

CHAPELMASTERS AND MUSICAL PRACTICE IN BRAZILIAN CITIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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Introduction

In Portuguese America (now basically Brazil) an important transfer of Catholic musical practice occurred from the first years of colonization, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but it was only in the eighteenth century that this activity reached its height, especially in the captaincy of Minas Gerais (the General Mines), whose economic development resulted from the deposits of gold and diamonds, at the cost of the dislocation of the indigenous population who had lived there for centuries, and of African slave labour. During this period the activities of a large number of singers, instrumentalists, composers, music masters and their pupils can be documented, demand for their abilities stemming largely from the many religious feast days and ceremonies financed by religious, governmental and even lay institutions. In this essay I will deal with an important aspect of urban music in Brazil concerning the diocesan chapelmasters, those who were responsible for music in the

cathedrals and mother or parish churches in cities and towns. They certainly did not form the majority of musicians, for among the thousands active in Brazil in the eighteenth century, only a few dozen were employed in the position of diocesan chapelmaster; however, analysis of their situation reveals various aspects important for understanding the structure of Brazilian musical practice in that period.

Despite significant musical activity during the seventeenth century in Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, Bahia, Pará, Goiás and elsewhere, the world of urban music in the eighteenth century can be seen and understood more clearly in two neighbouring regions: the districts of São Paulo and the Minas Gerais do Ouro, thanks to the gradual development of documentary research and the on-going discovery and cataloguing of musical collections and recent music editing projects, and for these reasons this essay will focus on these two areas. The district of São Paulo (called São Vicente until 1709 and São Paulo and Minas do Ouro between 1709 and 1720), was colonized from the middle of the sixteenth century, but that of the Minas Gerais only from the beginning of the eighteenth century. However, both enjoyed widespread musical activity, especially from the second half of the eighteenth century, making research into these areas very fruitful.

Brazilian musical practice and ecclesiastical institutions

Brazilian music manuscripts rarely give any indication of the institution for which the works they contain were intended. Thus, it is very difficult to know, based on this kind of documentation alone, what the musical repertory performed in these

institutional setups really was. In centres of Portuguese colonization, the principal and most compelling demand for music came from ecclesiastical and civic institutions—Church and State: these afforded a professional base for musicians, whose activities were dedicated above all to religious services mounted by monastic, conventual, diocesan and lay institutions. However, before discussing the various aspects of religious music and the activities and functions of the musicians in this context, some of the organizational aspects of these institutions must be taken into consideration.

Brazilian musical practice had a number of distinguishing features in friaries, monasteries, convents, houses of religious companies (such as the Company of Jesus, or Jesuits), cathedrals (diocesan or episcopal sees), parish or mother churches (parish sees in towns and cities), seminaries and diocesan colleges and, finally, the chapels of brotherhoods or the Third Orders (the term ‘chapel’ is more appropriate in these cases, since ‘church’ refers exclusively to a diocesan or regular temple). The Constitutions of the Archbishopric of Bahia of 1707, which remained valid throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, recognized the existence in Brazil of churches, chapels, hermitages, colleges and monasteries.¹ Except in the case of the hermitages, all these places of worship supported frequently occurring and regulated musical activity, since the solemnity of the offices, Mass, burials and the more important religious feast-days depended on sacred music. The same Constitutions recognize the right of patronage (*padroado*) by which the Portuguese king would appoint and give financial support to the clergy of those churches of royal foundation, including cathedrals, on the basis that all the churches in his kingdom or his by

¹ *Constituições Primeiras*, § 683, p. 251.

conquest belonged ‘to the order and knighthood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, of which His Majesty is the Grand Master and Administrator in Perpetuity’.²

The right of patronage explains the king’s interventions in liturgical matters, even, on occasion, in musical matters. If musical activity in the cathedrals was greatest, in terms of the highest number of liturgical ceremonies, the brotherhoods, confraternities and Third Orders were responsible for most of the religious events with music in Brazilian towns and cities, especially from the eighteenth century onwards, as a result of the intensive urbanization process, mainly in Minas Gerais. The brotherhoods and confraternities were usually lay associations, founded for the practice of specific devotions. They enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy as regards the building of chapels and the realization of ceremonies linked to their devotion. In their turn, the Third Orders were always affiliated to a First Order (*ordem primeira*), that is, a male religious order (Second Orders, or *ordens segundas*, were made up of women members). As a result of this feature, the Third Orders established in Brazil were based on the statutes governing those that already existed in Portugal. Many brotherhoods and confraternities, whether or not they owned their own chapels, were associated with a particular altar in existing churches, whether a parish church or that of a religious congregation.

Musical activity, whether of shared, monopolistic or privileged provision, was always the responsibility of a single musician in any given place: the chaplemaster, a position provided by the diocese even though financed by the Crown. Chapelmasters in cathedral and parish churches held a monopoly (referred to in the period as

² *Constituições Primeiras*, § 518, p.200.

estanco),³ that is, priority over the music performed in private or rural chapels, in churches in rural parishes attached to a city, even if distant, and, of course, in the chapels of the various confraternities and brotherhoods existing in the towns and cities. An example of how this system worked is the appointment document drawn up on 1 February 1749 of Julião da Silva e Abreu as chapelmaster in the parish church of São João del-Rei, in which the Bishop of Mariana, Dom Frei Manoel da Cruz, stated that every time that the chapelmaster wished to participate in ceremonies approved in his jurisdiction, the bishop guaranteed his right to do so and to receive payment for doing so, even if another musician opposed that decision.⁴ This was a system of privilege typical of the colonial period that reflected fairly clearly the way in which the colonial regime functioned and the primacy in society of white, European culture over any other.

Some celebrations involving musical practice were common to both parish and cathedral churches and to friaries and monasteries; others were different. Generally, musical activities were regulated and controlled by the ecclesiastical authorities, through the statute of the chapelmastership. For the provision of the diocese, a musician was appointed to the post; he then held it for longer or shorter periods. On some occasions, the bishop demanded that the parish priest examine the candidate for a vacancy for a chapelmaster, as occurred in the appointment of Pedro José da Fonseca to the parish of Nossa Senhora do Pilar de Vila Rica, on 19 November 1731: ‘I appoint Father Pedro José da Fonseca as chapelmaster of Vila

³ Duprat, ‘Paranaguá’.

⁴ Livro do Registro geral (Provisões), 1748-1750 v.1, f.105v/106v, Arquivo Eclesiástico da Arquidiocese de Mariana (MG).

Rica de Ouro Preto and its region in the General Mines for the period of a year, with the condition that he must be examined by the Reverend Vicar Father José Simões'.⁵

The most complex musical structure was found in the cathedrals, which had a precentor, succentor, chapelmaster, chaplain-singers, organist and choirboys, together with the musical contribution of the bishop, vicar and other prebendaries in specific ceremonies. In the parish churches, however, where the prebendaries normally included the parish priest or coadjutor, musical practice was of a simpler kind, although they did have a chapelmaster when they formed part of a diocese in a city or town. Sacred music in the chapels of brotherhoods and Third Orders was mainly performed by groups contracted for a specific period and, in exceptional cases, by an organist, who was also on contract. The involvement of city councils was also important; they financed a fixed number of annual public festivities, especially those of the Guardian Angel, Corpus Christi, Saints Elizabeth and Sebastian and the Te Deum sung at various commemorations connected with the royal family and the kingdom. All these feasts, however, were celebrated in the cathedral or mother church of the city or town, and their musical organization was almost always delegated to the local chapelmaster.

In the monasteries and friaries, choral duties were shared by the monks and friars, although a chapelmaster would be contracted for specific occasions. Institutions of this type fell outside the jurisdiction of the parish chapelmaster; they appointed their own chapelmaster according to the needs of the order, and depending on circumstances and situation, this was often the same person who held the

⁵ Rezende, *A música na história de Minas colonial*, p.290.

chapelmastership in the local parish church. The Third Orders attached to a friary sought to employ the music master of the friary themselves, in accordance with the privileges guaranteed by the bishop to the diocesan chapelmasters. Moreover, the brotherhoods of clerics of São Pedro, in towns such as Rio de Janeiro, Recife, Salvador, São Paulo and others, might also have their own chapelmaster - an eminent and creative musician, well versed in religious matters, whether priest or layman.

Musical practice in the parish churches

First, it is important to draw attention to the fact that in the district of Minas Gerais, musical practice displayed marked differences compared to other parts of Brazil. In the first instance, despite so many settlements being founded in the first half of the eighteenth century, in the case of Minas Gerais, from when it was colonized, there was only eight centres that were officially denominated cities, five of them being city-sees of regions that covered vast territories and their villages (parishes and outlying districts): São João del-Rei, Sabará, Pitangui, Ouro Preto and Serro. Three of these city-sees—São João del-Rei, Sabará and Ouro Preto—had a municipality attached to them, respectively São José del-Rei (now Tiradentes), Caeté and Mariana. As regards the number of cities, the situation in Minas Gerais was very unusual, despite its wealth and the extent of its territories. Even during the seventeenth century, there were four cities in the state of Pernambuco, four more in Pará, seven in Rio de

Janeiro, nine in Bahia and eighteen in São Paulo, which had almost thirty by the end of the eighteenth century.

Even though dotted with eight cities, the district of Minas Gerais resulted in an extended network of cities and roads, a fixed and itinerant population that was larger and more dynamic than that of any other region of Portuguese America, and a profusion of churches and chapels with priests, with regular religious services in addition to those held by the town councils established in those cities, the main centres for mining, commerce and political power. As regards the organization of musical activity, only the city-sees (five) had chapelmasters. In the case of Mariana, which became a city and diocesan see in Minas Gerais in 1745, the cathedral boasted a chapelmaster and a whole array of musical resources, as will be discussed below.

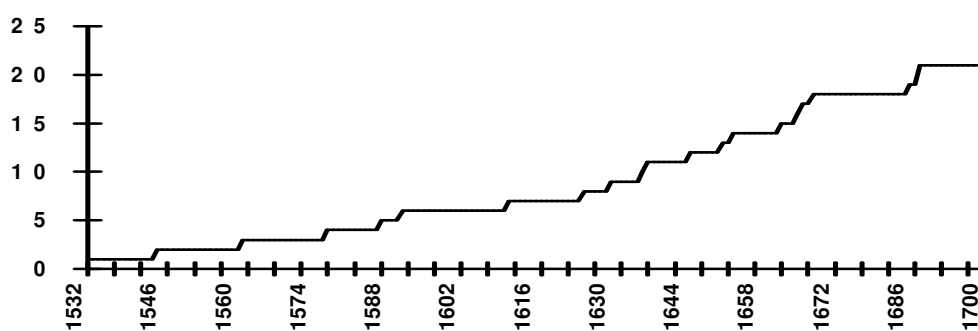
In Minas Gerais the establishment of the religious orders was forbidden. Only the Third Orders (of laymen) were admitted, albeit a Franciscan or Carmelite friar might show up from time to time. Chapels of the Third Orders that were not annexed to the churches of their First Orders are not found anywhere else in Brazil, but this was a common phenomenon in innumerable mining cities and towns. In any case, the strength attained by the Third Orders, brotherhoods and confraternities in the mid-eighteenth century generated rich chapels and churches everywhere, as well as a great deal of music: the remaining archives of Minas Gerais preserve a much larger number of eighteenth-century music manuscripts than can be found in other Brazilian archives. The sees of other Brazilian districts also had various churches consecrated by these lay religious bodies; the difference lay in the economic dynamism, the extensive circulation of credit and means of payment (gold dust) which fostered a

major urban network and an exceptional amount of trade. Thus, in terms of urban musical activity, there were few chapelmasters appointed by the ecclesiastical authorities in Minas Gerais (only in five centres), but thousands of musicians to fulfil the needs of religious life and state celebrations.

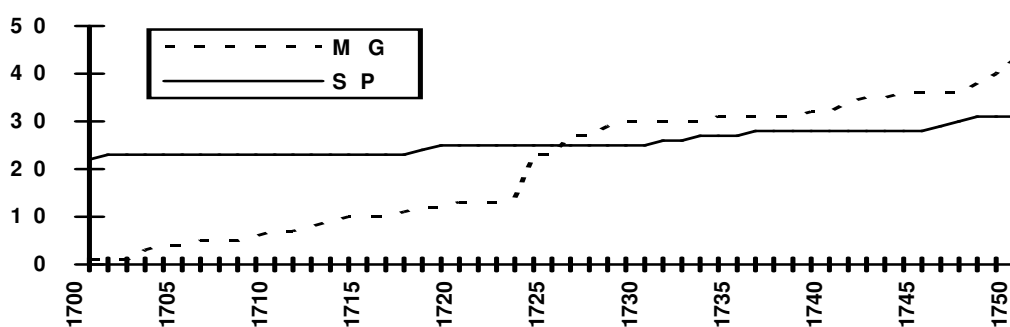
Moreover, the increase in the number of parishes and, therefore, of parish or mother churches, meant that in the eighteenth century there were more church buildings and thus more opportunities for musical practice in Minas Gerais than in any other region of Brazil. Comparison of the number of parishes within the geographical boundaries of the current states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais⁶ reveals that in São Paulo there were no more than twenty-two parishes before 1700 (see Graph 1). In 1719, this number increased to twenty-five, and again in 1731, though only to twenty-six. On the other hand, Minas Gerais witnessed a population explosion of such magnitude that from one parish in 1700, there were twenty-three in 1724 and twenty-seven in 1726, so that by that year it had more than São Paulo (see Graph 2). From then on, the number of parishes increased at a faster rate than in São Paulo: in 1750, there were forty-three parishes in Minas Gerais against thirty-one in São Paulo (see Graph 3), and the proportion continued to increase during the nineteenth century.

⁶ *Anuário Católico*, pp.1-813.

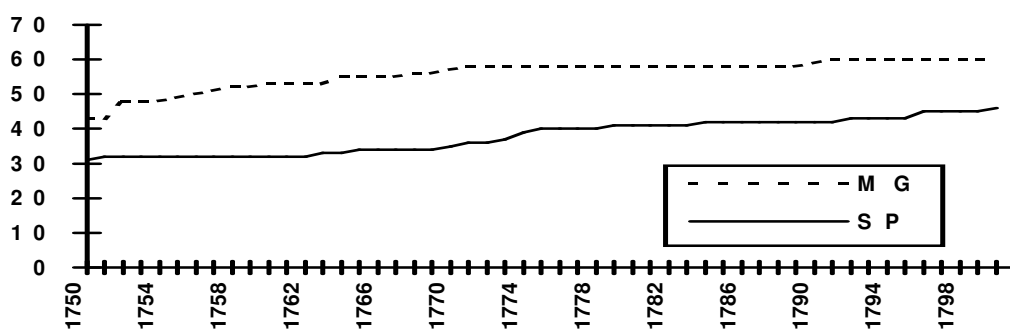
Graph 1. Increase in the number of parishes in São Paulo (1532-1700)



Graph 2. Increase in the number of parishes in São Paulo and Minas Gerais (1700-1750)



Graph 3. Increase in the number of parishes in São Paulo and Minas Gerais (1750-1800)



Musical activity in the cathedrals

In most cases, the cathedrals were originally parish churches, transformed into new dioceses by papal bull. The reconstruction or completion of the building of the church, and on many occasions the installation of the bishop and the clergy, was a second phase that could last a number of years. Thus, the foundation date of dioceses (and thus the cathedrals) did not necessarily coincide with the start of the celebration of services in the cathedral. The first Brazilian diocese was that of Salvador (Bahia), created in 1551. Dependent on this diocese were the prelaties of Rio de Janeiro in 1577 and of Pernambuco in 1614. Only in 1676 did it become an archiepiscopal see, following the decree of Innocent XI, with the support of King Pedro II of Portugal, making the former prelaties of Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco into dioceses. Until the end of the eighteenth century, only seven dioceses, with their respective cathedrals, were created in Brazil (see Table 2).

Table 1. Brazilian dioceses (1551-1900)

Date	Diocese	Bull	Pope
25/02/1551	São Salvador (Bahia)	<i>Super specula militantes Ecclesiæ</i>	Julius III
16/11/1676	Olinda (Pernambuco)	<i>Ad sacram Beati Petri sedem</i>	Innocent XI
16/11/1676	S. Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro	<i>Romani Pontificis Pastoralis sollicitudo</i>	Innocent XI
30/08/1677	São Luís do Maranhão	<i>Super universas orbis Ecclesias</i>	Innocent XI
04/03/1719	Belém do Grão Pará	<i>Copiosus in misericordia</i>	Clement XI
06/12/1745	Mariana (Minas Gerais)	<i>Candor Lucis æternæ</i>	Benedict XIV
06/12/1745	São Paulo	<i>Candor Lucis æternæ</i>	Benedict XIV

The music for the liturgy in the cathedrals was performed by a range of people according to the requirements of each ceremony. The archbishop or bishop, the priest

and others always participated in the singing of plainchant during the celebration of Mass. However, there were some positions that had special responsibility for the singing of Mass and the canonical hours. In addition to the chapelmaster, whose role is the focus of this essay, there were the precentor (*chantre*) and succentor (*subchantre*), chaplain-singers (*capelães cantores*), choirboys (*moços do coro*) and organist. Among the five cathedral dignitaries—dean, schoolmaster, treasurer, precentor and succentor—these last two were directly linked to music-making in the cathedral. From the sixteenth century, the precentor, who was always ordained, had an administrative rather than a musical role, teaching the choirboys, organizing the schedule with the names of the members of clergy who had to participate in the ceremonies and directing the offices sung by the chaplain-singers. In accordance with the Regulations of the Choir of Santa Sé da Bahia (30 April 1754): ‘this position [*chantre*] was formerly given to those skilled in music, later it was promoted to a dignitary and the position of succentor was created to deal with music, so it is no longer necessary for [the precentor] to be a musician, as can be seen from what is now customary in every cathedral.’⁷

In sixteenth-century Brazil, the precentor held the most important position as regards overseeing the cathedral music, and this was even more important than his administrative role. His income was three times that of the organist, and in the seventeenth century, double the salary of the chapelmaster. The role of the succentor, on the other hand, was to be a kind of assistant to the precentor: he received less than half his superior, but he participated in and directed all the plainchant in the choir,

⁷ Regimento Do Coro da S.^{ta} Sé da Bahia [...]. Parte I: 30/04/1754 (documento anexo aos Estatutos / Da Sancta Sè da Bahia...), cód. 4-a-8, f.55r., Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros da USP.

allowing the precentor to focus on the economic aspects of the musical structure. The chaplains, or chaplain-singers, were always ordained, sang only plainchant and had the main responsibility for the antiphons and psalms sung during the canonical hours. Less involved with the music performed in cathedrals, at least in Brazil, were the choirboys, who were generally students and ordinands, who left once they reached puberty. Almost always white, as Brazilian cathedral statutes decreed, they participated much less than the chaplains and only sang some plainchant, in effect only assisting the chaplains and other singers rather than actually singing in the liturgical services. For his part, the organist might or might not be ordained, and, like the chapelmaster, he was appointed for a limited period on a renewable basis. His only duty was to accompany certain chants for which the organ was prescribed.

The chapelmasters directed the polyphony (*canto de órgão*), that was usually not sung by any of the cathedral personnel so far mentioned, but by musicians from outside the institution itself. As far as is known, Brazilian chapelmasters did not have at their disposal singers or musicians who were paid from church income or cathedral fabric. On the contrary, it was one of their duties to organize and pay, at their expense, musicians from neighbouring regions to fulfil this role, since this was already included as part of their salary. The parish or mother church of a city or town would only have a music master, although he might end up being associated with another in the capacity of music director if there were a lack of musicians in the region, with the permission of the highest ecclesiastical authority. It was also his responsibility to teach letters and sol-fa to the boys to train them to become musicians and so help him

fulfil his duties, as well as to copy music, conduct (*fazer o compasso*) and compose music (*solfas*) for various occasions.

References to the pupils of these music masters are rare, but there are a few. In order to become a professional musician, these pupils had no option but to learn, like their master, both plainchant and polyphony. Once they became proficient or highly skilled musicians, they had to be prepared to assist the chapelmaster, or teacher of solfa in the main parish church, in fulfilling the continual demand for music in the churches in offices, Masses, burials and processions. The lack of pupils and musicians was, for example, the main reason that on 2 June 1649 the city council officials of São Paulo informed the chapelmaster of the city, Manuel Pais de Linhares, that he should no longer hold that position in the parish.⁸ Another interesting case is found in the will made in the same place in 1705 by the parish chapelmaster Antonio Machado do Passo, concerning the money owed to him ‘for teaching two boys’ his music.⁹ In his same will, Machado do Passo refers to the payment made to the musicians with whom he worked, testifying to the relationship he had with them: ‘I ask, for the love of God, that if any of the musicians who sang with me, colleagues as well as friends and relatives, think that I owe them anything relating to music, that they ask the executors of my will, otherwise may they pardon me for the love of God.’¹⁰

In contrast to received ideas about professional musical activity from the Classical and Romantic periods, in Brazil in the second half of the eighteenth century, music as a sole and self-contained occupation did not exist. Music enabled the

⁸ *Atas da Camara*, pp. 372-3.

⁹ Testamento de Antonio Machado do Passo (Nossa Senhora da Candelária de Utu, 14/11/1705), *Inventários e Testamentos*, vol. XXV, p. 170.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

musical practitioner to earn money: it was a way of surviving if practised on a regular basis. It was also a means of social climbing: qualification as a musician was one route by which a son or godson could aspire to the priesthood. Moreover, the existing documentation shows that the independent professional musician needed to augment his income from another activity: as a painter, seller, tailor, notary public, attorney, judge in land disputes or the case of orphans, and so on, and/ or own land to guarantee his livelihood. The fact that one found a musician regularly practising his art in a rural settlement, in a small parish dependent on a large one in the city, did not necessarily imply that he was a chapelmaster, that is a music director appointed by ecclesiastical authority. Rather he might have been just another musician who ended up by filling the gap when there was no chapelmaster present, either because of the distance, or because the appointed chapelmaster could not possibly meet all his commitments.

Chapelmasters were also supposed to serve the needs of churches near to those in which they worked, since there were churches which were not independent but rather functioned as annexes of the mother churches and were dependent on the latter for various aspects of religious practice. Such chapelmasters had to be constantly on the move, to celebrate major ceremonies in other areas, taking with them for this purpose the musicians and pupils in their service. This obligation, which is included in innumerable eighteenth-century appointment documents, is clearly expressed, for example, in the appointment of Manoel Vieira de Barros to the chapelmastership of the parish of the city of São Paulo of 6 April 1657:

‘we make known that, with regard to the particular qualifications and ability found in the person of the applicant Manuel Vieira [de Barros], we consider it

right to appoint, with this present provision, and we so do appoint [him] to the position of chapelmaster in the parish church of the city of São Paulo and its annexes so that there he can direct the music and practice the said position of chapelmaster for the period of one year unless we order the contrary before that time is up, with which [appointment] he will receive the advantages and tasks that pertain directly to him. [...],¹¹

This aspect resulted in certain limitations in the actual role of the chapelmasters in Minas Gerais since, until the early nineteenth century, there were only five cities in that region. The number of parish chapelmasters who held posts in the city in that period contrasted significantly with the number of *professores da arte da música* (usually music teachers who were independent of a musical ensemble) who were active between 1815 and 1818, as reflected in the names listed in the *List of musicians who are members of the Confraternity of St Cecilia in Vila Rica according to the first book of brothers' entries, 1815-1818*, which can be seen in Table 1.¹² The musical duties of the chapelmaster in Minas Gerais were much greater in the first half of the eighteenth century when musical activity was still little developed, but with the extraordinary increase in demand for music in the second half of the century, the importance of the chapelmasters, especially in the parishes, became increasingly related to the control and regulation of musical practice rather than to music-making itself.

¹¹ *Registro Geral*, vol. II, p. 488.

¹² Monteiro, 'João de Deus de Castro Lobo', p. 45.

Table 2. The number of music teachers in the districts of the General Mines according to the *Relação de músicos que deram entrada na Confraria de Santa Cecília de Vila Rica...* (1815-1818).

Mining districts	Music teachers
Vila Rica	82
Sabar ou Rio das Velhas	96
Rio das Mortes	38
So Joo del-Rei	76
Serro do Frio	45
Total	337

At the same time, the existing documentation suggests that Brazilian chapelmasters, at least until the 1760s, were more concerned with their ecclesiastical careers than with musical performance. Apart from the large number of chapelmasters who assumed their musical role after ordination, Faustino Xavier do Prado, chapelmaster of the city of Mogi das Cruzes (SP) between 1729 and 1734 (he also held the same position in the convent of Nossa Senhora do Carmo in that city),¹³ was made a canon of the So Paulo in 1760, and carried out various ecclesiastical duties until his death in 1800. Julio da Silva e Abreu, appointed chapelmaster in the city of So Joo del-Rei on 31 January 1749,¹⁴ reappeared from 1768 as a lay priest of So Pedro, with various ecclesiastical duties in So Joo del-Rei.¹⁵

Even well into the nineteenth century, chapelmasters who were known to be musically active in Brazilian cathedrals, such as Jose Maurcio Nunes Garcia (1767-1830) in Rio de Janeiro Cathedral, Joo de Deus de Castro Lobo (1794-1832) in Mariana Cathedral and Andre da Silva Gomes (1752-1844) in So Paulo Cathedral,

¹³ Trindade and Castagna, 'Msica pr-barroca luso-americana'.

¹⁴ Livro do Registro Geral (Provises), 1748-1750. Tomo I: 1748-1749. Mariana, f.106v, Arquivo Eclesistico da Arquidiocese de Mariana.

¹⁵ Livro de Termos e Deliberaes da Mesa da Terceira do Carmo de So Joo del-Rei (1761-1839), f.43v, Ordem Terceira do Carmo de So Joo del-Rei.

did not live exclusively from their musical activities: the first two also had ecclesiastical careers, and the third was appointed Royal Professor of Latin Grammar on 22 November 1800, and in 1801 asked the Bishop of São Paulo if he might resign his cathedral post; he even formed part of the Provisional Government of 1821.¹⁶

Chapelmasters and musical performance

The chapelmaster could be a layman and even married, as was often the case in Brazil, being appointed to the position for a year on a renewable basis. According to José Augusto Alegria,¹⁷ in Portugal the chapelmaster often taught the choirboys and directed them in performances of polyphony, but according to the currently available evidence, in Brazil cathedral chapelmasters did not usually involve the boys in the singing of polyphony. Rather, they acted like the chapelmasters of the parish churches, who, out of their expenses paid and organized a musical ensemble which, as a rule, included pupils who sang in exchange for their tuition. This ensemble, made up of musicians from outside the cathedral, is referred to in the cathedral regulations consistently as ‘his musicians’, or ‘his music’, or an equivalent phrase.

The relationship between the chapelmaster and the ensembles performing in the churches subject to the cathedral was very similar to that which pertained within the parish churches. The chapelmaster had to oversee the participation of the singers performing in the churches in his district and grant them his approval, receiving, at least in Minas Gerais, the payment due the chapelmaster according to the regulations

¹⁶ Oliveira, *André da Silva Gomes*, pp. 29-40.

¹⁷ Alegria, *História da Escola de Música*, p.26.

for issuing the licence. The chapelmasters' entitlement to this payment was prohibited in the course of the eighteenth century, as can be seen from the response to King João V's query dated 30 April 1714 by the Bishop of Rio de Janeiro on 3 June the following year, in which he stated: 'that the chapelmasters of Minas should not have any other allowance than for teaching sol-fa to the boys'.¹⁸ Until 1753 chapelmasters in Minas Gerais continued to earn payment for the issuing of such licences, but after that date they were only allowed to receive payment for fulfilling their other duties, which did not substantially change the control they had over the music performed in their areas.

The cathedral chapelmaster, as in the case of the parish churches, gave permission, or withheld it, for the performance of musical ensembles in the churches in their district, being able to play or sing in them, and being paid for their services as an individual musician. No musician, throughout the colonial period, had as much power as the chapelmaster, especially in the cathedrals. Moreover, the ensembles that performed in the cathedrals had preference over all others in the ceremonies of the other churches in the town and its surroundings—an indirect expression of the chapelmasters' power. The chapelmaster also censored the music so that no secular melody was heard in the sacred environment. The bishops were constantly pressurizing the chapelmasters to exercise this control and, in 1770, the Bishop of Rio de Janeiro ordered the chapelmasters to censor more strictly the villancicos sung in church at the celebrations for Christmas and the New Year.¹⁹

¹⁸ Menezes, 'Documentação referente a Minas Gerais'.

¹⁹ Lessa, 'Os beneditinos portugueses'.

The chapelmasters did not have, as was the case for craftsmen, an entrance examination, except for that carried out by the parish priest, and there were no restrictions on the number of apprentices or practitioners, nor was there any social and ethnic discrimination inherent in the regulations relating to musical activity. Besides, the chapelmasters' relationship with independent musicians cannot be compared to the restrictions levied by many other practitioners and tradesmen and their chosen apprentices against competition through the corporative regulations of the different trades (masons, stonemasons, locksmiths, carpenters, joiners, carvers, blacksmiths, and so on).

With, in principle, only one chapelmaster per town, he was never able to meet all the religious services demanded of him by society (devotional practices, liturgical and sacramental acts, such as weddings, baptisms and funerals) throughout the whole of his constituency (municipality, district, area). This created space for the independent music masters, who were much more numerous than the chapelmasters appointed by the bishops. Thus, it was possible to make a living as a professional musician in that society, albeit with irregular demand and proceeds that went from low to middling. And the performer or 'professor' was distinguished socially because of his free and non-trade-related activity.

Colonial society was essentially corporative in its organization. Hierarchical and structured according to orders and corporative bodies based on privileges and obligations, it was made up of immigrant Portuguese or people born in South America, who were, however, divided into white men who took precedence over mestizos and free or released blacks. Beneath all these was the mass of oppressed

slave workers. If, during most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the mainly white craftsmen who had the skills and knowledge in crafts and trades sought to defend the best share of the rather inflexible colonial market for themselves and their friends, thus generally standing in the way of upward mobility and greater opportunities for coloured people (*homens de cor*), this was less the case with music and the results were different: many *pardos* or mulattoes (those of mixed European and African ancestry), especially those not marked down for slavery, learnt the art of music and even practised it, striving to respond to its considerable and costly demands, in those places and environments which the parish chapelmaster and his musical ensemble could not reach.

Moreover, the brotherhoods of artists, under the banner of religion—in the case of the musicians, the brotherhoods or confraternities of St Cecilia—served to provide a corporative means by which this social group might grow, as regards both prestige and financial gain (this is clearly seen in the case of the brotherhoods of draughtsmen, devoted to St Luke). It is noteworthy that the vast majority of independent musicians during the second half of the eighteenth century were mulattoes, probably because there was no corporative protection for musical activity in most of Brazilian cities during the eighteenth century, a situation always longed for by white musicians. The important *Instructions for the Governing of Minas Gerais* (1780) by the high court judge José João Teixeira Coelho reveals the existence of a greater number of musicians in that state than in the whole of Portugal. The competition between them, and the low esteem in which they were held in administrative circles, meant that the demand for music at affordable rates for the vast

number of churches that emerged in the region during the eighteenth century could be met: ‘Those mulattoes who are not totally indolent are employed as musicians, and there are so many of them in the district of Minas Gerais that they certainly exceed the number in the rest of the kingdom. But what interest is this glut of musicians to the State?’²⁰

Another performance space for musicians was that afforded by the regular army, militias and auxiliary troops, with companies made up of whites and those of mixed-race origin, and with their military bands of trumpets, fifes, side-drums and drums, as well as clarinets and bassoons.²¹ These offered musicians a salary and also the opportunity to compose music and become well known. However, in Brazil at this time only the few cities and some towns maintained regular armies.

In any case, the professional musician’s life was the same whether in the service of the Church or the civic authorities. Chronicles, archival documentation and surviving musical collections provide evidence for the many times chapelmasters composed music for different occasions. Mainly composed by lay musicians but possibly also by priests, music circulated between friaries, monasteries and churches in a particular region and was even disseminated further along trade routes by land and sea, largely through the travels of musicians and music-lovers. Music historiography records music treatises written by chapelmasters or independent musicians, such as João de Lima, who was chapelmaster in the cathedrals of Salvador and Olinda at the end of the seventeenth century, Luís Álvares Pinto, chapelmaster of the Brotherhood of the Clergy in Recife (PE) in the second half of the eighteenth

²⁰ Coelho, *Instrução para o governo*, pp. 254-5.

²¹ Binder, ‘Bandas de música’.

century, and even André da Silva Gomes, chapelmaster of São Paulo Cathedral.²² Chapelmasters, even those of cathedrals and parish churches, kept the music libraries in their own houses, along with their own instruments and music books.²³

Various ecclesiastical documents provide information about the duties of chapelmasters, organists and other cathedral musicians, especially appointment documents, choir regulations and cathedral statutes. For example, in the appointment document of Manuel Coelho Leão as chapelmaster of Mariana Cathedral (6 September 1756), it was decreed that he should: ‘sing with his musicians at the ceremonies of Holy Week, Christmas, the novena of St Joseph, with the Holy Sacrament on display, and at all pontifical feasts, even if the prelate is not present, and also at any extraordinary ceremony for which music is needed.’²⁴ The duties of the chapelmaster at Mariana Cathedral, about which there is most information at present, were clearly defined, even though they did vary a little over time. The *Statutes of the Cathedral of Mariana* (1759) show that his main task was to direct the music on the following occasions:

- 1 At Vespers on the main feast days such as those of Our Lord, the Virgin Mary and the Visitation
- 2 At Mass at Terce every Sunday and on major saints’ days
- 3 At Prime on Christmas Eve
- 4 At the ceremonies on Christmas Night
- 5 At Compline on the Saturdays of Lent
- 6 At the Offices during Holy Week
- 7 At all other ceremonies required by the Prelate or Chapter

²² Binder and Castagna, ‘Teoria musical’.

²³ Gabriel, ‘Patrimônio, inventário e herança’.

²⁴ Livro do Registro Geral (Provisões), 1750-1759, f.1r., Arquivo Eclesiástico da Arquidiocese de Mariana.

On the other hand, in the documents issued by the Episcopal Chamber, the duties linked with general cathedral etiquette were emphasized, together with the inspection of music performed in the churches under their jurisdiction, and the chapelmaster's performance (always 'with his musicians'), at the ceremonies of Holy Music, Christmas and the novena of St Joseph. These orders can be summarized as follows:

- 1 To fulfil his duties as is fitting to the service of God
- 2 To choose as his musicians people worthy of the name and service of God
- 3 To attend the parish church or cathedral, and also the other parishes and chapels in the district, with the necessary music
- 4 To take care not to sing at a given feast texts that are only appropriate to another feast
- 5 To approve the music that will be sung in the churches under his jurisdiction, avoiding the singing of works with profane texts or any others that are not antiphons, psalms, hymns, graduals or others included in the Divine Office and Mass, in accordance with the rite of the feast
- 6 To seal his approval of these works by signing them
- 7 To grant licences to the musicians who will sing in the churches under his jurisdiction
- 8 To receive the payments or fees for the licences for musicians (only between 1748 and 1753)
- 9 To perform as an individual musician, if he so wishes, in the music he has approved, being paid *pro rata* like the other musicians who cannot oppose his decision
- 10 To sing with his musicians at the ceremonies of Holy Week, Christmas and the novena of St Joseph, with the Holy Sacrament on display, on all pontifical feasts and at extraordinary ceremonies at which music is required
- 11 In whichever village, town or city or surrounding area, the chapelmaster's musicians take precedence over any others.

Comparison of all the documents referring to the duties of the chapelmaster at Mariana Cathedral enables a list to be drawn up of the ceremonies in which the chapelmaster's participation, and that of 'his musicians', was obligatory. From this it can be seen that beyond his duties as regards the organization of urban musical activity, his involvement in cathedral music was intensive:

- 1 Apostles Sts Peter and Paul
- 2 Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary
- 3 Pentecost
- 4 Immaculate Conception
- 5 Christmas Night, including Prime on Christmas Eve
- 6 Compline on the Saturdays during Lent
- 7 Offices during Holy Week
- 8 Easter Day
- 9 Novena of St Joseph
- 10 Mass at Terce on Sundays and major saints' days
- 11 Vespers on major feasts
- 12 Pontifical feasts
- 13 Extraordinary ceremonies
- 14 Matins, first and second Vespers and Mass on all first-ranking feasts ('with his musicians')
- 15 First Vespers to Mass on second-ranking feasts ('with his musicians')
- 16 Mass only on third-ranking feasts ('with his musicians')
- 17 None on Ascension Day ('with his musicians')
- 18 Te Deum on the last day of the year ('with his musicians')
- 19 The Passion on Palm Sunday and Good Friday ('with his musicians')
- 20 Office, Mass and General Station on All Souls' Day ('with musicians')
- 21 Anniversary of the death of the Prelate ('with his musicians')
- 22 Day of the Cathedral in the octave of All Saints' Day ('with his musicians')
- 23 'Pange lingua' in the Corpus Christi procession ('with his musicians')
- 24 National holidays ('with his musicians')
- 25 Exequies for the Pope, members of the imperial family and Prelate ('with his musicians')

One of the best known rosters of chapelmasters active in eighteenth-century Brazil is that of Mariana Cathedral.²⁵ Their names are found in the registers of appointments in the Livros do Registro Geral of the episcopal chamber of the diocese of Mariana preserved in the Arquivo Eclesiástico da Arquidiocese de Mariana (AEAM). Although there are some gaps in the documentation, it is possible to reconstruct the periods in which each of the chapelmasters was active (see Table 4).

Table 3. Possible periods of activity of the chapelmasters of Mariana Cathedral until the end of the nineteenth century (square brackets indicate the period in which, with some interruptions, Manoel Coelho Leão was chapelmaster)

Period	Chapelmaster
1748	Manoel da Costa [Dantas]
1748-1749	Caetano José
1749	Gregório dos Reis e Melo
1749-1753	Manoel da Costa Dantas
1755-1764	Manoel Coelho Leão
1764-1765	Inácio Cardoso de Matos
1765-1780	Manoel Coelho Leão
1780-1781	José Joaquim da Silva
1782	Carlos da Silva Lobo
1783	Silvério Gonçalves de Araújo
1783	Luís Corrêa Lisboa
1784-1789	Manoel Coelho Leão
1789-1792	Silvestre José da Costa Gerás
1792	Manoel do Couto Ribeiro
1792-1793	Manoel Coelho Leão
1793-1810	José Gonçalves Gomide

As can be seen in Table 4, Manoel Coelho Leão (c.1735-c.1794) was the longest serving chapelmaster throughout the period in question: from about 1755 to 1792 he received several consecutive appointments, on most occasions also holding

²⁵ Castagna, 'Pesquisas iniciais'.

the post of organist. A white man, ‘born and baptized in the parish of Recife in the Bishopric of Pernambuco’, Coelho Leão was a priest and ordained (*Sentença de Habilitação de genere*) on 31 August 1756,²⁶ at the same time that he became chapelmaster and organist. However, contrary to his predecessors, he did not seek appointment to an ecclesiastical position, dedicating himself exclusively to his musical duties in the cathedral. His last known appearance in the documentation in Minas Gerais is in 1793 as a witness in a trial against his predecessor Silvestre José da Costa Gerás, in which his wobbly signature suggests he was by then an old man.

An extended period of service by the same chapelmaster, despite having to be reappointed each year, and despite brief periods of absence, seems to have been fairly common in eighteenth-century Brazil: it was also true of the chapelmasters André da Silva Gomes (São Paulo), José Maurício Nunes Garcia (Rio de Janeiro) and, well into the nineteenth century, João de Deus de Castro Lobo (Mariana). Another interesting aspect of Coelho Leão’s case is that, until the end of the eighteenth century, white chapelmasters predominated, as also happened in earlier centuries. It was ultimately the case that both in the church of that period and in colonial administration, the direction of sacred music could only be undertaken by white musicians whose blood had not yet been ‘contaminated’ by the indigenous, African, Jewish or Arab ethnic groups, or any other ‘infected ethnic group’ (*infecta nação*), as can be read in the processes *De genere et moribus* of candidates for holy orders. Only from this later period onwards do mulatto chapelmasters appear, as was the case with José Maurício Nunes Garcia and João de Deus de Castro Lobo, a phenomenon that resulted from the

²⁶ Livro do Registro Geral (Provisões), 1756, f.38r, Arquivo Eclesiástico da Arquidiocese de Mariana.

unprecedented expansion of musical activity that meant that there were not enough white musicians to fill the posts and practise as freelance professional musicians. The very presence of these mulatto musicians amongst the chapelmasters was one of the indications that white control of sacred music was no longer viable, leading to an interesting situation from the end of the eighteenth century, in which almost all Brazilian sacred music was composed, directed and performed by mulatto musicians, a situation that was tolerated given the circumstances, but not approved by the Church.

Conclusions

The organization of music in eighteenth-century Brazilian cathedrals and parish churches was modelled, with only slight modifications, on Portuguese custom. In the midst of an environment in which European, indigenous, and African descendants, and all kinds of people of mixed race, lived side by side, musical organization in the cathedrals and parish churches aimed to reflect basically two aspects of colonial administration: white predominance over all other ethnic groups; and the control of Church and State over all aspects of Portuguese American life. That control was so strong that it did not allow for any elements whatsoever of indigenous or African origin in the music of Brazil in this period, although some musicologists have suggested the opposite.

Even so, it is interesting to note that in Brazil the development of musical practice and of composition itself took place in the second half of the eighteenth

century, as chapelmasters were no longer being drawn exclusively from among white musicians and as their involvement in performance was waning. Of the three composers in Brazil who held the position of cathedral chapelmaster —André da Silva Gomes, José Maurício Nunes Garcia and João de Deus de Castro Lobo—only the first was white, and he was also the earliest to be appointed (1774, the others being appointed in 1798 and 1824 respectively) and the one who lived in the poorest of the three regions of their respective cathedrals.

The greatest legacy of the chapelmasters' activity and control is perhaps the complete preponderance of liturgical or paraliturgical Latin-texted music, with the almost total absence of villancicos or any popular elements in Brazilian sacred music composed before the mid-nineteenth century. The history of Brazilian chapelmasters reflects an importance aspect of musical practice, in which colonial power overwhelmed the power of art, the exercise of white culture presupposed the annihilation of indigenous and African cultures, elements of religious music of popular origin were not allowed, and musical performance was based on a rigid system of privileges that hindered the work of musical groups other than that directed by the chapelmaster and gave him the right to participate in any religious ceremonies, regardless of his musical knowledge and skills. While this situation began to change from the end of the eighteenth century, it is nevertheless important to continue to study Brazilian musical practice in earlier periods in order to understand how this process arose and how we can relate it to the present.

Documentation

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