's own personal taste will permit him to sink turns out to be Ethelbert Nevin (pp. 73, 138).

Lower than Nevin he will not go. MacDowell, who heads his list of worthy American composers, rates with Bizet, if that high. Horatio Parker, Chadwick, Arthur Foote, Whiting, and Beach rate below Rubinstein or Raff (p. 129). His opinion of some other historic Americans can be surmised. Louis Moreau Gottschalk deserves not even passing mention (this volume does include allusions to John Beck, Adolph Foerster, Bruno Oskar Klein, Ernest Richard Kroeger, Daniel Schlesinger, and Henry Schoenefeld as "significant American composers"). Nor is John Philip Sousa's name indexed. On the other hand, the completely American-trained W. S. B. Mathews, cited on page 90 as co-author with G. L. Howe of *One Hundred Years of Music in America*, correctly—as our generation sees them—already in the 1890's saw Gottschalk and Sousa as colossuses.

Among questions left still unanswered by this book: how soon after the death from typhoid fever January 28, 1875, at Jersey City of the "poor, struggling civil engineer" George C. Sonneck who was his father, did his mother take him to Germany; was "Uncle Graeven" truly an uncle; when precisely, and why did he return to America; whence the sums permitting the untrammelled life of poet, composer, and investigator before his Library of Congress appointment August 1, 1902; whence the funds permitting self-publication of the two 1905 books (items 45 and 47 in Lowens's bibliography); what was the fate that befell his widow.

Misprints in this exquisite volume are almost too rare to merit mention (Shubert for Schubert, 128; Spoleta, U.S.A. for Spoleto, U.S.A., 99; Carl Wolf-Zerrahn for Carl Wolfson, Carl Zerrahn, 72 and 277).

Biographical Dictionary of Afro-American and African Musicians. By EILEEN SOUTHERN (Westport, Connecticut and London, England, Greenwood Press, 1982. 482 pp., bibl., indexes [Greenwood Encyclopedia of Black Music])

To have excluded from this dictionary all Black Brazilians except the "father of Brazilian music," José Maurício Nunes Garcia (1767-1830; alphabetized as a Spanish name, with wrong biographical data and incorrect tilde over the second "n" in Nunes) traduces the early stages of Black music history. By virtue of his numerous works published by FUNARTE and other Brazilian entities, Garcia now ranks with Saint-Georges as the most published Black composer anywhere. Nonetheless, Southern mentions none of his compositions whatsoever.

The present dictionary omits not only the entire Minas Gerais pleiad but also the numerous African-descended composers active elsewhere in colonial Brazil whose bio-

graphical data were conveniently assembled in the *Yearbook Inter-American Institute for Musical Research*, iv (1968), 12-26. Among Minas Gerais Blacks, exact dates for José Joaquim Emerico Lôbo de Mesquita (*b* Serra, Minas Gerais, October 12, 1746; *d* Rio de Janeiro, late April 1805), Francisco Gomes da Rocha (*b* Ouro Preto, 1746; *d* there February 9, 1808), and others have been published in easily accessible lexicons. Among natives of Recife, Luiz Álvares Pinto (1719-1789), Manoel de Almeida Botelho (*b* June 5, 1721), and Jerónimo de Sousa Pereira (*f* 1731-1764) exemplify African-descended musicians who won lasting fame. The native of Bahia, Antônio Manso da Mota (1732-1812) who governed São Paulo cathedral music in 1768 and 1773 deserves an entry in any dictionary of Black musicians.

But to leave the colonial period: any Black dictionary might be expected to include such universally known contemporary Brazilian popular stars as Jorge Ben (*b* Rio de Janeiro, 1942), Jair Rodrigues (São Paulo, 1938), Wilson Simonal (Rio de Janeiro, 1939), Elsa Soares (Rio de Janeiro, 1937), and Agnaldo Timóteo (Caratinga, Minas Gerais, 1936). All these, and many more Blacks, have been meticulously profiled in the two-volume *Enciclopédia da música brasileira* (São Paulo: Art Editora, 1977) published five years before Southern's biographical dictionary.

Equally unfortunate omissions mar the dictionary, so far as Venezuelans go. None is profiled, despite Juan José Landaeta's having reputedly composed *Gloria al bravo pueblo*, the national anthem. Almost every important Venezuelan composer during the classic period (with the exception of Cayetano Carreño and José Ángel Lamas) boasted African descent. Juan Manuel Olivares (1760-1797), Lino Gallardo (*ca.* 1775-1837), José Antonio Caro de Boesi, Pedro Nolasco Colón, José Francisco Velasques, and the two Landaetas, sample names that enter *The New Grove Dictionary*, but not the present dictionary.

Throughout the article on the Chevalier de Saint-Georges (containing French misspellings) Southern confuses French Saint-Domingue (area now comprising Haiti) with Spanish Santo Domingo. The Puerto Rican Felipe Gutiérrez Espinosa, credited with being a Black, enjoyed no African ancestry whatsoever; his opera *Marcías* was premiered in 1977, not 1877. Cortés launched his conquest expedition from Trinidad, Cuba, but the name of the town is not Trinidad da Cuba.

The mother of José Bernardo Alzedo (1788-1878) who composed the Peruvian national anthem before spending forty years in Santiago de Chile, was a Black. Zenón Rolón (Buenos Aires, June 23, 1856; Morón, May 13, 1902; pictured in Vicente Gesualdo's *Historia de la música en la Argentina, 1852-1900*, page 464) was the leading Black Argentinian composer of his epoch, and always identified strongly with the large Black musical colony at Buenos

Aires. Vicente Gesualdo also published names, dates, and portraits of four other prominent Argentinian Black composers: Manuel Posadas (Buenos Aires, ca. 1860; same, 1916); Alfredo Quiroga (Buenos Aires, 1846; same, 1874); Cayetano Silva (San Carlos, Uruguay, 1868; Rosario, January 12, 1920); and Casildo Thompson (Buenos Aires, April 9, 1826; Buenos Aires, November 12, 1873). At pages 472–474 Gesualdo included a facsimile of the latter's polka for piano, *La Mitrista* (Buenos Aires: J. A. Machado y Cía., 1860).

So far as the Black Cuban violinist José White is concerned: Gottschalk was in Spain in 1852, not Cuba (John G. Doyle, *Louis Moreau Gottschalk*, page 10). Yet 1852 is the year given in this dictionary for White's Matanzas début "as an assisting artist on a program featuring the American pianist Louis Gottschalk." The date for the Matanzas début concert should be March 21, 1854. White's violin teacher at Paris was Jean-Delphin Alard, not Joseph Alard (Southern's mistake). White did not win "the Prix de Rome in Violin" but rather the *premier gran prix* in violin July 29, 1856. As bibliography for the error-ridden White article, Southern gives something so vague as "European press, including *Le Ménestrel*, 1861–1876."

Her bibliography omits Joaquín J. Argote's path-breaking article, "White," published in *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Havana), 2d series, iv/2 (April–June 1953), 80–99, even though an English-language précis of it appeared in *Inter-American Music Review*, iv/1 (Fall 1981), 2–3. The same issue of *IAMR* included two of White's best known violin compositions, the seven-page habanera, *La Bella Cubana* (Paris: F. Durdilly Ch. Hayet Suc^r, 1910), and his seven-page *Zamacueca Danse Chilienne* (Paris: Ulysse T. du Wast, 1897). Instead of anything so specific as naming what White wrote, Southern concludes her White article with this sentence: "He left compositions for violin" (nothing concerning publication of White's *Concerto in F sharp minor*, with piano reduction of the orchestral accompaniment by John Ruggero [Melville, New Jersey: Belwin-Mills, 1976], nor of his *La jota aragonesa*, Op. 5, for violin and piano [New York: Associated Music Publishers, 1975]).

The superficiality and out-of-dateness of the White article derive from defective bibliography. Similarly unfortunate for lack of bibliography is Southern's coverage of sections of the United States once belonging to Spain and Mexico. For California, the best source is the Black author Delilah L. Beasley, *The Negro Trail Blazers of California* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969 [1919]), chapter XVII of which covers musicians, Elmer Bartlett (picture at page 184)—who was born March 18, 1887, at Galena, Cherokee County, Kansas, and who emigrated to Los Angeles in 1903—studied organ with Ernest Douglass five years, and in 1909 became organist of First African Methodist Episcopal Church in Los An-

geles. According to Beasley, who claimed acquaintance with Clarence Eddy, Bartlett in 1919 was the best Black pipe organist in America. With equal enthusiasm, Beasley profiled William T. Wilkins, who opened his own music school at Los Angeles with great acclaim September 1, 1916. Alphabetically arranged, Beasley's other biographies include: Ella Bradley-Hughley, Corinne Bush-Hicks, Catherine Marion Carr-Treat, Denis Carter, Florence Cole-Talbert, John G. Coursey, John A. Gray, Joseph Green, Pinkie Callender Howard, Lillian Jester-Davis, Charles Price Jones, Pearl Lowery-Winters, Leviticus Nelson Everell Lyon, Malcolm Harvey Patton, Gertrude E. Pillow-Kelley, Ellen Consuello Prowd, Gussie Estell Simpson-Bacon, and Owen Austin Troy.

Apart from Beasley, Rudolph M. Lapp's *Blacks in Gold Rush California* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1977), carries data on Mary Alexander, singer of plantation songs mentioned in the *California Chronicle* of May 4, 1858, and Sarah Lester who in a citywide school examination made second highest in general studies and highest in music (*Chronicle*, February 20, 1858). Kenneth Goode, *California's Black Pioneers* (Santa Barbara: McNally & Loftin, 1974) at page 207 listed twelve Black newspapers published in California, and at page 174 three Black governors during the Mexican period.

Essentially, what Southern has given the public is a dictionary of Blacks in the Eastern part of the United States. Other reviewers have animadverted on the mistakes made in her articles on East coast Blacks. True, her one-person achievement stands as a monument to industry. Because of her Harvard University prestige, the dictionary will not be soon replaced. But the question remains: is not Black music too important and too diverse a cultural glory to be treated adequately in a one-person endeavor such as the *Greenwood Encyclopedia of Black Music*?

Manuscritos y fuentes musicales en España. Edad Media.

By ISMAEL FERNÁNDEZ DE LA CUESTA (Madrid, Editorial Alpuerto, 1980, 395 pp.)

Well done catalogues of Spanish musical sources constitute the most valuable kind of publication that anyone studying peninsular history can obtain. Nonetheless, such publications—so essential for the progress of our discipline—do not always garner the kind of critical attention that they deserve. All the more welcome therefore comes the present opportunity to hail a catalogue that not only covers with utmost precision and completeness the sources from a period so difficult as the Middle Ages, but also enjoys authorship by the most distinguished and enthusiastic medievalist among present-day Spanish

musicologists—Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta. His catalogue—extending to every known manuscript in the peninsula, to the seven British Library manuscripts Add. 30.844, 30.845, 30.846, 30.850, 30.851, 30.852, and 11.695 that emigrated to London from Santo Domingo de Silos monastery, to the six Bibliothèque nationale manuscripts at Paris of varying provenience, to the one fragment with Toledan-style Visigothic notation at Coimbra Biblioteca Geral, and to the four leaves at the Klau Library of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati—also profits throughout from the most exact method of describing sources and most refined scheme of classifying them.

While enumerating and describing every known musically notated medieval codex and manuscript fragment of Spanish provenience, he meantime shows at every step of the way his own perfect familiarity with all previous attempts at cataloguing Spanish medieval musical sources. Unlike some of his predecessors, he himself personally consulted and minutely examined each source anew. As a result, he almost invariably gives more copious and more precise information. The two classes of material that had previously been best catalogued were Latin polyphony and vernacular monody. But if these two classes had already been thoroughly worked over by such renowned scholars as Friedrich Ludwig, Higinio Anglés, and Gilbert Reaney, he found himself frequently in virgin territory when exploring sources containing Gregorian chant and monodic settings of Latin lyrics.

He employs the following procedures in dealing with the sources. First, he so exactly describes the external appearance of each codex or fragment that it can be identified at sight. (Many times he corrects mistakes concerning appearance and contents made in library and archive catalogues now in circulation.) Next, he dates each specimen. Here again he emends many wrong guesses made by dilettantes lacking paleographical expertise. Not only were handwriting and music notation in constant chronological flux during earliest Spanish centuries, but also regional variants abounded throughout the peninsula.

Then again, errors were made by previous scholars who based their datings on examination of films. Black and white photographs made by local technicians do not distinguish colors and textures of inks, nor do they tell anything vital concerning the character of the paper or parchment. Fernández de la Cuesta's services to scholarship merit all the more praise when he deals with composite sources, in which are joined manuscripts of differing ages and origins. Disentangling such webs is alone a feat. However, he always goes on to give each separate strand its precise and copious description and he buttresses each description with exact references to all previous bibliography having to do with the strand.

Preceding the catalogue proper, Fernández de la Cuesta lists (1) abbreviations used in citing bibliography

and (2) abbreviations for antiphon, Agnus Dei, Alleluia, ballade, conductus, and 50 other terms (ending with virelai, versus, and verbeta). The next eleven pages contain a bibliography of 363 books, catalogues, and articles relevant to his project. Pages 35 to 224 are taken up with the catalogue itself. Here, alphabetized sigla for the various libraries and archives dictate the sequence.

After the catalogue come the following sixteen indices: (1) manuscripts containing Visigothic-Mozarabic chants; (2) alphabetized texts of Visigothic-Mozarabic chants, with marginal abbreviations telling what liturgical class each chant belongs to; (3) Gregorian chant sources broken down under 37 liturgical types (Antiphonarium, Breviarium, Ceremoniale, and so on through Troparium)—several of the types minutely subdivided (43 manuscripts contain Visigothic-Mozarabic chants); (4) 83 manuscripts containing monodic settings of Latin poetry; (5) alphabetized texts of the Latin monodies with marginal abbreviations telling to which genus each setting belongs (P = Prose, S = Sequence, T = Trope, etc.); (6) 34 manuscripts containing Latin verse to which no known liturgical use can be assigned, or poetry that is obviously secular in character; (7) alphabetized texts of the verse in the manuscripts that were itemized under the immediately preceding rubric; (8) 33 manuscripts containing polyphony broken down under *Arts antiqua* [22 manuscripts] and *Arts nova* [11]; (9) alphabetized texts of polyphonic items in these just listed 33 manuscripts; (10) alphabetized lists of "tenors" found in polyphonic items; (11) nine manuscripts containing settings of vernacular poetry; (12) alphabetized list of Alfonso X's cantigas of Saint Mary keyed to the manuscripts in which they occur (each cantiga preceded by an abbreviation telling whether the cantiga be a virelai, ballade, or cantilena, and followed by a dozen or so words telling the subject matter and locale of the cantiga); (13) index of six *cantigas de amigo*; (14) alphabetized index of seven other vernacular songs, six of which were included in Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta's *Las cançons dels trobadors* (Toulouse: Institut d'Estudis Occitans, 1979); (15) geographic index of the manuscripts catalogued; (16) general summary index (not intended as a compilation of the previous fifteen indexes).

What can be said here in summary of the whole work is that the labor expended on it was enormous, that the task was realized with true love, and that the result is wholly admirable. As with any such comprehensive endeavor, the possibility of new discoveries always exists. (The author has himself added to the list of known sources since 1980.) But this catalogue will not be soon superseded. It is the best of its type yet produced in Spain. It will long continue serving as a model for others to admire. Not only is it a work of the most capital importance for erudite Spain to take account of, but equally so for the learned world at large.

LOTHAR SIEMENS HERNÁNDEZ